Interpreting Iron Age Settlement Landscapes of Wigtownshire

Tessa I Poller

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Abstract

This thesis explores the process of archaeological interpretation by considering how we can interpret the Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire, SW Scotland. Traditional images of Iron Age warfaring hierarchical societies have persisted through the use of well-established classifications, such as 'fort' or 'roundhouse' and by the uncritical acceptance of the definition and identification of 'settlement' in the archaeological record. Alternative interpretations of Iron Age settlement landscapes are possible by considering a variety of other observations, which traditional classifications ignore, such as the landscape context of specific monuments. This thesis presents a critical review of these alternative interpretations and other more traditional classifications used to define Iron Age settlement and illustrates how multiple narratives of the past can co-exist.

This thesis emphasises the essential part classification plays in archaeological interpretation. Interpretation is a complex and ongoing process and it is important to be aware of the assumptions that we make and how these may affect further interpretations of the archaeological evidence. Common standardised classifications stress the importance of certain morphological characteristics over other observations and the interpretations of the archaeological evidence are therefore restricted. Traditional approaches neglect the importance of context, which is integral to the interpretation of the archaeology on many levels. Understudied, but archaeologically rich, Wigtownshire is an ideal case-study. Rather than limiting the discussion of archaeological features by only comparing them through traditional 'typologies', here experiential observations of the evidence -within their landscape context- offer an alternative approach by which the Iron Age in Wigtownshire can be considered. A flexible process of classification is advocated – dependent upon the research questions that are addressed in particular studies.

My approach to the re-evaluation of the Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire is also influenced by a critique of the definition of the term 'settlement' in archaeology. The identification of 'domestic' practices in contrast to 'ritualised' ones in the Iron Age evidence is questioned and from a variety of perspectives the complex processes of settlement in the Iron Age are explored. By utilising anthropological research and recent approaches to landscape archaeology, settlement can be presented as integral elements of the inhabitation or dwelling process rather than simply as the result of

human behaviour. The implications of this approach have essentially re-defined our view of settlement in the Iron Age landscape.

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Part 1

Introduction to 'Iron Age' Settlement Studies

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis will consider the way that 'Iron Age' settlement is interpreted, using the later prehistory of Wigtownshire in SW Scotland as a case-study. The interpretation of prehistory in areas such as Wigtownshire, where there has been limited archaeological excavation, depends on typology and general comparisons to geographically distant sites and features extracted from their local landscapes. These rigid systems of comparison coupled with unquestioned assumptions about the character of Iron Age settlement and society has meant that the complexity of the archaeological evidence, as well as a range of viable interpretations of the Iron Age, have been ignored. The results of field-surveys have shown that there is potentially abundant evidence of Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire. By re-evaluating traditionally constructed classifications of this evidence, specifically drawing on details of the landscape setting, as well as contemporary experience of the archaeological evidence alternative ways of comparing and interpreting the Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire can be explored.

The Three Age system persists in British academic research. The specific historical trends and patterns of interpretation for each time period, like the Iron Age, are created and perpetuated by the archaeologists who study them. Exploring the Iron Age within a geographically-defined area, in this case Wigtownshire, is not only an investigation of the specific archaeological evidence in this region, but also demands a critical re-evaluation of general trends in popular archaeological discourse and their impact on the interpretation of the archaeology in specific regions.

Archaeological interpretation is influenced by how the evidence is described and classified. The adherence to standardised typologies, which can be very useful for communication, is problematic because of the continued use of fixed rules that restrict how the past can be interpreted. In Iron Age studies the definition of 'settlement' and its association with specific types of sites has been particularly influential in the way the evidence of this time period has been presented and interpreted. By being aware of our expectations and reconsidering how the archaeological evidence is described I will show that this reconsideration can lead to alternative and equally valid interpretations of the Iron Age.

The relationship between interpretation and classification is not linear but could be defined as a 'hermeneutic spiral' with no beginning or end (Hodder 1992, 1999). Each level of interpretation and engagement with the evidence feeds into the next. How we interpret the archaeological record depends not only on the questions asked but also on how the evidence is used to answer these questions and generate new ones. The aim of this thesis is not to present another standardised classification system of Iron Age settlement, nor is it proposed that previous systems of classification should be abandoned. Instead, this thesis will focus on the dynamic and interconnected relationship between classification and interpretation. By considering classification as a flexible 'tool to think', greater interpretative possibilities at various levels of research can be presented, which therefore allows for multiple systems of classification to co-exist.

1.1.1 Changing Focus

The focus of this thesis has changed from its initial conception. The original aim of this work was to assess the Iron Age archaeology of Wigtownshire from the theoretical perspective of landscape, experience and a sense of place. However, while compiling a database of the archaeological evidence from Wigtownshire and researching previous approaches to Iron Age studies, issues of interpretation including the influence of classifications on our understanding of the past came to the fore. It soon became clear that 'types' of sites repeatedly used to describe the archaeology of the Iron Age, like *fort* and *enclosure*, were often abstract, contradictory and sometimes meaningless terms. These common labels are in fact artificial constructs that incorporate unstated assumptions about the past. A main goal of this thesis is to reconsider the descriptive process, including classification, and examine how it influences the way we interpret the past.

Since these issues of interpretation arose from the state of the archaeological evidence in Wigtownshire, it was important to continue with the research in this area, but guided by a different impetus. The question of this thesis is: how can the Iron Age in Wigtownshire be interpreted? A key aspect of this research was the need to be critically aware of the impact that general trends in description and classification had on the interpretation of the archaeological evidence in Wigtownshire. An assessment of previous approaches to the archaeology in Wigtownshire demonstrated that there were still characteristics of the archaeological evidence, such as the landscape setting and relationships between places and the human body, that had yet to be explored and

which could further affect how the Iron Age in Wigtownshire could be interpreted. A more flexible arena for presenting and evaluating archaeological interpretation is possible by considering the various possibilities of observing and describing the archaeological evidence. Although the results of this study are specific to Wigtownshire, the overarching methodology and theories can be applied to other areas and time periods.

1.1.2 Wigtownshire: An Ideal Case-Study Area

Although only a handful of archaeological excavations in Wigtownshire have been published and field-surveys have been piecemeal, Wigtownshire is an ideal area to explore issues of interpretation and classification. A recently published agenda for Iron Age studies described the existing knowledge of Galloway, of which Wigtownshire is part, as a 'black hole' (Haselgrove *et al* 2001, table 3, 25). This gulf in the knowledge of the Iron Age in Galloway has meant that interpretations have relied heavily on research from other areas as well as standardised typologies. Galloway is only one of about 30 areas in Britain described as 'black-holes'. It is exactly these areas that require further research rather than to be characterised through the imposition of models derived from elsewhere.

However, to describe the state of existing knowledge in Galloway as a 'black-hole', implying that there is very little archaeological evidence, is not entirely accurate. Although the surveys conducted in this area have been sporadic, they have resulted in the identification of over a thousand prehistoric features in Wigtownshire alone (RCAHMS 1912, 1985, 1987). The various types of survey have emphasised different yet complementary information. For instance, the large number of recorded cropmark sites are a result of the Royal Commission of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) and RCAHMS sponsored aerial surveys, and these results have significantly impacted upon the way we perceive the prehistoric archaeology in the area. There are currently over 700 known features that are Iron Age, or possibly Iron Age, in date. Although there are limitations and biases in the recording and identification of archaeology through the various survey techniques, the known archaeological evidence demonstrates intensive and diverse occupation in Wigtownshire throughout prehistory. What is missing, therefore, is not the archaeological data, but more flexible, creative and internally-derived attempts to synthesise and interpret this data, which this thesis strives to achieve.

The thesis is divided into three parts: the first presents the issues of the interpretation of settlement evidence in Iron Age studies and sets out the wider problems to be tackled in this thesis, the second outlines the theoretical perspectives adopted in my research, and the third describes the results of the Wigtownshire case-study.

1.2 'Settlement' in Iron Age Archaeology (Part 1)

1.2.1 Current Interpretations of Settlement in Iron Age Studies (Chapter 2)

It is generally agreed that the Iron Age in Britain spans the centuries of the first millennia BC and AD. Yet, depending upon regional differences its start and end points can vary greatly (Armit 1997; Ralston & Armit 1997). However, even regardless of regional variations the Iron Age is not simply defined by chronological limitations. Instead, the Iron Age, like other archaeological time periods, has gradually become entrenched in a specific archaeological discourse and developed its own cultural and social meanings in relation to types of material culture (as per Childe 1935, 1946). Although archaeologists are well aware of the false boundaries created by these time periods (cf Thomas 1988), certain assumptions associated with types of archaeological material accepted to define the Iron Age are repeatedly reinforced and have become uncritically. While it is important to relate new studies to what has gone before, it is easy to perpetuate these well-established trends rather than consider the various possibilities for interpretation of the archaeological evidence itself. In some cases, despite the nature of the evidence, if a site is *thought* to be Iron Age it would have a very different interpretation than if it was *thought* to be Neolithic. The use of the term 'Later Prehistory', more commonly applied in recent years instead of 'Iron Age', does not address the assumptions that define the Iron Age, but rather applies them to a wider chronological range and under a different name. It is not suggested that ideas developed from previous studies should be abandoned; instead, we need to be aware of the influence these ideas have on our expectations and subsequent archaeological investigations.

The Iron Age in Scotland, in contrast to earlier periods, has been characterised by the lack of ritual communal monuments and by an increase in domestic settlements (Armit 1997, 2005; Hingley 1998). Settlement, and its characterisation by archaeologists, plays an important role in the definition of the Iron Age. The evidence for settlement can be quite diverse. Although there are numerous traditions that inform the evidence, categories such as defended forts, substantial houses and farmsteads have dominated discussions of the Iron Age and have perpetuated a very specific image of the social

relationships within this time period. Settlement, particularly the shape, size and physical components of architectural features, often expressed by comparative foundation plans, have been used to reinforce the popular view of Iron Age society as being comprised of sedentary agriculturalists organised within hierarchical societies who defended themselves from tribal warfare (Cunliffe 1995, 2004; Hingley 1998; Ralston 2002; Armit 2005). Recent research has suggested that many of these traditional ideas about the Iron Age are based on assumptions gained from medieval literature and rely on the uncritical projection of modern perspectives of domestic settlement into the Iron Age (Hill 1989, 1993; Giles and Parker-Pearson 1999; Baines 1999; Carruthers 2002; Chadwick 2004). These ideas need to be challenged and reassessed.

1.3 Approaches to Reinterpretation (Part 2)

1.3.1 Settlement: Place, Space and Landscape (Chapter 3)

Although settlement has been a key element in characterising the Iron Age, the meaning of 'settlement' and its identification through archaeological investigation is not straightforward. The definition of domesticity is often based on the primary function without regard to ritual, but these elements may be indistinguishable from each other (Brück & Goodman 1999a; Bradley 2005). The construction, use, abandonment and reuse of architectural features may be imbued with a combination of everyday and ritualised practices. The archaeological evidence needs to be considered from a variety of perspectives in order to understand what, as archaeologists, we mean when we use the term 'settlement'. While changes in the architecture may make the Iron Age distinct from earlier periods and highlight chronologically or geographically distinct patterns, it is also proposed that certain themes, activities and traditions may be recurrent or persist across different time periods.

Settlement is part of the multifaceted network of social relationships. Simplistic definitions or morphology-based typologies of settlement in archaeology, common in Iron Age studies, do not capture the complexity of the concept. Ethnographic studies, such as that of the Luo in Kenya, highlight this complexity, and it has been suggested that 'to comprehend the structure and meaning of settlement organization, it is essential to realise that the social landscape at any one moment in time will contain [houses and settlements] at all stages of the life cycle' (Dietler & Herbich 1993, 31). In addition, it has been shown that different morphological features can reflect the same set of social rules or be part of a unified system. Therefore, comparisons and

interpretations based only on similar morphology of 2-dimensional plans alone need to be reconsidered. The shape and size of architectural components are only one aspect that influences the experience of a place or landscape. In this thesis, settlement will be explored through the appreciation of the complex architectural features that define places in relation to the surrounding landscape and to other places with this landscape.

Within the last ten years increasingly critical perspectives have been developed for the meaning of prehistoric settlement in Western Europe (e.g. Hingley 1984; Samson 1990; Richards & Parker-Pearson 1994; Brück 1999a; Brück & Goodman 1999b; Barrett 1999a; Gerritsen 2003). These studies have moved away from simply assessing the architectural form, construction and use of archaeological features, and have instead considered the dynamic social implications of these features during their construction and use, as well as the sustained impact these creations would have on future generations. As part of the changing trends in Iron Age studies, landscape archaeology, phenomenology, as well as an emphasis on the significance of the experience of places are increasingly recognised as being significant (i.e. Chadwick 1999; Giles and Parker-Pearson 1999; Giles 2000; Carruthers 2002). Recent landscape studies suggest that it is possible to engage with inhabited landscapes and be aware of the movement of people and their connections within that landscape (Barrett *et al* 1991; Tilley 1994, 1999; Bender 1998; Barrett 1999b; Alcock 2002). This thesis continues along these lines in exploring the archaeological evidence for Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire.

1.3.2 Interpretation and Classification (Chapter 4)

Interpretation is the process of trying to understand the world through individual and collective experiences and thus, inherently, interpretation is not static or simple, but is dynamic and multilayered. In archaeology, as with other disciplines, interpretation is influenced by the perspective of the subject and the specific questions asked of the object and therefore a range of interpretations for a singular issue/object can coexist (see Shanks & Tilley 1995a, 1995b; Hodder 1992, 1999; Thomas 1996). Rather than ignore the complexity that is inherent in the basic process of archaeological interpretation, it is important to recognise and evaluate the results of each approach to the evidence in its own right. Since each interpretation depends on the specific questions asked, the methodology applied, and the way in which the archaeology is described, it is possible to accept varying conclusions to the same issue. Awareness

of these influences can inform a critical review of the process of archaeological interpretation.

Classification is a common interpretive tool used in archaeology, and the standardisation of specific classes, based on a collection of attributes, results in typologies. As soon as an archaeological feature or artefact is described (e.g. at the point of discovery during an excavation), it becomes entangled within the prevailing interpretive discourse (Baines & Brophy forthcoming). Addressing further archaeological questions, such as the social structure or meaning of an artefact or feature, is dependent on how the evidence is described or classified. Traditionally the initial description of an object is assumed to be fact or known (at least temporarily) while further interpretations are formulated. For instance, a fragment of pottery described as a 'Food Vessel' becomes embedded within a certain tradition, and any subsequent interpretations about the fragment (and even where it was found) would be based on a perceived fact that it *is* a *Food Vessel*. The same is true for any other type of archaeological feature. Although the initial act of interpretation is usually taken as a given, it is important to be aware of our assumptions during this basic process.

Classification is a subjective interpretative process and can be used flexibly to describe and compare archaeological evidence depending on the questions asked. Interpretations of Iron Age settlement have been restricted by the inflexible use and assumed primary significance of traditional classifications, often viewed as objective facts. The goal of this thesis is to explore how the archaeological evidence of Wigtownshire can be described and compared and how this can subsequently influence and inform further interpretations. The classifications presented here reflect my specific questions about the archaeology and will allow space for any future contributions (e.g. new evidence or different observations) and can be evaluated on its usefulness as a valid process in answering questions in its own right.

1.4 Interpreting Iron Age Settlement in Wigtownshire (Part 3)

1.4.1 Influential Perspectives

The approach to analysing the archaeological evidence adopted in this thesis depends on my own perspectives. On the one hand, influenced by current trends in theoretical and social archaeology, the thesis was designed to be open to the diverse contexts of archaeological evidence and to be aware of the subjective nature of the research process. It was important to incorporate my own experiences of the archaeological

evidence and express how this experience can be an important criterion for classification. On the other hand as a reaction to the 'Americanist' and 'positivist' approaches, which had formed the basis of my early studies in archaeology, I questioned the role of quantified typologies and the procedure of classification. Both perspectives affected the decisions about which criteria to choose for comparison, the method of dealing with the archaeological record and how the results are presented.

Presenting a distinct and flexible approach to classification is not straightforward. Classification and typologies have often been at the centre of debate in the practice of archaeology and there have been many attempts to redefine the way we classify (cf. Whallon and Brown 1982; Adams and Adams 1991; Brophy 1999, 19-43). It would be impossible to discuss and compare archaeological evidence without constructing temporary definitions and boundaries. Yet as already stated, a goal of this thesis is to highlight the necessity of open attitudes to classification and description by using classifications as a 'tool to think'. Classification systems can vary depending on the observations and criteria used to create groupings.

1.4.2 Issues of Interpreting the Archaeology of Wigtownshire

As highlighted in section 1.2.1 the term 'Iron Age' is problematic, but in order to assess the well-established assumptions and images which currently characterise this time period, it is important to focus on how 'Iron Age' has been used by other archaeologists and to include in this research the archaeological evidence that could be considered as 'Iron Age'. As a critical re-evaluation of how the 'Iron Age' in Wigtownshire is interpreted, in this thesis 'Iron Age' refers to the archaeological construct (with its diffuse chronological boundaries, including 'Later Prehistory') rather than any concrete reality in the past. In practice, therefore, initially all those sites in Wigtownshire that have been defined as Iron Age or Later Prehistoric using traditional typologies were included within the corpus of sites to be considered in this research. After consultation with the collections in museums, including the National Museum of Scotland, the Kelvingrove Museum (i.e. Ludovic Mann Collection) and the Hunterian Museum, it was decided to focus primarily on the evidence for settlement architecture. The main impetus of this research is to explore the landscape setting of features, but the majority of artefacts from Wigtownshire did not have a recorded context.

An initial database was created to familiarise myself with the archaeological evidence. The information was collated from the National Monuments Record of Scotland

(NMRS) database available through the web-based version CANMORE, as well as the local Sites and Monuments Record, published articles and unpublished manuscripts concerning any potentially Iron Age archaeology in the region. Within the database separate fields (e.g. shape, maximum length and width, the orientation of maximum length, direction and number of entrances, materials, number of ditches or banks, presence of internal features and other categories) based on the previously recorded information were created initially. Other details such as whether a site was identified as a cropmark, and the classificatory biography of each site were also noted. However, as mentioned (see section 1.1.1), through the design of this database and the collation of the information the following issues concerning the classification and interpretation of the archaeological evidence were identified.

1) Databases rely on standardised criteria. In turn the specific terms and definitions used affect how the archaeological features can be compared.

In any single system the categories and limitations used to define a feature are arbitrary. Deciding on the descriptors of the shape of a feature, whether curvilinear or rectilinear or to allow the possibility of 'D-shaped' or other shapes would lead to the inclusion or exclusion of examples within groups, which therefore influences how individual features can be compared to one another. The same is true for any category within the database, such as where to record measurements from (internal or external length) or even the basic binary divisions commonly used in discussing Iron Age archaeology such as whether to describe a site as 'enclosed' or 'unenclosed'. These distinctions represent certain assumptions about their significance.

2) There are inherent inconsistencies in the original data resulting from the data being derived from various sources (aerial surveys, previous field reports, excavation results and my own fieldwork)

It is difficult to integrate different methods of description used by previous researchers, each with their own agendas, into one clear and consistent system. For instance, features identified and described as cropmarks often stress different attributes, such as shape and size, to those recorded through field survey or excavation. Regardless of survey technique, there were further inconsistencies in the way measurements were recorded (e.g. whether the internal diameter or the external diameter was given). One of the most helpful features of the CANMORE

database is the documentation of different archaeological descriptions of a site over time. A place may first be called a 'camp' in the 19th century in an Ordnance Survey (OS) Namebook, but later reclassified as 'fort' or as a 'homestead' by subsequent surveyors. However, inconsistencies are not only the result of survey bias, but also how the feature changes in appearance over time. Some of the hut-circles recorded twenty years ago are now completely overwhelmed by peat and could not be recorded in the same way. The observations of the archaeological evidence, as well as the role of the observer, are never fixed or permanent.

3) Establishing standardised categories results in certain generalisations, which cannot accommodate the variety of detail of the archaeological evidence and therefore anomalies are often overlooked.

Classification is a process of normalising, highlighting certain patterns over others. New evidence is often made to fit within pre-existing classifications and any differences are disregarded. There are underlying assumptions that repeated patterns are more significant. And by the nature of classification this means that anomalies are rarely discussed. However, different scales of research, both specific conditions of the examples and the general patterns of types, can be brought together.

With all of these issues in mind, the database could only be used as a tool in the initial assessment of the archaeological evidence. Furthermore, the problems of creating the database highlighted that there was a need to reconsider how we use the recorded information for further interpretation of the Iron Age. For instance, can we accept these descriptions and classifications at face value, and what exactly do they mean in relation to prehistoric practice?

1.4.3. Defining the Data

In Wigtownshire few sites have been specifically dated to the Iron Age. Because the criteria for current typologies used in Iron Age archaeology are often very general or vague, many of the sites included in this thesis may not have been constructed or even directly used within the first millennia BC and AD. One of my main criticisms is the way Iron Age features have often been identified through simple typologies (primarily defined by morphological characteristics). 'Iron Age' here is considered as a general archaeological construct (see 1.4.2) and, therefore, all sites, including those that are

ambiguous but which still share the characteristics commonly used to define Iron Age sites, were included in this research. At this stage it is not possible to accurately date the majority of the sites in Wigtownshire to the Iron Age. Nonetheless, it is important to consider how the sites may be experienced, and highlight their possible role in defining an Iron Age, which in turn can inform further detailed research and excavation. This approach presents a more flexible discussion of the creation and use of places and landscapes, and allows for the possibility of more critical re-evaluations of the assumptions associated with traditional classifications.

Furthermore, Iron Age features need to consider within the wider landscape, which has been culturally formed and reformed over many years. Patterns of the use of space and architecture can be identified between features with long chronological currencies, which are often overlooked because of the limits of specific period studies (cf Bradley 1993, 1997; Bradley & Sheridan *forthcoming*). Similarly, places and features that remain visible over time may be appropriated by or influence future peoples and thus the initial construction date of these features do not convey the complete history of the site (Barrett 1999a, 258). In this research there has been an attempt to take on board the wider chronological influences of the Iron Age settlement landscapes of Wigtownshire.

1.4.4 Previous Research (Chapter 5)

As mentioned, an important element of this thesis is the evaluation of the history of archaeological interpretation, to be aware of what went before, and to relate my own approaches to this history. My re-interpretation of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire first required not only a review of previous approaches, but also an analysis of how different researchers have influenced the current interpretation of Iron Age archaeology in Wigtownshire. The archaeology of Wigtownshire has received a varying degree of attention through the years and although these studies relate specifically to the area, they were substantially affected by over-arching trends in British archaeology. Institutions like the RCAHMS and the Archaeological Division of the OS characterised and classified many of the unexcavated archaeological features and so influenced the general archaeological picture established for Wigtownshire. Over the years the attention and interest of individual researchers, with their own agendas and methods of analysis, have also had a profound effect on the way the evidence has been synthesised.

Considering these previous approaches and the dominant assumptions concerning the settlement of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire, coupled with the awareness of the many issues with the traditional classification of the archaeological evidence from Wigtownshire, my goal was to present alternatives ways in which we could appreciate the archaeological evidence.

1.4.5 Experiencing the Landscape (Chapter 6)

The archaeological data from Wigtownshire compiled from various sources was integrated with my own experiences and descriptions (both photographic and textual) of the places and landscapes of this area. I visited and assessed the locations of many of the sites noted by other surveyors within their surrounding environment, even sites that were only recorded as cropmarks or only identifiable by faint upstanding elements. In these cases I had to consider the physical character of the sites within the landscape with a bit more imagination. The landscape contexts as well as the physical and visual relationship between the human body and the archaeological features were treated as essential attributes that define the character of each place. Ultimately, reconsideration of the interpretation of Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire depended on the amalgamation of a critical assessment of previous research, the descriptions of the NMRS and other sources, as well as my own field visits in Wigtownshire. Traditional characteristics such as shape, size, material of construction and topography were combined with observations of the surrounding landscape and experience of place.

It was important to treat each place in its own right, rather than simply as an example of a type of site. However, in order to relate my experiences with previous approaches the discussions of the results were organised under headings based on traditional site types such as 'roundhouse', 'fort' and 'enclosure'. It will be clear from the discussion of my results that the purpose of this approach was to identify possible meaningful differences *within* a traditional type as well as similarities *between* types. Within each of these sections different scales of qualitative analysis were dealt with. On one hand there are detailed discussions of individual sites in terms of their specific morphology, situation in the landscape, and influence on corporal experience. On the other hand wider patterns are also proposed based on comparisons and relationships between sites across landscapes within Wigtownshire. Because the discussion is structured by traditional typology some sites are discussed in more than one section. This approach is intended to highlight the limitations of traditional types as well as provide a method for subverting them. The outcome of the specific research in Wigtownshire is

predominantly expressed as a narrative of sites as places, and comparisons between places.

1.4.6 Further Interpretations (Chapter 7 & 8)

The methodology undertaken in this thesis can be defined as a 'classification of experience' focusing on the relationships of each archaeological site within its landscape context as well as recorded details of its form. Themes from the archaeological evidence will be used to critically re-evaluate traditional approaches to the Iron Age of Wigtownshire and propose alternatives. Analysing the archaeology in Wigtownshire through a variety of lenses emphasises the complexity of settlement in prehistory and presents a wide range of possibilities for interpretation. The interpretative process is a continual spiral and, therefore, the methodology and interpretations gained from the analysis of Wigtownshire presented can be framed within a wider perspective of Iron Age settlement. Theories of social organisation and wider issues of creating and maintaining identities of communities through the creation of and interaction with places and landscapes will be explored.

In Chapter 8, following on from the examination of the archaeological data from Wigtownshire in Chapters 6 and 7, I will explore the results and its implications for the flexible interpretation of Iron Age archaeology. The application of the methodology of this small-scale research strategy to the larger scale will be discussed. A summary of the main theories and methods employed in this thesis will be presented as well as an assessment of whether I have answered the thesis question and suggestions of how I would define Iron Age settlement as a result of my research. Emphasis will be placed on the potential impact on the future research of understudied areas provided by flexible approaches to interpretation, especially in forming specific projects.

1.5 Conclusions

This thesis is a culmination of different choices, bound by cultural and social conditioning, influencing how I perceive and present the past. Much of the archaeological interpretation of the past is based on modern perspectives and popular trends. It is hoped that archaeologists will embrace the opportunities to explore different avenues to reflexively study the complexities of the past. Ideas of Iron Age settlement are particularly entrenched within seemingly familiar or romanticised notions of domesticity and dwelling. However, there are clear indications from the

archaeological record that more complex social practices were performed. Why are we so afraid to delve into the less familiar?

This thesis also aims to highlight the inextricable link between theory and practice. Issues of interpretation and the theoretical frameworks used arose during an initial examination of the archaeological evidence from Wigtownshire. However, the theoretical significance of place and landscape are only realised through the experiencing of Wigtownshire in the field. From this research, I have concluded that there are new ways to consider the archaeology of Wigtownshire, rather than simply relying on excavation or general trends. The detail within this thesis is specific to Wigtownshire; however, this small-scale research has provided an opportunity to explore these methodological issues and has led to a rethinking of archaeological classification and interpretation.

Chapter 2: Previous and Current Approaches to Iron Age Settlement

2.1 Introduction

Various archaeological perspectives, including antiquarian, culture-historical, processualist, post-processualist and interpretive perspectives, have influenced the interpretation of Iron Age settlement. For convenience this chapter is organised chronologically discussing overarching approaches in British archaeology that were most popular at the time in reference to themes in Iron Age settlement. It should be emphasised that clear chronological or epistemological boundaries between each perspective cannot be drawn, but the general trends are discussed here. Different elements of each approach may be visible in the works of any given archaeologist. Furthermore, each perspective is a redefinition of one another and they are unconfined by strict chronological periods. In fact, certain assumptions concerning Iron Age settlement have largely remained unquestioned regardless of the general changing trends in archaeology theory. The continued uncritical acceptance of these assumptions has limited the interpretive potential of the archaeological evidence.

The focus of this chapter is on *settlement* and how its identification, definition and analysis have affected the interpretation of the social organisation of Iron Age society. Many interpretations of Iron Age settlement rely on the assumptions and research agendas of previous researchers. Specific attention will be given to how the archaeological evidence of settlement has been classified. Classifications, such as hillforts, roundhouses, enclosures and brochs or substantial houses, are often thought of as *typically* Iron Age and are relevant to my case study area in SW Scotland, but these types have gone through various transformations based on trends in archaeological theory. In general terms the treatment of Iron Age settlement classification in Scotland will be considered in relation to the wider subject of British Iron Age studies. This chapter will not be an attempt to offer a complete historiography of Iron Age settlement archaeology. Rather the following discussion is intended to establish key elements of description, classification and interpretation that are embedded in archaeological discourse.

2.2 Antiquarian and Early Archaeological Approaches

2.2.1 Antiquarians

The meaning of 'Iron Age' has fluctuated throughout history, referring to the adaptation of particular technologies, or reflecting specific economic or social differences from earlier prehistory or more generally corresponding to a specific chronological period. In current studies the distinction of the Iron Age from earlier prehistory relies on architectural evidence, where the Iron Age is characterised by the lack of substantial ceremonial monuments and with a comparatively dense distribution of smaller enclosed settlement (see Armit 2005). The adoption of 'iron' is no longer considered a definitive starting point or character of the Iron Age, especially for Scotland, where there is little evidence for iron production in this time period. However, during the antiquarian period and the beginnings of archaeology in the 19th century, it was the portable material culture that influenced the initial idea of what would come to define the character of the 'Iron Age' in British Archaeology.

C.J. Thomsen introduced the term 'Iron Age' in 1836 to define a chronological change in material culture in Denmark, but it was only from the discoveries on continental Europe at the sites of Halstatt (by Ramsauer in 1846) and La Tène (by Kopp in 1857) in the mid-19th century that the Iron Age became associated with specific artefactual signatures that were then used to establish relative chronologies (see Collis 1984; Cunliffe 1997, chapter 2; Kristiansen 1998). The British Iron Age was characterised by comparative styles of art, particularly high quality metalwork. Antiquarians and enthusiasts of antiquities in Britain who were uncovering and compiling a substantial collection of La Tène-style metalwork interpreted any associated *settlement* sites as typically 'Celtic' or Iron Age (see Cunliffe 1974a, 1997).

To deal with the large numbers of artefacts and settlement evidence some archaeologists in the mid-nineteenth century attempted to be more systematised in their analysis. Joseph Andersen, a prominent figure in the early days of Scottish archaeology and keeper of the National Museum, actively conducted the 'science' of archaeology, collating inventories and recording information (Anderson 1881; Graham 1976, 285; Baines 2002, 3). Baines (*ibid* 16-17) has proposed that because Anderson, in contrast to his contemporaries, systematically discussed the results of his excavations and field observations using clearly defined terminology, his descriptions and classifications have had a lasting impact on the way settlement, such as brochs, has since been appreciated by future generations.

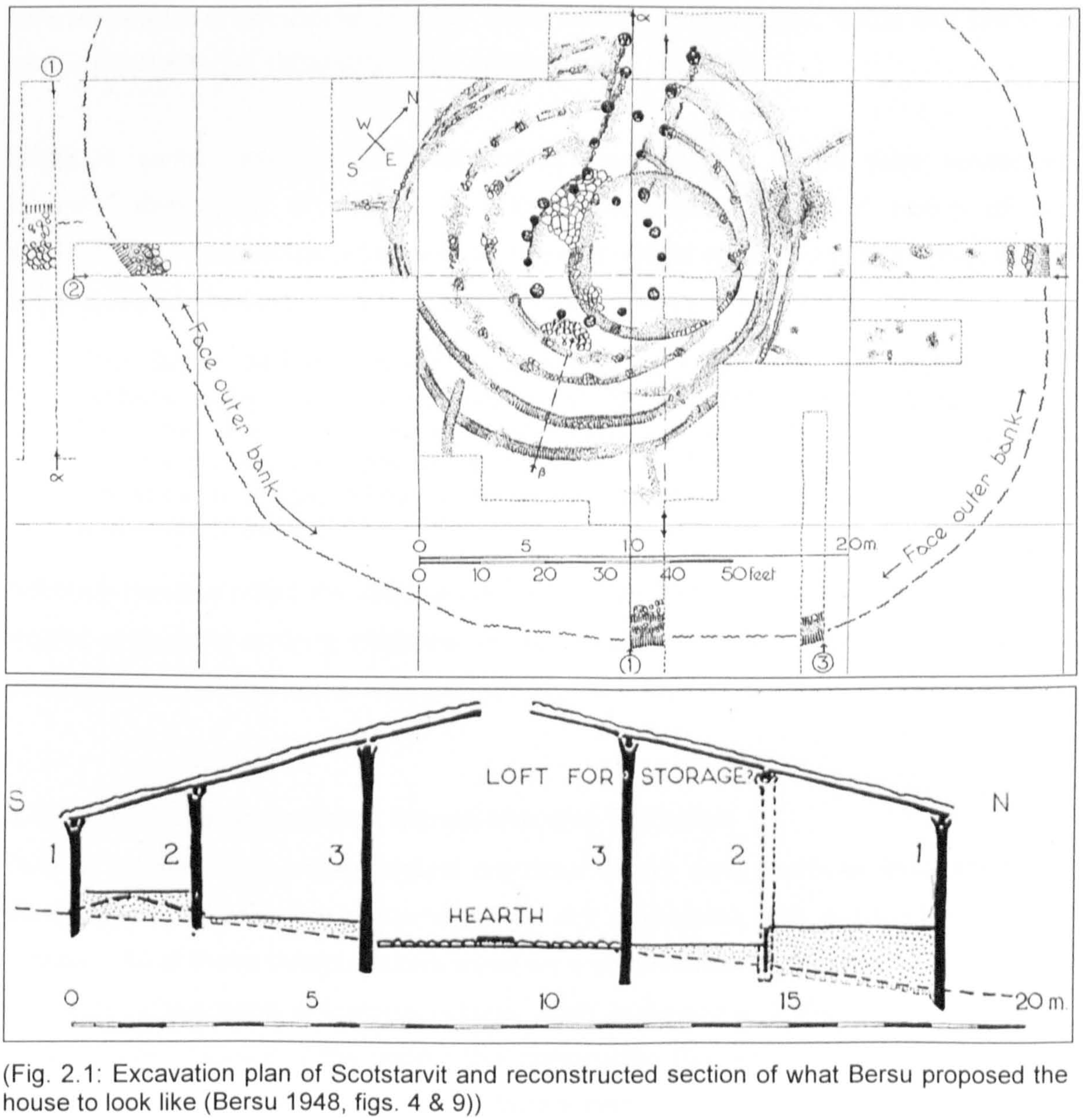
As noted elsewhere in the British Isles (cf. Pitt-Rivers 1881), 19th century antiquarians and archaeologists working in Scotland were particularly attracted to upstanding settlement evidence, called forts, camps and brochs during this time period. Anderson's description of brochs and forts highlighted their distinctive features. He noted that the specific architecture of brochs boldly subverted the standard house plan by placing rooms within the walls (Anderson 1883, 203). Although he was aware that the people that lived in brochs were probably also engaged in farming, he implied that both brochs and forts had an underlying defensive function (*ibid* 1883, 258). Moreover, regardless of the diverse qualities of brochs, forts, crannogs and earth-houses, Anderson stated conclusively, 'in all their distinctive features they are still Celtic, and Celtic exclusively' (*ibid* 307). Drawing on Anderson's work on brochs, Christison's survey of forts (1898) and his own detailed investigations of crannogs (Munro 1882), Munro (1899, 329) felt the only way to explain the Scottish evidence was by comparison to the better known examples from the Continent and therefore reinforced an implied Continental and assumed Celtic influence on settlement types.

2.2.2 Culture-History

The systematising trend of the 19th century led to a culture-historical approach to archaeology. It was thought that artefacts and features could be organised into a basic sequence of events in time and space, which was used to build a generalised image of types of cultures. By the beginning of the twentieth century the RCAHMS were publishing their first ancient monument inventories, systematically recording the archaeological features county by county throughout Scotland (RCAHMS 1909; Ritchie 2002, 27). After the First World War there were several key developments in archaeological practice that had a significant impact on the way Iron Age settlement was perceived. Firstly, there was an increase in the publication of systematic excavation and surveys by local and national societies and institutions. Secondly, the potential of aerial reconnaissance, to identify and enhance archaeological features, was introduced and promoted by the work of scholars such as OGS Crawford (1924, 1929). A wider range of features, including field-systems such as 'Celtic' fields, that were often overshadowed by large monumental constructions such as forts, were now visible and could be appreciated from a different perspective.

Thirdly, there was an increased appreciation of the more ephemeral evidence left by timber constructions, which were previously only *assumed* to have existed prior to stone buildings (Munro 1899, 336). The first evidence of timber constructions on a

dryland site in Scotland was found in 1920. While excavating at the broch of Dun Troddan A O Curle identified internal post-holes, which he interpreted as roof supports (Curle 1921, 92). This discovery allowed Curle to present a new image of brochs, which at the time were often thought to be roofless. This incident was a defining moment for the interpretation of timber architecture in Scotland (Ralston 2003, 7). Further identification of dryland timber features in Scotland progressed slowly and it was over twenty years later that the first full plan of a timber roundhouse in Scotland was excavated by Bersu at Scotstarvit, Fife (Fig 2.1) (Bersu 1948).



(Fig. 2.1: Excavation plan of Scotstarvit and reconstructed section of what Bersu proposed the house to look like (Bersu 1948, figs. 4 & 9))

The excavation at Scotstarvit was part of Bersu's wider research in Britain. Earlier, he had excavated Little Woodbury, Wiltshire. Originally identified through aerial photography, the excavation of this site revealed more ephemeral features that were

interpreted by Bersu to be timber houses, granaries and storage pits (Bersu 1940). In contrast to the earlier emphasis on stratigraphic sequences, Bersu's technique of excavating horizontally allowed for the complex construction of timber features, such as those at Little Woodbury and at Scotstarvit to be defined. Scotstarvit was initially identified as a 'fort', but Bersu observed, even before excavation, that the location would not have provided natural protection and that the name 'fort' was simply a convention. The results of the excavation further highlighted the site as an enclosed settlement, with central houses (Bersu 1948, 242). The results of the excavation at Scotstarvit would provide a basis for interpreting other similar features and allow for the reconsideration of the classification of some 'forts' as settlements, which was taken up by the RCAHMS (cf. RCAHMS 1956; 1967; Ralston 2003, 19).

While in some cases classifications were reconsidered, others were reinforced. Hawkes' description of hillforts in Britain emphasised a unified notion of this classification. It has been proposed that Hawkes' article on the subject in *Antiquity* was 'an important milestone in the term's acceptance' (Avery 1976, 3).

> 'The British hillfort in these days needs no introduction. Everybody, certainly every reader of *Antiquity*, is familiar with the ancient earthworks that crown the blunt spurs and whale-basked ridges of the chalk downs, and the grimmer ramparts of stone that take their place as one penetrates the lands of sharper contours and more obstinate rock that lie to the west and north' (Hawkes 1931, 60).

Although Hawkes noted the variable nature of these features across Britain, there is an implied underlying unifying character of their location and defensibility and it was this interpretation that has had a lasting affect (Hawkes 1931, 61).

2.2.3 The Celts: Invasions, Intrusions and Diffusion

Despite advances in archaeological practices at this time, such as excavation, the interpretation of Iron Age settlement was still embedded with a particular idea of culture. All of these interpretations relied on a combination of literary sources and art-historical comparisons of material culture. Both Anderson and Munro were convinced by the 'Celtic' identity of the people that constructed the settlements in Scotland and more generally in Britain. Therefore Munro had no problem referring to Tacitus's *Germania* when he looked for comparisons for earth-houses (souterrains) and therefore suggested they may be winter retreats, or granaries, or refuges during invasion (1899, 356).

For many early archaeologists the evidence of iron swords, shields and hillforts conformed to descriptions of the 'warrior' tribes of the Germans, Gauls and Celts noted in Roman literary sources (see Poseidonius' and Caesar's descriptions translated by Tierney 1960; Wiseman & Wiseman 1980). The variations in styles of settlement and other material culture were interpreted as the result of different waves of invading 'Celtic' tribes. The initial 'Celts' to Britain were said to have brought material and construction techniques similar to those found at Halstatt, while later invasions were said to be by tribes with La Tène-style objects. For instance Sir Arthur Evans proposed that the distinct evidence of the cemetery in Aylesford, Kent related specifically to Belgic invaders from France (Evans 1890). Similarly the brochs in Atlantic Scotland, although notably unique were still interpreted as 'a peculiar phase of the early Celtic or Iron Age culture and civilisation...' (Anderson 1883, 259). Even decades later, descriptions of a Celtic warrior culture were discussed in relation to Iron Age archaeology and were reinforced by Early Medieval texts from Ireland, which were said to be a 'window on the Iron Age' (Jackson 1964, *contra* Mallory 1992).

The *Prehistory of Scotland* by V. Gordon Childe (1935) was a key survey of the state of Scottish archaeology in the 1930s. Childe's cultural model, which developed from the culture-historical approach, assumed that archaeological distributions, described by the recurrences of architectural features and artefacts would reflect specific ethnic groups or populations and their movement or diffusion. He proposed that invasions during the Iron Age produced distinct features such as 'castles' (brochs, duns and galleried duns), which were the houses of high status war-like chiefs (*ibid* 197). Any changes in construction were explained as a change in social organisation, such as the absorption of a chief into the local population or a result of the 'castle-lord' sailing away (*ibid* 248). Childe could only suggest that the Abernethy Complex in Fife came from Gaul and that the remaining populations related to those in England, because of the lack of artefacts comparable to those found on Continent or England (*ibid* 223). Although the material culture had not been found, it was evident to Childe that there had to be European influences on the settlements in Scotland. He assumed that the inhabitants of crannogs were related to the La Tène culture, because he could not imagine the construction of crannogs without the use of iron axes derived from the Continent (*ibid* 255).

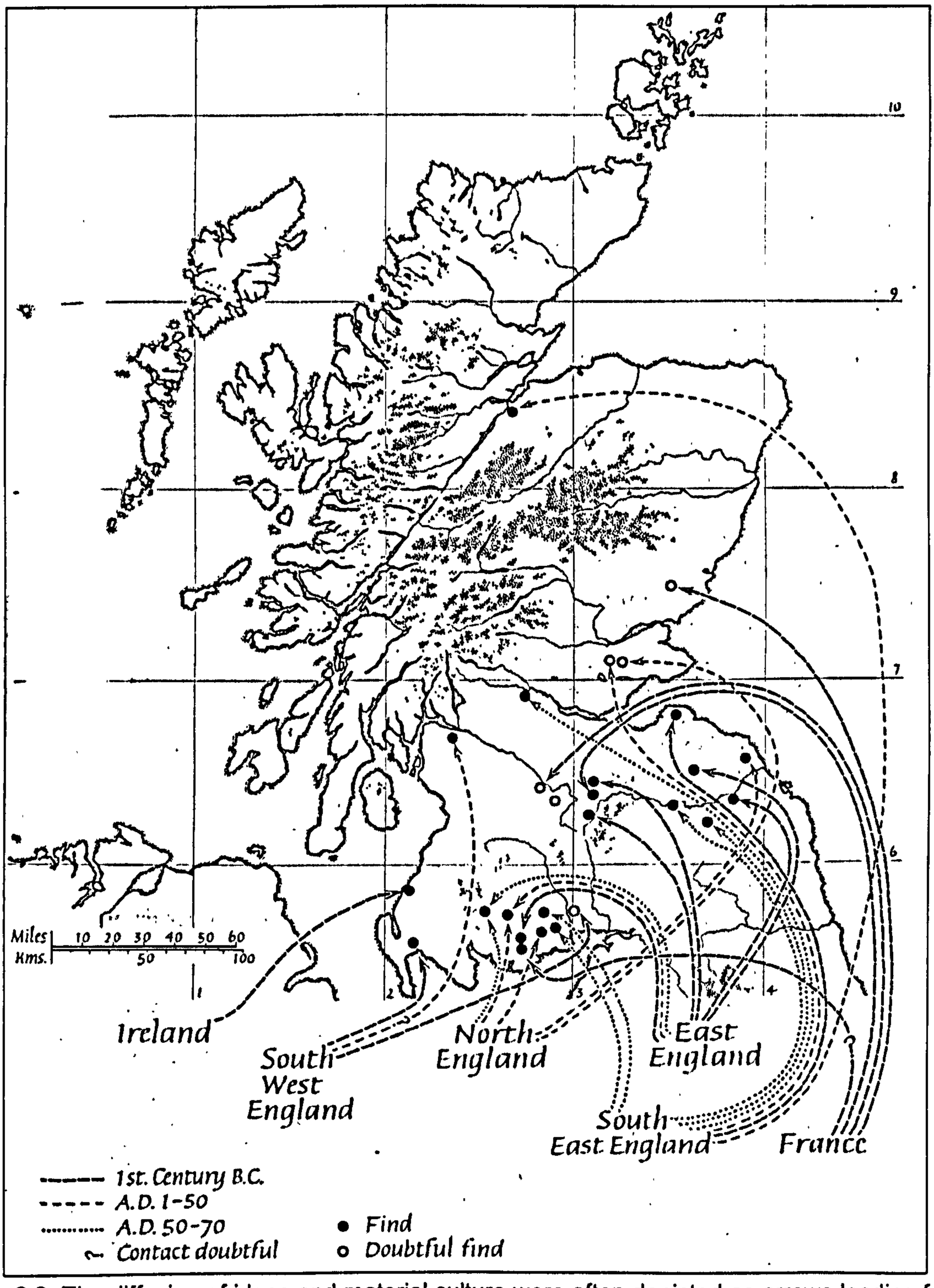
Regardless of the potential inconsistencies in the theories of invasion or diffusion highlighted by the diverse character and setting of the archaeological evidence, the social organisation of the Iron Age was often discussed in general terms gleaned from

the classical literature throughout Britain. For instance, defences were explained as a result of inter-tribal warfare. Hawkes (1931, 76) suggests that early Iron Age hillforts were built for defence because of the ever present 'tribal bickering'. Feachem's (1965) treatment of the archaeology in Northern Britain was a further example of this, highlighting the role of Iron Age people who lived by the laws of barbaric tribal warfare, but with their settlements on the evolutionary path to civilisation. This evolutionary model, a further adaptation of Childe's cultural approach, was simply imposed onto the archaeological evidence.

By the 'later' Iron Age the invaders had become the natives and similarly many of the larger hillforts were interpreted as an indigenous response to the military might of the Roman forces (e.g. Maiden Castle: Wheeler 1935). The results of excavations of smaller hut-circles and roundhouses; however, provided different interpretations. Steer interpreted the outer enclosure as a non-defensive drainage feature (Steer 1956, 242) and he further suggested that the overall architectural change of the roundhouse at West Plean and, Stirlingshire as 'the peaceful transformation of native Late Bronze Age site by the adoption of new architectural traditions into the region by Early Iron Age immigrants' (*ibid*, 249). While large Iron Age enclosed settlements were seen as a result of warfare, any other changes in architecture were explained by invasion or social unrest. Despite the results of excavation of sites such as Hownam Rings, Roxburghshire, which showed a fairly consistent artefact assemblage throughout different phases of settlement construction, from unenclosed to enclosed forms, it was still interpreted in terms of immigration from Southern England, albeit restricted to the elite classes and the assumption that 'the underlying peasant culture remained unchanged' (Piggott 1948, 222).

Describing Iron Age settlement in Scotland as a result of the diffusion of people and techniques from England and the European Continent remained a popular approach for many years. Christopher Hawkes' well-known ABC division of the Iron Age in Southern Britain, based on a classification of cordoned pottery and La Tène brooches, was used as the basis for interpreting the archaeological evidence in Scotland (Hawkes and Dunning 1932, Hawkes 1961). It was assumed that there would be a time lag before any new techniques or styles were adopted into Scottish society, which therefore explained the lack of Iron Age B material in Scotland and an assumed persistence of Halstatt-influenced settlement. At the time it was generally thought that any technological developments and perceived advances in material culture would have originated from the civilised centre of the Mediterranean and spread to Southern

Britain from where it would reach the furthest periphery, Scotland (see Fig. 2.2). Reflecting a common evolutionary view of cultural progression of the time (Barclay 2001a), some scholars such as Piggott suggested many parts of Scotland were so peripheral that they rarely changed over millennia. Piggott even proposed that it was in the eighteenth-century Scottish Highlands 'where the Early Iron Age had perhaps its longest survival' (Piggott 1965, 229).



(Fig. 2.2: The diffusion of ideas and material culture were often depicted as arrows leading from England and the Continent to Scotland and not the other way around such as the Iron Age metalwork depicted here (Stevenson 1967, fig.2))

Piggott also thought that there were major problems with how the Iron Age in Scotland was studied. He felt, after the research of Anderson and Munro, that Scotland became too parochial and was out of touch with the advances achieved south of the border and quoted the 'secret language' of Scottish settlement such as 'broch, wag, weem and dun' as a sign of this parochialism (Piggott 1967, 2). Ironically in an attempt to place Scotland within a wider British scene, Piggott devised provincial divisions for Scotland based on Hawkes' model for Southern England (*ibid*), which was subsequently seized upon by other researchers to highlight regional differences (cf. Harding 1982). Although models of diffusion were still popular with many researchers describing the archaeology of Iron Age Scotland, there was increased research in England proposing that the changes in material culture during this period were indigenous and not the result of continental European immigration (Hodson 1964).

Hodson (1964) identified *British* 'type-fossils' in which architecture played an important role. Specifically he distinguished the British Iron Age roundhouse from the Continental long-houses (*ibid*). Others, such as Clark stated that invasion theories were over-utilised, a 'neurosis' and instead ideas of diffusion of economic goods to facilitate internal changes were presented (Clark 1966). All of these debates developed in an era of increased 'scientifically' compiled archaeological data, which questioned traditional ideas and methodologies.

2.3 The 'New' Iron Age: Classifications and Processualism

Some of the elements that would form the 'New' or 'Processual' theoretical movement, which started in the United States of America, began to have some impact on Iron Age archaeology in Britain the late 1960s and 1970s. Processual archaeology strove to present archaeology as a more scientific discipline by using scientific methods and creating empirical models. During this time radiocarbon dating became more reliable and widely applied, and it was increasingly possible to question the way *typical* Iron Age architecture could be interpreted. Former art-historical or technological-based schemes used to explain settlement change through gradual diffusion from a core out to the peripheries, were no longer viable.

A series of radiocarbon dates from nine different sites in Scotland, traditionally thought to be typical of the Pre-Roman Iron Age, were shown to be earlier than originally thought and therefore it was suggested that some architectural traditions were

introduced through earlier invasions (MacKie 1969, 1970). For instance, in the case of the timber-laced fort at Finavon, diffusionists found it difficult to find earlier dated parallels in southern England (Harding 1970, 235) and traditional invasion theories had to be modified. The Iron Age, now deeply associated with particular architectural forms, was pushed back chronologically and was no longer simply represented by an iron tradition, but by one that showed a continuity of the use of bronze; the Three Age *material culture* based system began to break down. Instead, it was now the changes in the 'types' of settlement that characterised the Iron Age. Yet, the beginning of this architectural shift was not particularly distinct from previous periods. For Scotland, MacKie suggested the initial invasions occurred in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, but that the indigenous 'Bronze Age' population still had considerable input (MacKie 1970, 69; MacKie 1969). MacKie's research relied on a small number of sites and therefore it was inevitable that further interpretations were proposed as fieldwork continued.

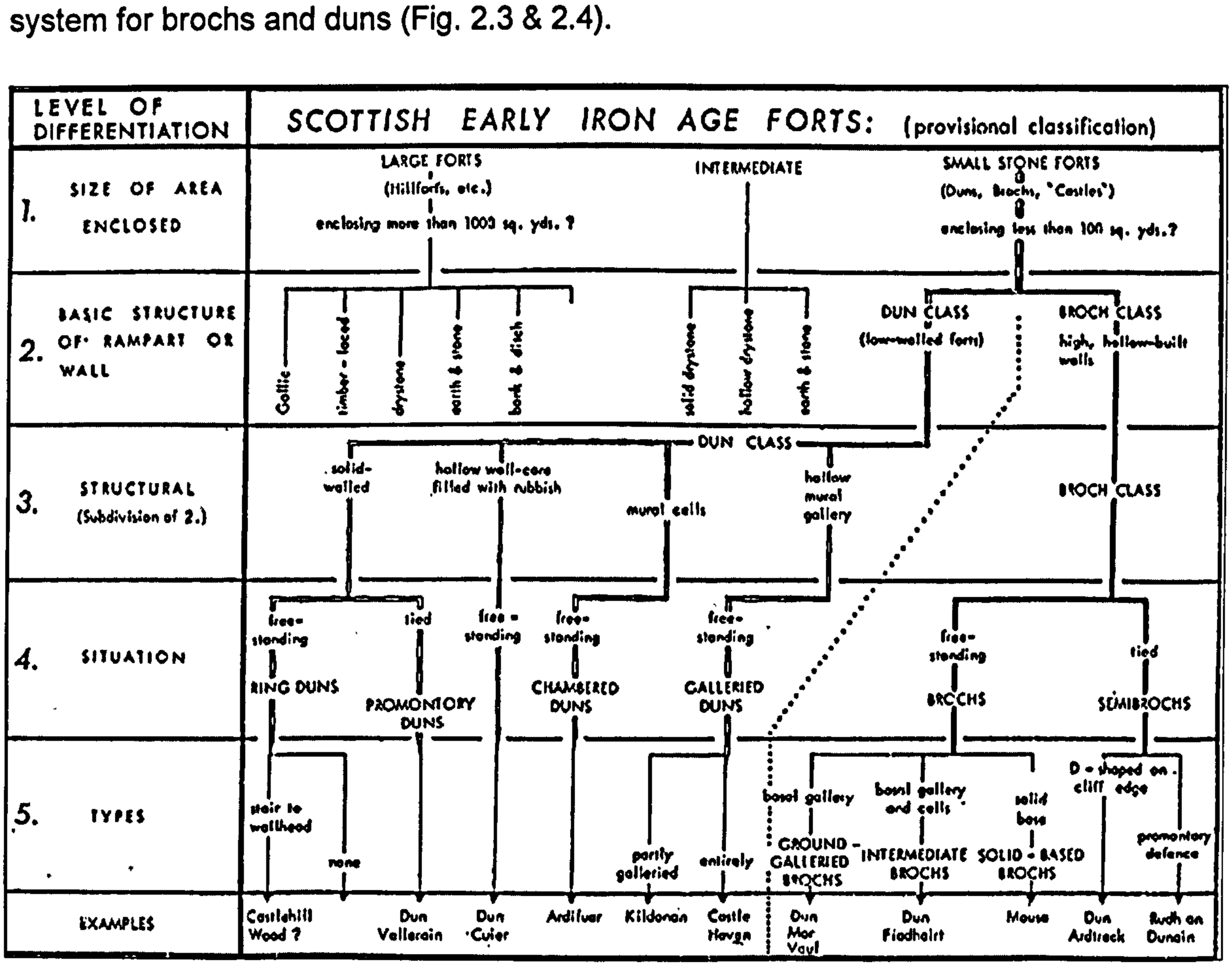
2.3.1 Classifications

Influenced by scholarly research, categories and sub-categories of settlement were created in order to describe the differences in the increasing number of archaeological sites being identified: unenclosed platform settlements, palisaded settlements, homesteads, enclosures, hillforts and defended settlements of varying sizes. Both the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey and RCAHMS were in a consent process of classifying and reclassifying monuments in order to create consistency in the growing archaeological database as a heritage management resource (Feachem 1956; RCAHMS 1956, 1967; Davidson *et al* 1999). Not only had the quantity of archaeological data increased significantly through excavation and field survey, but also through aerial survey programs such as those conducted by St Joseph and the Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography (CUCAP) and RCAHMS (1976 and onwards) and therefore there was a need to deal with this information. The classifications that were created combined traditional terminology with new additions and became entangled with academic constructed typologies, which were being developed at the same time.

Features grouped together were often interpreted as having the same function, symbolic meaning, and chronological origin and yet some classifications were derived more arbitrarily. 'Apparently the difference between a settlement and a homestead at the time of the publication of the Roxburghshire Inventory (RCAHMS 1956) in the 1950's was the number of tuppenny coins which could fit in the interior of the site plan

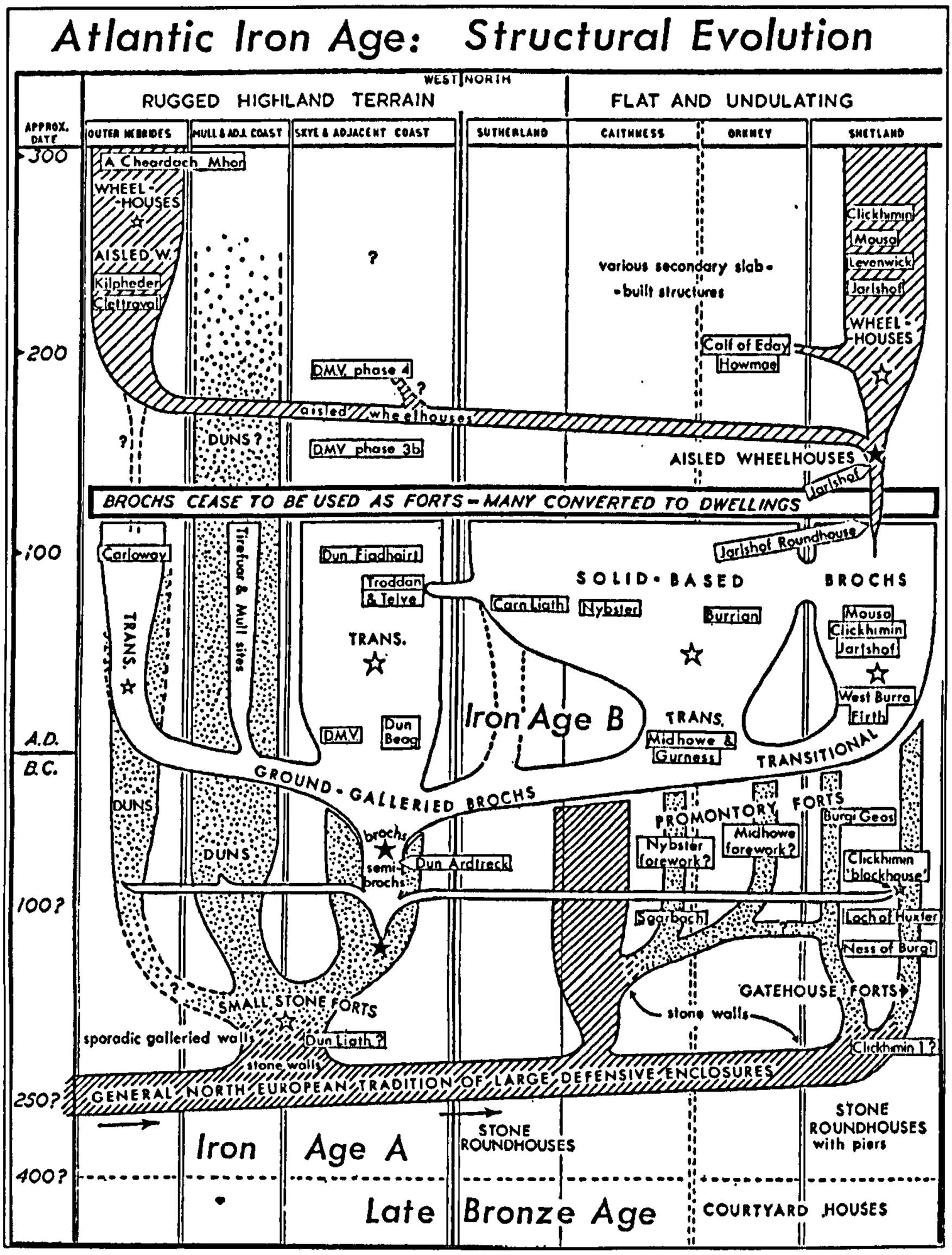
at 1:1250 scale' (Brophy 1999, 31). Distinctions created by the RCAHMS were used to guide other studies such as Ritchie's reappraisal of palisaded enclosures. The differentiation between homesteads, settlements and enclosures, in relation to palisaded enclosure, was based on the number of houses known from excavation or surface traces. The terminology of these arbitrary classifications are embedded with assumptions concerning the use and social organisation of settlement. Explicitly stating that cultural differences identified through material culture such as pottery would be ignored, Ritchie's survey of palisaded enclosures relied on comparisons of architectural features in Britain and on the Continent and advocated simplified sequences of settlement development (Ritchie 1970).

Discovering the origin and development of particular types of monuments was the impetus for MacKie's research on brochs and other stone-built Iron Age structures in Scotland during the 1960s and 1970s (1965, 1971). MacKie felt that the study of 'forts', including brochs, duns and other large features, was restricted by a lack of consensus in one classification system (MacKie 1965, 98). Based on detailed architectural observations, MacKie created an elaborate hierarchical classificatory system for brochs and duns (Fig. 2.3 & 2.4).



(Fig. 2.3: MacKie's classification of brochs and duns in Atlantic Scotland (MacKie 1970, fig.1))

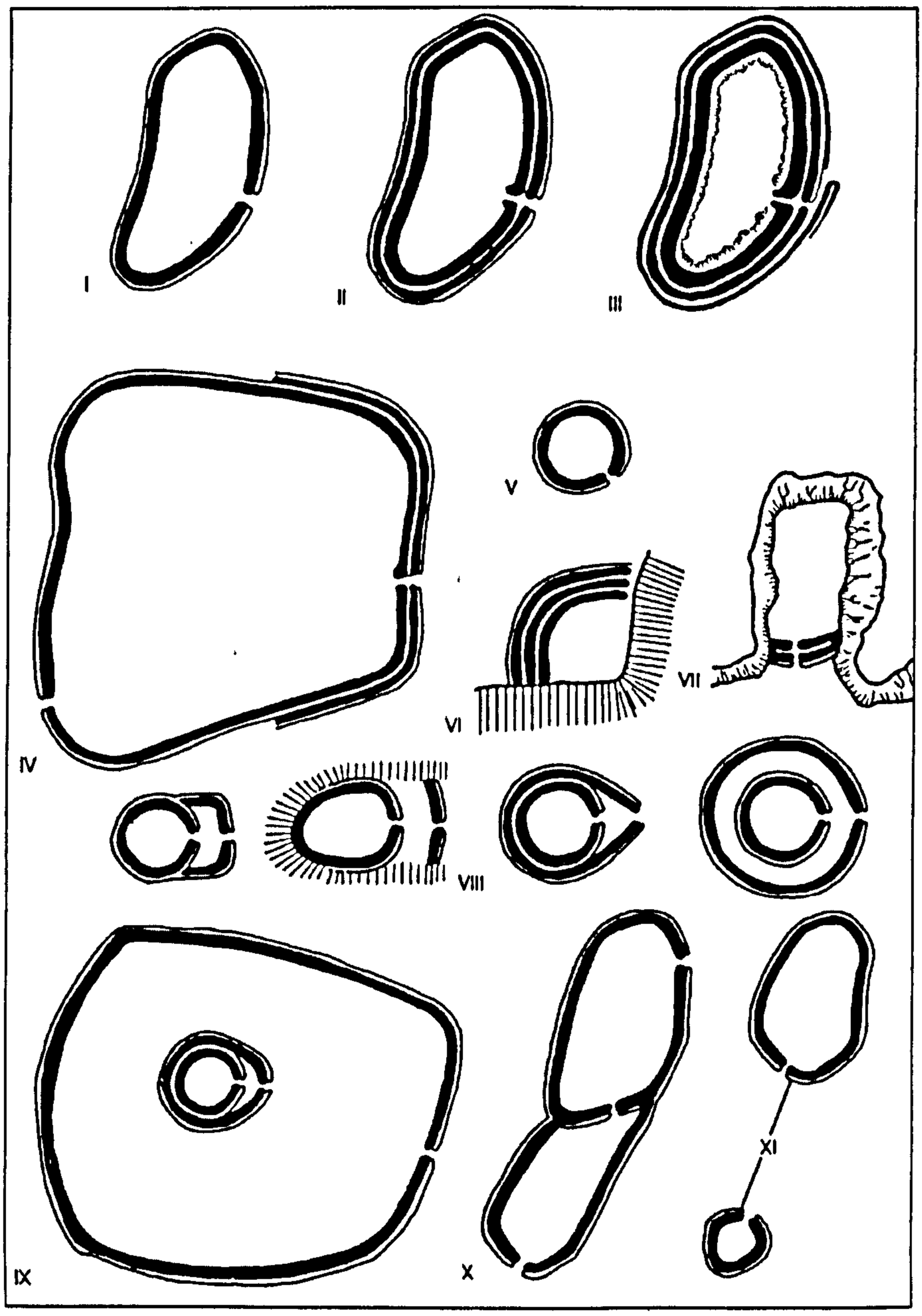
Baines notes that although MacKie stated that his research ignored previous theories and concentrated on the actual data, his definition of broch is remarkably similar to Anderson, nearly 100 years earlier (MacKie 1965, 94 & 100; Baines 2002, 7). Anderson's classification system formed the foundation for MacKie to explain the origin, spread and development of these structures throughout Atlantic Scotland, developing a complex scheme to describe the dynamic network of people and ideas that influenced settlement change. It is worth mentioning here that Harding criticised the attention paid to the detail of broch construction as this detracted from the wider settlement-system in Atlantic Scotland and that the distinction between roofed dun-houses and dun-enclosures further demonstrated variation in domestic and agricultural activities that MacKie did not take fully into account (Harding 1984a).



(Fig. 2.4: MacKie's system of the chronological origin and diffusion of brochs and duns in Atlantic Scotland (MacKie 1970, fig. 8))

Hillforts: A Case-study of Processual Methodologies of Classification

In the preface to *Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks In Britain and Ireland*, Dennis Harding (1976, vii) noted that "No other class of prehistoric monument has been regarded as so representative of its period as the hillfort has been for the British Iron Age; the history of hillfort studies has been virtually synonymous with the development of Iron Age studies as a whole". It was assumed that the main function of these features was for defence; "the central aim of the construction of these sites was to provide a fortified place that would be defensible against human attack" (Avery 1976, 2). In an attempt to account for the complexities in hillfort form and situation across Britain, typologies based on objective variables such as shape, construction and location were constructed (Avery 1976; Forde-Johnston 1976).



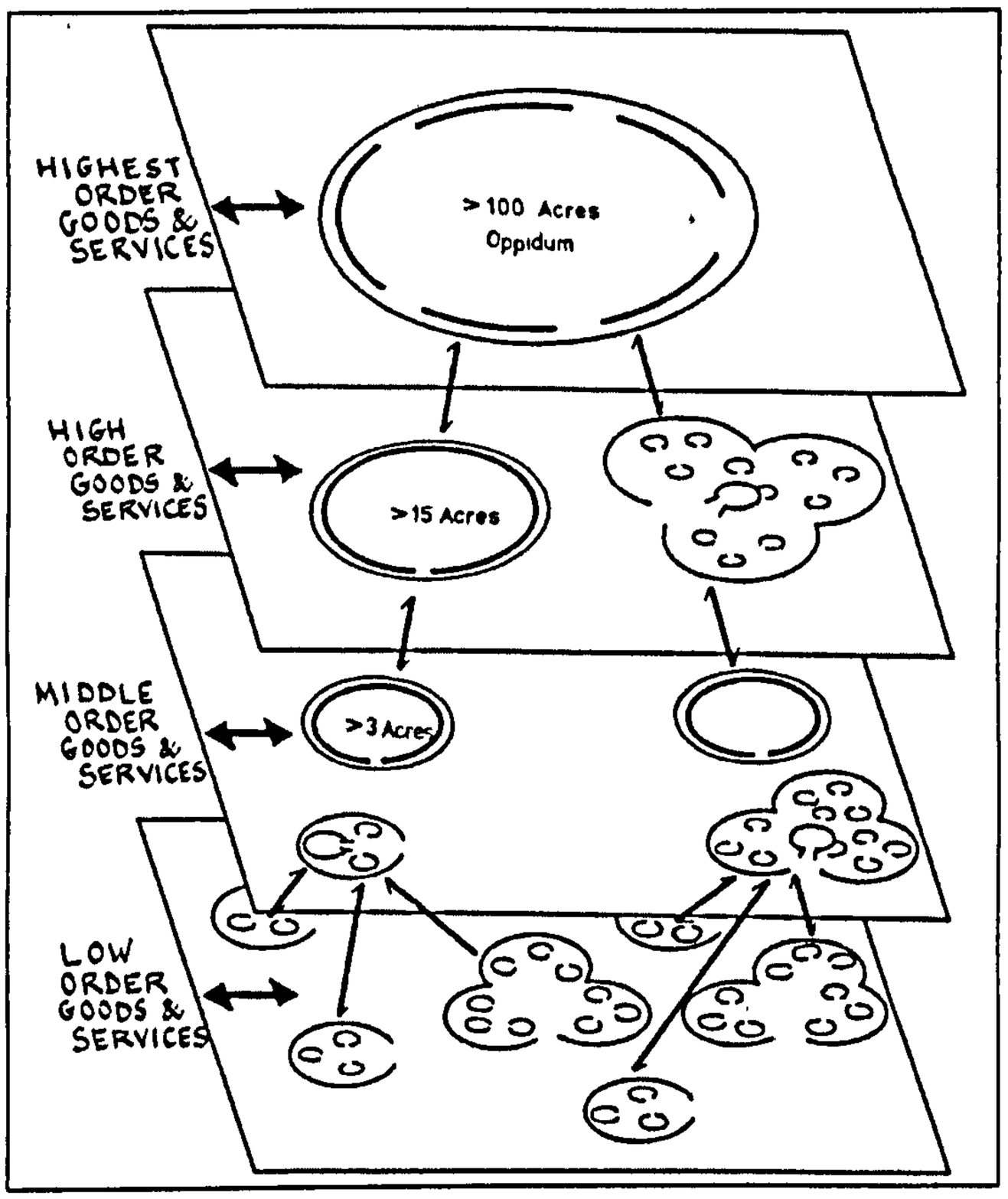
(Fig. 2.5: An idealised typology of hillforts (Forde-Johnston 1976))

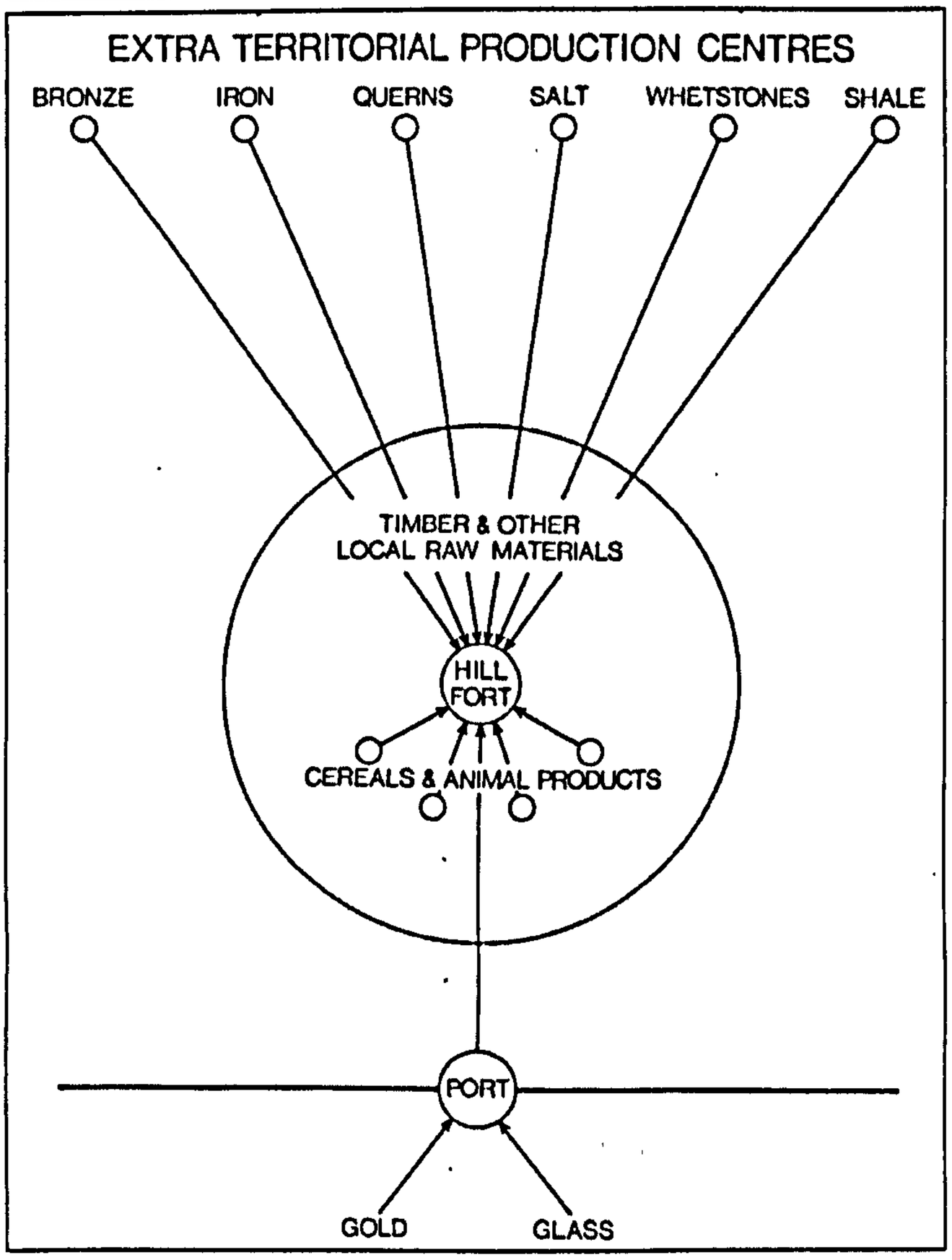
Forde-Johnston (1976) compiled a list of attributes based on size, situation, or arrangement of banks and ditches. From his analysis of the data he determined that for defence, some characteristics were not mutually exclusive, such as location and topography, and therefore would be dismissed in his further interpretations (*ibid*, 249). The end product was a series of decontextualised ground plans of fictionalised hillfort types that could be used to compare to the real archaeological date (see Fig. 2.5). Although contemporaries did not specifically appropriate Forde-Johnston's complex typology, similar approaches and categories to the ones he proposed were commonly adopted at this time (see Avery 1976). Forde-Johnston's method incorporated scientific ordering and rationale in order to distinguish greater divisions in classification, but the practical use of this classification was limited. Any further interpretations of hillforts at this time still relied of the underlying assumption that they were all elite settlement centres built for defensive purposes.

2.3.2 Models for Settlement Systems

During the 1960s and 1970s processual archaeology emphasised the importance of scientific approaches to the evaluation of universal patterns of behaviour, in relation to measurable external phenomenon (Binford 1962, 1965; Clarke 1968). With the development of scientific techniques in recording the environmental conditions of the past on archaeological sites, new theories developed concerning the impact of the organisation of settlement in Iron Age society.

D. L. Clarke's (1972a) '*A Provisional Model of an Iron Age Society and its Settlement System*' epitomised this approach. Clarke's research was an attempt to be more rigorous in archaeological methodology and theory. He analysed wetland sites in Glastonbury from a variety of angles, assessing the spatial, structural and artefactual aspect of these site at variety of scales, from the household to larger settlements. In order to develop his model he interpreted this research through ethnographic parallels, environmental determinants and how the archaeological evidence conformed to the classical and medieval literary sources of the Celts (*ibid*). The resultant model of Iron Age settlement in Britain was a hierarchical one, with centres of power controlling economic goods over territories of smaller settlements (Fig. 2.6). Clarke envisioned territories throughout Iron Age Britain each containing various levels of the settlement hierarchy within their system. In most cases he proposed that large hillforts to be at the pinnacle of this system.





(Fig. 2.6: Scientifically constructed hierarchical settlement models used to interpret the social systems of Iron Age settlement in Britain (Clarke 1972a, fig 21.12; Cunliffe 1974a, fig 20.3))

This new model appreciated the complex relationships presented by the data, but because of the limitations of his archaeological evidence Clarke was aware the model was simplistic and further work was needed to account for many unaccountable variables of social interaction. Nonetheless, his model and similar models of the time were used to explain the relationships between the increasing diversity of 'types' of Iron Age features that were recorded through excavation and survey throughout Britain (see Fig. 2.6) (Cunliffe 1971, 1974b). These models created a 'rational' and detailed relationship between Iron Age settlements, which in some levels reinforced and developed from traditional ideas that hillforts and large architectural structures such as brochs, were elite, high-status settlement, and even religious, centres for tribes. Although these models were well thought out and based on the archaeological evidence, they were constructed on the basis of selective assumptions of how social systems could manifest themselves in the archaeological record and if it had certain recordable and identifiable attributes. Therefore these models presented only one view of how settlements could have related to one another.

Other 'types' of settlement sites in Britain were investigated following similar processualist theories and methods. Pollen and archaeo-botanical analyses, newly applied to archaeology, were used to explain the abandonment of an intensely inhabited uplands zone during the transition between Bronze Age and the Iron Age (Burgess 1984, 1985). The proposed desertion of many hut-circles in the uplands was interpreted as a direct result of climate deterioration. The abandonment of the uplands was further used to explain an increase in enclosed settlement in the lowlands. Enclosures were assumed to be necessary for protection or a sign of the status of a group in a progressively more competitive environment. In essence the change in settlement and behaviour was suggested to be an adaptation to the external conditions. This interpretation of a competitive Iron Age fitted comfortably within the models that presented hillforts as the pinnacle of a hierarchy of settlement, from where limited resources were controlled and co-ordinated.

While some scholars emphasised general European trends for Iron Age settlement (Collis 1977, 1), there was an increased tendency by processualists to focus on regional studies in order to understand cultural systems and human settlement in relation to the environment (see Binford 1964). The abundance of material from recent excavations was used to highlight the distinct character of regions within the British Iron Age. The publication of Cunliffe's *Iron Age Communities* (1974a) and Harding's *The Iron Age in Lowland Britain* (1974) outlined the distribution of Iron Age material culture in Britain, Cunliffe from a cultural perspective while Harding maintained an invasion and

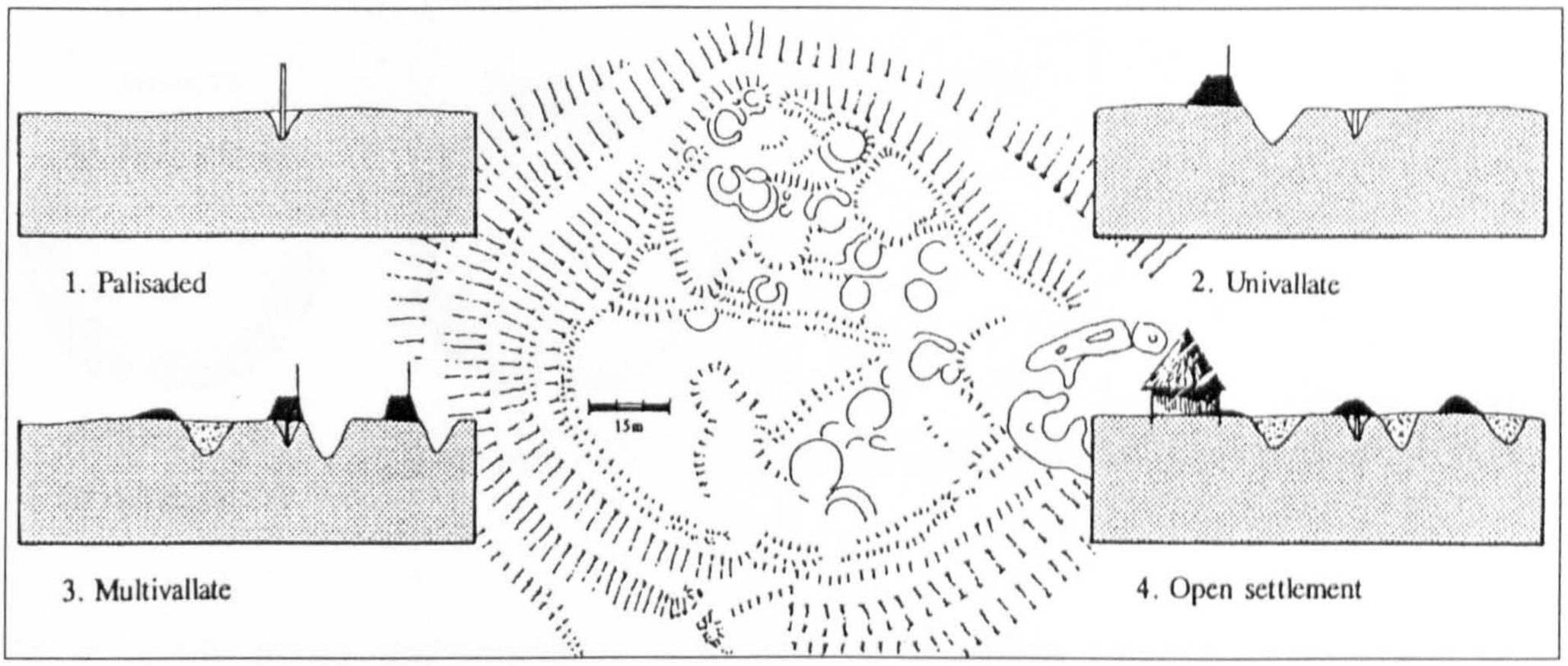
migration perspective. Cunliffe's research illustrated regional differences in settlement form; however, the evidence from Southern England heavily influenced the interpretation of this diversity in settlement. In the case of 'hillforts', the interpretations of all features classified as 'hillforts' were influenced by trends observed in Wessex. Like many of his contemporaries Cunliffe's interpretations relied on an assumed primacy in an overarching relationship between features identified within standardised classifications. Settlement across Britain, regardless of archaeological differences, was generally thought to reflect similar social organisations of hierarchically structured territories with hillforts, enclosed settlement or other large architectural features as the economic and political centres.

Despite the national focus on Southern England, the regionally defined program of research conducted by Jobey provided a rich corpus of excavated Iron Age settlement material from the borders of Scotland, Eastern Dumfriesshire and Northumbria (Jobey 1966, 1970a, 1970b, 1971, 1972-4, 1980). Such attention highlighted the differences in settlement in these areas. Jobey strove to identify patterns of distributions of settlement types in order to discuss chronological and cultural changes, but the types became more numerous and often overlapped. From his investigations Jobey realised that there was not a simple evolution from a ring-ditch house to a ring-groove house and admitted the complexities of the chronological development of house-types. Such studies highlighted the need to reclassify settlement types.

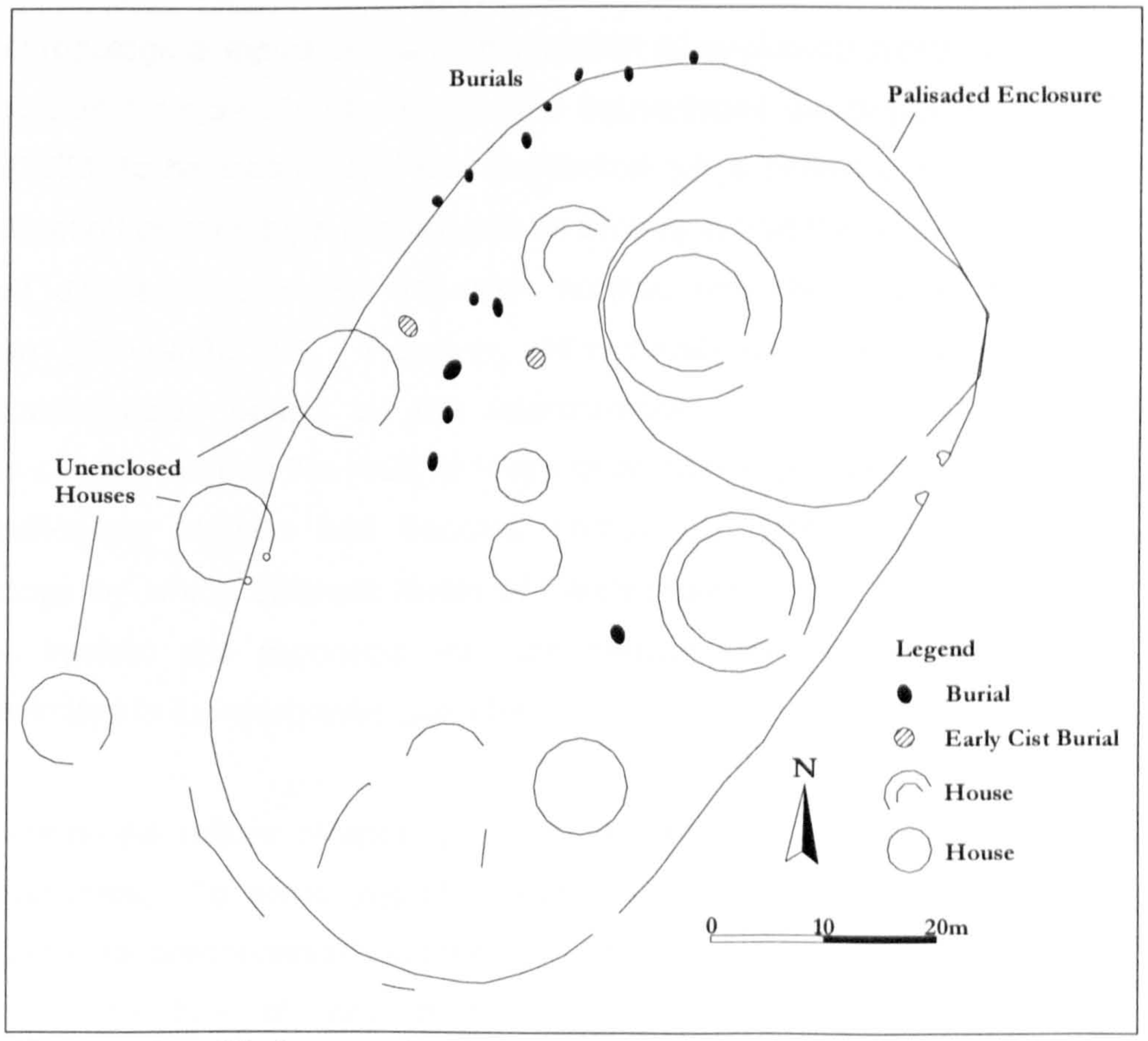
2.3.3 Re-classification

The results of further detailed excavations within different regions throughout Britain during the 1970s and 1980s began to contradict traditional and generalised models of settlement patterns. Since the 1950s a sequence of settlement from unenclosed to palisaded to enclosed and back to an unenclosed phase, modelled after the Hownam Rings excavation (Fig. 2.7) (Piggott 1948), was perceived as the standard model of settlement change in the southern Scottish Iron Age (see Hill 1982b; Armit 1999 for a detailed discussion). However, increased fieldwork in Scotland during the 1970s and 1980s proved this traditional sequence of settlement to be too simplistic. Excavations of the cropmark settlement sites of Dryburn Bridge and Broxmouth, East Lothian directly refuted the Hownam sequence (Fig. 2.8 & 2.9) (Hill 1982b & c; Triscott 1982; Dunwell forthcoming). At Dryburn Bridge a palisaded enclosure was followed by an unenclosed settlement phase and at Broxmouth phases of enclosure were punctuated by unenclosed phases (Hill 1982b & c; Triscott 1982; Dunwell forthcoming). It had

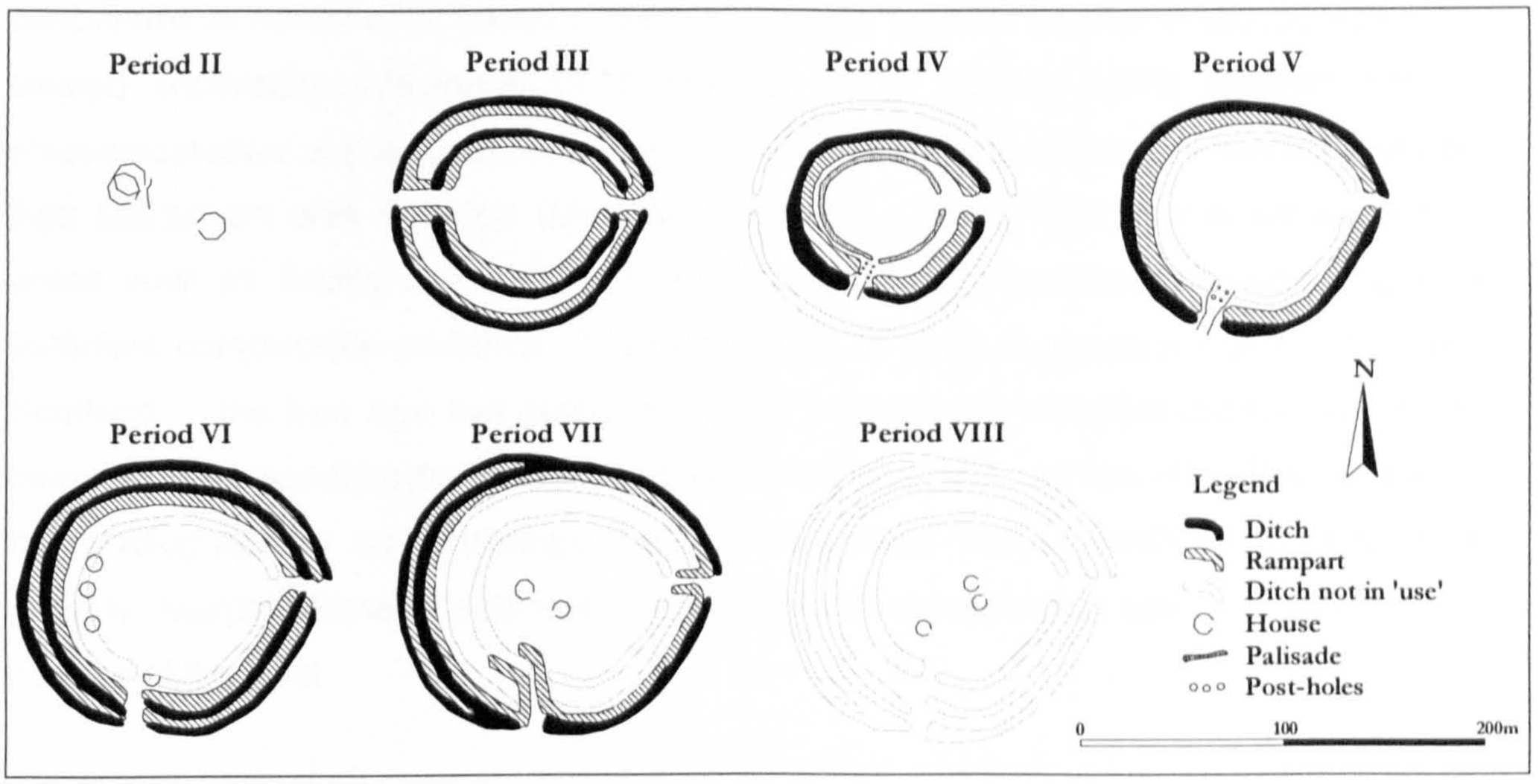
been assumed from the Hownam sequence that the increase in enclosure of settlement reflected a greater need for defences through the Iron Age (Piggott 1948). Yet, the excavations at Broxmouth and Dryburn Bridge highlighted that this evolutionary trend was not applicable to all settlements and therefore questioned the role of enclosures in Southern Scotland as purely for defence.



(Fig. 2.7: Hownam Rings sequence of settlement (Edwards & Ralston 2003))



(Fig. 2.8: Simplified composite plan of Dryburn Bridge (based on Triscott 1982))



(Fig. 2.9: Simplified composite plan of Broxmouth hillfort showing the Periods of occupation (based on Hill 1982c))

As a result, some archaeologists attempted to establish replacement models of settlement change by examining morphological difference in other types of settlement evidence. Hill (1982a, 7; 1982b) suggested that house morphology could be a more reliable chronological indicator than the variation of enclosure types (*ibid* 7). Hill had found the classification of Later Prehistoric house-types developed by the RCAHMS (1967 & 1978) to be inconsistent and impractical since different criteria was used for the construction of each type and instead he proposed that there was a chronologically significant difference between ring-ditch houses and the house type he termed 'Votidinian' (Hill 1982a, 27). However, Hill's classification was itself criticised for its own inconsistencies based on the interpretation of the data (Macinnes 1982). Macinnes considered that the multiple levels of archaeological interpretation involved in the classification process had become confusingly embedded and suggested a methodology by which different levels of interpretation could be differentiated. Yet, even the system she proposed was still derived from traditional typologies and therefore limited in its interpretive potential.

The 2-dimensional nature of aerial photographic evidence lent itself to morphological based typologies. To some, morphological classifications offered a more objective system because preconceived notions of function or date were eliminated from the process and therefore, at some level, it was believed that natural patterns would emerge (Shepherd 1979; Bewley 1984; Edis, Bewley & MacLeod 1989; Bewley 1994). Therefore, in practice morphological classifications were not compatible with traditional

descriptive or functionally based classifications and therefore aerial evidence was often treated separately (Macinnes 1983; Maxwell 1983; Bewley 1984; Harding 1984b). Reconsideration of the 'usefulness' of these classifications to the interpretation of Iron Age settlement was debated (Maxwell 1983, 45). There was limited excavation in areas such as Scotland in comparison to Wessex and therefore there was a lack of sufficient *comparable* evidence. Welfare (1980, 4) even suggested that for Southern Scotland '...the Iron Age has tacitly tended to become a typological dustbin, full of the items that the specialists in other periods have discarded...all too often the outline on the photograph is so undistinguished as to almost defy classification'. Therefore general interpretations of settlement, regardless of classification relied on generalised notions of the past.

2.4 Post-processualism and Interpretive Archaeology

2.4.1 Archaeological Trends

As a critique of processualism, post-processual theory, popularised in the 1980s, rejected the search for universal laws of human behaviour and the objective scientific manner by which it was analysed (cf. Hodder 1986; Shanks & Tilley 1987; Tilley 1990; Shanks & Hodder 1998). Post-processualists argued that objectively constructed models are not reflections of the past, and thus proposed that archaeological interpretation is always subjective. Proponents of this perspective suggested that it was critical to evaluate the role of archaeologists in relation to the past and espouse a reflexive attitude to the study of archaeology (Shanks & Hodder 1998; Hodder 1999, 2000). During this time concepts such as identity and agency, developed in the disciplines of anthropology and philosophy (cf., Bourdieu 1977, Giddens 1984, Gell 1998), were also explored more freely in archaeological studies, opening up further avenues of interpretation. Hill's (1989, 1993) criticism of Iron Age studies embodied the values of this 'new' perspective. He challenged the traditional view of the Iron Age, in contrast to other prehistoric periods, '...as safe, 'Celtic', unproblematic and 'familiar' ' (*ibid* 16). Hill highlighted the constant interpretative process of archaeology and the need to question our assumptions. Appropriated by some archaeologists studying the Iron Age throughout the 1980s to the present day, post-processualist views have been used variably to explore the dynamic and complex relationship between people and material culture (cf. Hingley 1990; Hill 1993, 1995b; Parker Pearson 1994; Giles 2000; Chadwick 2004).

2.4.2 Symbols of Identity: Perspectives of Hillforts and Enclosures

Dissatisfaction with economy-driven explanations of the Iron Age and the uncritical separation of economic matters from social and religious concerns motivated different approaches to the Iron Age settlement record in the 1980s (Barrett 1989). New research into hillforts questioned the traditional view of these sites as central places within hierarchically structured societies (Bowden & McOmish 1987, 1989; Hill 1995a, 1995b). Re-evaluating artefactual deposits and internal features within hillforts in Southern Britain Hill (1993, 1995a) suggested that in many cases hillforts were in fact similar to farmsteads in the lowlands and were not used exclusively by an elite group. The term 'hillfort' misleadingly implied a primary defensive function for these sites and therefore alternative terms such as 'not-farmsteads' and 'hill-top enclosure' were offered (Darvill 1987; Hill 1995a, 50; Cunliffe 2005, 50). Although these new terms were not generally adopted, the idea that hillforts could be discussed in equally alongside other types of settlements was accepted. The ditches and banks of hillforts were interpreted along with other enclosures as expressions of various social relationships (Hingley 1984, 1990a; Bowden & McOmish 1987, 1989; Collis 1996).

Discussions now focused on the contrast between the meaning of 'enclosure' as a general concept and unenclosed forms of settlements. For instance, in a study of the Upper Thames Valley Hingley (1984, 24) proposed that enclosed settlements signified an isolated community with a greater focus on the individual, while the unenclosed settlements were more communal. The dichotomy between enclosed and unenclosed settlements was, and often still is, used to define distinct social systems of Iron Age settlement (Ferrell 1997; Thomas 1997). In many cases, it was uncritically assumed that enclosed settlements symbolise isolation and exclusion from the rest of the landscape. Thomas (1997, 211) proposed that the increase in acts of enclosure was a result of agricultural intensification and the '...need to prevent valuable land from passing outside the groups by out-marriage and inheritance'. Furthermore, he suggested the enclosures, and deposits within them, solidified the identity of those inside from those outside the group. However, the evidence did not disregard the potential role that pastoralism played in many areas during the Iron Age and therefore it is possible to consider that at least some communities were not bound to specific places year round. A key aspect of Hingley's study, which has often been overlooked, is the critical role of spatial relationships. He notes that a general pattern of isolated social relationships cannot be applied to enclosed settlements, which are more closely spaced than unenclosed features (Hingley 1984). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the changing attitudes to types of Iron Age settlement highlighted the importance of an

awareness of the varying meaning of 'enclosure' and that the landscape relationships of enclosed and unenclosed forms may not be so different from one another.

Although on one level enclosures may highlight the exclusion of groups, studies focussing on the significance of the construction ditches have also demonstrated that they were mechanisms for social inclusion (see Hingley 1990a, 1992; Bowden & McOmish 1987, 1989; Chadwick 1999; Hamilton & Manley 2001). Chadwick (1999) stated that there was a general lack of understanding of the complexities of the creation, use, maintenance and abandonment of ditches. Ditches themselves were significant. The large ramparts at Maiden Castle, created over three centuries, were shown to be as significant as the space they defined (see Sharples 1991). Similarly, it could be suggested that the lack of occupation debris within the interior of the large hillfort at Uffington Castle illustrated that the main focus for activity was the creation of the ditches rather than the interior (Miles *et al.* 2003). Furthermore, evidence for the repeated re-cuts of ditches and structured deposits within ditches were interpreted as emphasising the social importance of these elements within the overall settlement (Chadwick 1999, Bowden & McOmish 1987, Hill 1993). Depending on the study, this social significance was either one of inclusion or exclusion, or both.

2.4.3 The House

Increasingly, Iron Age settlement studies have focussed on the house, a common factor in both enclosed and unenclosed settlements. Although roundhouses were also known to date to the Later Bronze Age (Barrett *et al* 1991, Barrett 1994b), they became synonymous with the 'Iron Age', or at least, or the increasingly popular 'Later Prehistoric' period which blended the Later Bronze Age and the Iron Age together (Reid 1989; Hingley 1990b, 1992, 1995; Parker Pearson & Richards 1994; Parker Pearson 1996; Fitzpatrick 1997; Oswald 1997; Giles & Parker Pearson 1999, 218; Pope 2003).

The 'house', its architecture and material culture, was seen as a vehicle to explore ethnographic and social anthropological models popular at this time (i.e. Bourdieu 1973). Parker Pearson conducted one of the most influential studies in this vein. Drawing on research from a variety of British Iron Age studies, particularly on house arrangements in Wessex (Fitzpatrick 1997) and the orientation of house entrances (Oswald 1997), Parker Pearson formulated a theory relating a cyclical arrangement of Iron Age roundhouses to natural and cosmological cycles (Parker Pearson 1996, 1999;

Giles & Parker Pearson 1999; Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999). Parker Pearson proposed that both daily activities and representations of life cycles were carried out within the house that conformed to both the diurnal and annual movements of the sun (Parker Pearson 1996, 1999). Constructing cosmologies has, however, been heavily criticised for making invalidated generalisations and representing abstract rules that do not relate the consequences of the spatial or temporal complexities of the lived world (Barrett 1994b, 90; Barrett 1997, 51; Pope 2003). Other studies of Iron Age house arrangement uncritically adopted out-dated anthropological concepts, such as the inherent division of labour by gender and other binary oppositions of human behaviour, such as female/male, light/dark, which simply reinforced out-dated assumptions (Hingley 1990b, Parker Pearson & Richards 1994). Despite criticisms (see Brück & Goodman 1999a) contrary to the traditional functional approaches to interpreting domestic features, studies like Parker Pearson's signalled new initiatives in the exploration of some of the more ephemeral social aspects of Iron Age activities and local patterns of house use.

2.4.4 Ritual and Domestic Settlement

Another contribution of Parker Pearson's study of roundhouses was to highlight the potential of ritual within the domestic arena. Ritual could be encountered in various contexts of life and was not exclusively the prerogative of large monuments separated from the domestic zone. But this potential has yet to be fully explored. Concepts of the identification of *domesticity* versus *ritual* are still deeply associated with distinct types of archaeological features. Therefore the Iron Age continues to be described as a period of increased 'domestic' architecture and a decrease in ceremonial 'ritual' monuments (Armit 1997, 2005; Hingley 1998). Hingley assumed that all Iron Age structures, both enclosed and unenclosed, in the Upper Thames Valley could be defined by domestic activities, distinguishing enclosed settlements from open settlements as "...those in which the area of *domestic occupation* [my emphasis] lies within the boundaries of a physical earthwork; this enclosure may be either defensive or non-defensive in nature" (Hingley 1984, 23). 'Ritual', or 'ritualization' (Bradley 2003), in the Iron Age remained in the domain of monumental features. Signs of domesticity, such as central 'hearths' are uncritically equated with the identification of 'houses' and therefore traditional familiar attitudes of the Iron Age criticised by Hill (1989) persist (see Brück 1999a, 1999b for a re-appraisal of Bronze Age 'domestic' evidence and Bradley 2003 & 2005 for wider discussions).

2.4.5 Landscapes and Iron Age Settlement: Place and Time

Although there had been consideration of sites within their economic and physical landscape in earlier investigations, in more recent years landscape has crucially been redefined as a social and cultural resource that is integrated with people's experiences and perceptions (cf. Bender 1993; Ingold 1993; Tilley 1994; Hirsch & O'Hanlon 1995; Feld & Basso 1996; Barker & Darvill 1997; Ashmore & Knapp 1999; Bender & Weiner 2001). Landscape is no longer thought of as a blank canvas on which settlement is placed or simply an environment of resources to exploit. In Chapter 3, I will analyse in more detail the relationship of place with the concept of settlement. Yet, it is important to point out here several studies which have shown that it is possible to redefine Iron Age settlement as a dynamic social function of creating places, which relates deeply to the experience and perception of the whole landscape. In Hamilton and Manley's (2001) analysis of the hillforts in SE England they demonstrated the multifaceted meanings and life-histories of hillforts. The variable spatial and visual relationships between each hillfort and other sites accounted for their position in the wider social network of settlement (*ibid*).

Through their study of the different 'hillforts' along the Ridgeway in Berkshire, Gosden and Lock (forthcoming) proved that features with similar morphological components can relate differently to the surrounding landscape and do not always reflect the same function or meaning. Their approach has allowed them to appreciate the complexities of social interaction and therefore they could propose various interpretations of hillfort use (Lock & Gosden 1997, 1998; Gosden & Lock forthcoming). An important aspect of such perspectives has been to show that even though each structure is part of a landscape with particular physical restraints, its significance and meaning and therefore setting, as places within the landscape is flexible and dynamic over time and space.

Gosden and Lock (forthcoming) suggested that there were intentional Iron Age aesthetics, which were based on 'links with other places and other times' and these different links affected the way features were experienced and perceived in the landscape. The various sensory experiences of White Horse Hill through the Iron Age were important mechanisms through which relationships to 'place' were both renewed and transformed (*ibid*). Similarly, in a re-evaluation of activities in the uplands Young argued (*contra* Burgess 1984, 1985) that many areas were still settled during the Iron Age, and changes in architectural form from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age attest to a transformation of a 'sense of place' rather than environmental pressures (Young 2000, 77). Furthermore, the traditional perception of settlement permanence and use has

been questioned (Cowley 2003, Gosden & Lock forthcoming). It was thought that the 'efficiency model', where it is assumed that the amount of effort in a building's construction, like that of a broch or large enclosure, relates to its longevity, is adopted regardless of archaeological evidence (Cowley 2003). Each site may have a variety of meaning and relationships that change over time.

Research into the complexity of landscapes through time is also deeply embedded with notions of memory and how meaning can be translated (see volume Van Dyke & Alcock 2003). The Iron Age therefore cannot simply be isolated as a separate period for analytical study. Landscapes are influenced by what has gone before. For example, Hingley examined the incorporation of Neolithic mortuary features within Iron Age broch settlements in Orkney and illustrated a conscious interaction with the past (1996, 1999). He suggested that by appropriating a place of the dead within the places for the living, people were directly referencing the 'ancestors' and were intentionally attempting to increase their social status or legitimate their power (Hingley 1999). Similarly, Gosden and Lock demonstrated that an awareness of symbolic potency of geographical location and exploitation of 'past' features, whether 'dormant' for a long period or not, was active in the Berkshire Downs (Gosden & Lock 1998). This process may have been true in many other areas during the Iron Age. The presence of earlier prehistoric monuments has been suggested to affect both genealogical and mythological histories of the Iron Age (*ibid* Barrett 1999a; Gerritsen 2003). Direct evidence of re-use of earlier features may not be common in the archaeological record (Ballin Smith 1994; Hingley 1999); however, it is important to stress that past histories and mythologies may also have been referenced through narratives and more ephemeral forms (Barrett 1999a). There was likely a constant re-evaluation of older features in relation to the construction and use of settlements and places in the Iron Age, perhaps resulting in situations, such as found at Broxmouth, where enclosure ditches were left to silt up but were re-cut in subsequent phases (Hill 1982c). It should not be surprising therefore that there are a variety of ways enclosed and unenclosed features were used throughout the landscape.

2.4.6 Recent Re-classifications: Brochs

From a variety of theoretical perspectives, both processual and post-processual, new classification systems of Iron Age settlement have been recently re-defined and presented (cf. Armit 1990a, 1991; Gilmour 2000; Henderson 2000). Influenced by the results of a series of excavations in Atlantic Scotland, Barrett (1981) challenged the

static interpretation of brochs and encouraged the consideration of the active nature of material culture in order to produce new perspectives of these sites. The application of new approaches coupled with sustained archaeological investigations in Atlantic Scotland further fuelled debates on the definition, chronology and social complexity of the settlement record. With a desire to abandon the straightjacket of the detailed typology of 'brochs' proposed by MacKie, Armit proposed a new classification that grouped together a range of types of sites into 'Atlantic roundhouses' (Armit 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1992). On one level, the terminological basis of this classification, like Hingley's 'substantial roundhouse' to describe timber structures (Hingley 1990b, 1995), was rooted in a unified notion of domesticity in Iron Age settlement. In the Western Isles, Atlantic roundhouses were thought to represent the standard domestic unit of inhabitants of varying social rank (Armit 1992). Yet, Sharples and Parker Pearson (1997, 225) suggested that Armit's typology did not offer new avenues for interpretation. They proposed from their excavations in the Western Isles that there *was* a distinct difference between brochs and other architectural traditions. Brochs were at the peak of a hierarchical system, illustrated by the accumulation of socially significant material culture, and the inhabitants of wheelhouses were base clients (Parker Pearson *et al.* 1996). However, in turn, this theory had been criticised for its lack of supporting data (Gilmour & Cook 1997). Gilmour & Cook (*ibid*) suggest that such generalisations ignored the complicated patterns of material culture deposition and architectural traditions observable throughout Atlantic Scotland. Criticisms of standardised classification, whether too specific or too general, can be endless.

It is clear whether called 'broch' or 'Atlantic roundhouse' specific examples of these similar stone-built constructions can be situated in chronologically and politically divergent contexts. Foster's analyses of the spatial organisation and syntax of brochs revealed differences between those in Orkney and those in the Western Isles and perhaps reflect distinct social relationships in those respective areas (Foster 1989a, 1989b). Similarly, Armit has demonstrated that even within the Western Isles there can be different arrangements of 'Atlantic roundhouses' with the landscape representing variable political organisations (Armit 2002). Baines (2002) argues that an important aspect of Armit's redefinition of brochs is the emphasis on the architectural tradition rather than 'broch' as a type (Armit 1990a, 438; Baines 2002, 8). He further states that typology only accounts for some of the shared aspects of archaeological features and obscures the importance of the impact of the landscape setting of each site (Baines 2002, 14 & 15). Standardised classifications influence how archaeological evidence is studied and inevitably how it is interpreted. These ideas were similar to conclusions

reached by Gosden & Lock (forthcoming) in their exploration of hillforts. Discussing the reconsideration of the Hownam sequence, Armit proposed, 'crucially there can be no single correct interpretation of the meaning and function of hillforts or enclosures. Rather they should perhaps be seen as elements of a vocabulary that could be used to express a variety of ideological statements' (Armit 1999, 73-74). Despite these examples, demonstrating the interpretive limitations of traditional classifications, in most cases these systems persist or attempts are made to create new standardised systems, but which still have the same inherent inflexibility.

2.4.7 British Settlement: European Trends

In recent years there has been a backlash against the interpretative dominance of specific geographical areas such as Wessex, South Central England (see volumes Gwilt & Haselgrove 1997; Bevan 1999). There was always an awareness of different regional patterns in Britain, and many of these regions, such as the 'Atlantic region' suggested by Piggott (1966) have continued. On the one hand, specific research has further emphasised regional based differences. But on the other hand more general geographic zones of interaction have been proposed, demonstrating much larger areas of contact between specific places. For instance the whole Atlantic facing coast of Britain has been suggested to relate to Europe through different systems beyond just eastern Britain (Haselgrove 2001; Harding 2005).

Recently established regional patterns have generally rejected the theory that differences derive from external factors and in particular the idea of 'Celtic' invasions has been discarded. In the 1990s the traditional theory of a unified Pan-European 'Celtic' identity was deconstructed and reconsidered as a 'myth' created in the sixteenth century, but which continued in modern history (Chapman 1992; Collis 1997; James 1998, 1999). Debate ensued as some scholars retorted that the denial of a fairly uniform Celtic culture, with minor variations, was an English nationalistic perspective (Megaw & Megaw 1996, 1998). The ubiquitous use of prominent enclosures, the construction of linear boundaries and earthworks and the difference between circular houses of Britain compared to rectangular houses of the Continent, were all proposed to be evidence for a divergence in the social organisation of Britain in relation to Continental Europe (Hodson 1964) and, although less explicitly stated, are still key distinctions of settlement used in current archaeological literature. Within Britain as a result of increased excavation and fieldwork, and to some extent the publication of the agenda for action, which highlighted areas in need of research

(Haselgrove *et al.* 2001), there was a renewed appreciation of the variability of the evidence of each region. Fewer grand narratives of the British Iron Age or European Iron Age were produced, instead suggesting internal innovation and highlighting local settlement patterns and social organisation. However, Haselgrove (2001, 61) has insisted that regional differences have been emphasised too much and they need not indicate differences in social organisation. He proposed that general patterns observed in Britain relate to similar instances in Europe, suggesting that a trend of introspective and regionalised evidence from the Middle and Later Iron Ages of Britain reflected a wider European phenomenon (*ibid*).

There is no doubt that there was important inter-regional trade and contact throughout Britain, but the impetus and direction of these contacts can no longer be depicted as one-way arrows eminating from the Continent through Southern England and dispersing to the rest of the Britain, eventually reaching Scotland. Rather than 'Celtic' invasions, a combination of emulation, small-scale movement of peoples and ideas to and from Britain as well as internal processes are now preferred in the discussion of changes in settlement patterns. Identity involves complex processes and there is increased appreciation of the difference between deciphering people's own perspectives and the perspectives of others. Even the 'Romanisation' of the Later Iron Age and its impact on settlement is no longer considered a straightforward one-way process (see papers in Mattingly 1997; Hunter 2001; James & Millett 2001).

Differences in settlement need to be considered at various scales to elucidate the complexities that inform them. However, there is still an interpretive tension between small- and large- scale comparisons. General geographic schemes isolate patterns based on traditional classifications of settlement types and intentionally mask other differences based on context. Therefore the resulting interpretations of social relationships and organisation remain vague. Regional studies can similarly mask similarities between different types and ignore wider patterns.

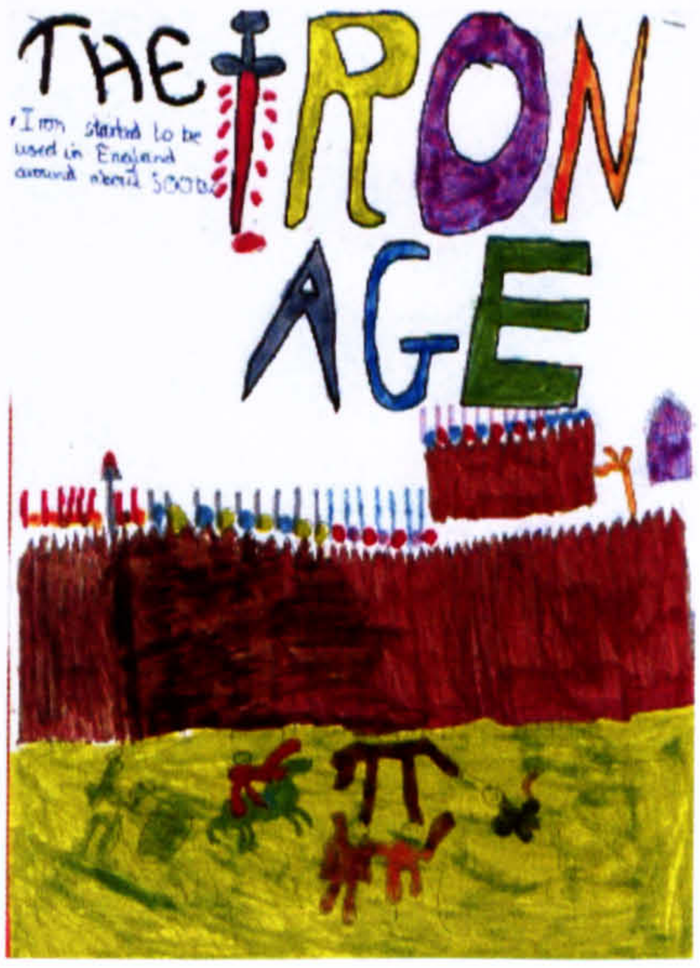
2.5 Conclusions

This chapter has highlighted the rich history of Iron Age settlement studies and some important interpretive trends. The division of these trends into general chronologically related categories was specifically an organisational method. Archaeological study of the Iron Age has always combined various elements of these different perspectives (i.e. culture-historical, processual and post-processual). An examination of a selection

of recent studies in Iron Age research emphasises that these diverse approaches are still appropriated in varying ways, some are based on more traditional models and the evaluation of morphological characteristics, while others combine post-processual and landscape perspectives (Baines 2000, 2002; Giles 2000; Gilmour 2000; Henderson 2000; Pope 2003). Currently there are a variety of agendas that influence the way settlement in the Iron Age is interpreted, but these are rooted in and deeply influenced by the history of archaeological discourse (see Baines 2002).

The language, observations and standardisations of classification have all contributed to the way Iron Age settlement has been interpreted. Traditional typologies rely on the assumption that if they look the same they can be interpreted in the same way. Current trends in theory have shown the potential of the re-interpretation of Iron Age settlement from a variety of perspectives; yet, somehow we are still hindered by the process of classification. The fluctuations of classification, the specific words and the variety of descriptions applied to each class, have been stressed. There is not one type of site that has remained unchanged through time, as its meaning is re-interpreted by different researchers. In fact, it is the constant re-evaluation of the way settlement has been described that has allowed the exploration of diverse patterns and relationships. Therefore classification -as a tool to think- has been important in to the development of Iron Age settlement studies. Interpretative approaches to archaeology have tended to shift away from just reinforcing traditional ideas of meaning, towards an exploration of the multiple relationships of archaeological features and in essence embrace the complexities of the past. There is still a need to explore the less 'familiar' aspect of Iron Age settlement and to continue removing ourselves from the confines of standardised typologies.

Popular images of Iron Age settlement defined by steep hierarchies of tribal social relationships with 'Celtic' warrior elites at the top no longer sufficiently reflect the complexities in the archaeological record. Nonetheless, some of the same basic assumptions of 'domesticity' and its relationship to Iron Age 'settlement', which underpinned earlier studies, still affect how we interpret the archaeological evidence today (Hill 1989, 1993). These assumptions continue to isolate the study of Iron Age archaeology from other time periods. Through the continual use of 'settlement' to characterise the Iron Age



both processual and post-processual approaches maintain certain assumptions through a shared discourse. The concept of 'settlement' is taken for granted in Iron Age studies and needs to be critically analysed for a new approach to later prehistory to take place. In the following chapters possible alternatives to the interpretations of settlement are explored and the foundations of the methodology for this thesis is laid out.

Part 2

Theoretical Approaches to Settlement and Interpretation

Chapter 3: Re-thinking Settlement

3.1 Settlement in Archaeology

3.1.1 Introduction

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the interpretation of Iron Age life and society relies greatly on the identification and analysis of *settlement*; Ralston (1996, 146) states '*Settlement* [my emphasis] data undoubtedly remain the largest of archaeological evidence available to the student of the Scottish Iron Age'. The interpretation of this data, however, has been criticised for relying on familiarised ideas of the Iron Age (Hill 1989, 1993). Furthermore, restrictive classification schemes and general assumptions concerning settlement have impinged upon the identification and interpretation of the archaeological evidence. This chapter will critically re-examine the meaning of settlement and the archaeological approaches to the treatment of settlement data. Past and current theoretical perspectives are evaluated for their usefulness in dealing with the Iron Age settlement evidence.

This chapter is divided into four parts. In the first part, the archaeological definitions of settlement are discussed. Previous approaches to settlement and its components, such as houses, are critically reconsidered and the problems based on the underlying assumptions of the meaning of settlement are highlighted. The tension between the use of the term settlement and contemporary archaeological perspectives is also outlined. In the second part of this chapter, the interpretation of settlement in relation to current theoretical perspectives is discussed. In many cases, ethnographic and landscape studies have been drawn on to interpret the settlement data, but rarely are these studies used to question the classification of the archaeological evidence as settlement in the first place. In the third part of this chapter, alternatives to interpreting settlement in archaeology are explored. It is proposed that viewing settlement as an active practice, and not simply as a disconnected material product, can provide opportunities for more flexible interpretations of the archaeological material. Defining archaeological features, whether as 'domestic' or 'settlement' or 'place', is a crucial part of the interpretive process and relies on what questions are asked of the evidence. In the final part, the different threads of this chapter are brought together to propose a reflexive method of re-thinking settlement in the Iron Age, dealing with the complexity of the archaeological evidence.

3.1.2 Defining Settlement

In *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology* settlement is defined as:

> 'An area of habitation comprising dwellings and associated private and communal facilities, perhaps surrounded by associated closes, fields, paddocks, approach ways, and other features, which together constitute a living space for the inhabitants of the settlement' (Darvill 2002).

This definition highlights the main focus of the archaeologist, the physical and tangible components, illustrating that settlement is a composite of many individual elements and not just houses. Furthermore, settlement, by this definition is not limited in shape or size, but could be composed of a variety of features in any arrangement. Similarly, in geography settlement is defined as '...any form of human habitation from a single house to the largest city' (Mayhew 2004). What appears to differentiate settlement from other archaeological features is the concept of habitation. It is often assumed that utilitarian activities such as eating, sleeping and all the actions of 'everyday' existence associated with habitation are ordinary activities and can be identified separately from the extraordinary. These assumptions are rarely stated, but nonetheless affect how the archaeological evidence is interpreted (see Brück & Goodman 1999a; Brück 1999a; Bradley 2003, 2005) and this is particularly true for the Iron Age.

This vague definition means that terms such as 'domestic', 'house' and 'household' are often used interchangeably with settlement and therefore diverse concepts become conflated. Presumed to be the focus of domesticity, the most basic element of settlement is the house or dwelling, or places where there are signs of 'domestic' activities. The meaning and archaeological identification of settlement often relies on the identification of a house, which, as will be discussed, is not straightforward and is often enmeshed with judgements, expectations and assumptions. The spatial arrangements of houses and their relationship to other structures are treated with particular attention. Through the analyses of house and settlement there is a general consensus in archaeology that wider issues of social, economic and political processes can be interpreted, illustrated by these following examples:

> 'Houses and buildings are not only among the most prominent features of contemporary civilization: in their construction and grouping they reflect more clearly than any other material manifestation the economic and social structure of society. And this has been so from the beginning. There is no class of antiquity that affords a closer insight into the life of prehistoric societies than houses' (Clark 1937, 468).

> '... it is suggested that the most effective approach to the archaeological study of social organisation is through the analysis of spatial relationships in human settlement systems' (Hingley 1984, 72).

> '... our reconstructions of living in the past seem to have the best chance to correspond with the conceptions the people concerned had of it themselves, if we include in the investigations an analysis of the routine every-day experiences, of the daily practical choices and hasty rituals, in short, of all those thing which "go without saying"' (Derks 1997, 129-30).

I would argue that the identification of settlement in the archaeological record as a distinct element is increasingly problematic, in light of current theoretical perspectives. The term settlement is caught up within a conservative tradition of archaeological discourse and expectation. In this case, to quote Bradley (2003, 5) 'words gain a terrible power over the concepts they describe'.

3.1.3 'Settlement Archaeology'

Settlement as an archaeological concept has a long history, but it was through the research of Willey (1953, 1956) and the 'New Archaeologists' of the 1960s that 'settlement archaeology' as a separate avenue of study was popularised (see Chang 1968a). Settlement was perceived of as the physical remains of communities, in particular where communities '...lived, ensured their subsistence, and pursued their social functions' (Chang 1968b, 3; and see also Willey 1968, 211). 'Settlement archaeology' promoted an analytical approach for understanding the relationships of 'everyday' existence of communities from the micro to macro-scales (see Clarke 1972a, 1977; Hodder & Orton 1976; Hodder *et al* 1981).

Settlement was the mediating link between different units of human interaction. Issues of family organisation were accessed on the 'household' level, while aspects of social relationships and adaptations to the environment were considered from a wider perspective of settlement (Trigger 1968, 73-74). Furthermore regional social and political systems could be appreciated by considering the relationships between 'settlements' (*ibid*; see also Wiley 1968, 217; Chang 1968a; Flannery 1976; Fletcher 1977; Hodder *et al* 1981). These models of prehistoric settlement were defined by a combination of environmental constraints, human universalities, and formalised social patterns, approached through the uncritical use of ethnographic analogy (Flannery 1976; Fletcher 1977, 1978; Clarke 1977). Crucial to this methodology was the assumption that settlement and its individual units were archaeologically discernable *types* of sites. However, debates over settlement classification and models of organisation highlight the inconsistency of the practical application of such a

typologically dependent approach (see Chapter 4 for further discussion on classification and Willey 1968).

3.1.4 'Settlement Archaeology' in Contemporary Studies

In some cases as post-processualism became more popular, 'settlement archaeology' became less fashionable, particularly in Britain. Settlement had been a central tenet of processualist theories and therefore was ultimately associated with that tradition. Tringham (1994) criticised three aspects of the processualist approach to settlement: for presenting architecture as passive products of human behaviour, for only focussing on the large-scale and grand narratives, and for creating a restrictive framework for archaeological practice based on the identification of 'typical' settlement forms. Nonetheless, terms associated with processualist settlement archaeology such as 'settlement pattern', 'settlement system', and 'household' remain in the archaeological vocabulary, but are no longer the focus for mainstream theoretical exploration (Brück & Goodman 1999a, 1). In general there was a shift to view material culture within concepts of landscape (which will be discussed in more detail later) as interconnected active elements in prehistoric social life (Knapp 1997; 11). In Britain this theoretical shift developed predominantly through the analysis of ceremonial centres and monuments of the Neolithic rather than settlement (Bradley 1991,1998; Tilley 1994, 2004), and it has been therefore slow to be adopted in Iron Age studies, which is mostly assumed to be defined by settlement.

Parallel to this, 'settlement archaeology' has continued through processual studies, such as those that relate settlement change to environmental and economic factors (e.g. Wilk & Rathje 1982; Kent 1990; Cameron & Tomka 1993). Yet, there has also been an attempt to revitalize 'settlement archaeology' in light of post-processual perspectives (see Tringham 1991, 1994; Richards & Parker Pearson 1994; Brück & Goodman 1999b, Brück 2000). The editors of a volume stemming from a conference on *Conceptualising Settlement in Prehistoric Archaeology* held in Cambridge in 1995 noted that although there was an awareness of the problematic way in which settlement was currently considered in archaeology, it remained largely unquestioned (Brück & Goodman 1999b, xiii). One of their main critiques of traditional approaches was the assumption that identifiable material evidence could relate to a distinct set of 'domestic' practices (*ibid,* 2-3). For example, the hearth, a powerful traditional image of house and home, does not necessarily define a 'house' archaeologically (a major re-consideration of this type of evidence). It has been demonstrated in some

ethnographic cases that cooking was done outside the house and hearths could be associated with 'ritual' sites (*ibid*, 4). Hearths can have a series of powerful social meanings and therefore their presence in archaeological contexts need to be critically questioned (cf. Richards 1993). Similarly debatable is how the boundary of a settlement is defined. Previous approaches perceived settlement in relation to architectural features, but more integrated approaches to archaeology have highlighted the importance of considering activities relating to the everyday that extended beyond the confines of architectural settings (Tilley 1994; Robin 2002). Therefore, the ambiguity of defining a site as 'domestic' from 'ritual' is an increasingly difficult issue to resolve (i.e. Darvill 1996; Brück 1999c; Hodder 2000; Barclay *et al.* 2002; Bradley 2005). Even 'houses' cannot be simply viewed as 'domestic'.

Brück and Goodman proposed that it was important to consider material culture as culturally meaningful, but subsuming 'settlement archaeology' into landscape studies would be a mistake (1999a, 10). In order to preserve a general notion of 'settlement archaeology' they suggest that settlement should be reconsidered as:

> '...the set of *territorial and social practices* through which relationships between people and the world around them were created and transformed. As the process of 'settling', settlement can be seen as the creation of place through culturally specific sets of activities relating individuals and groups to landscapes and to each other within those landscapes' (Brück & Goodman 1999a, 14 my emphasis).

In other words, they advocate that archaeologists should start regarding settlement as a verb, and not a noun, and therefore as a practice, not simply as an outcome. Settlement exists in relation to human activities both in the past and continually through the experience of archaeologists in the present. Despite Brück & Goodman's attempts to promote more dynamic concepts of settlement, the term 'settlement' has not yet abandoned its processual theoretical baggage. The trend has been to discuss post-processual theories through more flexible and seemingly ambiguous terms such as 'landscape' and 'place'. Many archaeologists still consider settlement as a noun, an archaeological feature that can be physically recorded as a separate category of material culture, but this is an archaeological construct, like many categories.

Perceiving the archaeological evidence not as static entities, but as the remains of dynamic practices is certainly a step towards more flexible interpretations and one that I espouse. However, one problem with Brück and Goodman's definition of 'settlement' is that it is equally ambiguous as traditional uses of the word and could equally be

regarded as a definition for 'place' (see Relph 1976; Evans 1985). In this case, like 'place', 'settlement' can be perceived on a variety of levels and have multiple contexts (see Knapp 1997, 10). Settlement is not only defined by architectural expressions but relates to and is dependent upon the processes and activities that take place in the wider landscape. It is questionable whether 'settlement archaeology' can really represent a distinct branch of archaeological research, at least not before *a priori* assumptions concerning the identification and definition of settlement are dealt with. Brück and Goodman propose that settlement could be asserted through an awareness of variability of residential practices (Brück & Goodman 1999a, 14). Yet, the identification of such practices in the archaeological record can be problematic and caught up with our own modern day assumptions of what is 'domestic' in opposition to 'ritual'. Traditional approaches to Iron Age studies highlight 'settlement' as the main character of the archaeological evidence for this time period and therefore *a priori* assumptions of can influence what this should look like in the field. The features that are identified as 'domestic' need to be critically re-evaluated. It is therefore important, in these cases, to view the archaeological evidence perhaps initially through more flexible concepts such as 'place'. From here further interpretations of settlement become possible.

3.2 Tensions in Interpreting Settlement

There is a tension between defining settlement as a standard type of archaeological feature and current theoretical perspectives that advocate more dynamic and reflexive interpretations of the past. In this section this tension will be explored by discussing several key themes regarding the study of settlement, focussing only on architecture, that have been applied in recent archaeological research. Trends and developments in other disciplines such as anthropology, human geography, psychology and philosophy in their attempts to 'understand' the complexities of human existence have influenced these archaeological approaches. In some cases analogies have been uncritically applied (see comments by Wylie 1985; Gosden 1999). Nonetheless themes such as metaphor, identity, biographies, ritualization, landscape and place are relevant to archaeological interpretation and have highlighted significant patterns in the way architecture and perhaps settlement can be viewed. These themes have been employed to interpret the complex social dynamic embedded within the creation, use, abandonment and reuse of settlements and the people that perceive and experience them, and therefore these themes begin to shift the focus away from the functional and familiar attitudes of earlier studies of prehistory.

3.2.1 Metaphor and Identity

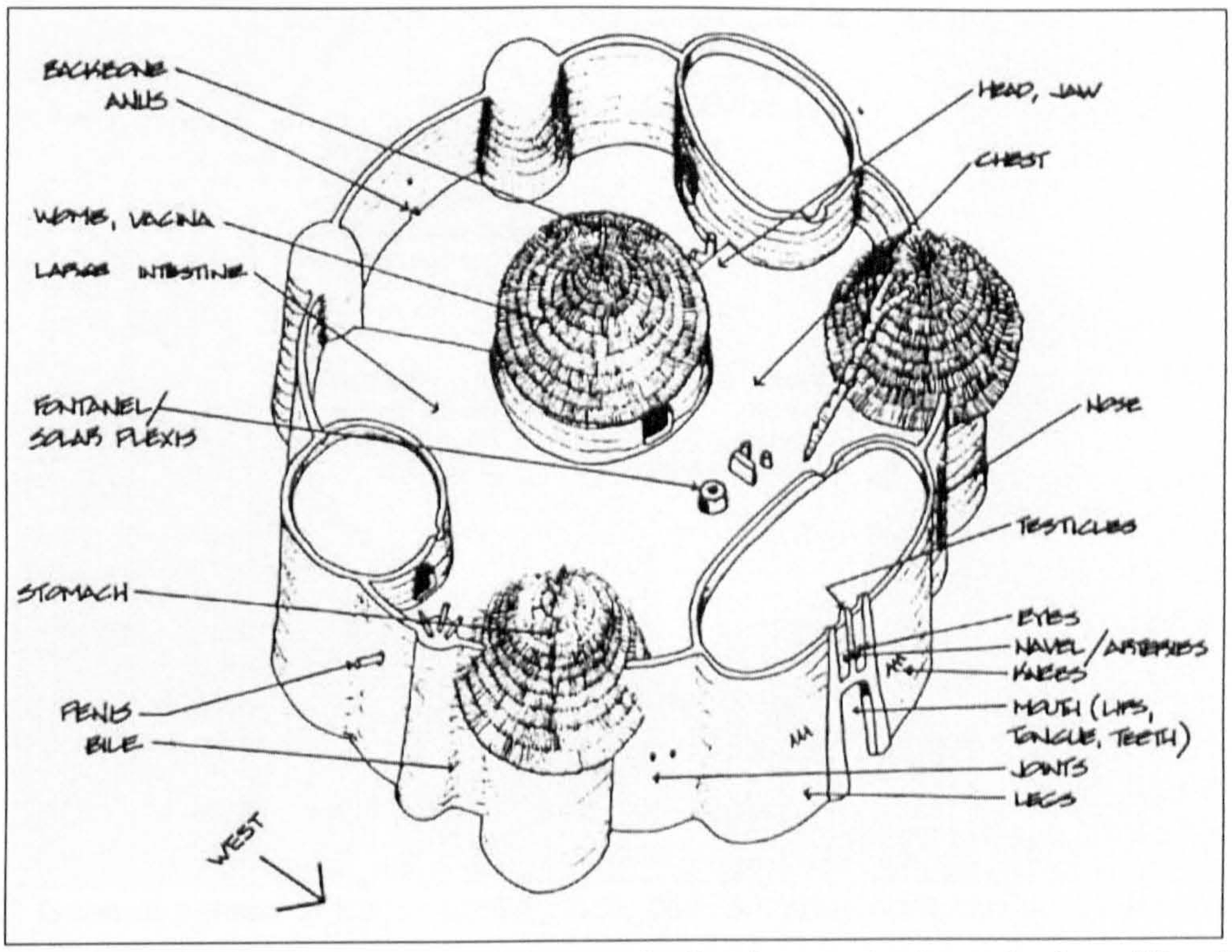
Architectural elements of settlement, like any other material objects, express multiple identities (Rapoport 1982, 116; Moore 1986, 91-98; Lane 1994; Cevik 1995; Lovell 1998; Tilley 1999; Canuto & Yaeger 2000). The Panare in Guiana who call themselves and the buildings where they live by the same word exemplify a direct metaphor between settlement and identity (Dumont cited in Rivière 1995, 190). Equally the built environment may also reflect a whole array of indirect metaphors relating to people's relationships to other people and places. In some cases, the same architectural feature can symbolise both inclusion and exclusion within a community. For instance, while the distinct form of each house of the Ye'cuana reinforces the autonomy and self-reliance of the people who built and lived within these features, each house is celebrated on its construction as a representation of the culturally accepted ideal of the wider community, which is to be autonomous (Guss 1989, 26 cited in Rivière 1995). These examples show that archaeologists need to be aware of the multi-faceted social relationships that are integrated within the experience and perception of material culture. One person's private house may be another person's symbol of the wider community. The buildings that form a substantial part of settlement can have multiple meanings.

Similarly, the everyday practices performed in relation to these architectural constructs are vital processes that reinforce cultural ideals. In some cases, archaeologists have drawn on simplified structuralist binary oppositions such as male/female, light/dark, sacred/profane, popularised by anthropologists like Lévi-Strauss (1978), to interpret the organisation of the routines within prehistoric houses (Clarke 1972b; Hingley 1990b; Hodder 1990; Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994; Parker-Pearson 1996, 1999). However, such approaches have been shown to be too simplistic and often are sustained by a particular cultural framework, which is not universal and therefore should only be cautiously applied to prehistory (Moore 1988, 13-24; Brück & Goodman 1999a). To really understand the symbolic meaning represented by the spatial fabric of a settlement, one would have to know how people described things and how they perceived their world, and all we can do as archaeologists is be aware of this as a possibility in our interpretations.

3.2.2 Life-cycles and Biographies

Ethnographic research had shown that in some cases houses were direct metaphors for life or aspects of life, exemplified by the literal nourishment of the house through

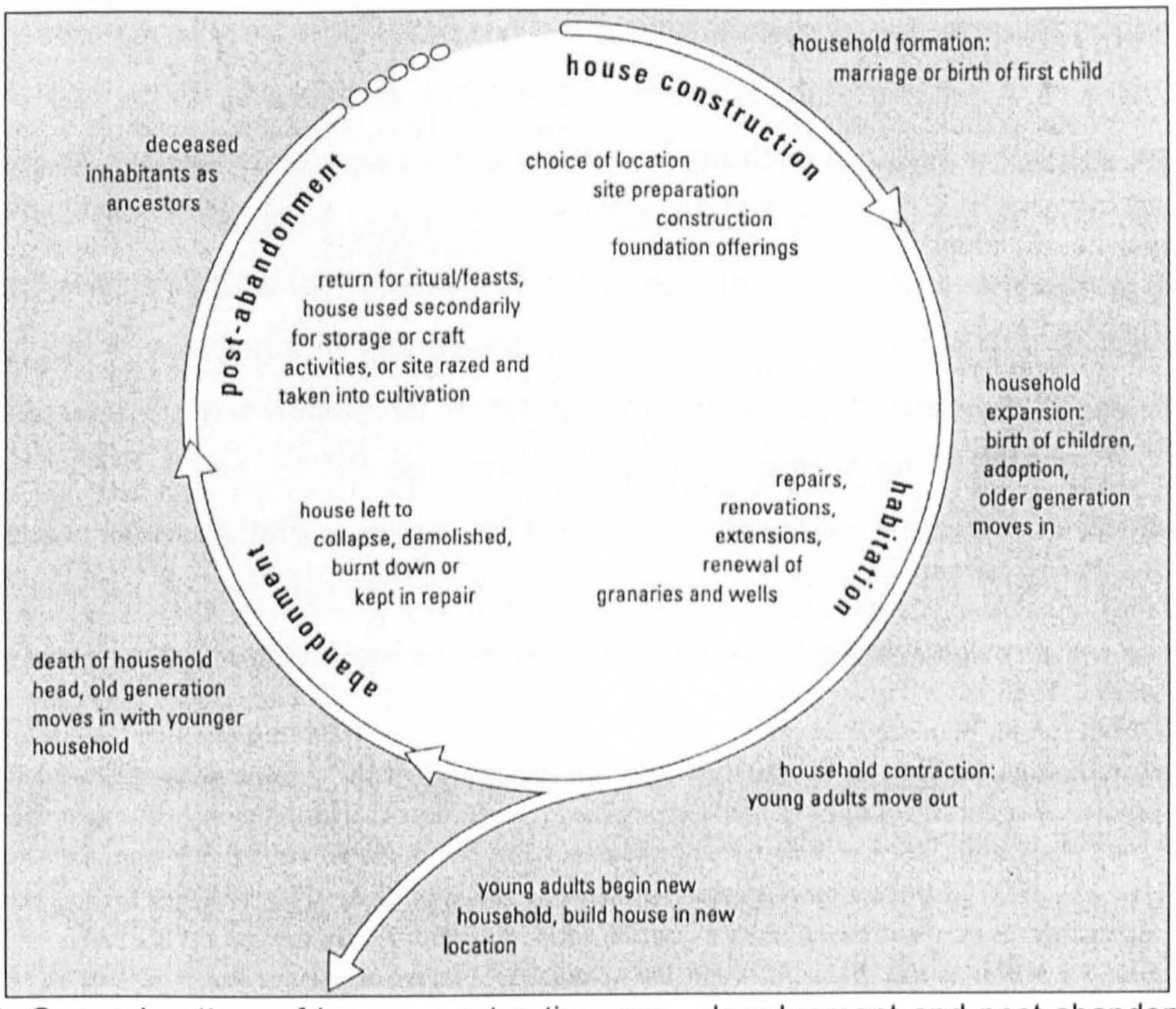
symbolic feasts, special deposits or by the familiar language in which they are referred (Nash 1970, 12; Blier 1987; Bailey 1990, 1996) (Fig. 3.1).



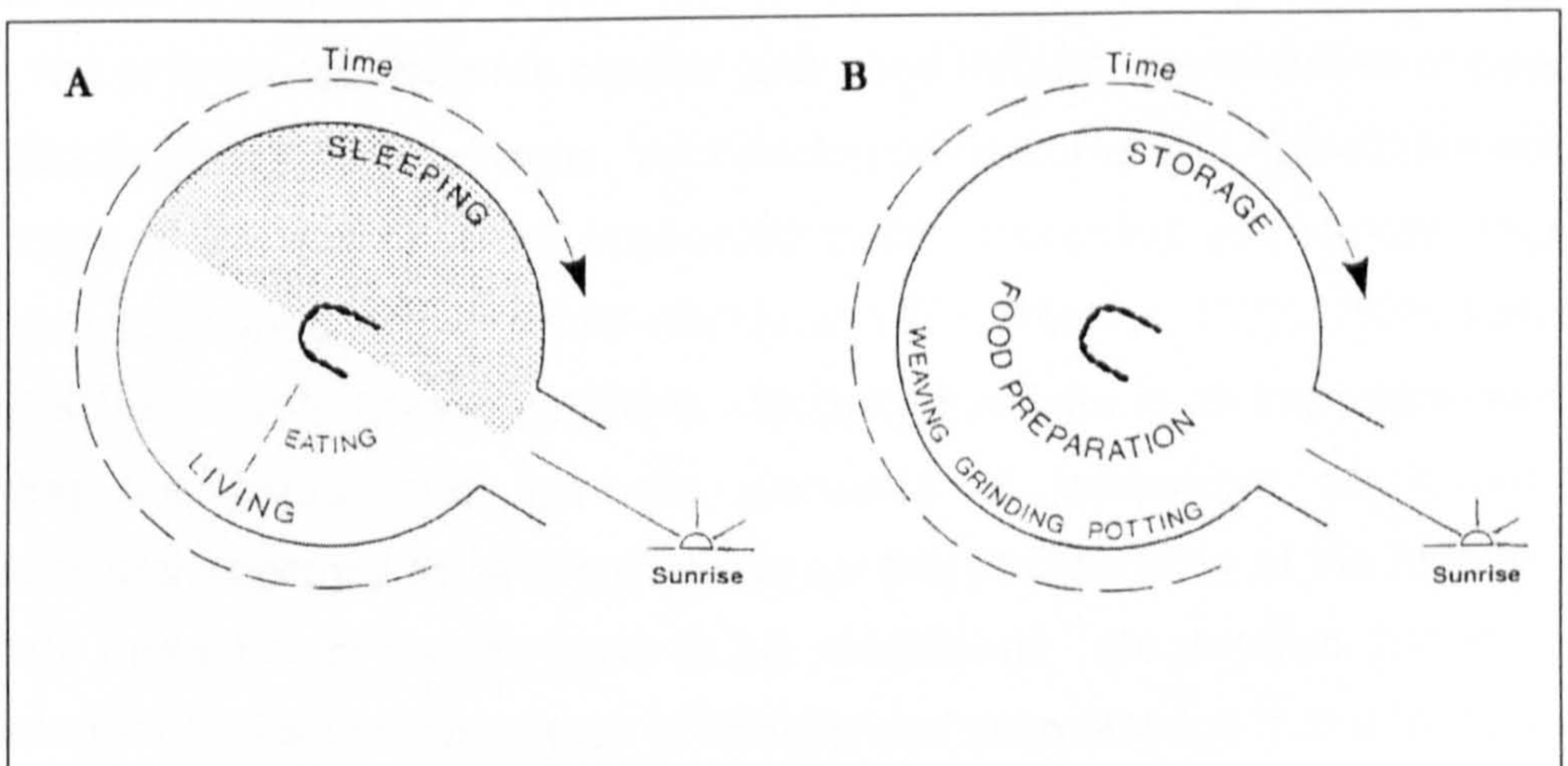
(Fig. 3.1: Description of a Batammaliba house reflecting human body parts; from Blier 1987, fig 50)

Houses can also pass through similar cycles as their habitants, living, dying and being remembered (Bloch 1995; Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995, 39; Rivière 1995). For the Zafimaniry of Madagascar a house structure becomes more stable and made of more concrete material as a family passes through different stages of life (Bloch 1995). In its initial phase the house of the new couple is made of bamboo, which is flexible with room to mature. As the marriage matures and passes through rituals and rites the fabric of the house is replaced by hardwood, it 'acquires bones' and eventually the children further 'harden' the house long after the founding couple is dead, becoming 'holy houses' and rituals to the ancestors performed here (*ibid*).

Similarly, cycles relating to the seasons, agriculture and cultural events involving the whole community and reflecting culturally accepted attitudes could also be negotiated through the creation, arrangement and use of space (Hingley 1992; Barrett 1994b, 90; Williams 2003). This concept has had particular resonance in archaeological interpretation through the analysis of distributions of material culture and the physical situation of houses within the landscape (Tringham 1995; Parker Pearson 1996, 1999; Gerritsen 1999, 2003; Boivin 2000; Brück 1999c, 2000; Gilchrist 2000, 326) (Fig 3.2 & 3.3).



(Fig. 3.2: General pattern of house construction, use, abandonment and post-abandonment in relation to human life-cycles; from Gerritsen 2003, fig 3.1)



(A) Fitzpatrick's (1994) sunwise scheme; **(B)** Fitzpatrick's scheme in light of wheelhouse layout; **(C)** Sunwise pattern & metasphor of the human life cycle; **(D)** Organisation of senority around central hearth. (drawn by Adrian Chadwick for Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999)

(Fig 3.3: Various cycles which have been interpreted to influence the use of space in roundhouses; after Parker Pearson 1999, fig. 7)

The archaeological evidence represents the intersection of various temporalities and histories, not only evident in large-scale physical differences, but also through processes of memory and experience that are reinforced through small-scale activities of everyday life. Therefore, some cycles presented here may be expressed through more ephemeral practices that cannot be accessed by archaeological methods. Nonetheless, it is important to be aware of the diverse ways people and places interact. Ethnographic and anthropological investigations have demonstrated the complexities of the spatial patterning of houses and settlements and their relationship to social organisation and identity. Approaching the interpretive potential of 'settlements' archaeologically would require a theoretical framework that did not simply rely on abstract models or uncritical applications of ethnographic examples.

The concept of 'biography' brings together the complex social interactions between people, places, material culture and time. Biographies allow archaeologists to consider all the complex interrelated processes by which an object or a place is created, used, abandoned and reused within a specific cultural system (Kopytoff 1986; Holtorf 1998b; Gosden & Marshall 1999). Settlement therefore can be treated as a multi-layered and complex feature (Dietler & Herbich 1993; Roymans 1995; Tringham 1995; Gerritsen 2003). Not only are settlements created and used through the activities of people, but they also inform the life of humans. Archaeological features and objects are not simply mnemonics of the past, but are implicated in the processes of memory, negotiating identities and shaping expectations (Giddens 1979; Küchler 1993, 1999; Lane 1994; Gosden & Lock 1998; Chadwick 2004). Biographical time is an important concept for examining the social and symbolic elements of settlement as it allows the researcher/archaeologist to be a part of the continued biography of the feature. It also allows the metaphor of the life-cycle to be considered. Biographies, therefore, allow archaeologists to discuss processes of change and acknowledge that a feature may be identified as a house, but also could be identified as a monument or have various other identities. This is all part of a complex interpretive process. To isolate any one phase of use of archaeological features, as suggested by the traditional application of the typological term settlement, denies the potential complexity of the biography of the archaeological construction (Herbich & Dietler 1993, 31).

3.2.3 Ritualization of the Domestic

Everyday actions have been perceived to be ordinary and familiar, but they are still integrated within extraordinary contexts and events. The isolation of and differentiation

between the ordinary and extraordinary in archaeological contexts is not straightforward and is often a subjective judgement. Interestingly, but often ignored, is the fact that the construction of a 'house' or 'building' is not necessarily an everyday process, but instead can be a performative ritual process, sometimes resulting in 'structured deposition' (Blier 1987; Parker Pearson 1993; Parker Pearson & Richards 1994; Bloch 1995, 75-76; Gibson 1995, 139-142; Bowser & Patton 2004). Moreover, the identification of 'domestic' versus 'ritual' has recently been re-evaluated and archaeological assumptions have been critiqued (Bell 1992; Bradley 2003, 2005). The problem stems from an assumption that 'ritual' is characterised by identifiable non-functional material culture or architecture and therefore has led to limitations in the ways prehistory is interpreted (in the context of British and NW European archaeology see the detailed discussion in Brück 1999b, 316-7). In fact, 'ritual' has proven to be a complex process, engaging people in various social relationships and in some cases may involve the material culture used in everyday practices (Barrett 1991; Hill 1993, 1995, 1999; Brück 1999a, 1999b; Boivin 2005; Bradley 2005). This makes it more problematic to decipher the material evidence of everyday processes from ritual and further highlights the *a priori* assumptions made when features are categorised into traditional archaeological types. Relying on the shape and form of the evidence alone cannot determine whether a site is a domestic settlement or something more complex. In some cases, the form of the 'house' and the domestic practices are directly utilised in ritualized and performative contexts (see DeBoer 1997; Bradley 2005 for examples).

There have been recent attempts to focus on 'ritualization' rather than 'ritual'. Ritualization is where the dominant concerns of society are acted out and certain parts of life are emphasised through performance and defined as a specialized process of communication (Bell 1992; Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994; Bradley 2003, 12; *contra* Bloch 1989). The concept of 'ritual' as a static result of activity is problematic, but I would suggest that 'domestic' is just as problematic. However, to suggest devising a term such as 'domesticization' to reflect the important dynamic social relations that were negotiated here would create a similarly useless dichotomy. Domestic objects can be used in rituals and domestic acts can become ritualised -in fact, these concepts cannot be compared as binary opposites as they represent different, but integrated, levels of human activity. Identifying ritualized or domestic practices is a process of interpretation that depends greatly on the questions that are asked of the evidence. In many cases, features and artefacts (i.e. hearths, cooking vessels) are just assumed to be domestic without critical consideration of their specific situation. Approaching the processes of action through archaeology relies on how it is perceived and experienced within its

context. A critical evaluation and re-evaluation of the context of material culture can provide important interpretive potential concerning its social relationships, whether defined as ritual or domestic.

3.2.4 Landscapes, Places and Experience

Many current archaeological interpretations have been greatly influenced by re-evaluating the concept of *landscape*. Archaeological approaches to landscape have changed dramatically over the last twenty years, underpinned by previous and continued anthropological, geographical and philosophical studies (Evans 1985; Bender 1992, 1993; Tilley 1994; Hirsch & O'Hanlon 1995; Johnston 1998; Ashmore & Knapp 1999; Thomas 2001a; Chadwick 2004). Moving away from traditional perspectives, which viewed landscape as a backdrop to social relations (see Cosgrove 1984) or as a general term for the geological and ecological variables that impinge on human behaviour (Rossignol 1992), current approaches frame landscape as a cultural construct, created through the perceptions and experiences of the people living in it. Places within landscapes are similarly socially and culturally defined; they are not independent concrete phenomena, and like landscapes do not simply relate to physical components that can be extracted from their context and objectively observed. Although some, particularly in the Western world, may describe them in specific geographical and physical terms, places are socially formed and are both literally and metaphorically made up:

> '... a place in the landscape is not 'cut out' from the whole, either on the plane of ideas or on that of material substance. Rather, each place embodies the whole at a particular nexus within it, and in this respect is different from every other' (Ingold 1993, 155; also see Pred 1990; Relph 1993; McDowell 1997).

All archaeological features, including 'settlements' can be reconsidered as 'places' and therefore only have meaning in relation to human activities and experiences (Tuan 1974, 1980; Relph 1976; Ingold 1993; Tilley 1994, Thomas 1996a). Therefore the 'historical biographies' of places and landscapes are interwoven by daily practices and longer generational human processes (Pred 1990; see Tringham 1994).

Places and landscapes, like artefacts, are not simply constructions left behind by people of the past, but are 'integral' to people's identity and relationships (Barrett 1988; Thomas 1996a; Thomas 1996b). Therefore, the actions and relationships cannot be simply separated from the outcomes of these actions. Inspired by Heidegger's perspective of 'dwelling', archaeologists have interpreted archaeological monuments

and constructions as the physical manifestation of a complex system of integrated tasks where communities converge at certain places (Heidegger 1977; Thomas 1996a, 89; Ingold 1993, 158). Similar to 'dwelling' is Barrett's idea of 'inhabiting':

> 'Inhabiting a landscape involves understanding that landscape, with reference not to ahistorical principles but to earlier experiences or to the cultural expression of some metaphysical order. Experience is therefore carried forward in the practices of inhabiting' (Barrett 1999b, 29).

Archaeologists cannot ambivalently extract past actions and the process of 'dwelling' from material culture through 'objective' analyses. Instead we are also 'inhabiting' the landscape and interacting with the archaeological features on the basis of our own expectations and perceptions of a 'materiality that other people once inhabited' (Barrett 1999b, 29; also see Ingold 1993, 2000).

The process of dwelling encompasses activities within the whole landscape, some are defined by architecture and some are not. But to focus on architectural evidence as an example, buildings in any form cannot simply be described as 'cultural' and therefore presented as external and static or in opposition to 'nature'. Each constructed element, whether a house or a cultivated field, is part of multi-layered spaces and landscapes to be experienced, appreciated and interpreted. Buildings are part of a complex negotiation of personal, communal and cultural memories, experiences and hopes; situating people within a specific environment, but also connecting them to the wider landscape. Regardless of the initial intention, monuments and any constructions of the past can have lasting impact on successive generations who perceive and experience these features, both directly and indirectly (Bradley 1993, 1998; Küchler 1993, 1999; Barrett 1999a).

People's identity and social relationships affect places, but are equally affected through the constructions, actions, routines, and performances within places, resulting in the negotiation of identity. '[I]t could be argued that in the resonance of movement and feeling stemming from people's mutually attentive engagement, in shared contexts of practical activity, lies the very foundation of sociality' (Ingold 1993,160; see also Thomas 1991, 1993, 1996a). A place can be imbued with the emotive memories of its habitation, a quality particularly expressed by displaced communities (see Goldstein 2000). Both collective and personal experiences of buildings bring together different temporalities within a contextualised landscape setting. The convergence of different perceived and unconscious temporalities are vital to how social relationships are

created, experienced and maintained (Gell 1992; Gosden 1994). The construction of places reflects the formation of new relationships in the 'present', but these places are also informed by previous experiences as well as expectations for the future (Chadwick 2004, 20). Places, landscapes and people interact together on multiple temporal planes, affecting and influencing the 'biographies' of each other.

Inspired by different phenomenological perspectives such as Heidegger (1962) and particularly Merleau-Ponty (1962), archaeologists have considered the human body as the medium for experiencing landscapes and places (Tilley 1994, 2004; Brophy 1999). This is in stark contrast to traditional approaches where archaeologists often performed their research through abstract representations of archaeological features, using distribution maps or 2-dimensional plans, and so ignoring bodily experiences. Traditional, but influential discussions of space and place, such as Lefebvre (1991) have also been heavily criticised for ignoring the significance of the bodily experience (Casey 1997, 239). Bodily experience does not exclude cognitive processes, but instead can be described as a complex dialogue integrating all the senses with perception, memory and the analytical ability of the mind (Rodaway 1994; Casey 1993, 1997; Pecher & Zwaan 2005). For archaeologists, recording bodily experience of places in the landscape allows observations that inform interpretations to be assessed critically, which in the past was rarely explicitly treated as significant to archaeological interpretation (this perspective will be one part of my process of interpretation explored further in Chapter 4).

The themes and approaches discussed in this section can inform how we think and interpret archaeological evidence. Material culture, objects and places, are not static analytical entities, but are integral to human social interaction both past and present. Archaeological practices need to be re-considered to allow for more flexible interpretations that appreciate this complex social interaction. A starting point is to be aware of how we define and classify archaeological material, as this is a crucial part of the interpretive process. The interpretive implications of differentiating between 'settlement' as a noun and 'settlement' as a verb are immense.

3.3 Alternative Interpretations of Settlement

The relationship between archaeological evidence and people, both past and present, is now appreciated as complex and multi-faceted, and this relationship cannot be viewed objectively. Archaeologists are not passive observers of the 'past', but add to

the biography of the evidence, in the same way as the archaeology adds to the biography of the archaeologist. All the various physical components that compose a traditionally defined settlement are imbued with emotive equalities that are integral to social identity (see Benjamin & Stea 1995; Ingold 2000). Therefore, settlements are not simply products of society, but *are* society (Thomas 1996a, 1996b). All the threads of theory discussed above highlight how and why we cannot extract settlement from social relationships; they are places where the past, present and future converge. This assertion undermines the traditional definition of settlement, as observable discrete entities, or groups of entities with the sole purpose of domestic life. The question therefore remains how to rethink settlement through archaeological inquiry: 'one of the challenges of contemporary archaeology is the construction of methodologies that investigate the complex relationships between human beings and the world around them' (Chadwick 2004, 23).

3.3.1 Re-thinking Settlement

The language used in current theoretical discussions, as outlined above, illustrate that traditional terms such as settlement have been abandoned in favour of ideas such as 'place'. Settlement as a decontextualised type of feature is not useful in these contexts. If 'Settlement should be seen as operating within different arenas of social value according to time and place, and within rather fluid and contingent systems of social relations and 'place relations'' (Pollard 1999, 78), then how is settlement distinct from place? Are there still underlying assumptions that impinge on archaeological interpretation? Although Brück and Goodman (1999a) appreciate the complexity of settlement as a process contingent on culturally accepted ideals, they proposed to preserve settlement archaeology from being subsumed by landscape archaeology so that the everyday practices would not be ignored. Yet, my contention is that the outcomes of the theoretical investigations show that settlement cannot be assumed to be the result of particular social processes that encapsulate the everyday or the daily routines inherent in the archaeological evidence. Keeping settlement archaeology as a separate approach to the archaeological record would allow the continued uncritical identification of domestic from ritual.

It is the power of language coupled with situationally specific agendas (e.g. the Western, modern world) that influence which terms are redefined and appropriated and furthermore what currently makes place and landscape more theoretically resonant than settlement. Place initially was a similarly abstract concept to settlement, but has

been employed in a variety of archaeological studies in order to advance specific ideas (Binford 1982; Tilley 1994; Ashmore 2002; Bowser 2004). It could be argued by some that it is a meaningless term that is currently over-used. Yet, no matter what a site or feature is called, whether settlement or place, it needs to be critically re-evaluated within the process of archaeological interpretation. Suggestions of a separate archaeology of place distinct from landscape archaeology (see Bowser 2004) miss the point of the interpretive potential of the theoretical approaches it is trying to escape from, where places are not separate from their landscape. Concepts of settlement and place must be grounded in their landscape context. The concepts developed around recent re-evaluations of landscape and other material culture does not represent sub-disciplines of archaeology nor should terms such as 'landscape' or 'place' be uncritically appropriated. What these perspectives have provided is a more flexible way of thinking about the social relationships between material culture and people, which are dynamic, culturally contingent and on-going.

In order to separate the word settlement from the baggage of previous interpretations it should be reconsidered as an active process with temporal depth, and not simply the detached physical elements of the past, which archaeologists can objectively observe and understand. Terms such as dwelling and inhabiting have provided alternatives of engaging with the active processes of life and do not isolate expectations of what is ordinary from the extraordinary. This is not to suggest that processes of 'domesticity' and routines which people perceived as everyday did not exist or are downplayed by this approach, as feared by some archaeologists (notably Cooney 2001, 174). Defining archaeological features as part of domestic practices, like the idea of ritualization, needs to come from an exploration of the various forms of social actions in relation to one another. Therefore, it is not the ultimate interpretation of a feature as domestic or a settlement that is necessarily problematic. Instead it is the initial identification based on unquestioned typologies to define features as domestic settlements.

Settlement is thought to 'form a fundamental element of site typologies' (Brück & Goodman 1999a, 2). Uncritically maintaining traditional types, such as settlement, has a significant impact on the wider interpretive process and often restricts some theoretical considerations from being explored (discussed further in Chapter 4). Traditionally the interpretation of an archaeological site as a settlement only described a small phase of its life-history, a small fragment of the perceptions and experiences. Therefore, for the initial process of interpretation and definition perhaps more abstract and all-encompassing ideas of socially contingent processes such as place and

been employed in a variety of archaeological studies in order to advance specific ideas (Binford 1982; Tilley 1994; Ashmore 2002; Bowser 2004). It could be argued by some that it is a meaningless term that is currently over-used. Yet, no matter what a site or feature is called, whether settlement or place, it needs to be critically re-evaluated within the process of archaeological interpretation. Suggestions of a separate archaeology of place distinct from landscape archaeology (see Bowser 2004) miss the point of the interpretive potential of the theoretical approaches it is trying to escape from, where places are not separate from their landscape. Concepts of settlement and place must be grounded in their landscape context. The concepts developed around recent re-evaluations of landscape and other material culture does not represent sub-disciplines of archaeology nor should terms such as 'landscape' or 'place' be uncritically appropriated. What these perspectives have provided is a more flexible way of thinking about the social relationships between material culture and people, which are dynamic, culturally contingent and on-going.

In order to separate the word settlement from the baggage of previous interpretations it should be reconsidered as an active process with temporal depth, and not simply the detached physical elements of the past, which archaeologists can objectively observe and understand. Terms such as dwelling and inhabiting have provided alternatives of engaging with the active processes of life and do not isolate expectations of what is ordinary from the extraordinary. This is not to suggest that processes of 'domesticity' and routines which people perceived as everyday did not exist or are downplayed by this approach, as feared by some archaeologists (notably Cooney 2001, 174). Defining archaeological features as part of domestic practices, like the idea of ritualization, needs to come from an exploration of the various forms of social actions in relation to one another. Therefore, it is not the ultimate interpretation of a feature as domestic or a settlement that is necessarily problematic. Instead it is the initial identification based on unquestioned typologies to define features as domestic settlements.

Settlement is thought to 'form a fundamental element of site typologies' (Brück & Goodman 1999a, 2). Uncritically maintaining traditional types, such as settlement, has a significant impact on the wider interpretive process and often restricts some theoretical considerations from being explored (discussed further in Chapter 4). Traditionally the interpretation of an archaeological site as a settlement only described a small phase of its life-history, a small fragment of the perceptions and experiences. Therefore, for the initial process of interpretation and definition perhaps more abstract and all-encompassing ideas of socially contingent processes such as place and

dwelling can alleviate the baggage from settlement. Defining archaeological features, whether as settlement or place, is a crucial part of an interpretive process, which relies on what questions are being asked of the archaeological evidence. Often these basic questions are not explicitly stated and incorporated as if known.

> 'Once such complexes [referring to settlements] are *known*, through the procedures of recovery and *classification*, it is then possible to correlate settlement features into patterns that represent, or are the residues of, former social institutions. Before this is done, the individual settlement features are no more to us than bumps or marks upon the landscape – lacking in cultural identification, chronological position or functional significance' (Willey 1968, 209; my emphasis).

What is assumed to be 'known' is an important part of the interpretive process and relies on which questions are asked. Therefore, asking 'where were the 'settlements'?' compared to 'how was a place inhabited?' are two very different questions, which informs different methodologies and interpretations. Ultimately by rethinking how settlement is used in the interpretive process can provide more opportunities for further interpretations of the archaeological evidence. This is particularly important in reference to the Iron Age where conservative interpretations of settlement as a known and assumed characteristic of the time period have hindered more flexible interpretations.

3.4 Inhabiting Iron Age Places

Settlement is considered to be a defining character of the Iron Age and is generally assumed to reflect the routine tasks of the everyday, punctuated by observable extraordinary events and rituals. This simplified view of the Iron Age has been criticised and is not espoused by all archaeologists working in the period. As demonstrated above, there is an inherent tension between traditional interpretations that depend on standardised typologies and the reflexive and multi-layered approach of recent perspectives stemming from the studies relating to landscapes, places and biographies. Through these perspectives the limitations of certain standard types, such as hill-forts and brochs, to allow for flexible interpretations of Iron Age settlement have been highlighted (see Gosden & Lock forthcoming; Baines 2004). Settlement is at the top of a hierarchical typological system that encompasses a variety of archaeological features, including hill-forts, brochs and roundhouses. Even though there have been recent reappraisals of the evidence drawing on contemporary theories, the potential

complexity of the Iron Age settlement evidence represented within these categories has rarely been explored adequately.

Recent studies of place have stressed its interrelation to the various practices and processes of human life. These ideas can be applied to how we view settlement in Iron Age studies. Settlement and the sub-types within Iron Age studies are laden with theoretical and methodological baggage and at times are still considered through these traditional functional and familiar frameworks. Yet, settlement needs to be considered as an active element of the process of inhabitation. From a variety of temporal and geographical scales people and architecture are defined and redefined through practice. In Iron Age studies this consideration would emphasise the complexities of the archaeological evidence and allow for the re-examination of some of the assumptions associated with the term 'settlement' and 'house'. This would be especially significant for the interpretation of areas such as Wigtownshire, which are reliant on generalised ideas of the Iron Age, perpetuated through the use of standardised typologies. Whether we use the term 'settlement' or the more recently appropriated term 'place' it is important to create an archaeological method of appreciating the complex processes of inhabitation and therefore highlighting alternatives ways of thinking about the Iron Age.

Classification is essential for the organisation of archaeological evidence and it shapes how features are compared and interpreted. Settlement can be useful in terms of exploring the everyday and other instances of life, but we must first consider the implications and underlying assumptions of the term. There are different reasons and uses of classification in archaeology. It is not my suggestion to abandon the word or simply reject previous typologies. However, we cannot be limited by traditional typologies; they need not and cannot be static and fixed, but instead must be reflexive. In the next chapter the process of classification in relation to interpretation will be explored.

Chapter 4: Classifications, Typologies and Interpretations

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3 I tried to demonstrate that 'settlement' is best represented through active concepts such as 'dwelling' and 'inhabiting', both of which suggest temporal and spatial depth. Yet this does not address the issue of how to express this depth when discussing archaeological features. The language that is used to describe archaeological features and specifically how archaeologists use classifications as the basis for expressing their interpretations needs to be re-evaluated. As I have already stressed in the previous chapters, the uncritical use of classifications in the Iron Age has created an illusion of 'familiarity' out of the past, but is it the process of classification, or more accurately, the specific ways in which archaeologists have used this tool that has been problematic? This issue will be discussed in this chapter.

Classifications are inherently inflexible. However, the reasons for classification and the methods used are not (cf. Dunnell 1986; Adams & Adams 1991). The role of classifications and typologies has fuelled much debate in archaeology, albeit at an abstract level. In many instances there is complacency in the way types have been utilised to further archaeological interpretations, both in general and in the Iron Age in particular. Tensions between current theoretical trends and standardised typologies have influenced the critical re-evaluation of traditional types such as hill-fort and broch (Hill 1993, 1995; Baines 2002; Gosden & Lock forthcoming). Standardised typologies, in many ways, cannot accommodate the varied research interests and methodologies of archaeologists today (Baines & Brophy 2005; Gosden & Lock forthcoming). Observations such as human bodily experience and contextual information can inform how archaeological features are described and expressed, but are often excluded from traditional processes of classifications. It is therefore essential to review the ways in which we use traditional classes to further particular interpretations and to explore how we communicate our assumptions of the past in our research.

It is not the intention of this thesis to completely abandon traditional typologies or devalue their contribution to archaeological interpretation. In fact, the general process of archaeological classification is an undeniably useful tool to communicate and make sense

of the archaeological evidence. However, there are important differences in the way classifications are created and used to further archaeological interpretation. In particular within Iron Age studies, despite the few studies previously mentioned, there is still a general reluctance to re-evaluate the way traditional typologies effect interpretations. It is important to be aware of the interpretative role of classification and how it can be used as a 'tool to think'. The acceptance of multiple co-existing classifications and interpretations of archaeological material is crucial to widening discussions towards new and uninhibited directions. In this thesis, classification is used as a way to describe features in the present rather than an attempt to explain how they functioned in the past.

The main goal of this chapter is to highlight the value of a flexible methodology of classification and I will do this is three stages. First, the diverse and often competing reasons for and methods of classification in archaeology are explored. Typologies and classifications have been erroneously used interchangeably, causing confusion over their meanings. The 'reality' of types will be questioned. The perceived consistency of scientific techniques and measurements, particularly when assessing the morphological characteristics of archaeological evidence, has been conflated with objectivity and is often assumed to reflect 'real' patterns of the past. The impact of the repeated use of these typologies and the similarities and differences that are emphasised in relation to archaeological interpretation will be discussed. Secondly, it is important to stress the role of classification in the hermeneutic process, guiding further interpretations. The relationship between 'object' and 'subject' is dynamic and reflexive, both in the past and the present. Therefore, archaeological interpretation is dependent on the expectations and experiences of the researcher. Multiple interpretations of a feature can coexist depending on the emphasis of the questions asked of the archaeological evidence. The third element, and also the emphasis of the fieldwork undertaken in this thesis, will be to explore the potential role of human experiences, which are often ignored in traditional classifications, in order to offer alternative ways to interpret the archaeological evidence. For instance, the significance of human bodily experience and the context of 'places' are outlined. In light of this discussion the basis of the methodology for re-evaluating the existing interpretation of the archaeological evidence for Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire will be proposed. In this case, experiences from the field in relation to previous research will form the criteria utilised to create an alternative way to compare and therefore interpret the archaeological evidence from Wigtownshire, which will be explored in Chapters 6 and 7.

4.2 Evaluating Types and Classes

4.2.1 Definitions

In archaeology, the terms 'classification' and 'typology' are often assumed to mean the same thing, which has caused much confusion (Klejn 1982; Adams 1988; Adams & Adams 1991). The meanings of 'types' in archaeology appear to change to suit different trends in archaeological methods of investigation, research agendas, and theoretical concepts of material culture. Yet it has been argued (e.g. Klejn 1982) that in fact 'types' are unchanging, and that archaeologists have conflated the diverse processes of classification. Very specific methods and reasons inform the creation of classifications and typologies, but these specifics are ignored when classifications and typologies are subsequently used as if interchangeable. One difference is that 'classification' refers to the creation of categories in reference to sets of attributes, whereas 'typologies' concern the process of sorting materials into these discrete groups (Adams & Adams 1991, 47). Where the rules of classification are general and involve creating '*partially* contrasting categories, which exist in a state of 'balanced opposition',' the rules of typology define mutually exclusive and independent groups (Adams 1988, 43). An object or archaeological feature cannot theoretically be placed in more than one type. However, in practice the definition of 'type' is vague and there is not a single or uniform procedure for creating these types (Klejn 1982, 18-19). Types can be used to sort objects chronologically or functionally and in most instances embody at least implicit value judgements (Brophy 1999, 27-29). The creation and maintenance of types have shaped the basis of further archaeological interpretations and need to be critically re-evaluated. Some of the debates on the methods of and reasons for typologies in archaeology are presented here to highlight particular issues.

4.2.2 Debating Typologies

Descriptive terms for archaeological features have been adopted, popularised and refined throughout archaeological history. Debates surrounding the systematic use of classification in archaeology increased as analytical methodologies in archaeology developed in mid 20th century America. These debates were fuelled by criticisms of the unsystematic methodologies used to create classifications, which at this time was to elucidate the behaviours of the past. 'Typologies are proliferated without apparent concern for what the concepts involved are likely to mean when reduced to concrete

human behaviours' (Kluckhohn 1939, 338). Some advocated the development of universal and consistent methodologies of classification (Krieger 1944). Yet, universally accepted methodologies would be impossible to create. Opinions were generally divided between those who thought typologies reflected 'natural' patterns and those who thought they were 'artificial' creations (see Dunnell 1986; Adams & Adams 1991, Chapter 22; Lucas 2001, 82-86 for comprehensive overviews). For some, logical deduction could lead to the creation of 'natural' typologies that related directly to ancient cultural meanings or behaviours or even the choices made by prehistoric artefact-makers (Rouse 1939; Spaulding 1953). Types could be assessed on their validity to reflect cultural patterns inherent in the data (Spaulding 1953). In contrast, other contemporary archaeologists felt that typologies were created for the specific purposes of archaeological research and could be best defined by objective and empirical typologies (Brew 1946; Ford 1952, 1954; Ford & Steward 1954). Subsequent archaeologists took up different aspects of these two sides of the debate. While in many cases types were seen as culturally meaningful, rigid 'objective' methodologies were devised to isolate the most viable attributes to reflect prehistoric meanings. By accepting that there are general rules for the way archaeological evidence can be described and compared, the flexibility of the process of classification was stifled.

4.2.3 Are Types Real?

At the core of the continuing debate is whether types are real. Expanding on the sentiments of Phillips *et al.* (1951), who raised their concerns over the language common in archaeology that suggests types are 'real', O'Brien and Lyman (2002, 41) further stated that, for example, 'a sherd is Baytown Plain *only* because it resides in a category we created and decided to call Baytown Plain. There is no essential property of a sherd that makes it Baytown Plain; it simply has the characteristics specified for that unit. Tomorrow we might reclassify the sherd as something else.' The same can be said of any type that is used in archaeology such as broch, roundhouse or hill-fort. The belief that types are real is underpinned by the idea that universal patterns of human behaviour can be accessed through the logical creation of classifications. By assuming that types are real it is inevitable that certain classifications come to be seen as more valid than others.

It is assumed that more valid and real interpretations of the past may be accessed through objectively-defined classifications. From an objectivist perspective there are two different

kinds of properties, those that are essential to the object, which are definitive, and those that are accidental, which result in variability (Lakoff 1987, 171). This viewpoint was particularly advocated by processual archaeologists such as Clarke who proposed 'an artifact type has a reality which resides in a highly correlated inner core of attributes with a outer cloud or halo of attributes of decreasing levels of correlation' (Clarke 1968,196). It was perceived that the inner core of attributes could be measured, objectively defined and consistently observed by any person and was important to the understanding of prehistoric relationships. Yet it is the archaeologist that chooses which properties to record and not to record. Computer-based programs in some cases were developed in order to eliminate any human inconsistencies and biases (Adams & Adams 1991), but these ultimately failed to get rid of the culturally-defined choices involved in their creation. Current computer programs for aerial archaeological information have been designed to be objective and consistent so that they can be more useful to archaeological interpretation than traditional classifications, often based on 'functional' attributes (Edis *et al.* 1989; Horne & MacLeod 1991; Bewley 1991). However, in these cases consistency is confused with objectivity and reality. Typologies are assumed to be the 'best' because a consensus has been reached on the attributes that can be repeatedly identified, and 'often leads the archaeologist into viewing his types as *the types* ...'(Hill and Evans 1972, 235 original emphasis). This is a fundamental issue. Classification is a form of communication and therefore basic conformity to rules of any specific typology can be taught to some extent. It is important to explore the assumed significance of having sites or features that conform to a subjectively and culturally defined ideal or 'type'.

The frequently-cited categorisation from a Chinese encyclopedia entitled *The Celestial Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge* divides animals into the various, seemingly random and subjective categories such as 'belonging to the Emperor, fabulous, and that from a long way off look like flies' (Borges cited in Foucault 1970, *vx*). Although the veracity of this "Chinese encyclopaedia" has been questioned, Foucault used this example to highlight the blinding power of the modern Western rationale. He shows that there are a variety of ways in which the world can be perceived, experienced and logically classified, and each is defined by cultural accepted beliefs and practices (also see Sokal 1977; Ellen & Reason 1979; Miller 1985; Lakoff 1987). In the same way methods of classification in archaeology are also confined within culturally-defined traditions of communication, discourse and practical methodologies. The classification process is inherently subjective - even computer-based classifications are influenced by specific research agendas and the

choices of attributes. Similarly, classifications based on 'scientific' methods, and assumed to be objective, rely on perceptions, experiences and expectations. As Einstein noted:

> 'The eyes of the scientist are directed upon those phenomena which are accessible to observation, upon their appreciation and conceptual formulation. In the attempt to achieve a conceptual formulation of the confusingly immense body of observational data, the scientist makes use of a whole arsenal of concepts which he imbibed practically with his mother's milk; and seldom if ever is he aware of the eternally problematic character of his concepts. He uses this conceptual material, or, speaking more exactly, the conceptual tools of thought, as something obviously, immutably given; something having an objective value of truth which is hardly ever, and in any case not seriously, to be doubted' (Einstein 1954, *xi -xii*).

The attributes chosen to define a classification scheme can be enumerable. Morphological characteristics in particular have been drawn on to form the basis of objective classifications (cf. Bewley 1994; Hunn 1996 for British Iron Age examples). Morphology may appear to be natural or essential to the character of objects, however, even the way we describe the shape and size of a feature is subjective. The shapes or sizes of a feature or object are defined by taking measurements of the remnants of these past features using modern standards. Often these measurements are expressed through abstract plans or photographs. This process is especially crucial when 'types' partly depend on maximum and minimum dimensions or on the appearance of this plans. Furthermore, the evidence that is observable when recorded only represents one phase of the feature and not a true reflection of the complex history of the past (cf. Barclay 1989). Choosing whether to record the inner diameter or the outer diameter of an enclosure or characterising a feature as circular rather than oval are all subjective processes and depend on the research question, expectations and experiences. Examining the Later Prehistoric settlement in the Tweed valley, Wise (2002, 95) decided 'in the end an attempt to classify site morphology in finer detail than the general classes 'curvilinear' and 'rectilinear' was abandoned. These two broad classes do seem to hold generally, although considerable internal variation exists in the curvilinear category...'. She does not deny that the evidence could have been ordered by more detailed morphology, however, Wise relied on the common interpretation that rectilinear and curvilinear features are chronologically distinct and therefore concluded that these were the most interpretively useful distinctions for her. Typologies inevitably simplify the past and are reductionist (Barclay 1989; Lucas 2001).

The adherence to traditional types or 'objective' classifications, as if 'real', only reflects a narrow range of relationships, based on selective similarities and differences. 'Types' are designed to define objects and features into absolute and distinct groups with no room to accommodate those that may not fit within them. The repeated use of specific 'types' or 'objective' attributes often mask other potential differences or similarities that could be observed, thus limiting the potential interpretations of the archaeological evidence. There have been numerous criticisms of 'objective' archaeological practice and awareness of the subjectivity of classification as part of a wider hermeneutic process (notably Shanks & Tilley 1987a, 1987b; Hodder 1992). To suggest that archaeologists are not aware of the subjectivity of classifications and typologies would be false (Kristiansen 1988). Yet, since traditional methods of excavation and survey depend on viewing the remains of the past as static and definite, traditional types are still the predominant way to describe the past, even within an interpretive discourse (*cf* Hodder 1997, 1999; Lucas 2001; Jones 2002). Classification is about making choices: what to observe, how to express these observations and where to draw the line between observations in order to create discrete classes. As Adams and Adams (1991, 48) stated that 'it is the purpose [or the research question] of the classifier that dictates the choice of variables and attributes that are to be considered in the typology, and that choice in turn determines the nature of the types that result'. The creation and use of typologies are influenced by *a priori* assumptions, particular agendas and expectations of the archaeological material.

4.2.4 Motivations for Classification

There are many reasons to construct different typologies, relating to the nature of the data as well as the specific questions that are asked of that data. It could be argued that 'classificatory concepts in general are intended to help the archaeologist to recognise, describe and summarise regularities in the data and so to distinguish the significant from the haphazard' (Hodson 1980, 8) and are useful for interpreting the archaeological evidence (Ford & Griffin 1938; Adams & Adams 1991; Lucas 2001). Yet these systems do not take into account irregularities, and often features or objects, which may be defined by certain anomalies, are made to fit within pre-existing types. As I have tried to demonstrate, the patterns created are embedded in the method of distinguishing attributes and characteristics that has its origins in Western enlightenment thinking. Furthermore, classification may be used to relay a variety of agendas: to access past behaviours or mental templates of their makers (e.g. positivism); as historical indicators of temporal and

spatial relationships between human groups (e.g. culture history); to organise the evidence (e.g. excavation archives); or to manage archaeological material (e.g. sites and monuments records, museum collections). Standardising specifically defined classifications may be practical for the management of sites and monuments records at national levels. Yet, even in these cases, multiple levels of classification *could* be incorporated into these larger systems, which would allow for changing trends in theory, practice and interpretation (Baines and Brophy 2005).

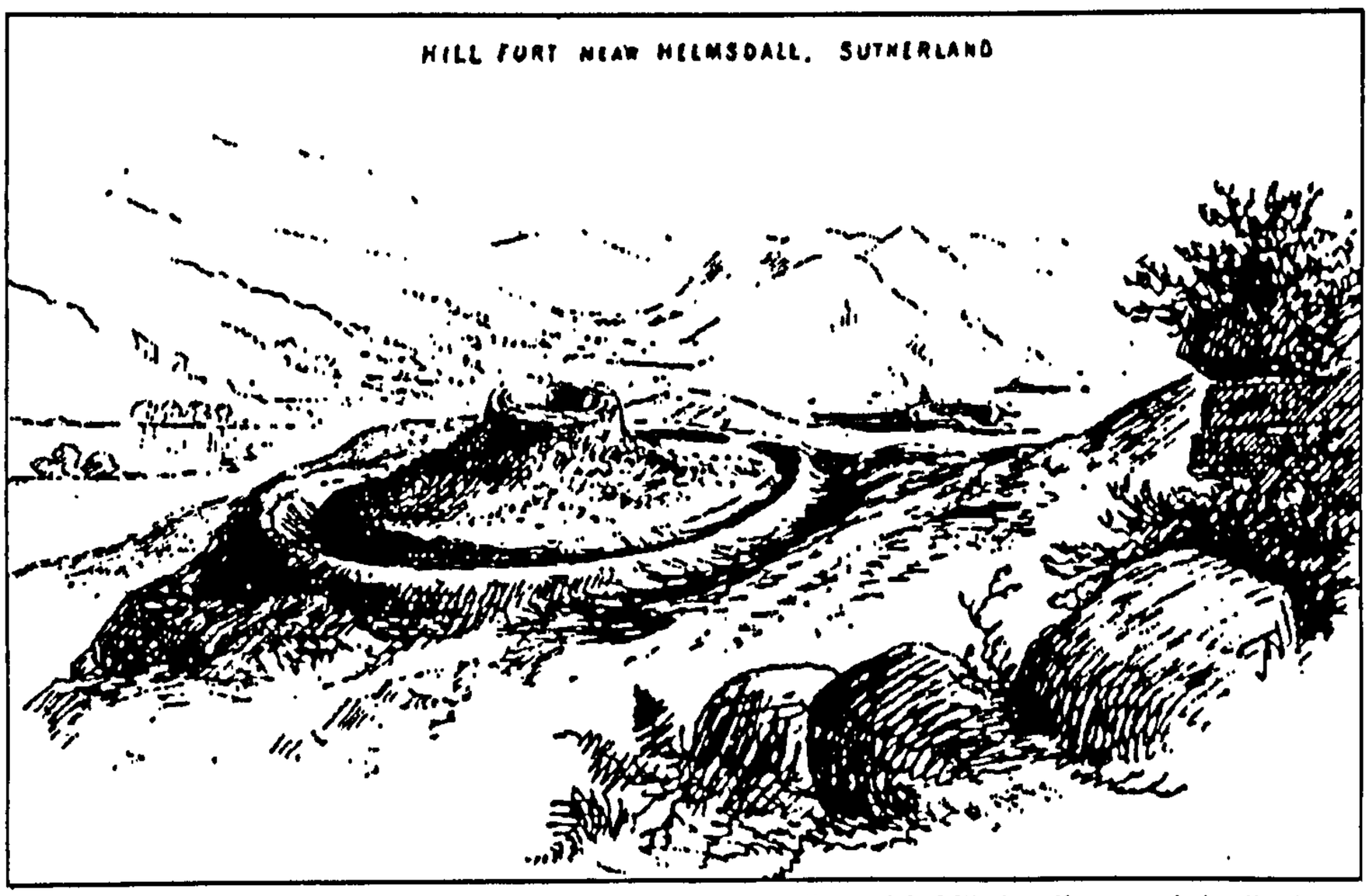
It cannot be denied that classifying is a simple way of communicating complex ideas and judgements. As Sokal (1977, 188) suggests that 'all classifications aim to achieve economy of memory'. Abstract labels are used to represent a list of attributes. Everyone classifies. When we classify we make decisions on how to classify, which traits we use to create our classes and formulate types. This 'everyday' process of classification is not uniform: each person, group, community or culture has different accepted preferences (whether consciously acknowledged or not) of traits to use to create their classes (see Ellen & Reason 1979; Lakoff 1987). Multiple forms of classification can co-exist. Classification is part of everyday life as a coping mechanism for communication and understanding (see Brophy 1999, 22-30). Although typologies are inherently inflexible, the way we classify and create classification demands flexibility because of the variety of purposes for classification (Adams & Adams 1991, Chapter 13; Klejn 1982, 51-3). 'Classification, like statistics, is not an end in itself but a technique by means of which to attain specified objectives, and so it must be varied with the objective' (Rouse 1960, 313). Therefore, although the purposes for classification are rarely explicitly stated in archaeological research, it is vital to be aware of the actual motivations for classification.

4.2.5 Confusion of Language and Interpretation

Although rarely appreciated, the reality of archaeological classification is a variety of co-existing and conflicting typologies. There have been many attempts to systematise archaeological typologies by constructing objective typologies based on recurrent associations of diagnostic attributes; yet, most of the types used in prehistoric British archaeology, including hill-fort and roundhouse, are actually not types in the true sense of the word. In most cases, sites are grouped on the basis of a vague overall similarity. As in the case of 'hill-forts' each site does not have to share all the same attributes to be included within the type (see Whallon & Brown 1982; Lucas 2001, 97). Some

archaeologists may distinguish hill-forts from other features by their defensibility (Forde-Johnston 1976; Harding 1976; Cowley 2000), but this is a vague characteristic, relying on personal judgement and modern preconceptions. In order for clear communication the values of variables that distinguish features need to be explicit (Hodson 1982).

In British archaeology, types such as hill-fort have continued in common usage for over a hundred years and have their origin in the 19th century. However, its use has changed and there have been many attempts to standardise its meaning within different theoretical frameworks (eg Hawkes 1931; Avery 1976; Fordes-Johnston 1976; Cunliffe 1974; Hill 1993, 1995a). It was not the original intention for terms such as hill-fort to be a type in the technical sense. Initially sites were called hill-forts based on very general characteristics and were not defined by a strict list of criteria. To antiquarians hill-forts broadly included all large constructions enclosed by banks, ditches, or walls that were located on hills and were not thought to be post-Medieval in date (Fig. 4.1). Only later were there attempts to draw up lists of hill-forts, therefore forcing specific criteria to exclude sites (*cf.* Hawkes 1931). In subsequent years some archaeologists tried to refine the traditional term hill-fort to represent the pinnacle of a hierarchy of sub-types that could be defined by rigid characteristics relating to the internal 'enclosed' dimensions, number of enclosing banks and relationship to natural contours of the hill it was situated on (Avery 1976; Fordes-Johnston 1976).



(Fig. 4.1: Known in the current classification system as a 'broch', Kilphedir was labelled as a 'hill fort' by antiquarians (Baines 2002, 10; from Joass 1865, figure 7)

More recent studies questioned the interpretation of hill-forts as primarily defensive or high status places and suggested that there were important characteristics that hill-forts shared with other types of sites (Bowden & McOmish 1987; Hill 1993, 1995a; Hamilton & Manley 2001). Each study has added a layer of interpretation to the definition of hill-fort and its meaning as a 'type' has come into question. If asked, any British archaeologist could think of several examples of hill-forts. This is because we are embedded within a particular discourse with its own vocabulary. Therefore, no matter how we are trained to describe the archaeological evidence, this does not necessarily reflect the function, meaning or chronology of features in the past. To engage with the complexity of the relationships between features in prehistory we have to question our assumptions associated with the familiar words we use to describe the archaeology. Histories similar to that of the 'hill-fort' can be recounted for other types of monuments used in archaeological literature. Once a 'type' is established within a discourse, the associated interpretations of this type become the framework in which any subsequent interpretation is situated.

The criteria for traditional types, such as hill-fort, developed through the analysis and observations of particular examples in the field. The character of these features, taken as a finite dataset, were generalised in order to create the characteristics of the type. In some cases, specific sites became known as the ideal type, or type-site, by which other sites were compared. Furthermore, the results of excavations or detailed surveys of a type-site are often applied to all others within the type, and inevitably this process proved to be problematic as highlighted by Bradley's evaluation of the Iron Age Continental features called *viereckschanzen* (see Bradley 2003, 10-11; Bradley 2005, 16-23). The initial excavation at Holzhausen resulted in a list of characteristics to define all *viereckschanzen*, and on the basis of some general morphological characteristics a large groups of features were classified and interpreted from the results of this excavation. Yet in subsequent years, as more features known as *viereckschanzen* were excavated, certain details of the evidence from Holzhausen have been rarely repeated; in fact the site is not typical at all (*ibid*, 10). This example highlights the power of the process of archaeological typologies to influence the interpretation of archaeological features and to ignore the important differences of individual sites (see Tringham 1994, 171-2). In Iron Age studies the focus of archaeological research and excavation in specific areas of Southern Britain have influenced the interpretations of particular types, which are blindly applied to other sites within that 'type' without regard of their own specific context. This form of intellectual

colonialism has a distinct effect on how understudied areas, like many areas of Scotland, where there have been few excavations are perceived and researched.

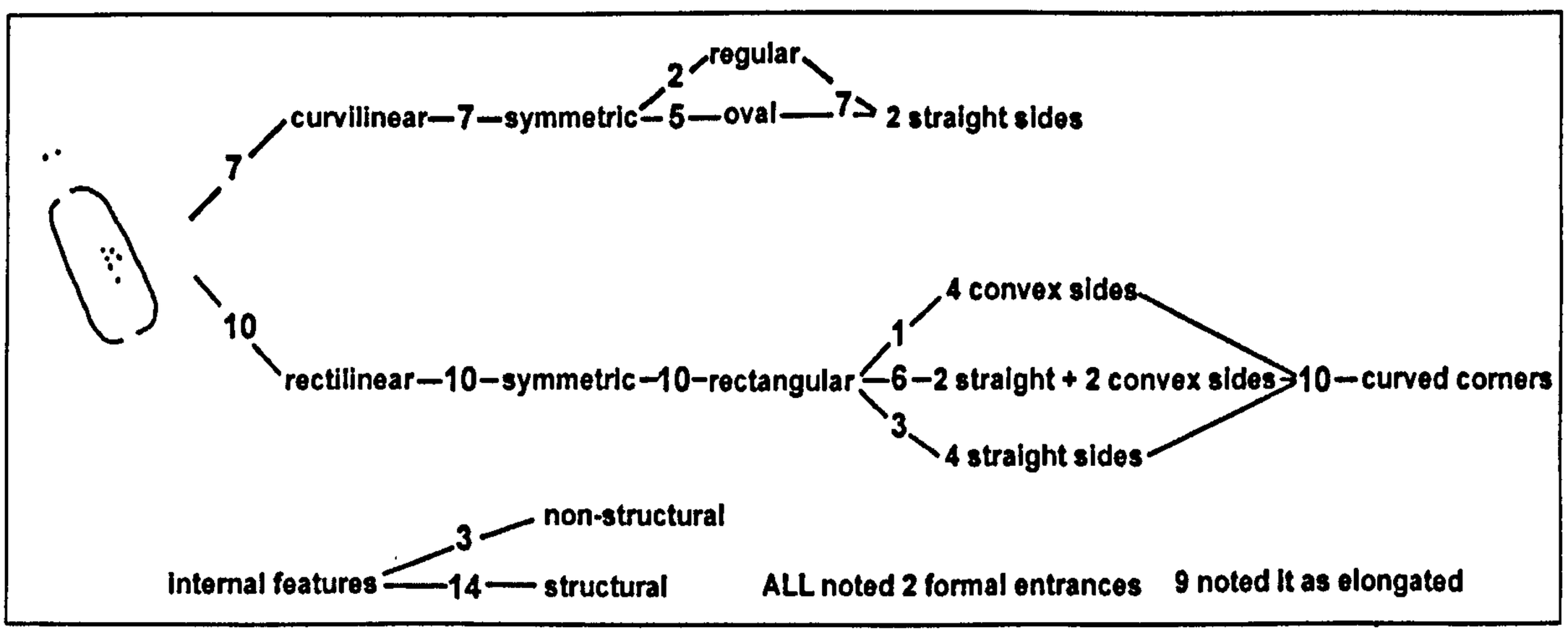
Currently, new features recorded from excavations and surveys are made to fit into the established typologies, which have their associated interpretations and expectations already intact (see Baines and Brophy 2005). Few new types of archaeological features have been introduced in recent years; or at least that is how it seems. If features do not adequately fit into established types they are often described by general categories such as 'enclosure', which have limited interpretive significance (see Welfare 1980). Rarely are archaeological features treated in their own right or described by their distinct attributes, but instead are generally made to fit into pre-existing groups based on general similarities. What is more, in practice the similarities by which features are placed within existing types are not consistent; in one case it may be the size of the internal area while in another case it may be the number of ditches. Therefore, the initial discriminatory purpose of a 'type' is no longer meaningful, and so the result is an inconsistent classification. Some traditional types, such as the hill-fort or enclosure, have acquired so many meanings they have become general and vague, to the extent that the terms are useless (see the example of cursus in Brophy 1999), but for the sake of ease of communication these types are retained (e.g. broch in Baines 2002, 6-8).

Researchers aware of the limitations of traditional typologies have attempted to develop 'objective' classificatory schemes, schemes that are all encompassing. This is particularly the case with aerial archaeological information. Aerial archaeology is usually treated as a separate discipline within archaeology. The 2-dimensional and detached nature of cropmark evidence is conducive to morphological descriptions (Ralston & Shepherd 1983; Whimster 1989; Bewley 1994; Stoertz 1997). However, the usefulness of morphological classifications such as 'rectilinear, round-ended features' compared to traditional functionally based typologies has been endlessly debated (e.g. Macinnes 1983, Harding 1984b, Bewley 1984, Hingley 1991). Despite this new trend to create classifications of aerial photographic information that moves away from the burdens of traditional typologies, in many cases, the interpretation of cropmarks still relies on comparisons to traditional earthwork types (see Palmer 1976; Maxwell 1983; Stoertz 1997). Not only based on morphology, but also on the spatial relationships of cropmarks (whether in clusters or isolated) are translated in terms of traditional types for interpretive purposes. For instance Stoertz (1997, 33) refers to small circular cropmarks in clusters as 'ring-ditches', which she

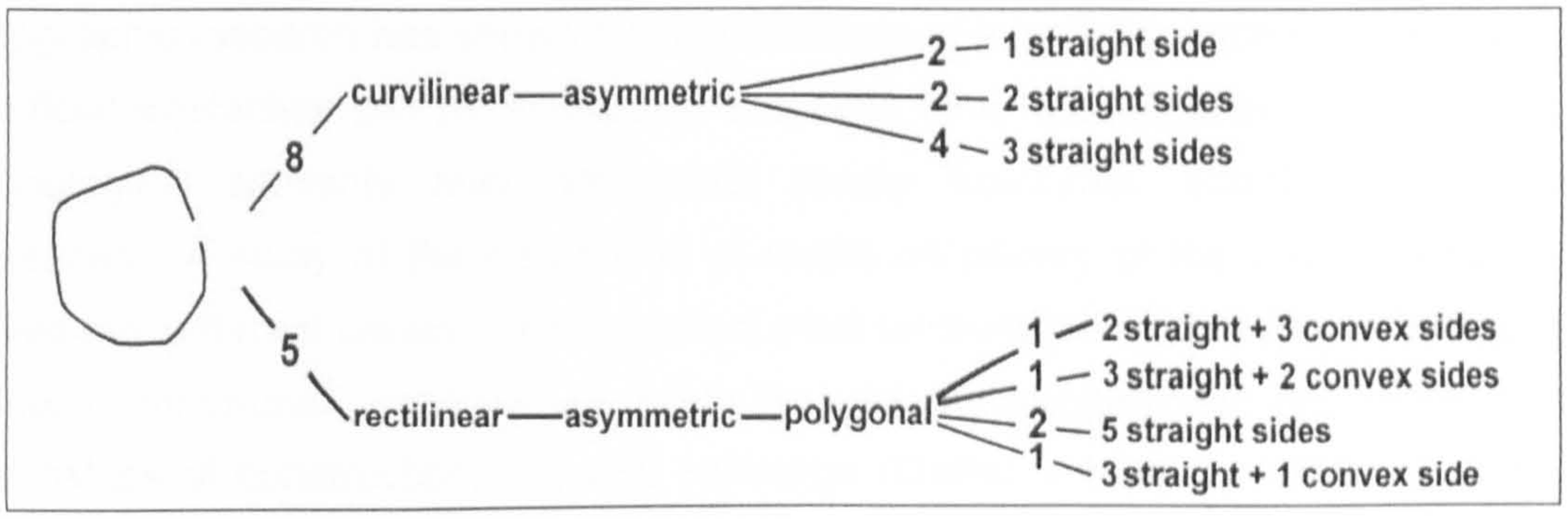
further interprets, based on the association with the traditional type 'ring-ditch', as potential burial features.

Each morphologically-defined feature is ultimately equated with traditional 'baggage laden' descriptive terms and not treated for the patterns they create themselves. In cases where the morphology does not have the characteristic attributes that relate to 'known' types, this data is often ignored as too undiagnostic to be considered in further studies (see Cowley 2000, 169). In other cases, these features are uncritically placed within a general chronological time frame. For Iron Age studies of the Southern Scotland, Welfare (1980, 4) has proposed that '...the Iron Age has tacitly tended to become a typological dustbin, full of the items that the specialists in other periods have discarded...all too often the outline on the photograph is so undistinguished as to almost defy classification'.

The limitations of morphological comparisons have been noted. These limitations were exposed by an experiment where a small select group of aerial archaeologists or those with an interest in aerial archaeology were asked to describe 2-dimensional plans of aerial transcriptions of archaeological features using a set of pre-defined choices, such as 'curvilinear' or 'rectilinear' (Horne & MacLeod 1991). Despite previous training in archaeological materials of most of the participants, there were examples of great disagreement where nearly half the people chose to record one feature as 'curvilinear', while the other half decided 'rectilinear' (Fig. 4.2 a & b) (*ibid* 13 &14).

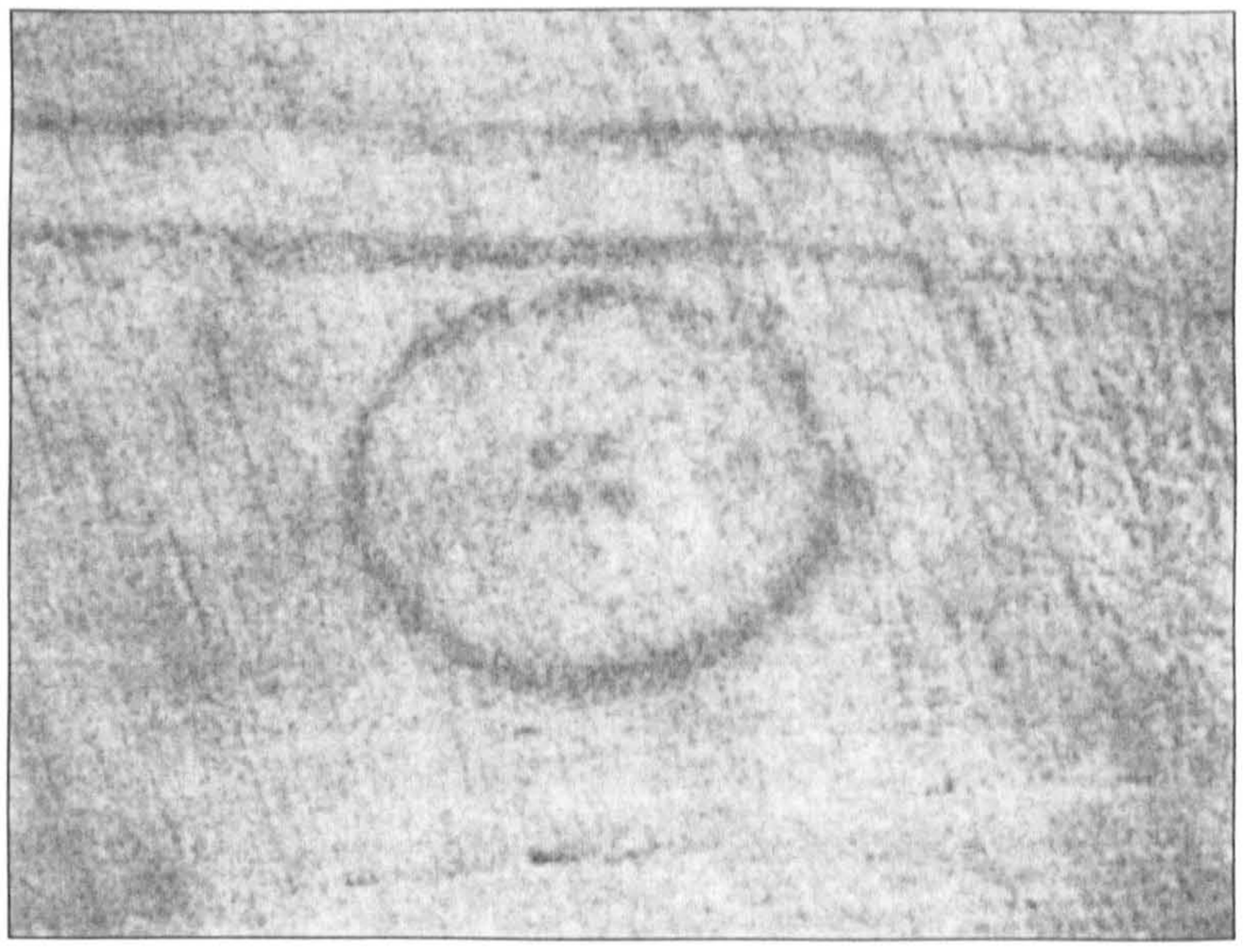


(Fig. 4.2a: Example of the variability in the classification of cropmark transcriptions (after Horne & MacLeod 1991; fig 2a))



(Fig. 4.2b: Example of the variability in the classification of cropmark transcriptions (after Horne & MacLeod 1991; fig 3))

During the process of excavation there are many occasions where expectations based on morphological similarities have been proven to be misleading (see Reynolds 1980; Barclay 2001b; Johnson *et al* 2003). In one instance, a wide-ditched circular cropmark with several internal 'pits' had been noted at Hayknowes, Dumfriesshire and based on morphological characteristics was thought to be a Bronze Age funerary monument (Fig. 4.3) (RCAHMS 1997, 105). However, upon excavation it was determined to date to the Medieval period (Gregory 2001a). Because the feature was so unusual for this period, it did not fit within the well-established typological tradition, and ironically the function was interpreted to be more ambiguous after excavation than it was as a cropmark. This example shows how archaeological practice is guided by our expectations and often requires re-evaluation (Hodder 1997; Hodder 1999; Lucas 2001; Jones 2002).



(Fig. 4.3: Hayknowes, Dumfriesshire: Bronze Age barrow or Medieval tower? © RCAHMS 1997, 105)

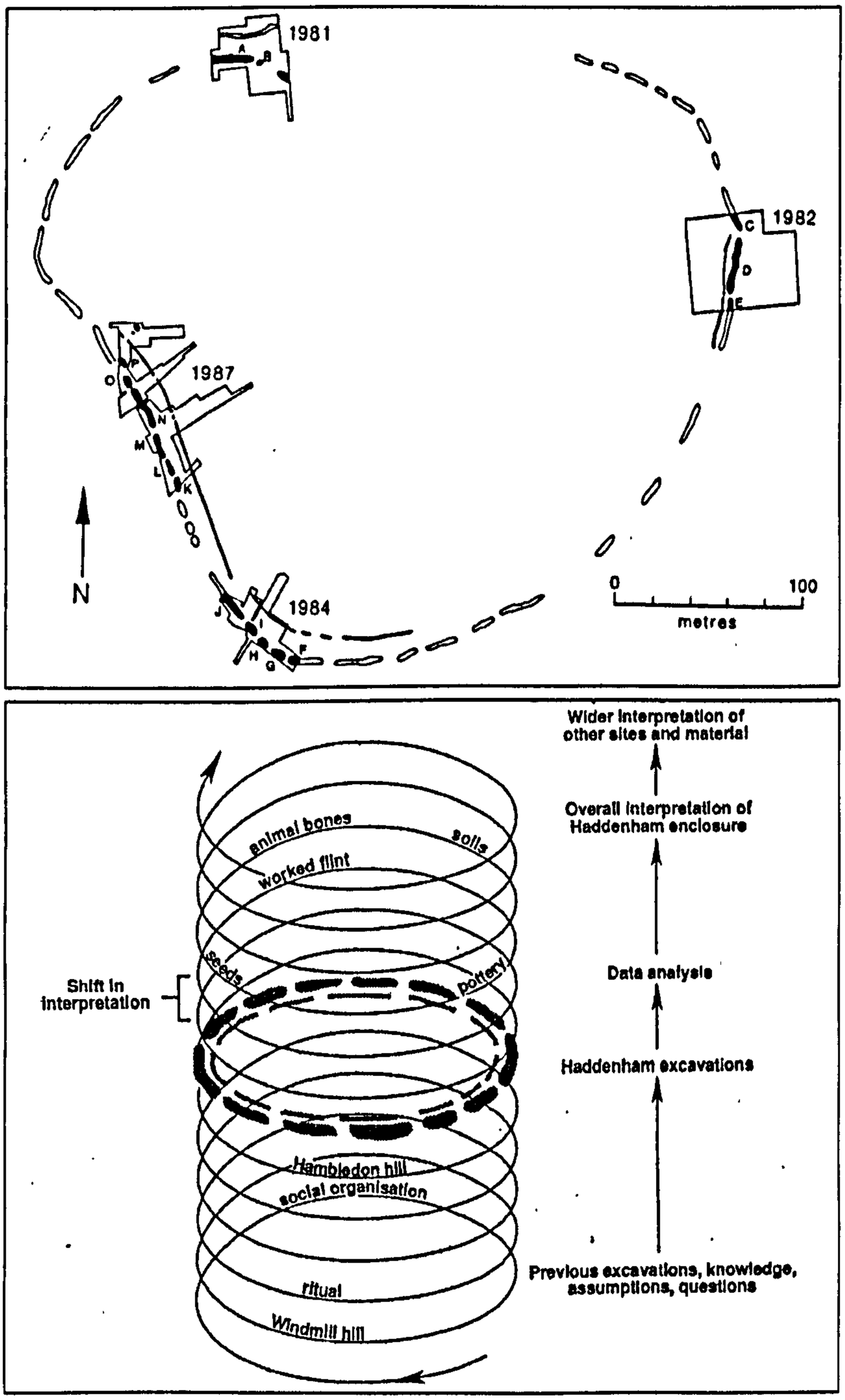
Ethnographic research has shown that expectations of the significance of morphological or superficial similarities can be misleading and belie other relationships (Chilton 1999, 50). Morphological similarity may not reflect simply functional, social or chronological differences. A study of the distribution of motifs on pottery of the Luo in Kenya, Africa showed that different patterns did not reflect tribal territorial boundaries, nor did they reflect particular communal identities as often thought in archaeology, but more complex relationships of construction, use and exchange (Dietler & Herbich 1994). At the same time differences and similarities of less visible attributes may be part of creating social relationships. Another study has shown that in some cases vessel-shaping processes, not easily visible in archaeological contexts, could reflect social boundaries more than the physical appearance of the finished pottery (see Gosselain 1992 and Stark 1999). This is not to say that morphological characteristics should not inform classifications from which patterns can be discerned and interpreted. The problem is the assumption that these are objective and the primary way of accessing the past. By adhering to very specific simplified characteristics in the classification process, the complexities of the archaeological evidence and the potential for interpreting the past are downplayed. Certain attributes are given preference over other factors. 'By assuming continuity *within* and discontinuity *between* types, and by assuming the relationship between attributes of material culture to be static through time, the typological process masks a certain amount of diversity in material culture' (Chilton 1999, 44; also see Brophy 1999, 43; Lucas 2001). Standardised typologies are ultimately reductionist, avoiding the complexity of the data (Gosden and Lock forthcoming). There are many other observations that are ignored. In order to explore the potential of classification and the observations that can contribute to wider interpretations, it is important to highlight the interpretive role of forming classifications and typologies themselves.

4.3 Classification and Interpretation

4.3.1 Interpreting the Hermeneutic Spiral

Interpretive archaeologies developed initially as a critique of empirical and positivist archaeologies of processualism (Shanks & Tilley 1987a, 1987b; Shanks & Hodder 1995; Thomas 1996a; Hodder 1999). They argued, amongst other issues, that it is impossible to seek the truth of the past through objective, scientific models. Instead, archaeologists are involved in a complex interpretive relationship with material culture. Taking their

inspiration from hermeneutic philosophers such as Heidegger (1962), Gadamer (1975), and Ricoeur (1976, 1981), it was suggested that all aspects of archaeology are interpretive and all understanding is prejudiced (Hodder 1999; Shanks 1992; Shanks & Tilley 1987a). Outlining the multiple relationships between interpretations through space and time could be described as a fourfold hermeneutic (Shanks & Tilley 1987, 107-108), or is perhaps better conveyed visually as a spiral (Fig. 4.4b) (see Hodder 1992, 188-193).



(Fig. 4.4a & b: 2-dimensional plan of Haddenham; the hermeneutic spiral of Haddenham (Hodder 1999, fig 3.1 & 3.3))

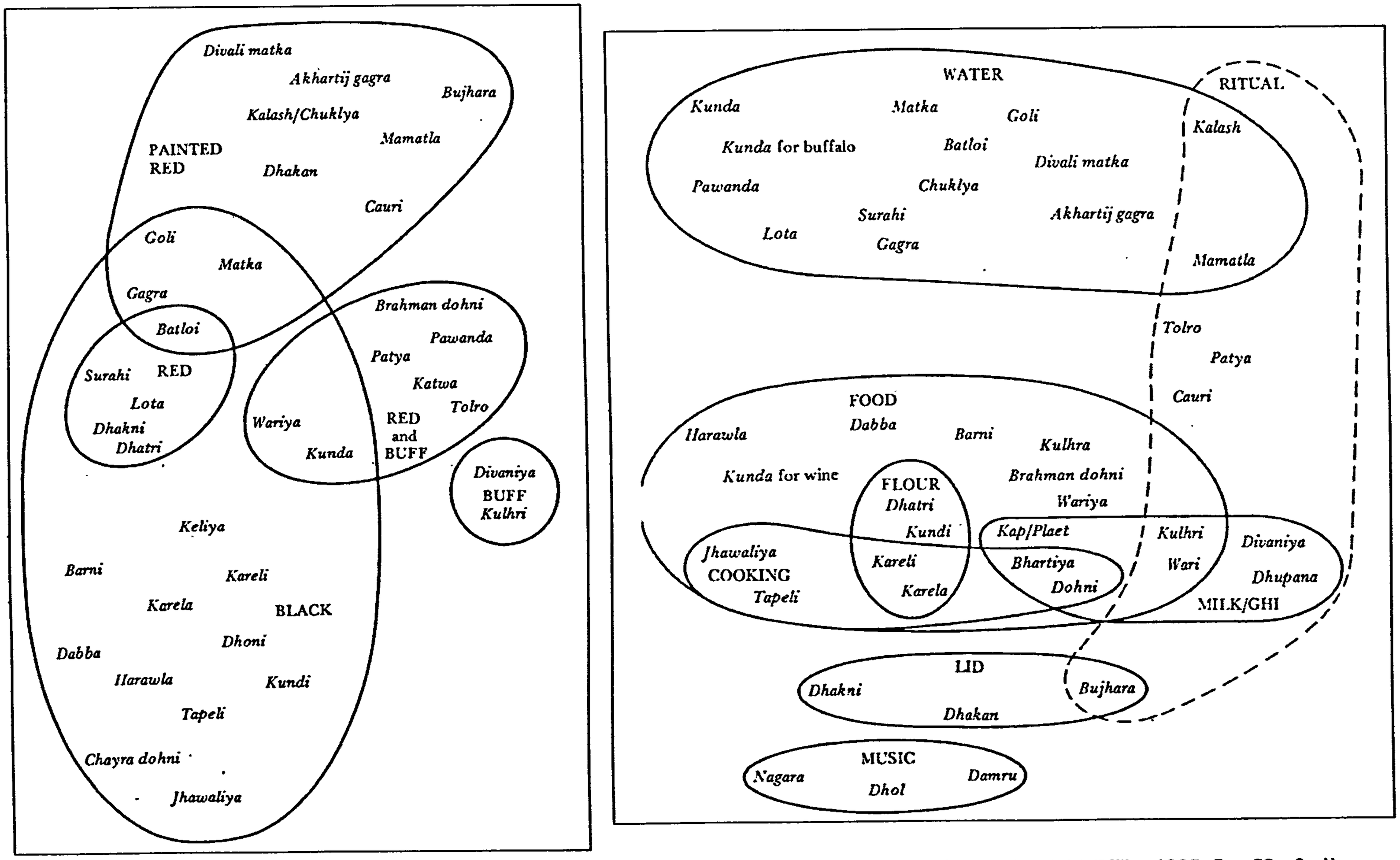
Within the hermeneutic spiral, expectations and pre-judgements inform archaeological research and guide methodologies, and through this process archaeologists relate to the material culture and further interpretations are made. Hodder explains the process by reflecting on his excavation at Haddenham in southern Cambridgeshire (Fig. 4.3), which, prior to excavation, was classified morphologically as a causewayed enclosure. Initially, Hodder's expectations of the excavation were influenced by this classification (Hodder 1992, 1999). However, during the excavation his expectations were not met as unanticipated evidence was encountered, influencing a substantial shift in interpretation of the site (Hodder 1999). This process highlighted to him the significance of expectations and experiences that are brought to bear on the interpretation of archaeological features. Depending on the personal and communal expectations of archaeologists conducting archaeological research and what features are encountered along the way, the resulting interpretations can be quite different. Therefore, multiple interpretations can co-exist, and each one can change through time.

Although there may be several interpretations of a site or archaeological feature, there are still some archaeologists who feel that some are 'better' interpretations than others based on the assumption that some interpretations more closely reflect the 'truth' (cf. Pope 2003 introduction). In essence, there is an underlying belief that there *is a single correct interpretation* that archaeologists can strive for. However, a major problem is 'testing' the veracity of an interpretation and isolating what is 'known' and, therefore, assumed to be true. Philosophers have also debated the issue of interpretation. Heidegger (1962), Gadamer (1975) and Margolis (1974; 2002) all suggest that there can be a number of equally correct interpretations of the same object. Yet, others maintain that there is only one interpretation for any given situation (Novitz 2002). Although there are multiple questions that one could ask of the archaeological evidence, there would be limited ways in which each question could be answered, depending on the character of the specific archaeological evidence and the archaeologist(s) doing the research.

Tilley (1993) stressed that often the method of proposing the conclusion of an archaeological issue was considered as 'interpretation' only if the outcome was perceived as 'unknown', while other actions and their consequences are taken for granted as 'known' and, therefore, not interpretation. Interpretation is a constant process of filling in the gaps between what is perceived as 'known' versus what is 'unknown' (Novitz 2000; Shanks & Hodder 1995, 6). Considering the hermeneutic spiral, however, what is

perceived as 'known' only exists in relation to specific and/or communal expectations and experiences, which are themselves the result of interpretation. As mentioned earlier, caution must be given to equating consensus with reality or truth. It may seem obvious that a pot is a pot, but even this seemingly basic description is interpretive, bridging the gap between what is unknown (e.g. the function) and the actual experience of relating to a physical entity (e.g. touching, holding, seeing). Once an entity is described it becomes *interpreted* as 'known' and from these 'knowns' further interpretations are made: such as the nature of their relationship to other entities. This is what Novitz (2002) refers to as 'elaborative interpretation', where the process of interpretation builds from itself, as the hermeneutic spiral suggests, and where the journey is just as, or sometimes, more important than the destination itself. Multiple interpretations are possible because of the subtle differences in the questions that are asked of the archaeological evidence and the variety of relationships that are drawn to answer these questions. As a result of differences in perspective, cultural objects and features are not seen as being real or concrete but can be perceived as having flexible and ambiguous meaning, and so there are many paths along which the archaeological evidence can be interpreted.

In practice, the flexibility of classifications as a 'tool to think' can provide a variety of alternatives to the interpretation of an object or feature by emphasising various relationships. For instance, an object may be called a 'pot', but could also be described as 'a thing that contains cremated bone' or 'an object made by moulding clay by hand'. Each description differs because they intentionally highlight distinct relationships to other objects or human actions. The proposition that 'what matters perhaps more than most things in archaeological work is knowing what *kind* of object one has, because it is only by identifying the objects that one can begin to understand better the relation between them' (Lucas 2001, 96) is a circular argument. The *known* identity of an archaeological object or feature is only established through the constructed relationships to other features within a typology: 'knowledge is created from our engagement with the world through the construction of categories' (Jones 2002, 168). Therefore, the classification of an archaeological feature as a 'hill-fort' does not constitute a fact, but one particular interpretation.



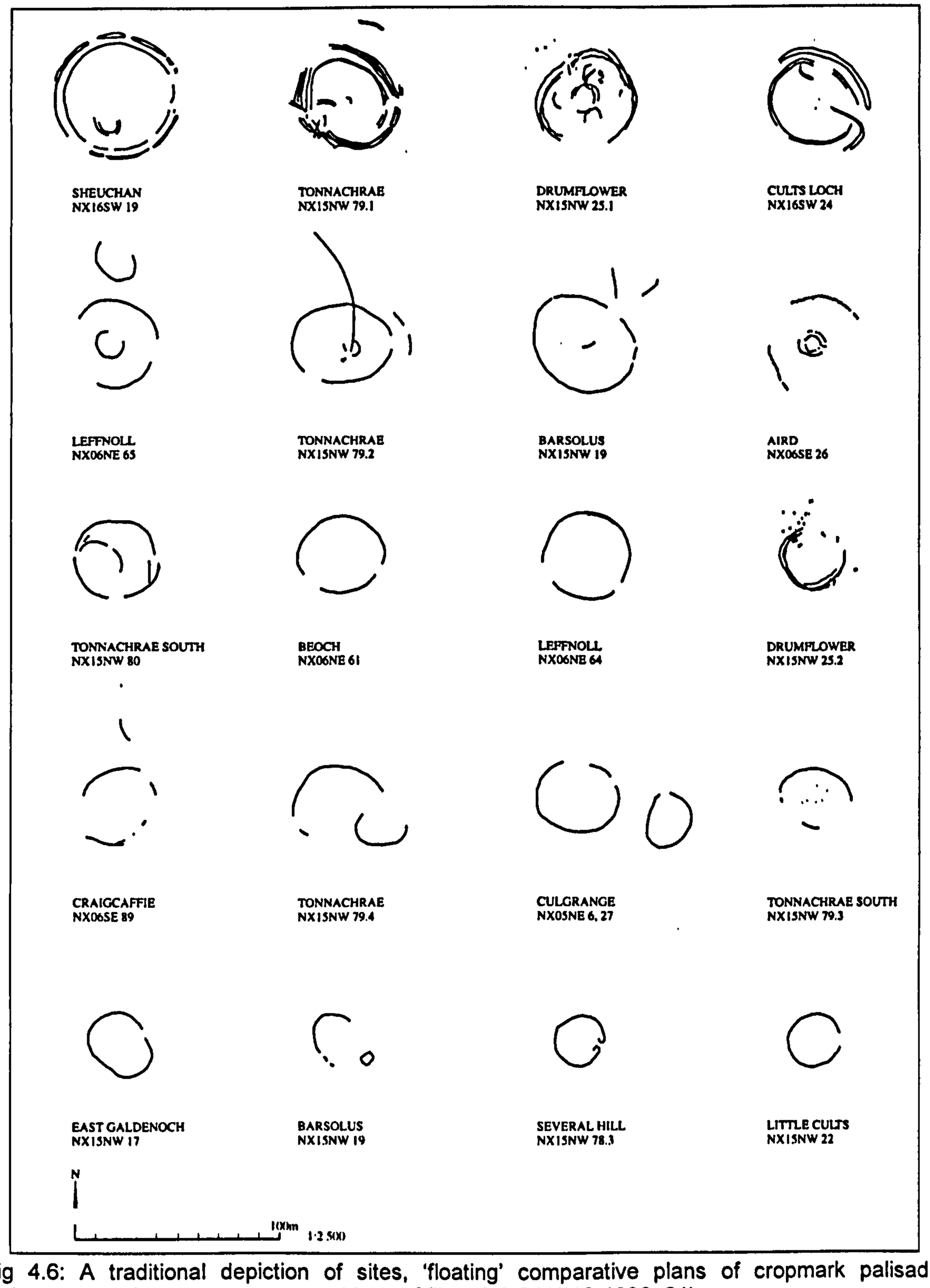
(Fig. 4.5: Different ways pottery is classified by the Dangwara, by colour on the left and function on the right (Miller 1985, figs 52a & c))

4.3.2 The Significance of Context

A feature is only classified or further interpreted based on its relation to other features or objects. As expressed through 'contextual archaeology', the context or situation the archaeological evidence is found in is important for its interpretation (Hodder 1986; Barrett 1987; Hodder 1987; Shanks & Tilley 1987a). Therefore the meaning associated with an artefact is not fixed but dependent on where it was deposited. Traditional classifications are based on the perception that attributes are inherent in the object or feature no matter where they were located and therefore context of where the object or feature was found is ignored in its classification (with respect to understanding that object). By way of contrast, Miller's (1985) study of pottery in Dangwara society in India illustrated the interdependence between context and interpretation (Shanks & Tilley 1987b, 110- 112; Jones 2002, 97). Miller (1985) found that simply interpreting a pot by its function ignored the variable use within and between social groups. The physical components of the pottery, which inform traditional classifications, were important, but the context was just as important (Fig. 4.5).

It has been shown that 'context' is not static but relative, and each context has its own significance (Yates 1990, 270-272). However, in contextual archaeology it is the context in which a feature originates, encountered first 'in the field' (such as during excavation) that is emphasised as significant. Reflexive interpretive approaches to material culture strive to combine both excavation and post-excavation 'contextual' experiences as a way to add further dimensions to the biographies of the artefacts, as well as explore interpretations (Lucas 2001; Jones 2002). Excavation has been likened to the challenges of an ethnographic encounter, generating feelings of otherness; such encounters are significant to the interpretation process (Barrett 1995; Richards 1995). Field survey can also be likened to ethnography, documenting the relationship between the researcher and the landscape. Tilley found it essential to his phenomenological approach, and for his interpretation of prehistoric monuments, to describe and write his experiences and interpretations in the field (Tilley 2004, chapter 1). Certain questions can only be explored further when considered in direct relation with the evidence. For instance, certain relationships between a place and its surrounding landscape, which are important to its biography, can only be experienced *in situ*. These relationships are lacking when places or archaeological features are abstracted in 2-dimensional plans for 'objective analyses'

(Barrett 1995, 6; Jones 2002, 60), something that Tilley's phenomenological fieldwork sought to avoid.



(Fig 4.6: A traditional depiction of sites, 'floating' comparative plans of cropmark palisaded enclosures, as if they were an assemblage of flints © RCAHMS 1996, 21)

To be classed as a 'hill-fort' or a 'broch', archaeological features are often abstracted from their original context. Plans or maps of the features are created, from which detailed comparisons and descriptions are based. Some typological studies can be compared to stamp-collecting, 'small postage-stamp line diagrams or line plans, set side by side for comparative purposes' (Tilley 1999, 97-8). This is starkly represented by page upon page of line drawings of 'floating' ground plans of archaeological sites (Fig. 4.6). These plans are abstractions of physical features in the landscape and their specific contexts and histories are excluded, reduced to two-dimensions.

So, the context in which an object is encountered is important in shaping experiences and influencing perceptions. Cognitive psychologists have shown that the perceived size and relative significance depends on the context and the relationship to other features (Smith & Samuelson 1997, 171-172) (Fig. 4.7).

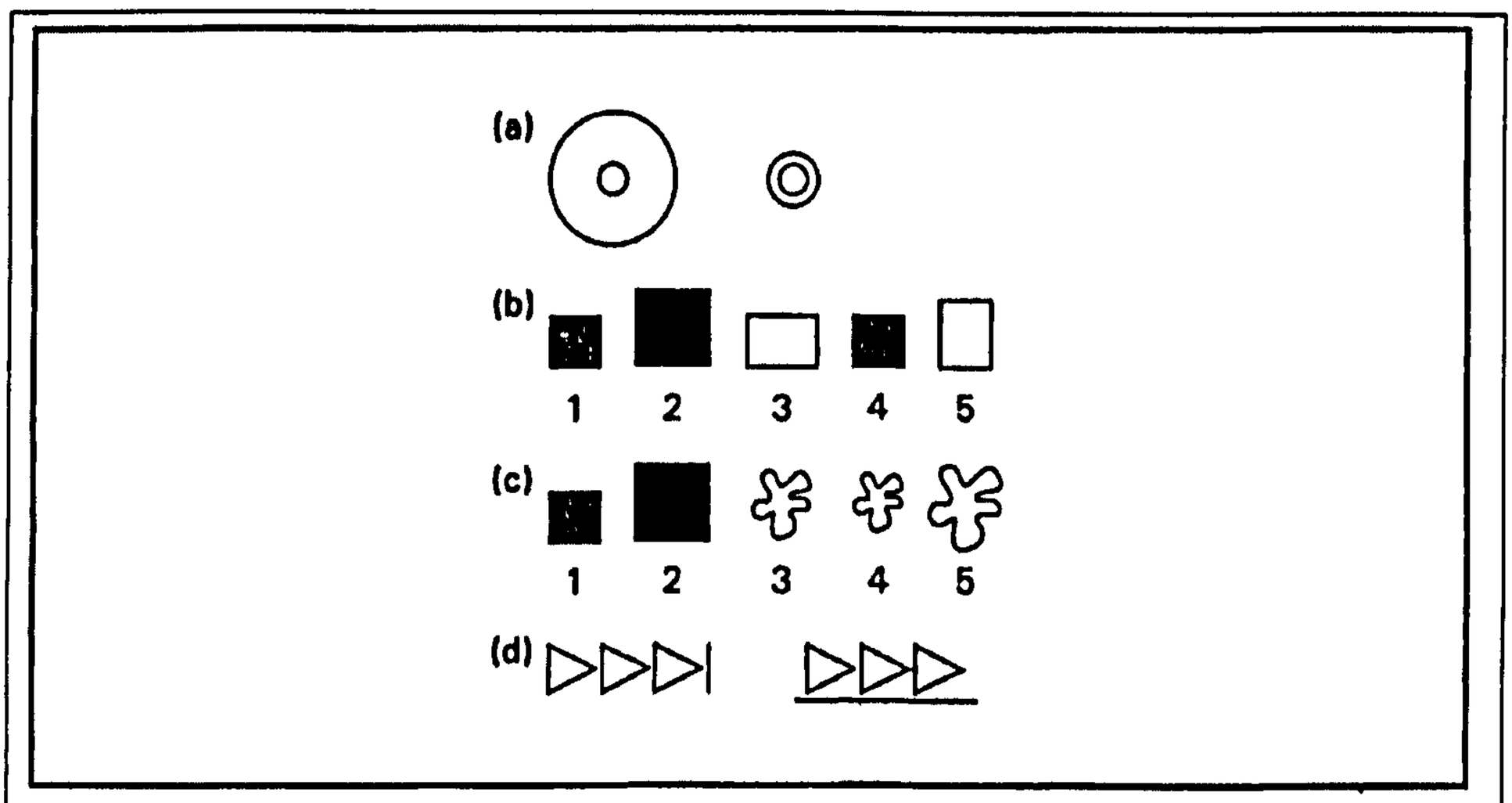
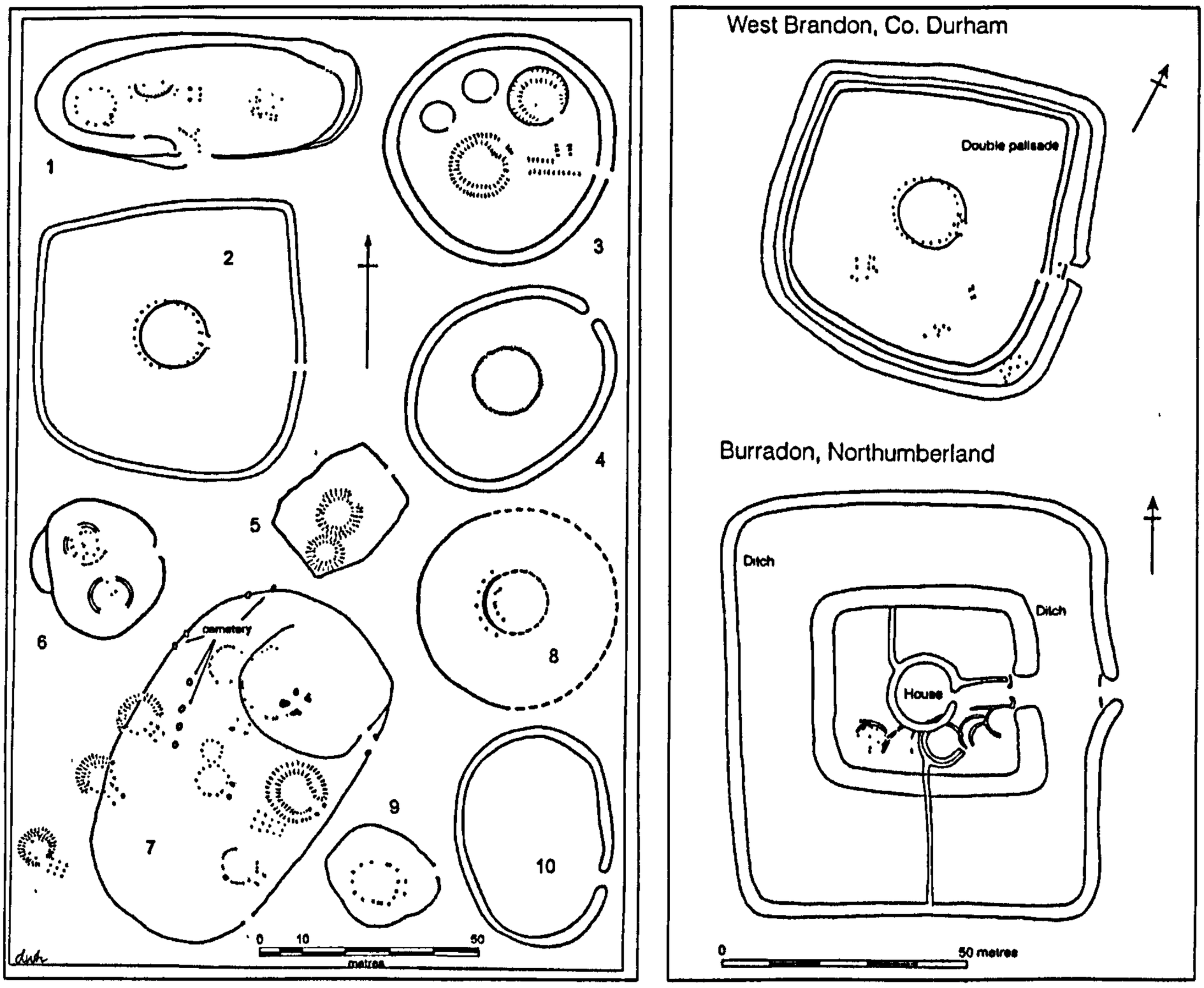


FIG. 5.5. Illustrations of context effects in perception: a – perceived size of centre circle depends on size of surrounding circle; b and c – perceived similarity of objects 1 and 2 depend on other objects in the comparison set; and d – the perceived shape and orientation of triangles depends of the perceived frame.

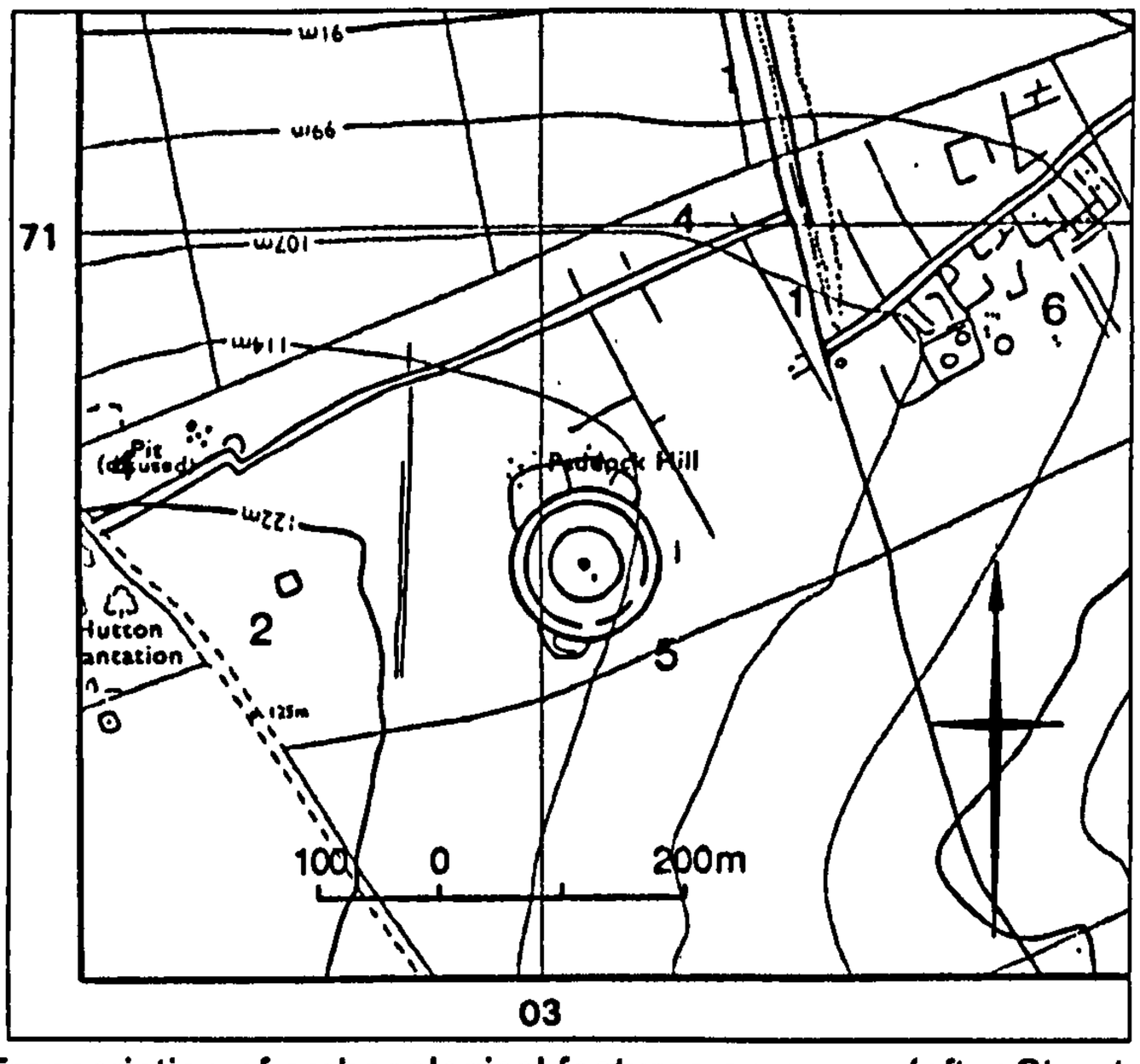
(Fig. 4.7: Schematic illustrating how context can influence perception (Smith & Sameulson 1997, fig. 5.5))

The presentation of 2-dimensional plans of archaeological features can affect how they are perceived. Different relationships and attributes are intentionally stressed, depending on which plans are placed side-by-side (Fig. 4.8). Likewise, comparing a plan of a feature with a map, or overlapping the two sets of information, highlights other relationships and

characteristics (Fig 4.9). However, even the additional information gained from maps, such as contour lines to depict elevation, so common to our current way of perceiving the landscape, is abstract and reflective of specifically 'chosen' information. Although these examples display valid interpretations of the relationships between archaeological features, these reflect only certain perspectives, perspectives that do not convey the human experience on the ground. As noted above, experience has been ignored in traditional classification methodologies where it has often been considered too subjective. Material culture does not just represent static entities, but instead material culture is part of a symbiotic relationship with human experience (Margolis 1974; Thomas 1996a).



(Fig. 4.8: Comparative plans emphasising different characteristics, on the left palisades, on the right rectilinear enclosures (after Harding 2005, 2.3; Cunliffe 2005, fig 14.9))



(Fig. 4.9: Transcription of archaeological features on a map (after Stoertz 1997, 78)

The meaning and function of archaeological features can change over time, like people and society, broadening their biographies. Standard typologies express only some of the potential relationships between features and, therefore, aspects of their biographies are ignored. In Orkney, a 'chambered cairn' incorporated into the structure of a dwelling is still classified as a 'chambered cairn', even though its relationship to the dwelling is quite different, distinguishing it from many other 'chambered cairns' (Hingley 1996a). The 'chambered cairn' incorporated within the dwelling share particular commonalities with the 'dwelling' and, furthermore, it may have similarities with other 'types' of features that have been incorporated into houses. However, the language of standardised typologies -in this case 'chambered cairn- is not flexible enough to deal with the complexity of the archaeological evidence succinctly, and consequently alternative patterns of the function and/or meaning of the monuments are less forthcoming or obvious (Hingley 1999). Architectural features are ambiguous and are the part of on-going processes of life and death (Bradley 1993, 2002; Thomas 1998), even when not directly reused or continually occupied (Barrett 1999b). It has been demonstrated that multi-layered meanings are possible, but awareness of this has yet to filter back to the process of classification, an important initial phase of the hermeneutic spiral.

4.3.3 Reflexive Methodologies

The various nuances of the biographies of places from the archaeologist's perspective can be explored through the interpretive process, including classification (Hodder 1986, Jones 2002). Hodder's initial concept of 'contextual archaeology' (e.g. Hodder 1986, 1987) and use of hermeneutic philosophy was criticised as selective and romantic (Johnsen & Olsen 1992). Especially critiqued was Hodder's proposal that contextual archaeology was a way for archaeologists to transcend their subjective view and access the perspective of prehistoric peoples' worlds and was, therefore, at heart, no different to processualist views (Johnsen & Olsen 1992). Subsequently, however, Hodder has refined his perspective and has advocated the awareness of the impact of personal histories that archaeologists bring to the interpretive process (Hodder 1991; 1999, 80-104). Currently, archaeological interpretation is often suggested to be a mixture of both subjectivity and objectivity, and the goal is to be self-aware and conduct a more reflexive archaeology (Bradley 1998, 3; Brophy 1999, 9; Hodder 1999). Hodder applied such a methodology during the excavation and post-excavation at *Catalhöyük* (Turkey) (see Hodder 1997, 2000; McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research 2005). Other research, such as at Leskernick (Bodmin Moor, eastern Cornwall), has adopted and promoted similar reflexive techniques in fieldwork (see Bender *et* al 1997; University College London 1999; Lucas 2001; Jones 2002; Chadwick 1997 & *forthcoming*). These studies advocate exploring how we create information and highlight the importance of considering varied viewpoints of people with different perspectives and specialisms throughout the interpretation process, as well as considering objects or places in their context. Most of the emphasis has been on the excavation process, purportedly the defining practice of the discipline of archaeology (Tilley 1989; Chadwick 1997 & forthcoming; Lucas 2001; Jones 2002). However, similar reflexive methods can be applied to field survey information because both represent important contextual encounters.

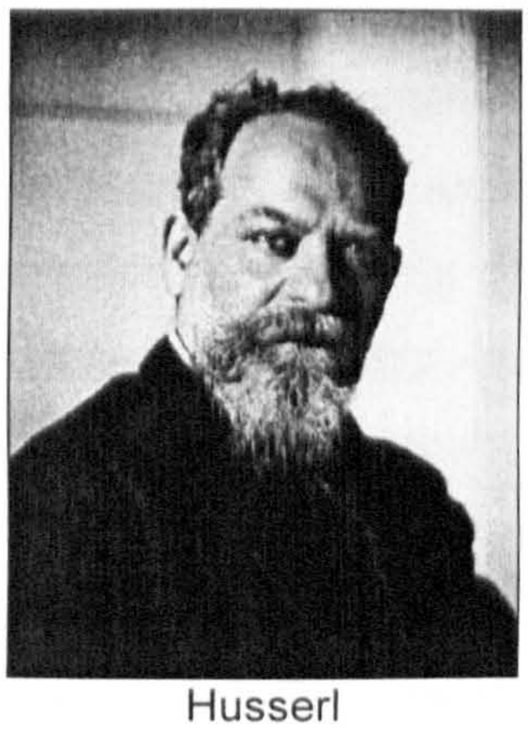
An exploration of the various nuances of the biographies of places in the landscape requires us to be open to an ongoing and ever-changing relationship of interpretation between these places and ourselves. It is important to be aware of how previous research influences our own interpretations. Interpretation is a flexible process, which is often taken for granted by archaeologists who ground themselves in some perceived 'reality' of standardised classifications. Different classifications, created for various reasons, can co-exist. Rather than adhering to one standard typology, classifications can also be used as

a temporary 'tool to think', to explore different perceptions of what is known and, therefore, allow for other interpretations to be presented. Yet it is important to be aware of the expectations and assumptions that are embedded within each classification. Applying a reflexive methodology, classifications do not need to be created in theory and then tested in practice, but instead can be informed by practice in which theory is embedded.

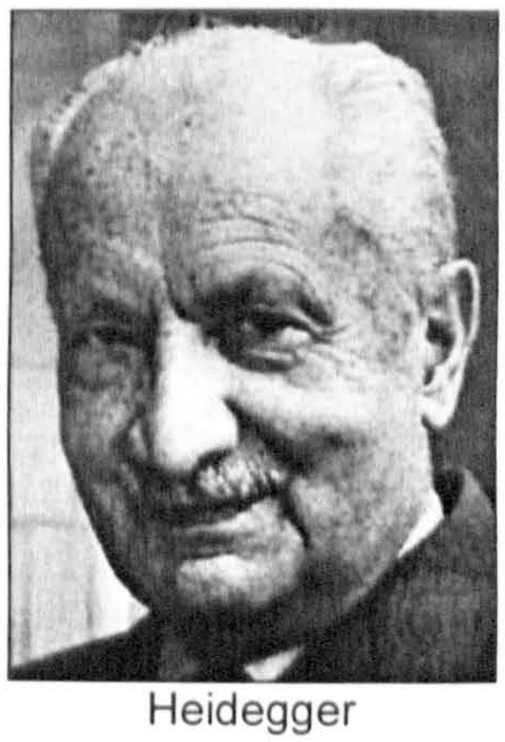
4.4 Experience: A Methodology for Reinterpretation

4.4.1 Experience and Phenomenology

Some archaeologists have viewed experience as an operation external to the process of archaeological interpretation. The value of experience was taken for granted in archaeology and assumed to be neutral to the interpretive process. Similarly in anthropological accounts, experiences were viewed by most as concepts that could be isolated and recorded through objective ethnographic research (Geertz 1973; Turner 1985; Turner & Bruner 1986; Throop 2003). Yet, in fact what many of these accounts did show was the importance of experiences on various levels, both personal and communal, in creating identities and relationships (Turner 1985; Abrahams 1986). These studies also demonstrated that experiences are complex and often ambiguous. However, this does not mean that they are random or abstract and cannot be considered in archaeological research. As an approach to interpreting the way in which prehistoric peoples related to their world, some archaeologists have drawn on the general philosophy of phenomenology.



Husserl



Heidegger

Merleau-Ponty

(Fig 4.10: Philosophers of Phenomenology)

Phenomenology relates to various aspects of experience (in relation to other objects): how these objects appear in our experience, or the ways in which we experience these objects, and the meanings they have in our experience. There are many different perspectives of phenomenology. Early philosophers such as Husserl (1969 (1913)) suggested that experiences could be objectified and analytically examined. This view was challenged by Heidegger (1962) and Merleau-Ponty (1962) who both emphasised that essentially the 'observer' is inextricably linked to the 'world' that they were observing. Yet it was Merleau-Ponty who stressed the crucial role of the human body in this experience (1962, 179). Archaeologists such as Tilley (1994, 2004), Thomas (1996, 2004) and Brophy (1999) have drawn from these philosophies to emphasise the significance of experience in the interpretation of prehistoric features. Importantly, the philosophy of Merleau-Ponty did not present the human body as a separate entity from which the external world of phenomena is perceived. However, this rejection of objectivity did not consequently result in the proposal of personal subjectivity. Instead, Merleau-Ponty emphasised the interdependence of subject and object; things and persons; mind and body; places and 'being-in-the-world' (Tilley 2004, 29). Merleau-Ponty (1962) described humans as 'incarnate subjects' and proposed that meaning is grounded in the embodied relation between people and the world. Therefore at a general and abstract level there are similar ontological groundings of experience for humans, something that must be of significance to archaeologists.

4.4.2 Bodily Experience

The body and sensory perception are integrated with cognition and rationality (Pecher & Zwaan 2005) and embedded within specific cultural and social frameworks. From the links between mind and body meaning arises in their reciprocal relationship to places, landscapes or objects (Tilley 2004, 2). A monument, feature or object is interpreted through its relationship to sensuous bodily experiences. All senses work in conjunction with cognition to perceive and experience the world (Rodaway 1994). Whether considered as the mindful body or embodied mind, it is concretely engaged in the world, but this engagement changes, as the senses perceive the world. Bodies are not static or objective entities; they encounter the world through movement. In accordance with Scott (2002, 56), the term 'physicality', as opposed to 'body', emphasises the fluid, interconnected, dynamic relationship between persons, things, places and landscapes. A place or monument will

change depending on the direction and distance one perceives it using a combination of the senses (Tilley 2004, 11-12). Through the physicality of places memories of the experiences are created, not only in the mind but also through the senses and the body. The complex layers of memories influence any subsequent experiences. Tilley reasserts that 'time is the fourth 'hidden' dimension of being or existence, always part of places, landscapes and things' meaning that previous experiences influence the present, while present experiences rearticulate the past (2004, 12). All of these aspects of experience can be used in archaeology to interpret the evidence.

4.4.3 Archaeology and Experience

In archaeology the interpretation of past experience of places and landscapes can benefit from an awareness of the influence of our bodily relationship with the archaeological evidence. As Tilley proposes, 'first-person experiences can be used to gain access to the experiences of other persons because of the incarnate and sensuous opening out of the 'primal' embodied subject to the world' (Tilley 2004, 30). However, the philosophy of Merleau-Ponty on which this suggestion is based is abstract and does not take into account the specific cultural filters of lived experiences. It should be stressed that the experience of the archaeologist are not assumed to be simply a translation of past experience. It is through culturally-specific and accepted traditions, reflecting certain inter-related and shared bodily movements, arrangements, definitions, metaphors and behaviours, that places take on their cultural forms (relating to *habitus* (see Bourdieu 1977)). The exploration of both culturally-influenced personal and shared experiences in different settings have highlighted variability in accepted movements in and relationships to constructed spaces (Geertz 1973; Turner 1985; Turner & Bruner 1986). Cultural influences are essential to the expression of experience through the creation and recreation of objects, places and landscapes. Tilley (2004, 30) proposes that 'the aim of a phenomenological analysis is to produce a fresh understanding of place and landscape through an evocative, thick, linguistic redescription stemming from our carnal experience' and thus from contemporary experiences it is possible to access cultural differences and complexities of experience. This is not an attempt to get into the minds of prehistoric people, but instead can provide suggestions of the ways in which places and landscapes influenced the perception of a place.

There has been debate about the validity (in particular the significance and consistency) of phenomenology in the interpretation of archaeological evidence (e.g. Fleming 1999; also discussion in Brück 2005). While Brück (2005, 65) criticises some archaeologists who directly relate their experiences to those of prehistoric peoples' past experiences and interpretations, she proposes that 'phenomenology can encourage us to think imaginatively about the social and political implications of spatial layout and landscape setting...'. As Thomas (1996a, chapter 7; 2004, chapter 7; also see Hill 1993; and Jones 2002, 8) has stressed, we as archaeologists are socially and culturally embedded and that there may be several ways to experience the landscape. However, experiences of archaeology are not limitless. Tilley (2004, 219) argues that although contemporary perspectives influence our experience of ancient monuments, their *materiality* limits the possibilities of interpretation. Archaeologists engage in dialogue with the archaeological evidence and therefore phenomenology is neither boundless nor rigidly circumscribed (Brück 2005), but can be use as a way to explore possible ways prehistoric peoples and places interacted.

Recorded experiences of places and landscape can further add to the interpretation of archaeological evidence. Human bodily experience and contextual information are valid observations that inform how archaeological features are described and expressed, but are often excluded from traditional processes of classifications (Tilley 1994, 2004; Brophy 1999; Russell 2002). Places and landscapes have been shown to be more than passive symbols of past actions, and instead are constantly engaged with humans and their social interactions (Bender 1983; Tilley 1994; 2004). This important active dimension of places is often ignored, particularly in the arbitrarily constructed contexts of comparative 2-dimensional plans or objectively created typologies. Although useful and important information can be gained from these methods, they exclude important aspects of the complexities of the archaeological evidence and imply the primacy of 'objective' attributes for the interpretation of prehistoric features. This exclusion is particularly evident in archaeological evidence gained through aerial photography. The classification of aerial archaeology is rarely combined with field visits (Welfare 1980; Palmer 1991). 'To capture this *involved* level of archaeological participation within a cropmark site only visible from this air involves a great degree of subjectivity and imagination, more so than for earthwork sites. Perhaps this is why it has been so rarely attempted' (Brophy 1999, 8). Although there may be nothing to see of the archaeological feature on the ground and that the

impact of the 'built' features can only be surmised, the situation and setting can offer insights to other aspects of experience. Experiencing cropmark sites on the ground forces us to move beyond morphological engagements. Experiences of all archaeological material will be affected by the condition of the material and these experiences will constantly change, as the material does, continuing the biographies of places and people. It is important to consider these complexities in all archaeological features, whether the evidence is upstanding or identified through cropmarks or excavation.

By considering my experiences of the archaeological evidence of Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire as a vital part of how these places can be classified and described, the goal is to present alternative interpretations of these places. Previous research and interpretation has highlighted specific and valid patterns, but equally have ignored others (see Chapter 5). There are limitations in how the chronologically unspecific data of Wigtownshire can be interpreted, but by exploring the different ways in which the data can be experienced will help archaeologists reconsider how the evidence is perceived and help formulate new avenues of research. The interpretation of the archaeological evidence should be flexible and be evaluated for its own qualities within the limits of practice, rather than rely on uncritically reviewed assumptions (see Brophy 1999). Rather then trying to simplify the complex, multi-faceted and ever-changing meanings of the archaeological evidence, I hope to enrich the discussion of prehistory by offering multiple interpretations for sites in their landscape context.

Experience, in any context, whether it is gained by walking around archaeological monuments, or by looking at maps or plans in the office, affects the way we think about the archaeological evidence. As noted, the meaning of any one feature is always in relation to other features and how we perceive them. Being aware of this is essential to the whole interpretive process and the way we think about the past. Therefore, the archaeological language of classification needs to be constantly re-evaluated as regards to how and why it is used. Typology has caused a fragmentation of the archaeological record and landscape – my approach is to bring these elements back together again.

4.5 Conclusions

Classifications are artificial constructs, historically and culturally devised to cope with the archaeological evidence. The 'types' archaeologists create are not 'real', but are an important part of the interpretive process. The organisation of the evidence into groups based on selected similarities and differences is dependent on what is compared and reasons for comparison. With the goal of developing archaeological interpretation in mind, there is the room and a need to examine the archaeological evidence on many levels. Some classifications commonly used in archaeology have lost their original purpose of discriminating between features and as a result are interpretively meaningless, while other classifications -advocated to be standard and 'objective'- fail to engage with the complexity of the perceptions and biographies of places and landscapes. The reasons for the creation and use of archaeological classifications can vary greatly and each can provide valuable ways of interpreting prehistoric features.

> 'Quite clearly, working with different raw material [and theories] in archaeology has led to quite different ideas on what is or is not a standard archaeological situation. What are taken as typical data and typical procedures by one archaeologist are regarded as exceptional by another. In these circumstances, it seems important to be able to discuss difficulties and differences without feeling that there should be any one simple, agreed solution' (Hodson 1982, 21).

It has been shown in this chapter that recording contemporary experiences of archaeological features can be an important and valid method to describe this evidence. Recent archaeological studies have demonstrated the interpretive potential of phenomenology in archaeology (see Tilley 1994, 2004; Thomas 1996a). Contemporary experiences cannot simply be translated into the past, but instead may help us to think about the use of space and the diverse relationships established between people and places. Contextual and experiential characteristics of archaeological features are rarely incorporated in traditional classifications used in Iron Age studies. Yet, since classification is a key part of the wider interpretive process, it is essential to attempt incorporate experience into classification.

In the next chapter previous approaches to the classification and description of the archaeological evidence that have influenced interpretations of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire will be discussed. Since the vast majority of these sites have not been

excavated, these interpretations rely on comparisons with other areas and general assumptions about the Iron Age. It will only be possible to move beyond these generalised typological labels through applying some of the principles discussed in this chapter.

The approach to interpretation adopted in this thesis does not rely on the creation of a classification based on objective criteria into which the archaeological evidence is made to fit. In this case, classification is used as a temporary method to consider the specific information gained from my fieldwork. Information drawn from previous research and the National Monument Record of Scotland provided the basis for the current study, but this information was augmented by my own experiences with the archaeological evidence. The goal was to treat the qualities of specific places and landscapes of Wigtownshire in relation to human bodily experiences as an important element of their character. From these experiences a qualitatively-based classification was formulated as a way to explore alternative interpretations of Iron Age 'settlement' of Wigtownshire, moving away from uncritical assumptions of prehistory (see Chapter 7). This procedure is significant as it highlights the potential of comparing varied and diverse archaeological features, both excavated and non-excavated. Understudied areas, such as Wigtownshire, that have rich but ambiguous archaeological evidence need to be actively and creatively engaged with.

Part 3

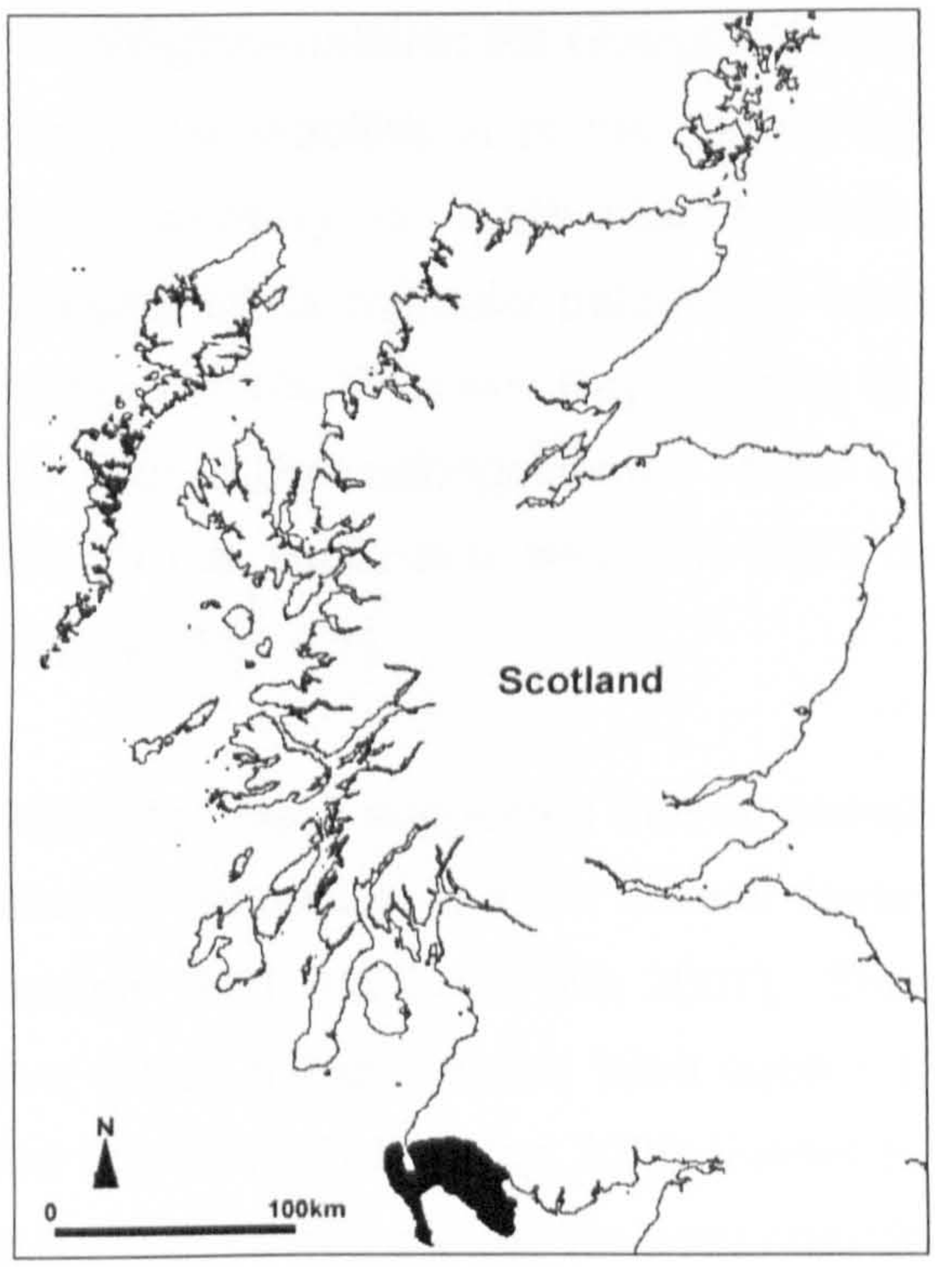
Interpreting Iron Age Settlement

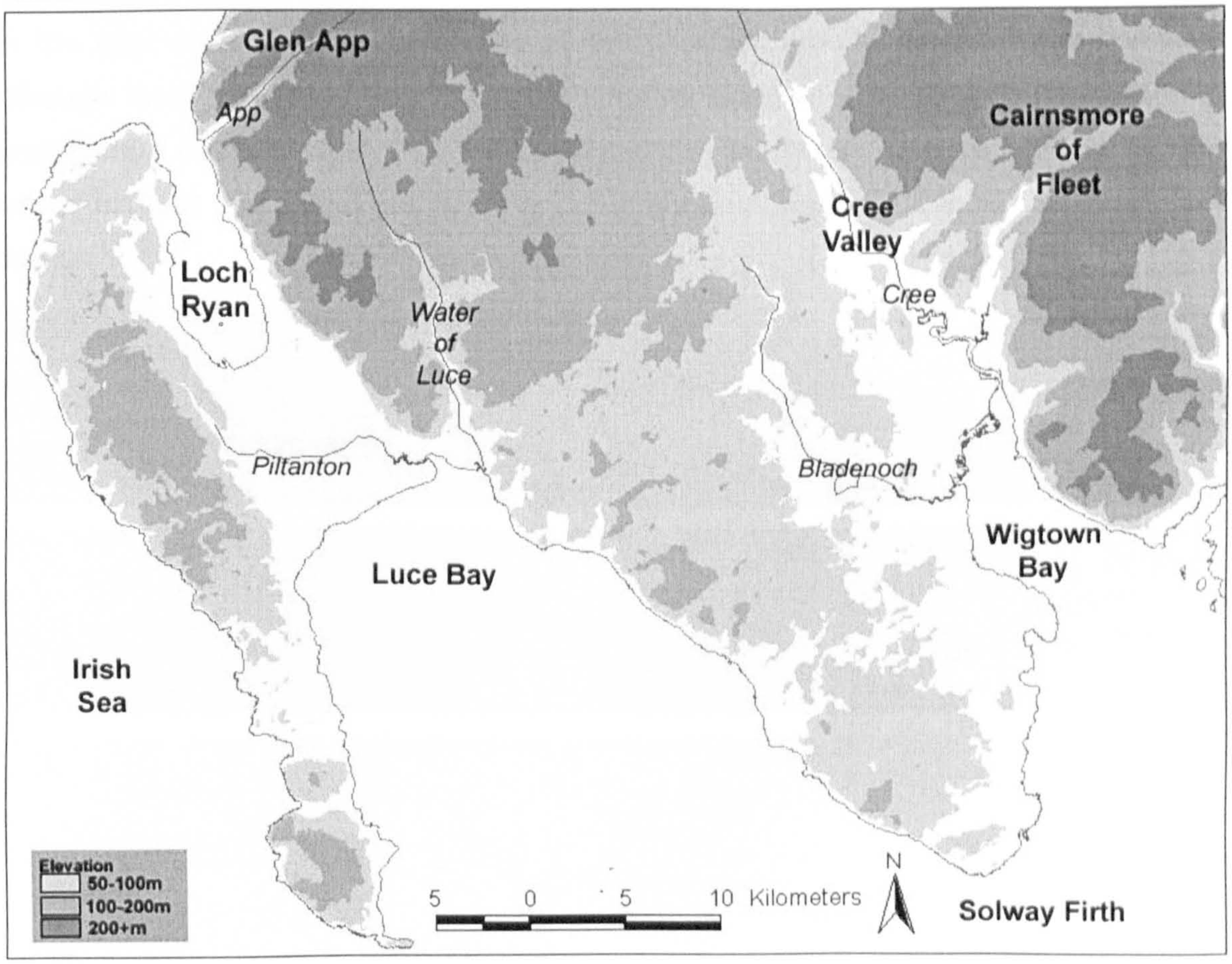
Chapter 5: Wigtownshire: A Case Study

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore how the interpretation and portrayal of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire has been shaped through a history of identification, description and classification of archaeological monuments. Over time, interpretations of the archaeological evidence have changed - new sites have been identified, and known features have been reclassified. In this chapter I will first introduce the geography and archaeology of Wigtownshire and then explore the varying practical and theoretical approaches that have shaped how the Iron Age of Wigtownshire has been perceived. This critically presented historiography is essential in order to frame my own methodology within a wider context of archaeological interpretation.

Wigtownshire is an ideal study area to explore archaeological interpretation for three main reasons. Firstly, despite the lack of excavation, there are numerous archaeological sites that have been recorded by aerial and field survey. It is important to acknowledge the archaeological potential of such areas and redress the imbalance of research, which have tended to focus on those areas that have better-preserved features or have yielded more artefacts. Secondly, on the basis of traditional morphological typologies many of those identified by survey are thought to be potentially later prehistoric in date. It is important to be aware of the impact of general typologies on the understanding of prehistory in regional areas like Wigtownshire, where there has been little excavation and where, as a result, typologies and classifications play such an essential role in archaeological interpretation. And thirdly, there have been few previous attempts to explore the potential of the landscape setting in the description of the survey material in Wigtownshire and therefore this research would provide a new perspective to add to the diverse approaches that have influenced the interpretation of the archaeology over the years.



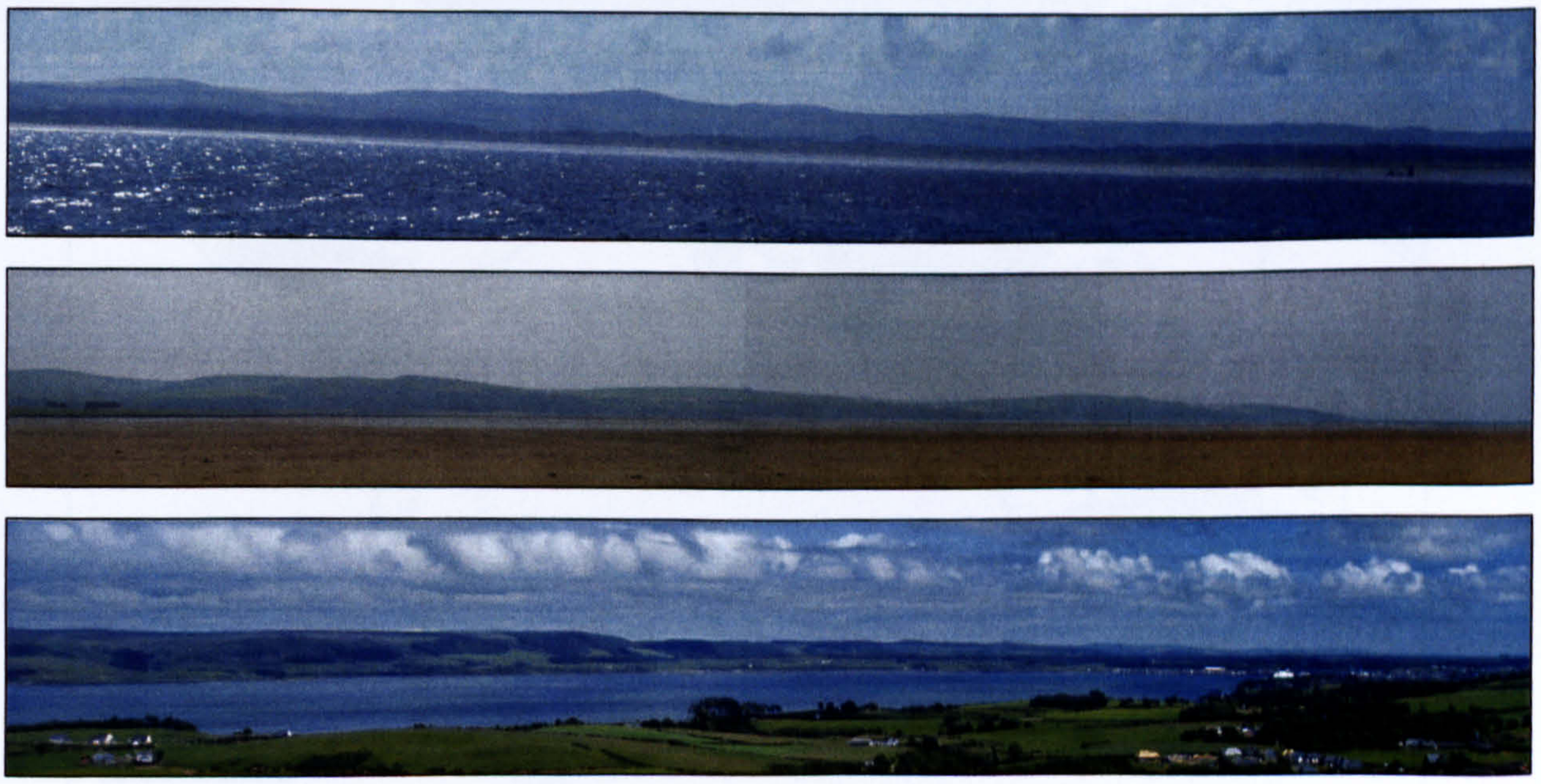


(Fig. 5.1: Map showing Wigtownshire (in black) in relation to Scotland and the Irish Sea; natural topographical features that define Wigtownshire)

5.1.1 Wigtownshire: its Geographical Setting

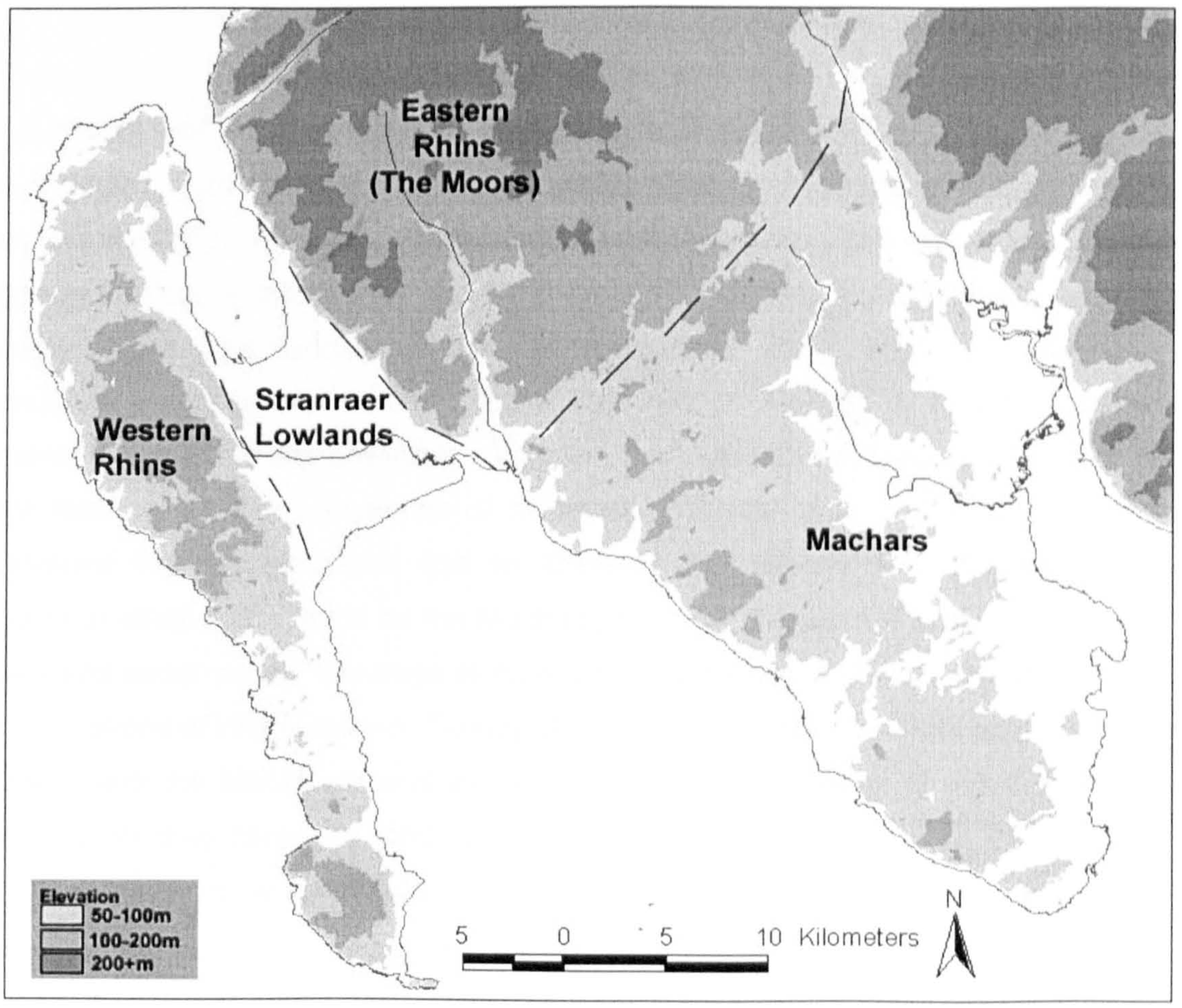
Prior to the redefinition of the political boundaries in 1976 Wigtownshire was a county within Galloway in south-west Scotland, now a part of Dumfries and Galloway. Wigtownshire is naturally defined by topography. To the east, the River Cree Valley, leading towards Wigtown Bay, divides Wigtownshire from the distinctive Cairnsmore of Fleet hills in Kirkcudbrightshire. To the north, the moors stretch to the Glen App valley, while to the south and west, the Irish Sea and the Solway Firth define an extensive coastline (Fig. 5.1).

It has often been suggested that in prehistory the sea would not have been a barrier but rather a connector and an access route for trade and communication (Davies 1946; Bowden 1970, 1972; Cunliffe 2001). The Irish Sea not only connected Wigtownshire to other lands, but also would have been important in the experience of its own landscapes (see Fox 1943; Cummings 2002; Fowler & Cummings 2003) (Fig. 5.2). The Irish Sea has sculpted the steep cliffs of the west coastline, which contrast the extensive sandy beaches on the east coast such as Luce Bay or the mudflats around the mouth of the Cree. Although there are many suitable access points along the coast of Wigtownshire for landing small boats, Loch Ryan, a sheltered and less sandy bay, would have been an ideal natural harbour throughout prehistory and it is not surprising that it is still used as a port today.



(Fig. 5.2: Views to Luce Bay, from Luce Bay, to Loch Ryan (author))

Wigtownshire is comprised of a diverse range of physical landscapes (Fig. 5.3). The rolling pasture and raised beaches of the Western and Eastern Rhins are connected by the low-lying Stranraer Lowlands. This isthmus is distinctly composed of alluvial and marine deposits contributing to the fertility of the area (Jardine 1966). The easily drained sandy soils of the Stranraer Lowlands make the area suitable for agriculture and it is dominated currently by farmland. To the northeast the raised beaches of the Eastern Rhins rise steadily to the peat covered and craggy moors, and at present are predominantly used for sheep grazing and forestry. Like pockets of the Western Rhins, the Machars to the south is characterised by glacially carved undulating fields of pasture, which are occasionally punctuated by out-cropping bedrock. In prehistory the vegetation and soil conditions are likely to have been different to what they are today (Rapson 1994; Tipping 1994; Dunro 1996). Agricultural improvements from the 17th century onwards have had a dramatic effect on the preservation and identification of earlier archaeological remains.



(Fig. 5.3: Map showing four distinct geographical areas of Wigtownshire)

Descriptions made by travellers to Galloway in the 17th century show that even then many areas had not yet been improved and were, by modern standards poor (see Donnachie and MacLeod 1974, 19-20). In subsequent years estate and farm divisions as well as massive land drainage programs have altered the landscape. Lochs that once gave their name to Little Lochans and Lochans in the Stranraer Lowlands are no longer visible (Carruthers 2002, 55). The landscape of the Iron Age, more than a thousand years earlier, would have looked different than the one visible today, having distinct vegetation coverage, drainage and landscape organisation. To use the modern assessments of agricultural potential (see Bown and Heslop 1979) to reflect prehistoric patterns is problematic, as highlighted by Carruthers (2002, 44-45). How the natural environment was used and perceived has likely fluctuated greatly over time. The differences in the landscapes in Wigtownshire would have provided variable resources, affecting how it was inhabited and viewed by its inhabitants. In addition, the character of the landscape and land-use patterns has subsequently affected how the archaeology itself has been identified.

5.1.2 History of Archaeological Research in Wigtownshire

The changing character of the physical landscape has greatly affected how archaeologists have viewed Wigtownshire. Reiterating Gosden's (1997, 305) comments Carruthers suggests that some landscapes, like the Stranraer Lowlands, are relatively better 'traps' of artefacts, sites and landscape features (Carruthers 2002, 48). A combination of agricultural practices and naturally fertile soils has contributed to a lack of upstanding features in the Stranraer Lowlands, however, the cultivation of the sandy soils in recent years has produced a prevalence of cropmarks (Cowley 2002). It is likely that similar agricultural improvements also had an affect on the survival of upstanding prehistoric remains in other areas, such as the Machars; however the current pastoral practices, soil quality and aerial survey coverage all have affected the poor identification of cropmarks in many locations of Wigtownshire (Cowley 2002). Nonetheless, there are some areas in the Machars and the Moors, as well as the peripheral coastal edge of the Western Rhins, where upstanding bank and ditch or stone-built features have not yet been completely destroyed by intensive agriculture.

The current state of knowledge of the archaeology of Wigtownshire is also a result of varying archaeological strategies and interventions employed over many years of research. This attention has been piecemeal, however, mostly reflecting the interests of particular antiquarians, archaeologists and government institutions. Some areas of Wigtownshire, such as the Western Rhins, have undergone detailed reconnaissance surveys, both from the air and on the ground; while other areas, such as the Machars have not. Therefore the current numbers and general distribution of identified sites across Wigtownshire are most certainly skewed by archaeological practice (Cowley 2000, 2002) (see Fig 5.10).

The piecemeal archaeological research in Wigtownshire has also resulted in multiple and inconsistent classifications which are often misleadingly treated as part of a unified typology, which in turn has affected how prehistory in Wigtownshire has been interpreted. Field survey, aerial photography and excavation all reveal different information about archaeological features, but using similar terms to describe very different archaeological features have further contributed to the confusion of classification and how each type of site relates to one another. Excavation has played an important role in identifying previously unknown features and in some cases the dating evidence has dramatically affected a site's classification and interpretation. Yet, while research has identified over one thousand archaeological features in Wigtownshire, only a small percentage of these features have been excavated and therefore the interpretations of a site's function or chronology often rely solely on classifications. In other words, limited results are imposed on the wider evidence. The following section will discuss the previous approaches to the archaeological evidence, particularly focussing on how the identification, classification and investigation of the structural evidence has influenced the interpretation of the Iron Age in this region.

5.2 Antiquarians and Early Archaeological Approaches

5.2.1 Antiquarians: Identification and Description

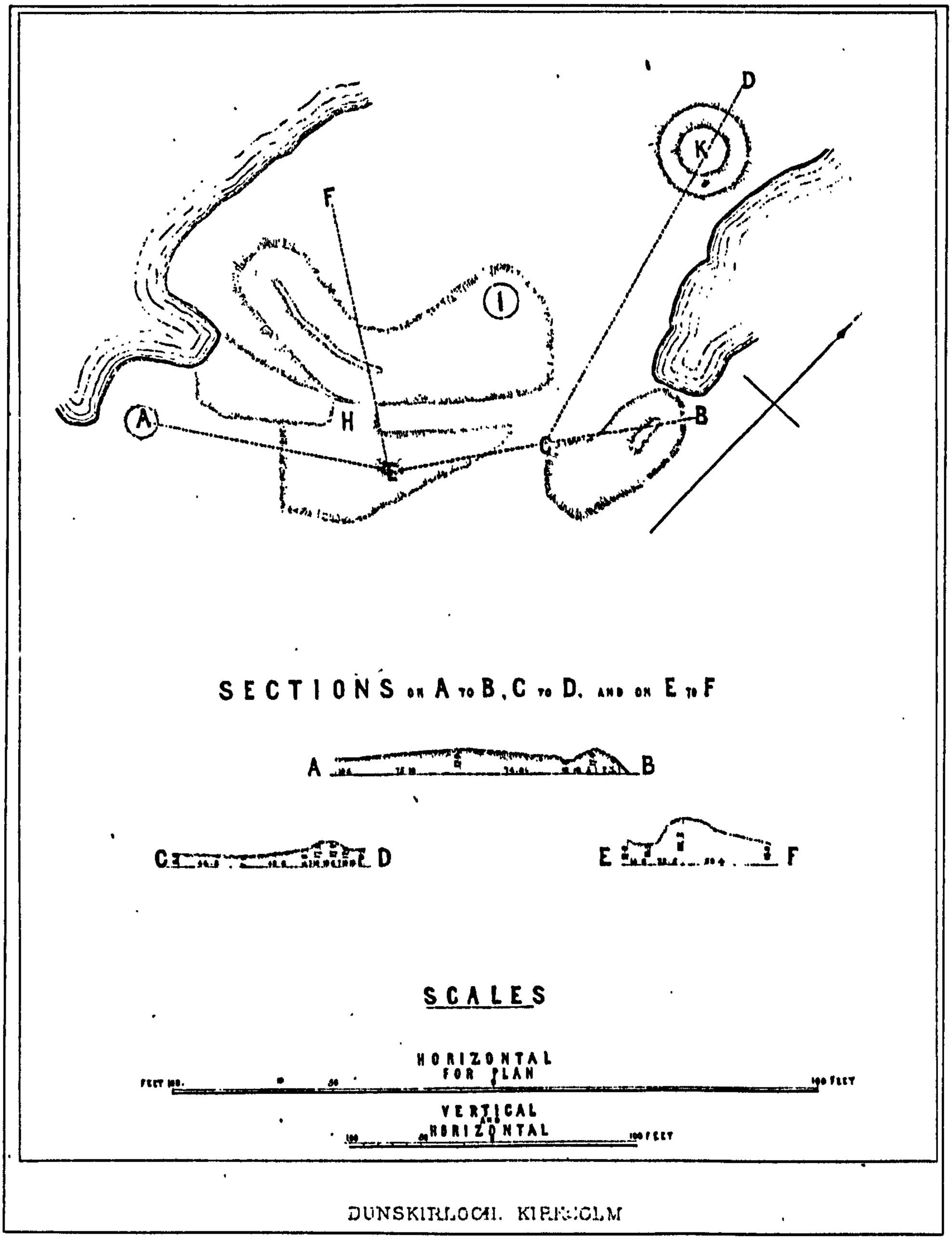
The discovery and description of antiquities have long been of interest appearing on early maps, such as *the Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain* by William Roy published in 1793. However, it was during the 19th century that academic and published interest in the investigation and identification of ancient features in Wigtownshire, as was the trend

elsewhere, had increased. Early accounts of recorded antiquities can be found in the Ordnance Survey (OS) Name Books (between 1853 -1920), and in M'Ilwraith's (1877) and McKerlie's (1870) published histories of the lands of Galloway where there are occasional comments concerning 'ancient' features. For instance, circular features bounded by a bank and set upon a promontory to the east of Tonderghie, in the southern Machars, were recorded by McKerlie (1870, 431) as having been described to him as the remains of a castle 'no doubt built by the Norsemen'. These descriptions reflected early interpretations of the remains combined with folklore, not defined by any archaeological framework.

Distressed by the destruction of ancient features through intensive agricultural practices, George Wilson, a minister from the Free Church in Glenluce in the 19th century, felt it was his duty to record as many of the antiquities in the area as he could. 'My object is to furnish a guide, and to attract attention to a field well worthy of cultivation by expert archaeologists' (Wilson 1899, 170). He visited and recorded numerous sites throughout Wigtownshire, but particularly those within his parish of Glenluce and westwards. Some of the results of Wilson's work were published in *Archaeological and Historical Collections relating to Ayrshire and Galloway* between 1879-1886, a journal edited by Sir Herbert Maxwell, a fellow resident of Wigtownshire and future president of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Wilson 1879, 1880a, 1880b, 1882, 1885, 1886).

In order to communicate the diversity of the archaeological features, Wilson classified the monuments he encountered, albeit without strict consistency. Although not explicitly stated, these classifications were a way to communicate similarities and differences, which in some instances led to other interpretations. He combined classes that had been established by archaeologists and antiquarians elsewhere, such as 'fort' and 'camp', with ones that he created to accommodate new features he came across in the field. His task was not easy, especially since terms such as 'fort' had not been clearly defined. Wilson notes that several forts within Glenluce are 'numerous and not easily classified' (1899, 174). To accommodate some of the monuments Wilson used the generic term 'ring' to describe a whole range of features, which included large hut-circles, folds for domestic animals, and burials. In fact, Wilson used the terms 'fort' and 'ring' interchangeably; 'including the *rings*, with the entrance opening to the south-east, which may have been burying-places the above list contains about sixty *forts*...' (Wilson 1885, 64 [my emphasis]). In other words, there was no definitive hierarchy of interpretation.

Nonetheless, not fully satisfied by either term to describe the archaeological evidence, Wilson attempted to create subcategories such as 'open' and 'closed' rings, determined by whether they had an entrance gap or not. Despite these efforts the interpretative significance of these distinctions was not clear, and remained ill-defined.

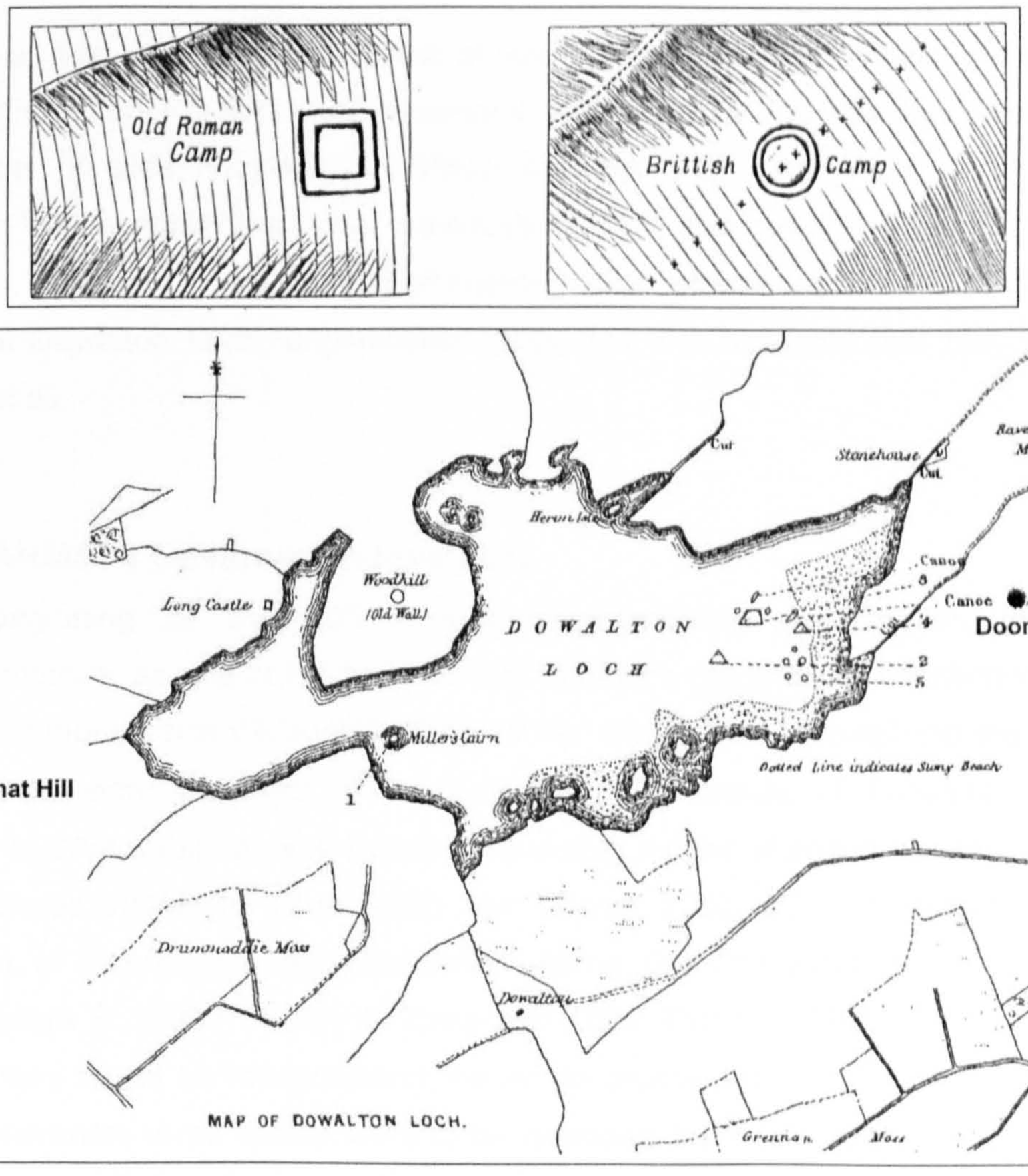


(Fig. 5.4: One of Wilson's plans of the monuments in Wigtownshire, Dunskirloch fort (Wilson 1885, plate XV))

Although not an archaeologist himself, contemporary scholars influenced Wilson and he did, on occasion, try to take his interpretations beyond classification and description. In his writings he affirmed basic archaeological theories such as '...the differences in the plan and material of their structure may indicate differences of date, culture, or race, in those that made them. In several cases the names still given to them show that they were held by men of a different language and race' (Wilson 1885, 64). Wilson dealt with material from all time periods in prehistory and rarely assigned specific chronological labels to the archaeology. Nonetheless, some of the types of monuments he discussed seemed to already be associated with particular underlying interpretations. Sites such as forts, camps and other circular features within Wigtownshire, those that would later be defined as typically Iron Age, were assumed to relate to warfare. Wilson (*ibid*) states '[t]heir great number in so small a district seems to indicate that many of them were places of refuge, to which the inhabitants in the immediate neighbourhood fled in times of danger...'. The reason for this interpretation cannot purely be a reflection of the number of sites alone as Wilson states, but stems from other assumptions. In any case, most of Wilson's interpretations were limited and cautious. Few other people were recording the variety of monuments in Wigtownshire like Wilson and his scale drawn plans and descriptions are an important record of ancient features in Wigtownshire (Fig. 5.4).

The discovery of well-preserved crannogs at the end of the 19th century brought further attention to the antiquities of the area. In order to create more cultivatable lands, lochs were frequently drained which meant that previously unknown crannogs were exposed. The excavations of these organically rich crannogs were often sadly rudimentary in nature with the main aim being to extract artefacts; yet, several of these were recorded with a great deal of associated archaeological information (see Dalrymple 1871; Wilson 1882; Munro 1885). One of the better-recorded discoveries was of the crannogs and associated artefacts noted during the drainage of Dowalton Loch (Munro 1882; 1885). At least four crannogs were uncovered after Sir William Maxwell of Monreith ordered that the loch be drained. A substantial collection of artefacts, including prehistoric metalwork of the Late Roman Iron Age and Medieval periods (although not recognised as such at the time) was recovered then and during further investigations by Lord Lovaine, the Duke of Northumberland (Munro 1885, 76; Hunter 1994).

Munro, a scholar with particular knowledge and interest in crannogs, visited Dowalton after its excavation (Munro 1885). In Munro's opinion the crannogs were constructed and used by an elite of the Romano-British Iron Age. Furthermore he thought the crannogs were probably contemporary with the nearby forts on Annat Hill and Doon Hill, which he thought, based on their morphology, to be a Roman camp and a British camp, respectively (Fig. 5.5) (*ibid* 106). This is one of the first explicit interpretations of cultural identity based on shape that directly relates to monuments within Wigtownshire. The correlation between shape of monument and cultural identity has proved to be more complex than Munro states, but many of his interpretations (such as the idea that crannogs were settlement of the elite) still form the basis of the interpretations asserted by modern archaeologists (e.g. Hunter 1994, Cavers forthcoming).



(Fig. 5.5: Munro's sketches of the forts at Annat Hill and Doon Hill (Munro 1885, figs. 28 & 29); Map of Dowalton Loch showing crannogs and highlighting relative locations of Annat Hill and Doon Hill (after Stuart 1864-66, plate XI))

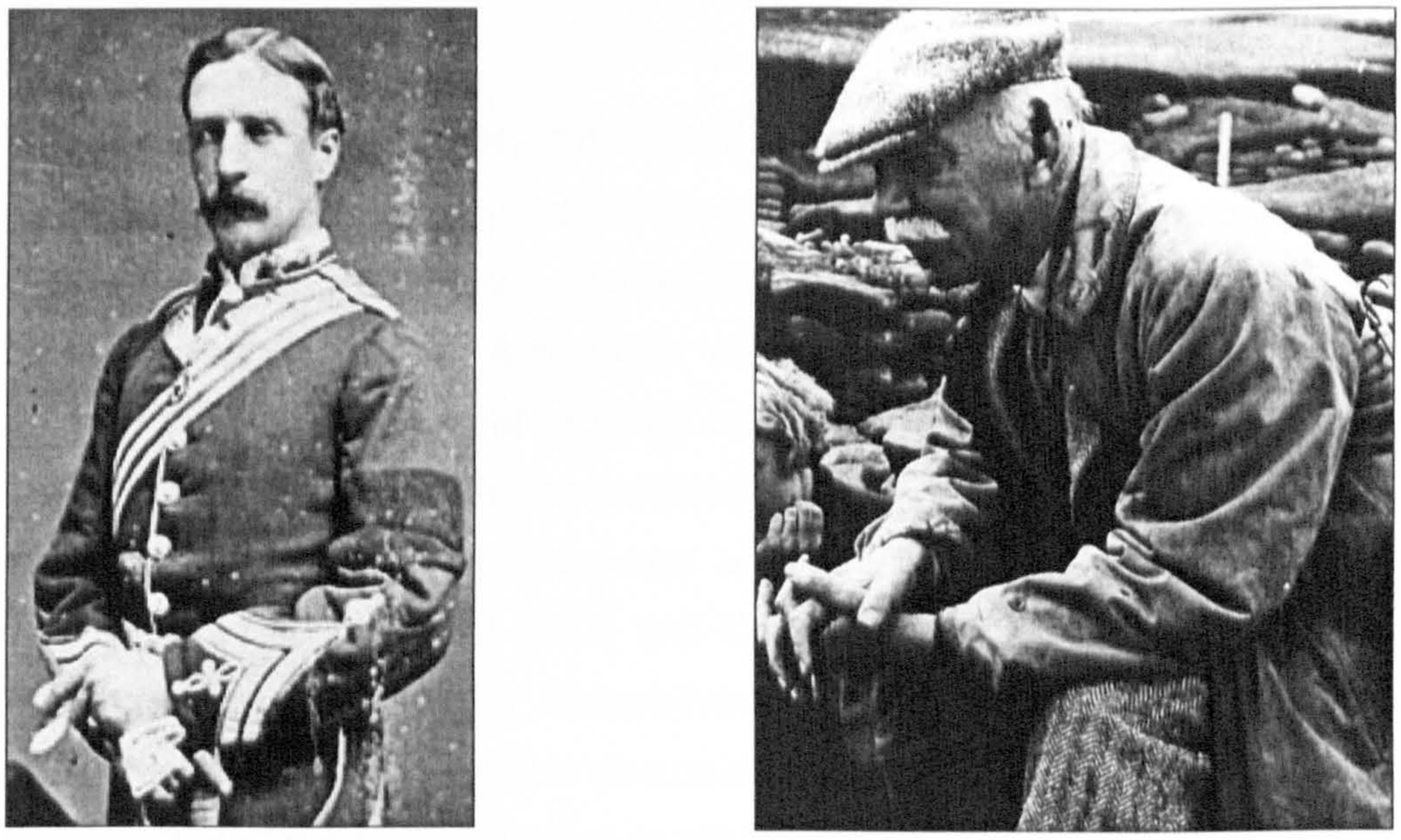
By the end of the 19th century, through the increasing number of publications throughout Britain recording basic descriptions of monuments, specific interpretations of the archaeology of Wigtownshire were being formed. Comparisons of characteristics such as the shape and size of monuments and artefacts led to interpretations of function, identity and social organisation of prehistoric peoples. Some of these interpretations continued to be incorporated in subsequent archaeological ideas about the prehistory of Wigtownshire. Particularly persistent was an image of a violent Iron Age between native tribal barbaric people, who were a contrast to the civilised and organised Romans. Furthermore this image of a violent society was being imposed on the interpretation of specific types of monuments. This dominant image was universally applied to Scotland's Iron Age for many decades, even into the 20th century.

In any case, it is clear that the interest of 'antiquarians' such as Wilson had a profound impact on the number of known monuments in Wigtownshire and how they were recorded. The number of sites recorded by Wilson signalled that there were more prehistoric features in Wigtownshire than was previously thought and that these were in danger of obliteration. Ironically the destruction of crannogs also revealed a rich corpus of evidence, such as at Dowalton Loch, unparalleled today and it is fortunate that they have been recorded at all.

5.2.2 RCAHMS: a Government Inventory

At the beginning of the 20th century Wigtownshire was chosen, along with Kirkcudbrightshire, as one of the first counties to have a government sanctioned inventory of its ancient monuments (RCAHMS 1912, 1914). Sir Herbert Maxwell, the then chairman of the Commission; president of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; and major landowner in Wigtownshire, was largely responsible for the attention on Galloway by the recently formed RCAHMS (Stell 1983, 84; Ritchie 2002, 27). A procedure for the compilation of inventories was established during the first meeting of the RCAHMS Commissioners in 1908 (Halliday & Stevenson 1991; Dunbar 1992). They decided that each inventory would be topographical, based on county and parish units; that the initial lists of monuments to be visited were to be amassed from OS maps, earlier references and added to by local informants; and that the secretary would visit every county and inspect each monument to establish its situation, character and condition (RCAHMS 1909,

v; Halliday & Stevenson 1991, 130; Dunbar 1992, 6). Drawings of each feature were to be made and peculiarities noted. And furthermore the inventory was to include a list of references of any previous descriptions, and therefore it would also be a history of archaeological research (Dunbar 1992, 6). In the summer and autumn of 1911, A O Curle, the Secretary of RCAHMS, undertook the first survey of the monuments in Wigtown and Kirkcudbright. Curle visited the 'known' archaeological sites, many of which had not previously been examined by an archaeologist; however, he did not actively search for new features or systematically walk the landscape (Stell 1983; Dunbar 1992, 8; Ritchie 2002).



(Fig. 5.6: Sir Herbert Maxwell and Alexander Ormiston Curle)

The inventory was designed to aid the monitoring of archaeological monuments by the State in order to introduce a scheme for their care and preservation. Ordered alphabetically by parish the monuments were then listed by types of monuments in a vague chronological order. The types of monuments included in the list were: brochs, forts, hut circles and lake dwellings or crannogs. Any doubts of assigning specific sites and monuments Curle encountered in Wigtownshire to these types was imperceptible, but his personal diary included occasional comments on the difficulties of interpreting monuments, betraying this confidence in print (Stell 1983). At this time the general classification system presented within the RCAHMS inventories was an inexplicit attempt to standardise the description of monuments across Scotland. Classes such as Wilson's

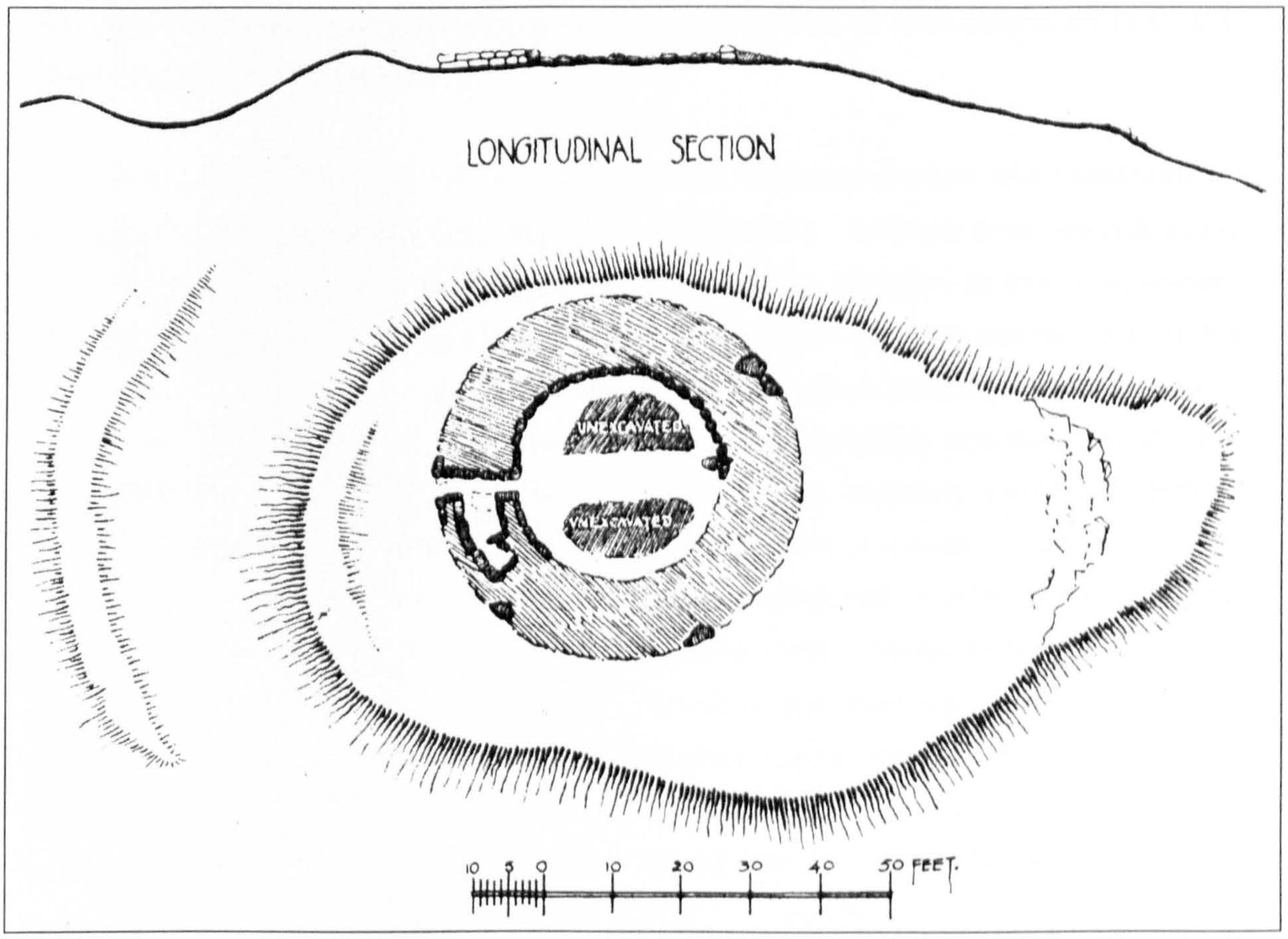
'rings' were never used and other more familiar terms, used previously by the OS, such as 'forts', were still employed, but now in a more consistent manner. These inventories resulted in a succinct published resource of ancient monuments that could be accessed by people with various interests. A total of 540 archaeological sites were recorded, ranging from early prehistoric cairns to medieval tower-houses, but little attempt was made to synthesise the information here. Nonetheless, this inventory provided the basis for further survey and recording practices in this area and possibility for recognising general patterns of types of monuments. This process meant that the monuments of Wigtownshire were now part of a larger system of interpretation and classification, which had both positive and negative effects.

5.2.3 Research and Excavation: 1912-1950s

At the beginning of the 20th century antiquarian groups at the local and national levels were actively recording and researching archaeology (see the many contributions to the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* and the *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* (*TDGNHAS*)). Nonetheless, in the years between the publication of the initial Wigtownshire inventory in 1912 and the late 1970s only two 'Iron Age' archaeological features were excavated in Wigtownshire; Teroy broch (Curle 1912) and Chippermore 'fort' (Fiddes 1953). In both cases the excavators were notably disappointed by the lack of clear results and lack of artefacts. Moreover, neither excavator discussed their findings overtly in terms of the Iron Age or the potential of their investigations to influence our understanding of later prehistory in Wigtownshire. It is only through subsequent re-evaluations of the results and connections between types of sites that these features have been suggested to date to the Iron Age.

While collating the inventory of monuments in Wigtownshire, A. O. Curle also excavated the broch at Teroy near Craigcaffie (Curle 1912) (Fig 5.7). His interest in brochs stemmed from his visits to Sutherland and Caithness (Baines 2002; Ritchie 2002, 28). The general architectural character of Teroy did have some similar features to the brochs of the Northern Isles, such as the relatively large walls, a 'guard room' and an interior courtyard. Curle assumed, despite the lack of clear evidence, that Teroy broch must have had high walls with an internal staircase, but that these features had been obliterated by

subsequent actions (Curle 1912, 184). Curle's interpretation of this site was clearly influenced by his experiences elsewhere rather than treating the site as a features in its own right.



(Fig. 5.7: Curle's (1912) plan of Teroy broch)

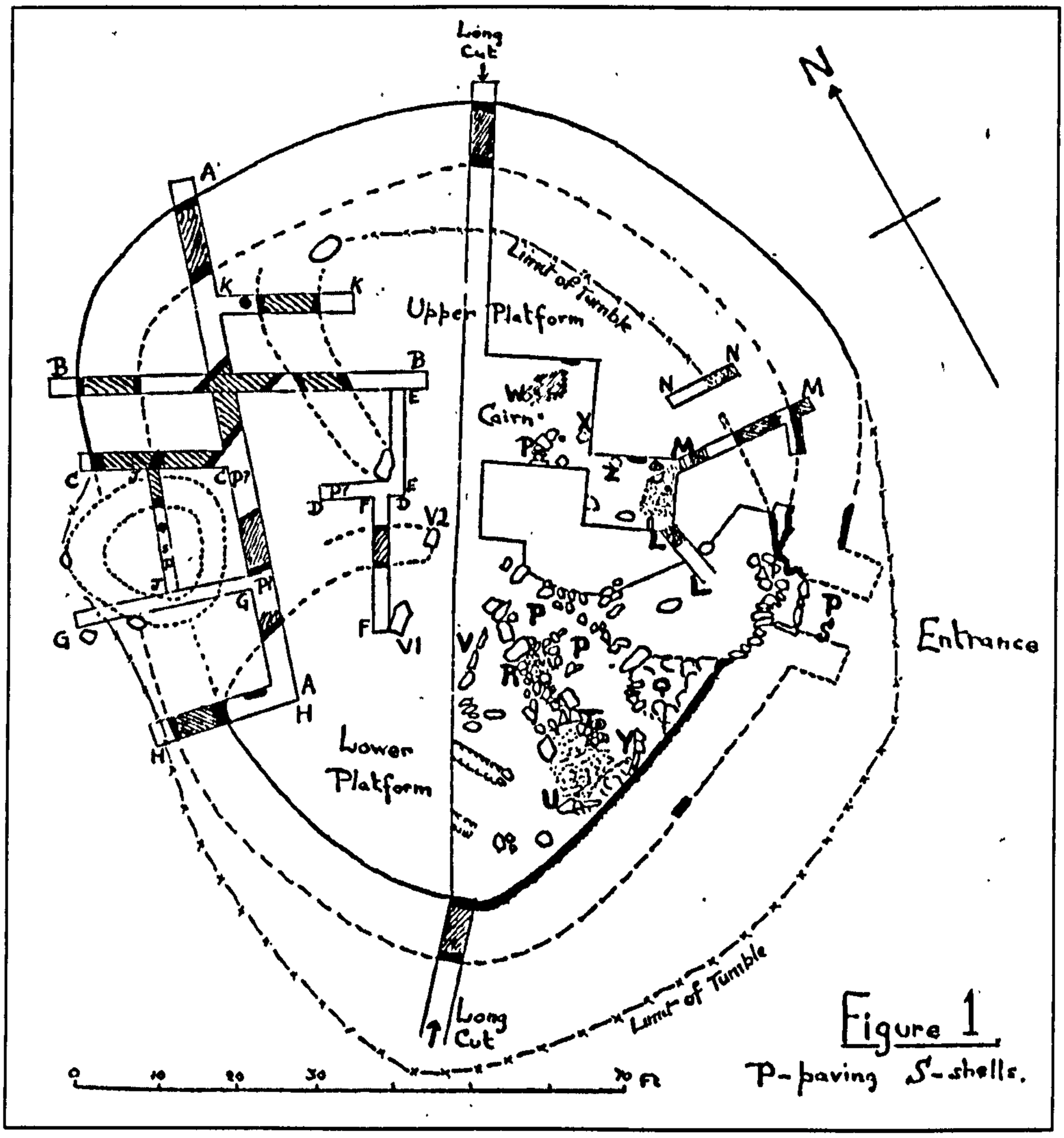
The results of the excavation at Teroy, however, were not as Curle expected: 'this is the first broch to be noticed in the county of Wigtown, and it is to be *regretted* that the relics discovered from it were so few and *unimportant*' (Curle 1912, 188, my emphasis). He reported that only a few artefacts (several fragments of burnt bone, two pieces of dark red pottery, a lump of iron, the upper stone of a rotary quern, a perforated stone, and water-worn pebbles) lacking detailed stratigraphic information were found. Ironically, in comparison to the artefacts discovered from other excavations within Wigtownshire, Curle's excavation did actually produce a number of significant artefacts. Even so, Curle had proposed that due to the lack of artefactual remains and floor layers Teroy was only occupied for a short time, which added to his disappointment in the site (*ibid* 186). Curle may have expected Teroy to yield similar results as brochs in the north (see Ritchie 2002),

where many had generated a wide range of artefacts, multiple phases and more complex internal arrangements, but in comparison Teroy was different. Some of the artefacts were thought by Curle to reflect prehistoric metalworking, but there was still an underlying assumption that this site was primarily an elite settlement (Curle 1912). The brochs of south-west Scotland were generally regarded as peripheral to discussions on brochs in general for many decades after this.

From 1912 to 1950, excavations at Roman forts in Kirkcudbrightshire and Dumfriesshire dominated the local antiquarian society journal, *TDGNHAS*. As there were few noticeably Roman features, let alone Roman forts, in Wigtownshire attention to this area waned. Moreover, the disappointing results of Curle's excavations may have discouraged others from working in this area. For a combination of reasons, which certainly included wartime activities, the next excavation in Wigtownshire of a later prehistoric structure was in 1951 at Chippermore. Classified as a 'fort' in the RCAHMS inventory (1912, 77) Fiddes excavated Chippermore (NX24NE 11), one of several sites of similar morphology, which he described as 'approximately circular stone-walled enclosures', located in a group along the west coast of the Machars (Fig 5.8) (Fiddes 1953, 143). Fiddes clearly did not agree with the classification of this site as a 'fort', but does not state why. The detail of the excavation is poorly recorded, but from the evidence Fiddes surmised that the site must have been occupied over at least two phases. A large enclosure and shell scatter represented the earliest phase, whereas two pieces of unidentifiable fragments of medieval pottery and external features, perhaps a hearth, were the remains of a secondary occupation of the site (*ibid* 154). He did not specifically suggest that this site was in direct use during the Iron Age, but instead, proposed only that its initial phase of construction was some time before the Medieval period. The complex multi-phased character of the architecture is suggested from the inadequately explained post-excavation plan (see Fig. 5.8) and it will almost certainly have had a more complex history than Fiddes portrayed.

One of the goals of the excavation seems to have been to elucidate the character of this type of monument ('circular stone-walled enclosures'), common in the Machars. However, the results of the excavation did not impact on the way these features were subsequently interpreted by other archaeologists. Chippermore and similar sites are often uncritically included in discussions of Iron Age settlement, and in some cases classified as 'duns' and

generally interpreted as high status settlements (see Rivet 1967; Cowley 2000; Cunliffe 2001, 2005 (see Fig 6.68)). The purpose, use and function of these features are not straightforward and further research is needed. The implied unity of these features suggested by their location and general morphological similarities can also mask subtle and important differences, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.



(Fig. 5.8: Fiddes' (1953, fig. 1) plan of Chippermore stone-walled enclosure)

5.2.4 Richard Feachem (1950s-1970s)

Archaeological theory and practice had continued to develop through the mid 20th century. Theoretical perspectives popular at the time such as positivism influenced British archaeological practice and constructing standardised typologies became particularly important to research agendas of the time. More detailed measured descriptions of

monuments and refined criteria were used to re-shape older classification schemes. The RCAHMS had shifted their attention after the war to employ more systematic and scientific approaches to the survey of archaeological monuments (Halliday and Stevenson 1991, 132). It was Feachem, author of the Survey of Marginal Land conducted for RCAHMS in the 1950s, who systematically re-classified and re-evaluated the monuments in Wigtownshire to conform to a more unified typology.

The Survey for Marginal Lands was seen as an important emergency initiative to record those sites at risk of destruction from agriculture and forestry (see RCAHMS 1956 *xxvi*). Feachem (1955, 1956) visited numerous sites in Wigtownshire, those that were already noted by the OS as well as the few that had been newly identified by vertical aerial photography. Not only did Feachem record the state of preservation of each site, but during this survey he also re-classified a number of these sites. He replaced what he viewed as general and vague terms used by the OS and in the early inventory of the RCAHMS (1912) 'in the light of present-day knowledge' (Feachem 1956, 58). However, it is not made explicit what this knowledge was. Feachem presented particular sites under types and sub-types of monuments, introducing terms such as 'settlement' and 'homestead' (*ibid* 61). Within this modified standardised classification terms such as 'fort', used ambiguously by the OS were refined and further distinctions were made between monuments based on their morphology. Typologies at the time were constructed under the assumption that measurable characteristics, such as shape and size, were the most significant factors leading to accurate interpretations of the past.

During this time and into the 1970s the meanings of the words used to classify monuments, such as 'fort' and 'broch' were changing within the wider discipline of archaeology. Feachem criticised the antiquarian assumption that all forts were occupied by armed military men (1977, 100). Influenced by current academic trends, he distinguished different types of forts (e.g. promontory, hill) and suggested that most, if not all, native hill-forts were defended villages or, in rare cases, towns (*ibid*). Furthermore Feachem proposed that hill-forts could be differentiated from settlements and homesteads mostly on the basis of size and whether it is sited in a 'defensible' location (*ibid*). Interpretations of the date and function of monuments applied to Wigtownshire were based on generalised models created from research conducted in the South of England. Feachem proposed that all hill-forts were most likely 'Iron Age' monuments or at least Pre-

Roman, but he acknowledged that many could have been built, rebuilt and reused in later periods (1956, 59). All of these views influenced his interpretations of the monuments in Wigtownshire. Although forts and warfare were still interpreted as a significant element of Iron Age society, it was also beginning to be characterised more by domestic settlement and rural life.

> 'While the role played by homesteads and small settlements is probably to be interpreted as that of farmsteads belonging to people who worked independently on the land, the purpose of the larger settlements is not always so clear. It may have been that the land all round these was used by their inhabitants, and that the settlements on the hill-tops were either in use as dormitories or were inhabited only seasonally by most of the people concerned, who spent the rest of their lives on the pastures and in the fields, squatting in light-weight shelters between periods of working' (Feachem 1965, 140).

Always trying to keep up with current archaeological ideas Feachem even reworked some of his own classifications. For instance, in 1956 he was certain that Ardwell Point was a broch and that Stairhaven, Teroy and Crammag Head were *not* brochs but rather duns or galleried duns. Nearly twenty years later, influenced by MacKie (1965), Feachem listed Stairhaven, Teroy and Crammag Head as brochs (Feachem 1956, 60; 1977, 162). Feachem was simply following the trends that he assumed would ultimately produce the best and most accurate typology. He did not elaborate on the significance of labelling these monuments brochs as opposed to galleried duns. On the whole Feachem's typological scheme for Scotland was very simplistic and he assumed settlement types evolved through their design, from open settlements to ring-groove houses to brochs and crannogs. At that time Wigtownshire did not seem to have all these types of settlements and therefore the proposed sequence was inapplicable, but the difference in the types of sites in this area -potentially a significant pattern in itself- was explored in a very limited way.

After the Marginal Lands Survey Feachem excavated many sites in southern Scotland and northern England, such as Glenachan Rig, Peebleshire (1959); Harehope, Northumberland (1960); and Green Knowe, Peebleshire (1961). In 1965 he published *The North Britons*, which drew on all of his archaeological experiences. Although dominated by the excavated material, the archaeology of Wigtownshire was included in this book and it was a significant attempt to place this evidence within a larger narrative. Hawkes (1961),

who argued that the Iron Age was heralded by the migrations to Britain by Celtic tribes, influenced Feachem's discussion of the Iron Age archaeology. In addition, Classical and Medieval Irish documentary evidence and a romanticised idea of the Celts, perhaps inspired by the work of his wife Anne Ross (1970), also influenced Feachem's view of the Iron Age. It was clear that Feachem felt that the Iron Age was a period of 'progress' because of the arrival of the Celts (Fig. 5.9) (Feachem 1965, 102).

(Fig. 5.9: Drawing by Feachem of a 'Celtic' image on the Gundestrup cauldron (Ross 1967, fig. 190)

> 'At some time during the second half of the first millennium B.C.-whether sooner or later has not yet been incontrovertibly established-the beginnings of a new way of life began to be introduced into North Britain, heralding an immigration which was prolonged, if not always very massive, and which eventually effected an irrevocable transformation'

Feachem, like others at this time, assumed that changes in the architectural characteristics of monuments during the Iron Age were a direct result of the arrival of the Celts. The Celts, according to Feachem, were settled house and rampart builders and it was certain that '...the occurrence of enclosed houses and settlements thus reflects the presence, or at least knowledge of the presence, of Celtic immigrants' (*ibid* 135). As discussed in Chapter 2, these views were later criticised as representing a created and romanticised past, one that does not necessarily reflect the archaeological evidence (Hill 1989). Feachem simply interpolates his views of a Celtic Iron Age popular in Southern England and applied it to the archaeology of Wigtownshire, subsuming it within a wider narrative.

Extrapolating from Ptolemy's much-used 2nd century AD map of British tribes, Feachem proposed that the tribes in Southern Scotland and Northern England (Votadini, Damnoii, Selgovae and Novantae) were a Celtic group of North Britons distinct from the Pictish peoples who lived north of the boundary defined by the Forth and Clyde (Feachem 1965). He suggested that cultural distinctions between these two peoples could be demonstrated through the distribution of different monument types (*ibid* 17). However, he does not explain the occurrences of similar structures north and south of the boundary, or differences within each area. In fact, within the text, the archaeological evidence is mostly

kept separate from Feachem's social narrative and highlights a discord between his theories and the archaeological evidence. Nonetheless, some of Feachem's perspectives, including his classifications, of the Iron Age have persisted and have influenced subsequent interpretations of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire.

5.3 Surveying Wigtownshire: The Boom Years

5.3.1 Aerial Photography

After the 2nd world war, aerial photography played an increasingly important role in the RCAHMS (Halliday & Stevenson 1991, 131). Initially systematic vertical aerial surveys were conducted, but the work done by O.G.S. Crawford (1924, 1939), St. Joseph and Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography in the 1940s and 1950s popularised the use of oblique aerial photography to identify and characterise archaeological sites. The objectives of the aerial forays by O. G. S. Crawford, Professor St. Joseph and David Wilson were designed to target Roman forts (St. Joseph 1976; Cowley 2002, 256; Jones 2005), however, it is clear that a range of other features, including sites thought to be 'native' Iron Age were also recorded (Truckell 1984). It was only in the late 1970s that the RCAHMS started intently using oblique aerial photography in Scotland (Maxwell 1979). The results of aerial photography in the last thirty years has had a significant impact on the identification of archaeological sites in Wigtownshire, particularly within the Stranraer Lowlands where previously only a few upstanding archaeology features had survived (cf. Cowley and Brophy 2001).

The sandy soils of the Stranraer Lowlands make it ideal for agriculture and over time many prehistoric sites had been levelled as a consequence. Yet ironically, the freely-drained soils and continued arable practices also provide suitable conditions for the identification of cropmarks over other areas in Wigtownshire (Evans & Jones 1975). During times of drought, such as the summer of 1992, circumstances made it possible to recognise cropmarks and the number of known sites in Wigtownshire increased dramatically. Cowley (2002) has been particularly critical of the biased distribution of aerial survey in south-west Scotland. He highlighted that only those areas known to give a high yields, such as the Stranraer Lowlands, had been repeatedly targeted and consequently other areas have been neglected (Cowley 2002, 261). He acknowledges the limits due to natural conditions and preservation, but suggests that the concentration of sites identified

in the Stranraer Lowlands compared to other areas in Wigtownshire is due to survey bias (*ibid*).

The new aerial archaeological dataset was made to fit awkwardly within pre-existing typologies, but at the same time it was clear that new categories and classifications had to be formed. However, the methodology adopted for this was the same as before, by comparing the size and form of the cropmarks from the Stranraer Lowlands with excavated examples of similar form from elsewhere in Scotland, many of the cropmarks from Wigtownshire were thought to be later prehistoric or Iron Age in date (Truckell 1984). Excavations of the time illustrated the variety of later prehistoric settlement types and showed that earlier interpretations were too simplistic (e.g. Jobey 1966, 1975). For instance, rectangular ditched structures with rounded corners (e.g. Craigmuie, Eastern Dumfriesshire), initially thought to be Roman, were reinterpreted as 'native' because of their lack of Roman design and artefacts (Truckell 1984, 199). Yet, general morphological similarities can be misleading and since very few of these cropmarks have been investigated in detail their chronology is still uncertain.

The excavation of cropmarks and their surrounding areas have repeatedly demonstrated the complexity of the archaeology that cannot be identified through aerial photography alone (Cowley and Brophy 2001, 49; Gregory 2001a). Nonetheless, in the 1970s, impressed by the results of the excavations of Iron Age sites by Jobey in Eastern Dumfriesshire, Truckell sought to establish a relative pattern of settlement that could encompass the cropmark evidence across Dumfries and Galloway, including Wigtownshire (Truckell 1984). He suggested that rectangular sites were located predominantly on river terraces throughout Dumfries and Galloway, and circular enclosures were more dominant in the west (*ibid* 200). These observations were used to interpret social differences assumed to be inherent in sites of different morphology. Truckell himself did not elaborate on social interpretations of settlement, but similar methods of comparison would fuel subsequent models of settlement in the Iron Age (see Cowley 2000).

Nearly twenty years later, Cowley and Brophy (2001) reassessed the aerial photographic record across the lowlands of south-west Scotland. They discussed the potential of the impact of aerial reconnaissance on the understanding of early prehistoric ceremonial monuments and later prehistoric settlement in Dumfries and Galloway. They reiterated the

importance of morphological analysis; 'indeed, such analysis and consequent classification is an essential precondition to excavation if they are to be interpreted in a wider context' (*ibid*, 49). Yet, the complex range of differences and similarities in shape and size still cannot be accounted for in the current classification systems. For instance, although curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures are morphologically distinct, they can both be enclosed in a similar fashion by various combinations of palisades and ditches (*ibid*, 61). Nonetheless Cowley and Brophy's study demonstrated the diversity and variability of the cropmark evidence recorded in the last twenty years, and highlighted a real lack of interpretive research on the vast cropmark record.

5.3.2 Ordnance Survey and the RCAHMS in the 1970s and 1980s

The OS have always recorded the known visible and non-visible archaeological features. In Scotland during the 1950s and 1960s they were primarily conducting small-scale county surveys. By the 1970s recording of ancient monuments had increased and continued during the reorganisation of the OS with the formation of the Archaeology Branch in 1974. The OS maintained a record of the archaeology of Britain, particularly those sites that were visible on the ground, as well as cropmarks of Roman sites. In Scotland various staff members undertook more frequent field visits during the 1970s than before. All extant sites were located, checked against previous information, and minimum descriptions of their nature and state noted. Although much is likely to have changed over the last thirty years, some of these descriptions are the most up-to-date for archaeological sites in the Machars of Wigtownshire.

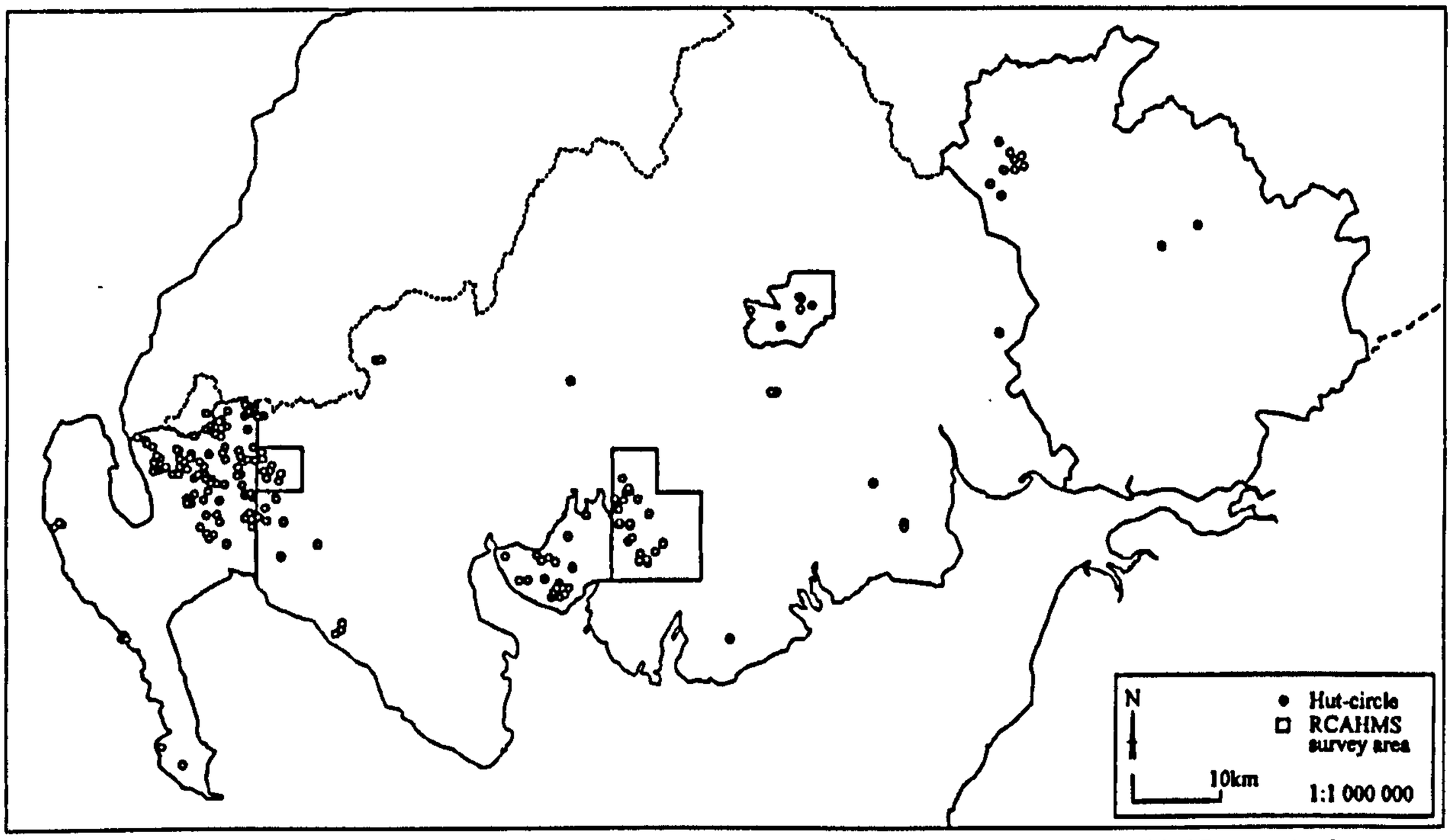
The surveys conducted by the OS were not rigorous, but in several cases monuments were reclassified. For instance in 1976 T. R. George suggested that many of the circular stone-walled enclosures, often called forts, were not in defensive locations and therefore should be re-classified as homesteads; this label is still present in the NMRS. Homestead is a generic term that is not based on specific morphological traits but an interpretation of a site's function. In terms of the morphology and location the examples of homesteads in the Machars are distinct from those recorded by the RCAHMS in Roxburghshire (1956), highlighting the inconsistent use of this term (also see Ritchie 1970). By contrast, those in the Borders are often located high in the moorlands, are larger, have multiple enclosing elements and contained numerous 'houses' or 'huts' (*ibid*). Further discrepancies in the

terminology used by the OS and later RCAHMS surveyors is apparent when comparing some of the archaeological descriptions, such as whether Doon Hill, Capenoch was a dun or a fort. Although there was an attempt to standardise classifications, different criteria were used to define sites between institutions and even between surveyors. By 1979 it was agreed to transfer responsibility of the record to the RCAHMS.

The emphasis of the inventories and the role of the RCAHMS had shifted progressively after WWII to detailed recording and not just the compilation of simple lists of monuments (Dunbar 1992, 22). By the 1950s there was greater emphasis on the detection of previously unrecorded monuments (*ibid*, 28). In 1977 the Society of Antiquaries Field Survey was established within the RCAHMS (Halliday & Stevenson 1991, 133). Less constrained by earlier survey schemes, this group aimed to identify new archaeological features rather than purely record the state of preservation of known monuments (*ibid*). The approach was to be an inclusive systematic field survey, looking at whole landscapes, recording all possible archaeological features encountered, as well as integrating the cropmark evidence. It was now not only important to assist in a monument's protection, but also to consider heritage management, academic research, education and tourism (Murray 1988, 24; Dunbar 1992). The results of these surveys were intended to support further research, but they also affected how monuments were classified and interpreted. Under this new framework in the mid 1980s the RCAHMS conducted a detailed and systematic survey of the Western and Eastern Rhins (RCAHMS 1985, 1987). Over several months as the surveyors became more accustomed to the landscape, and on occasion it was found that after repeatedly walking over the same area, many new sites were identified (Murray 1988, 26; Halliday *pers comm*). In the upland zone of the Eastern Rhins, over one hundred previously unrecorded hut-circles and burnt mounds were noted. It is still possible that other sites were missed, particularly early on in the survey (Halliday *pers comm*).

The publications of these surveys (RCAHMS 1985, 1987) simply consisted of descriptions of each site, arranged chronologically by monument type. The types used again reflected popular trends, including forts, brochs, duns, hut-circles, crannogs, ring-ditches, miscellaneous enclosures, and, in the Eastern Rhins gazetteer, palisaded settlements and open settlements (an interchangeable term with hut-circles). No attempt was made to synthesise the data, but this information coupled with that from aerial photographs

provided a more detailed picture of prehistoric occupation of western Wigtownshire. The Machars have yet to be surveyed to the same intensity and this is noticeable in the distribution of types of sites across Wigtownshire (Fig. 5.10). The record of monuments for Wigtownshire in the NMRS, one of the most significant resources for archaeological information, is a product of a combination of surveys, theories, and methodologies and therefore the classifications need to be considered in their own context.



(Fig. 5.10: Distribution of recorded hut-circles and the area surveyed by the RCAHMS, west of the line (after Cowley 2000, fig.2))

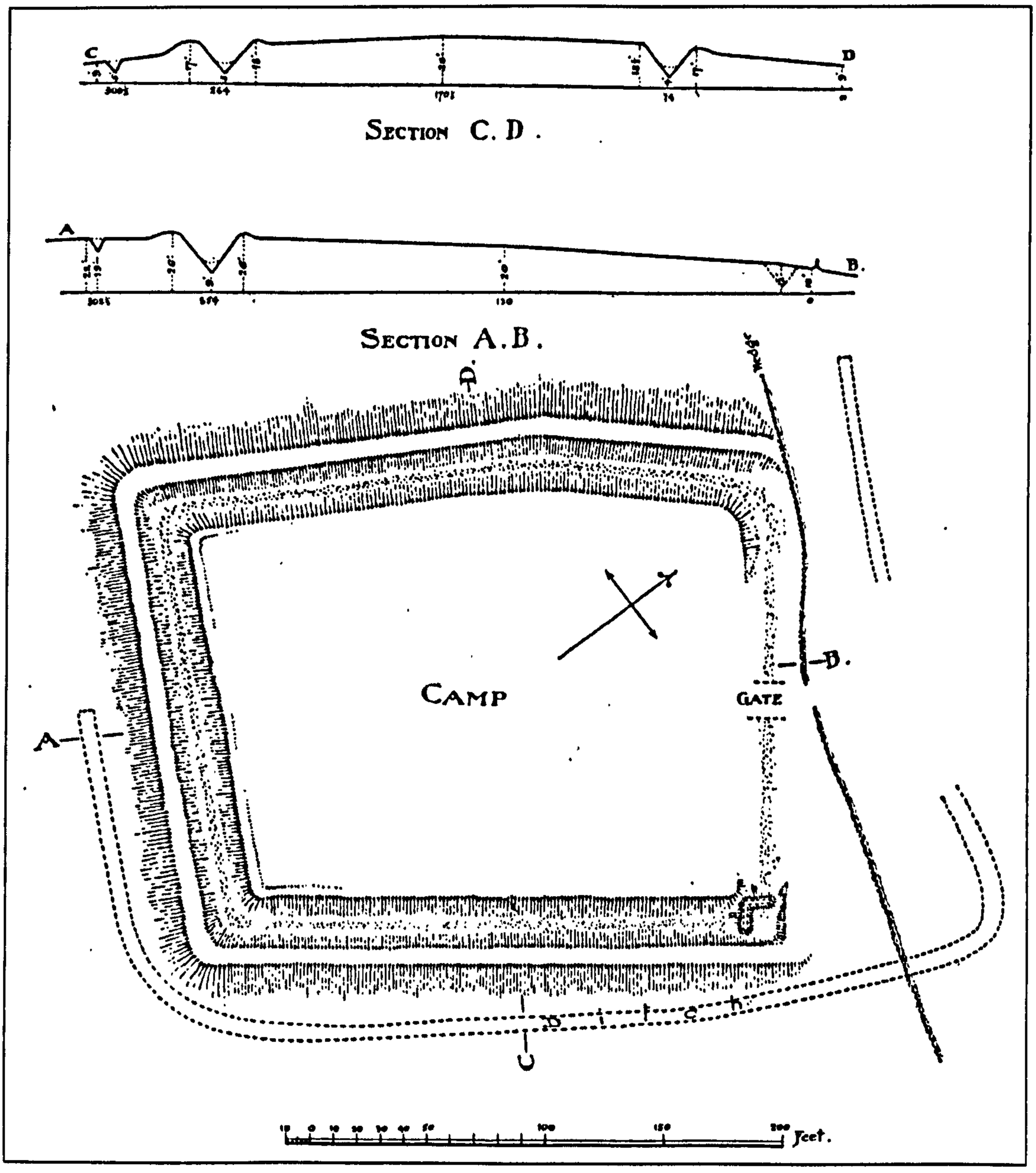
5.4 Excavation and Commercial Archaeology: late 1970s-onwards

In recent years, commercial, or rescue, excavation has been the principal research tool for the investigation of later prehistoric features in Wigtownshire. Some of these excavations have yielded unexpected results and challenged previous expectations and interpretations. Each of the excavations discussed below has contributed to the interpretation of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire.

5.4.1 Rispain Camp

This rectilinear ditched enclosure with rounded corners, approximately 70m by 50m, is located on the edge of a knoll, near Whithorn. The function and chronology of Rispain Camp has undergone several re-interpretations in the past. In the 19th and early 20th

centuries only the outline of the wide rectilinear ditch was visible. Its shape did not quite fit in with other known types, but was tentatively suggested to be either Roman or medieval in date (RCAHMS 1912; Feachem 1956). Excavations between 1978 and 1981 demonstrated that Rispain Camp was an enclosed Iron Age settlement with several internal ring-groove houses (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983). The varying perceptions of the site and the interpretation of this latest excavation have been significant to the appreciation of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire.

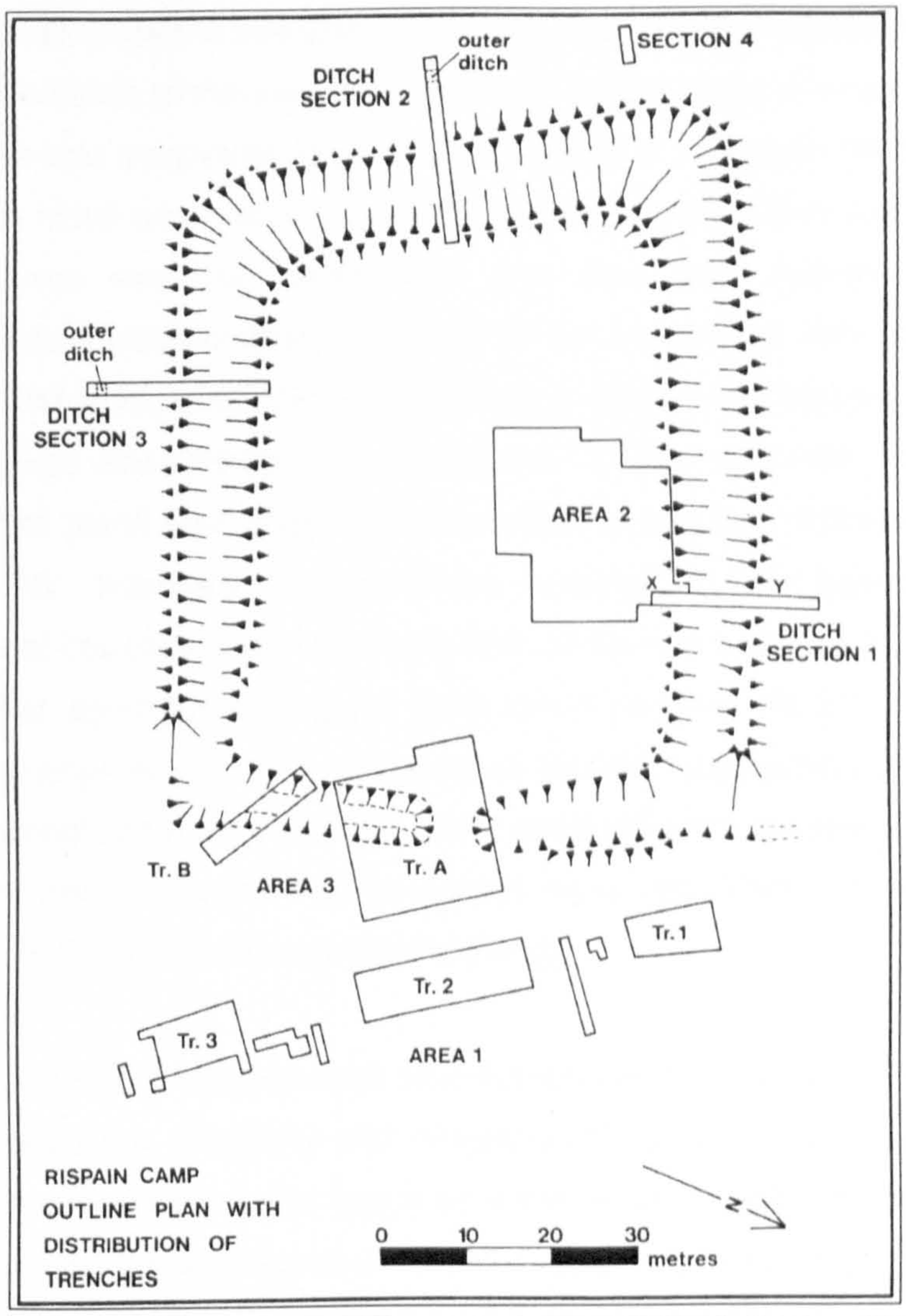


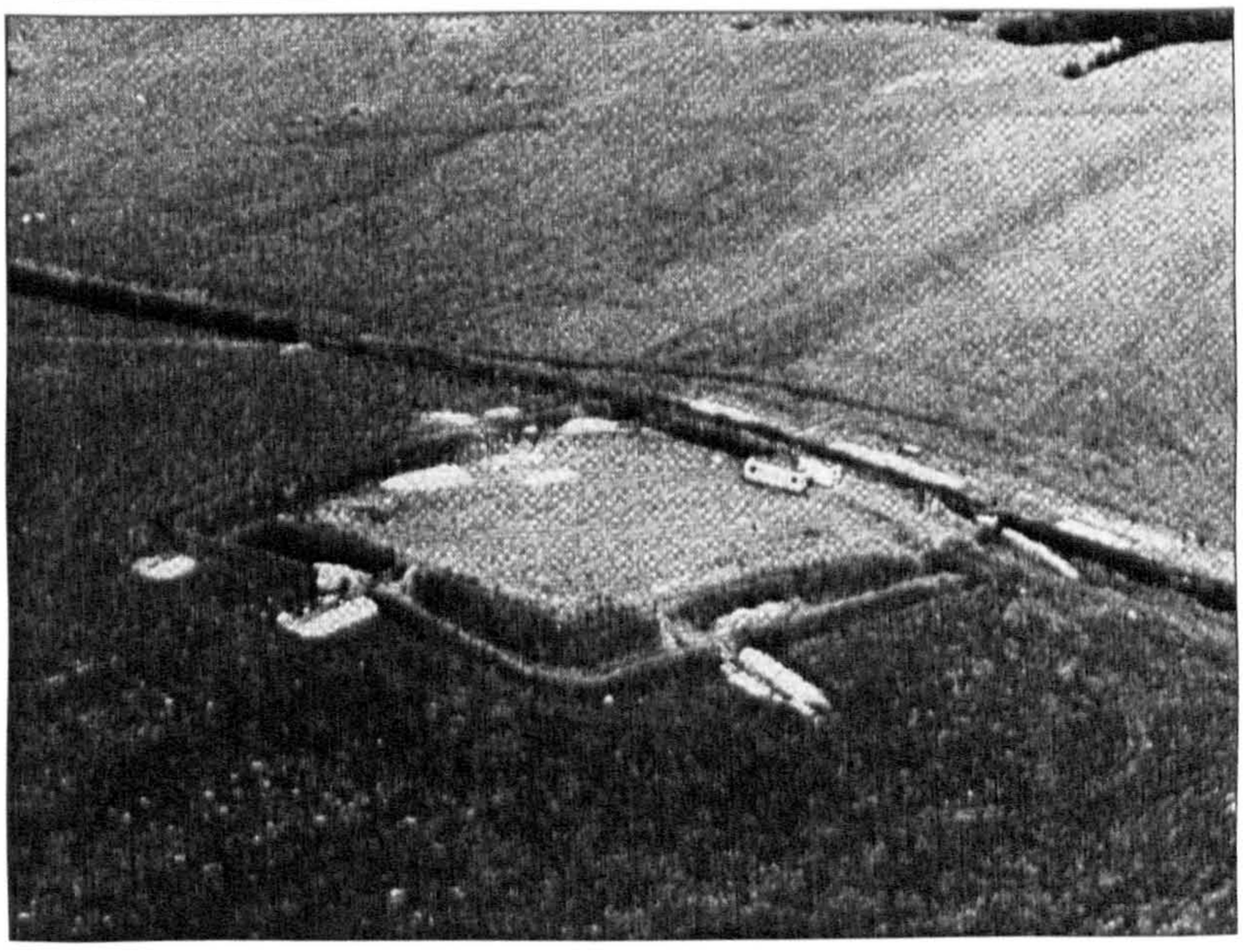
(Fig: 5.11: Barbour's (1901, 622) plan of Rispain Camp)

In *The Statistical Account of Scotland* Rispain Camp was first described as a Roman camp (Davidson 1795, 276-7 & 288) and in 1901 The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland carried out the first extensive excavation on this site (Barbour 1901). 'The operations consisted in carrying wide longitudinal and transverse sections through the centre of the interior and the ditches, and continuing them some distance outside the camp, turning over a considerable portion of the interior in search of evidence of occupation' (*ibid*, 623) (Fig. 5.11). Despite this effort, no significant evidence concerning the date and function was discovered; yet, two fragments of human skull were retrieved from the ditch halfway from the gateway to the east corner with a deer antler and more bone fragments (*ibid*, 624-625). Barbour did not make anything of these deposits or, in fact, anything else he had revealed. After the excavation, Barbour was still unclear about the function or chronology of the site, even whether it was Roman or not.

Over fifty years later during the Marginal Lands Survey Feachem reclassified Rispain Camp, while acknowledging that, on morphological grounds alone, it was difficult to do so. Rather than propose a new type he attempted to fit Rispain Camp into one of the pre-existing types (Feachem 1956, 64-65). On the date of his visit the ditch was waterlogged and from his experiences of other archaeological sites Feachem suggested Rispain Camp was an example of a medieval homestead moat (*ibid*). In any case, whether a Roman fort or a medieval homestead moat it was clear that Rispain Camp was a distinct feature within the surrounding landscape.

The realignment of a farm track in the late 1970s provided an opportunity for this unusual site to be investigated through more modern techniques (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983, 26) (Fig. 5.12). The excavation confirmed the narrow outer ditch, which Barbour identified (1901, 623), along with several other smaller tributary ditches that joined it; these were interpreted as a drainage system, added at later date to the original function of the site (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983, 40). The substantial inner ditch yielded carbonised oak, which was dated to 40bc +/- 80 (GU 1165) (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983, 30). Even taking into account the long life of oak, from this evidence the site was still much earlier than previously expected.

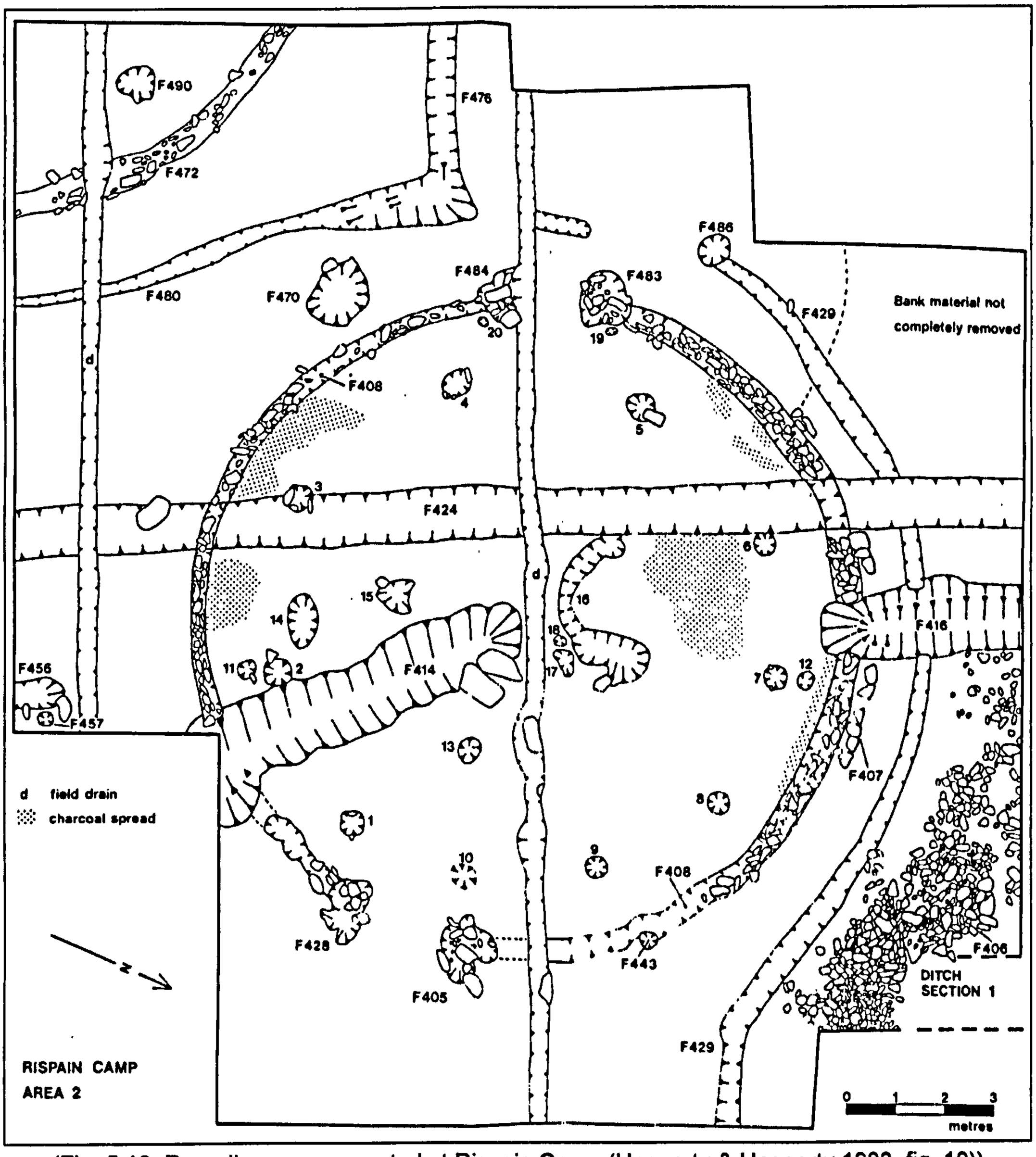




(Fig. 5.12: Plan of excavation trenches and photo (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983, figs. 2 & 3))

More unexpected still were the remains of two ring-groove roundhouses within the interior. Within less than one sixth of the internal area the foundation plan of one complete and one partial roundhouse was uncovered (Fig. 5.13) (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983, 34). It was not surprising that the initial excavation in 1901 had not identified these since the awareness of negative features was not common at that time (see Ralston 2003). These roundhouses, much truncated now, appeared to be associated with the inner ditch by means of a metalled road, which led to a gateway (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983, 33). The complete roundhouse was defined by a ring-groove 13.5m in diameter, forming the footing for a timber post or plank wall (*ibid*). This roundhouse had two entrances, one to the E and one on the SW. Internally, there was little evidence for floor layers, but there were occasional charcoal deposits and several pits that contained botanical remains and animal bone, showing that agricultural products were relied on (*ibid*, 36-37). One of the ring-groove timber buildings produced a 1st centuries BC/AD radiocarbon date and therefore offered a rare chronological reference for other south-western Scottish roundhouses and subsequently has been compared to numerous sites regardless of their context (see Hunter 1994, Toolis 2003a, MacGregor forthcoming).

Based on information from experimental reconstructions (Reynolds 1979), as well as the size of the enclosed area, Haggerty and Haggerty (1983, 42) suggested that in order to maximise the potential of the interior space as many as eight timber structures could have been built. Underlying these calculations were popular positivist theories that prehistoric people interacted with their environment in the most cost-effective and efficient way. Furthermore, it was proposed that the site was an Iron Age 'defended homestead' that focussed on arable production and that the 'monumental' ditch was necessary to protect the inhabitants (*ibid* 1983, 43; Hunter 1994). The discovery of enamelled metal and glass, as well as the size of the ditch itself, was used to propose that Rispain Camp was a high status settlement. These interpretations of the excavated evidence perpetuated the idea that Iron Age society was organised as separate units of domestic settlement. Yet, it is certain that to cultivate fields, procure resources or to have high status, relationships outside of Rispain Camp had to be maintained. Little has been said about Rispain Camp in its landscape setting, particularly since there are few known sites in the area.



(Fig. 5.13: Roundhouses excavated at Rispain Camp (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983, fig. 10))

The site has, however, been likened to other pre-Roman or Romano-British sites in Northern England and SE Scotland (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983, 43). But, simply extracting morphologically similar parallels from other areas can be problematic and misleading. To refer back to the example of Teroy broch discussed above, the contrast between Curle's expectations and the excavation results highlight the problem of not considering the site within the landscape setting. In terms of 'brochs' there are only three

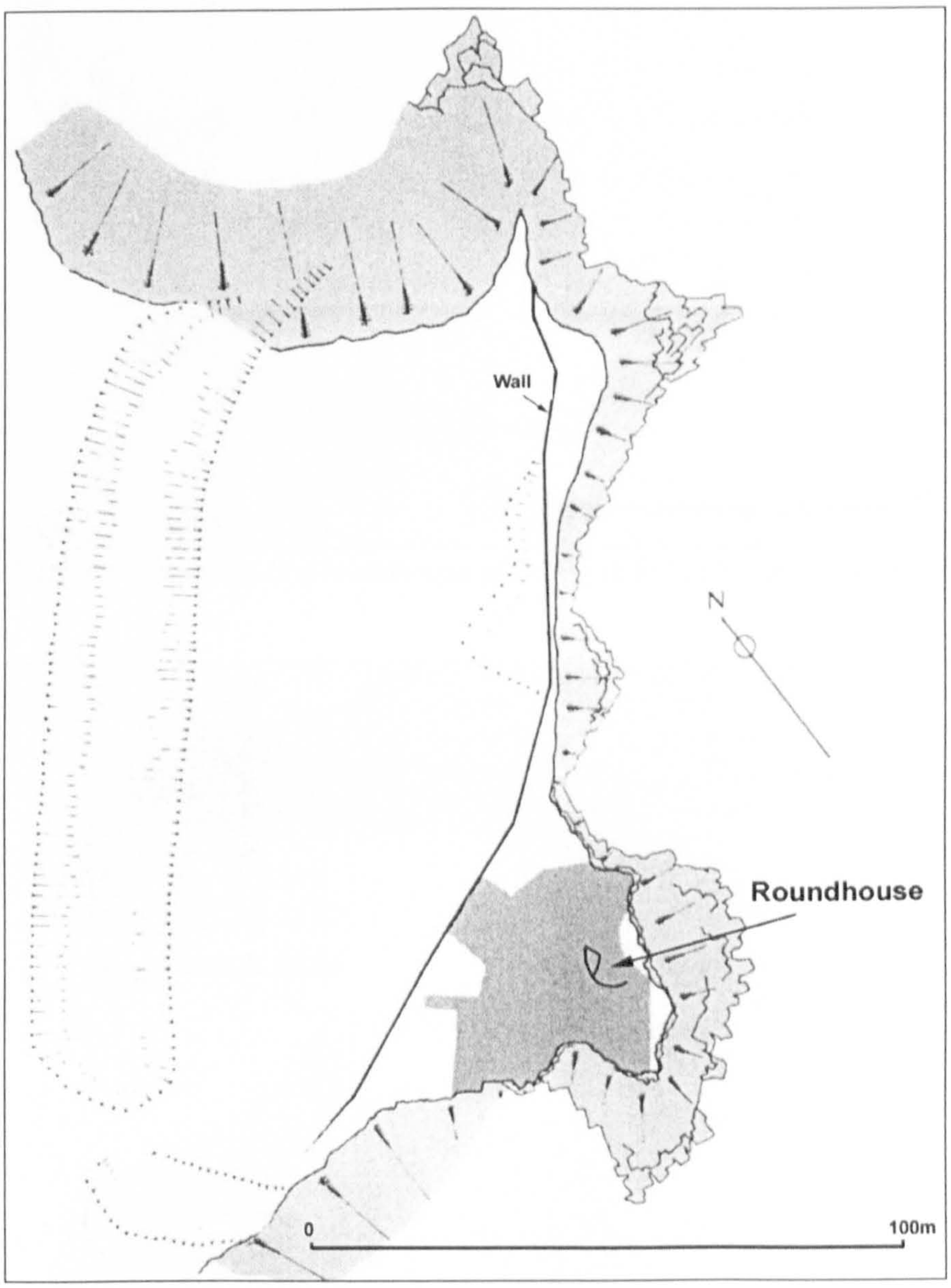
known in Wigtownshire and they share very distinct relationships to the surrounding landscape than those noted more abundantly in the Northern and Western Isles. The specific situation of a place and how it relates to other monuments within the landscape needs to be considered. Prior to extensive aerial photographic surveys few morphologically similar features to Rispain Camp were noted in Wigtownshire. A few cropmark sites such as Cairn Connell Hill and Monreith Mains may offer parallels. Within the immediate landscape of the features that are recorded, Rispain Camp is distinctive and may have had a well-defined role. It had a specific history and end, from the amount of charcoal in the wall slot it was suggested that the roundhouses were destroyed by fire (*ibid*, 41). This excavation changed the way the Iron Age in Wigtownshire was perceived; different types of settlement are now known to have occupied the later prehistoric landscape. The excavation, however, raised questions about the interaction between such places.

5.4.2 Cruggleton Castle

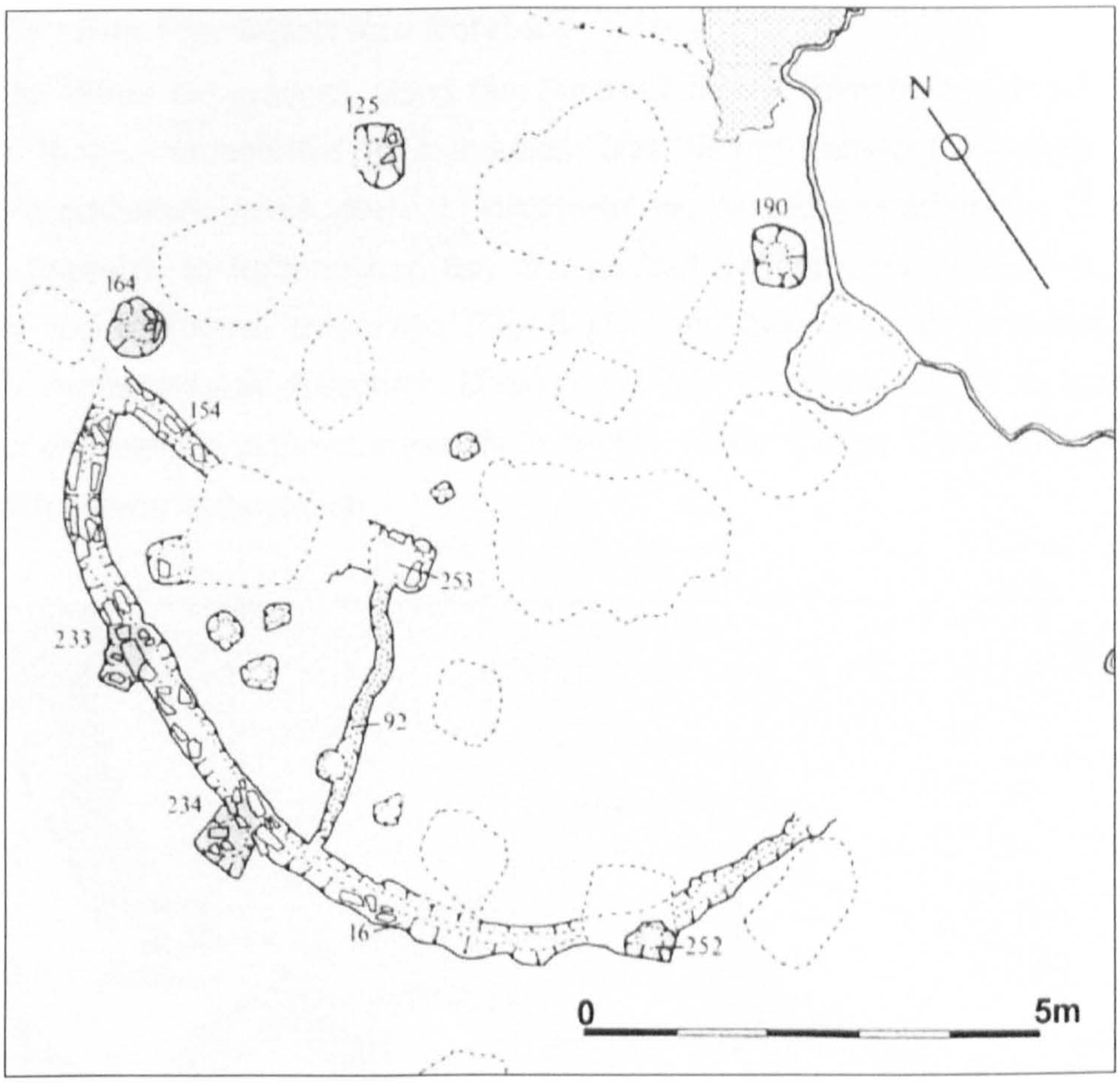
Located on the east coast of the Machars Cruggleton Castle was also excavated between 1978 and 1981. The main aim of this investigation was to assess the overall erosion of a motte and bailey located on a coastal promontory (Ewart 1985). However, under the remains of mostly 16th to 17th century and earlier medieval phases, were the partial remains of an Iron Age timber roundhouse, dated to *circa* 1st century AD (*ibid*, 12). Ewart (*ibid*) proposed that the repeated occupation of the site was a sign of the significance of this place within the landscape and therefore was intentionally chosen by the Lords of Galloway for their stronghold in the medieval period.

The Iron Age roundhouse, located in the extreme NE corner of the excavation area, was greatly truncated (Fig. 5.14 & 5.15). A bronze brooch found near to the roundhouse, in no stratigraphic context, was thought to be a residue of the later Iron Age occupation (Ewart 1985, 12). The main area of the promontory was the focus of medieval and later settlement and any earlier features here would have been destroyed. Aerial photographs suggest that the large curvilinear cropmarks probably relate to the medieval occupation of the site; however, there is another slight curvilinear feature enclosing a narrower circuit around the promontory and this may be the remains of an earlier enclosure (Fig. 5.16). This feature was not excavated and it is uncertain whether it relates to an Iron Age phase.

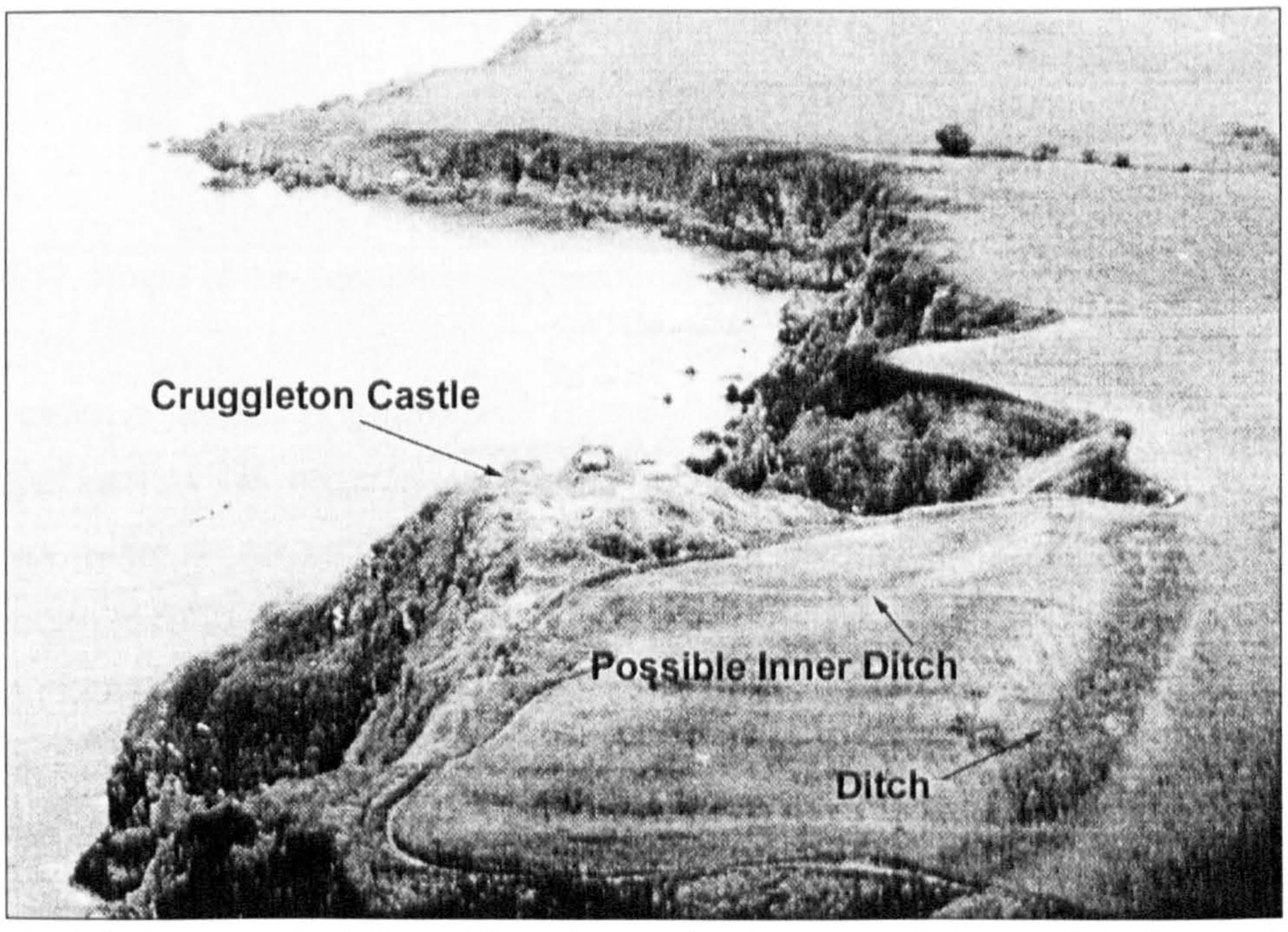
Nonetheless, Ewart like others proposes that this site is an example of one of the many Iron Age promontory forts located across the Machars and Galloway (Ewart 1985, 14; Toolis 2003b; Cavers forthcoming). Only one other 'promontory fort' in Wigtownshire has been excavated and the results have demonstrated that a contemporary relationship between the enclosure and internal features cannot be assumed (Toolis 2003a; 2004). As with Rispain Camp, Cruggleton Castle illustrated that the remains of timber roundhouses previously unknown in Wigtownshire could be identified through excavation and thus further affected the way in which Iron Age settlement was perceived.



(Fig. 5.14: Plan of the enclosed area of Cruggleton Castle with location of roundhouse highlighted (after Ewart 1985, fig. 5))



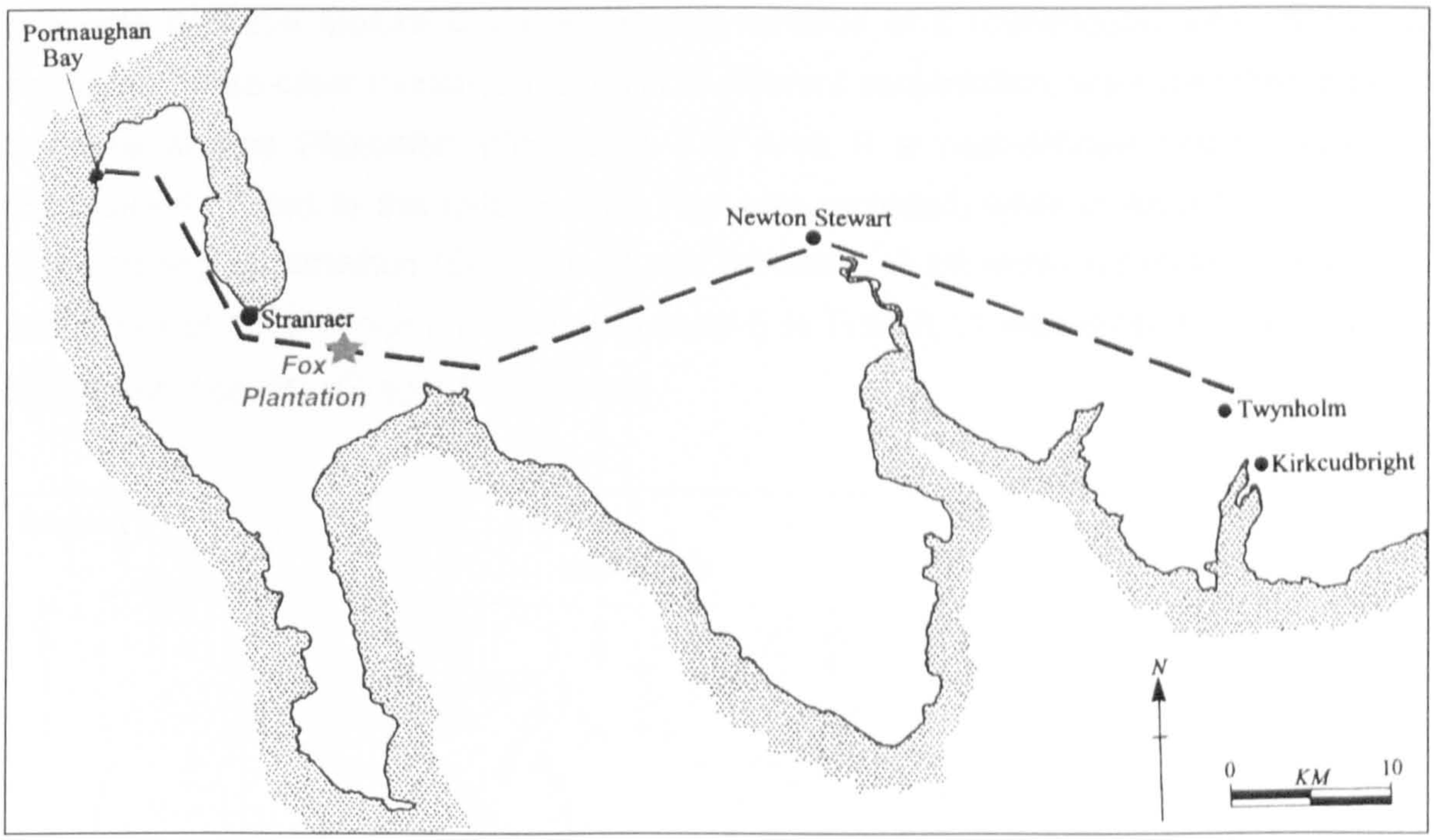
(Fig. 5.15: Plan of the remains of a roundhouse at Cruggleton Castle (after Ewart 1985, fig. 7))



(Fig. 5.16: Aerial photograph of Cruggleton Castle showing possible inner ditch (Ewart 1985, fig. 4)

5.4.3 SNIP: Fox Plantation and Soleburn

In the mid 1990s excavations along the Scotland to Northern Ireland Pipeline (SNIP) identified further unrecorded roundhouses and demonstrated the complexities of interpreting prehistoric landscapes. In Wigtownshire, the pipeline stretched from Newton Stewart westwards to Portnaughan Bay and passed through several areas with a high density of archaeological cropmarks (Fig. 5.17). In advance of construction Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division (GUARD) carried out an evaluation and number of excavations in these areas (Bain 1996a, 1996b; Cullen 1996; MacGregor *et al.* 1996, 1997; James forthcoming).

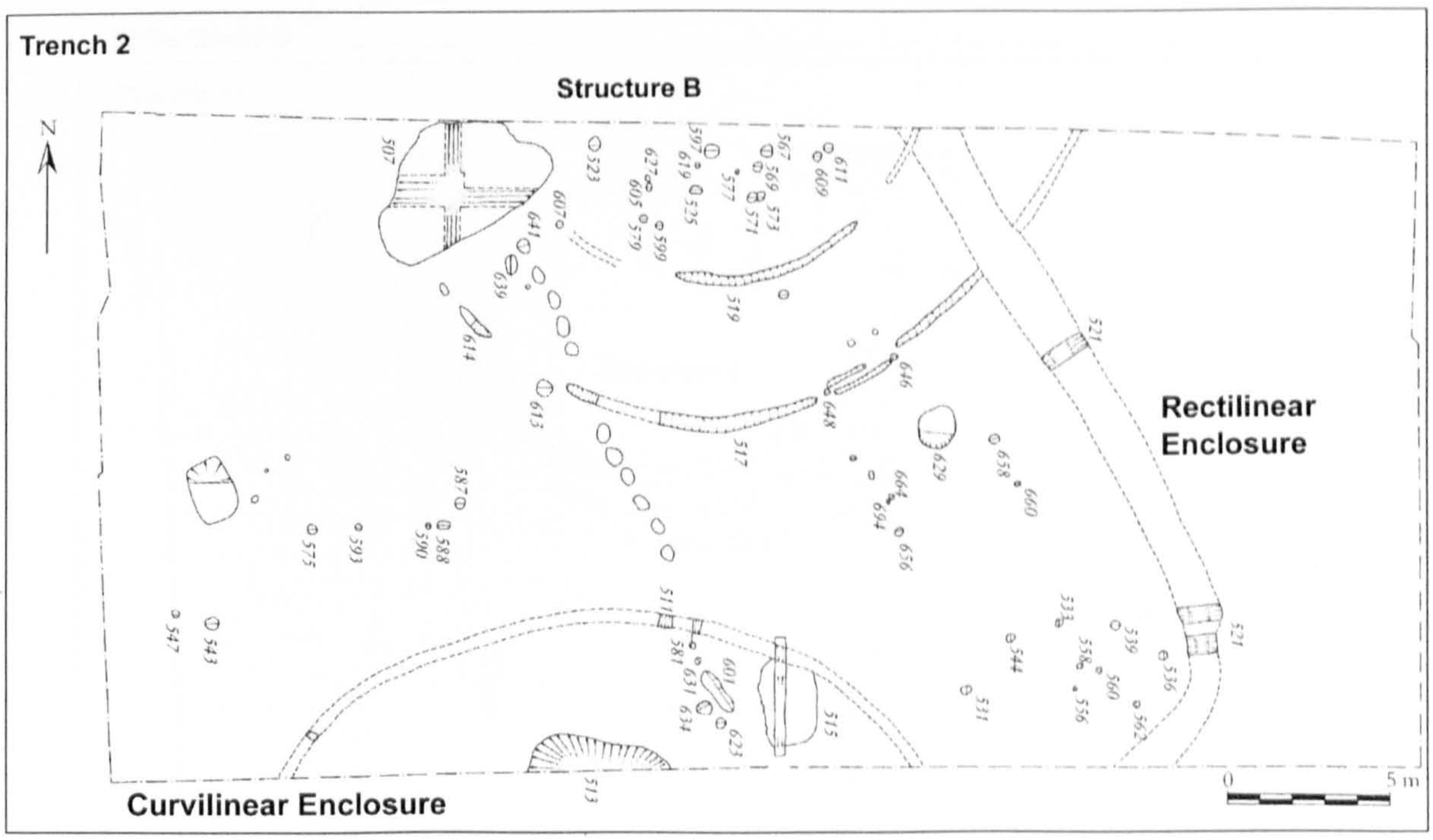


(Fig. 5.17: Route of the Scottish to Northern Ireland Pipeline © GUARD (after Bain 1996b))

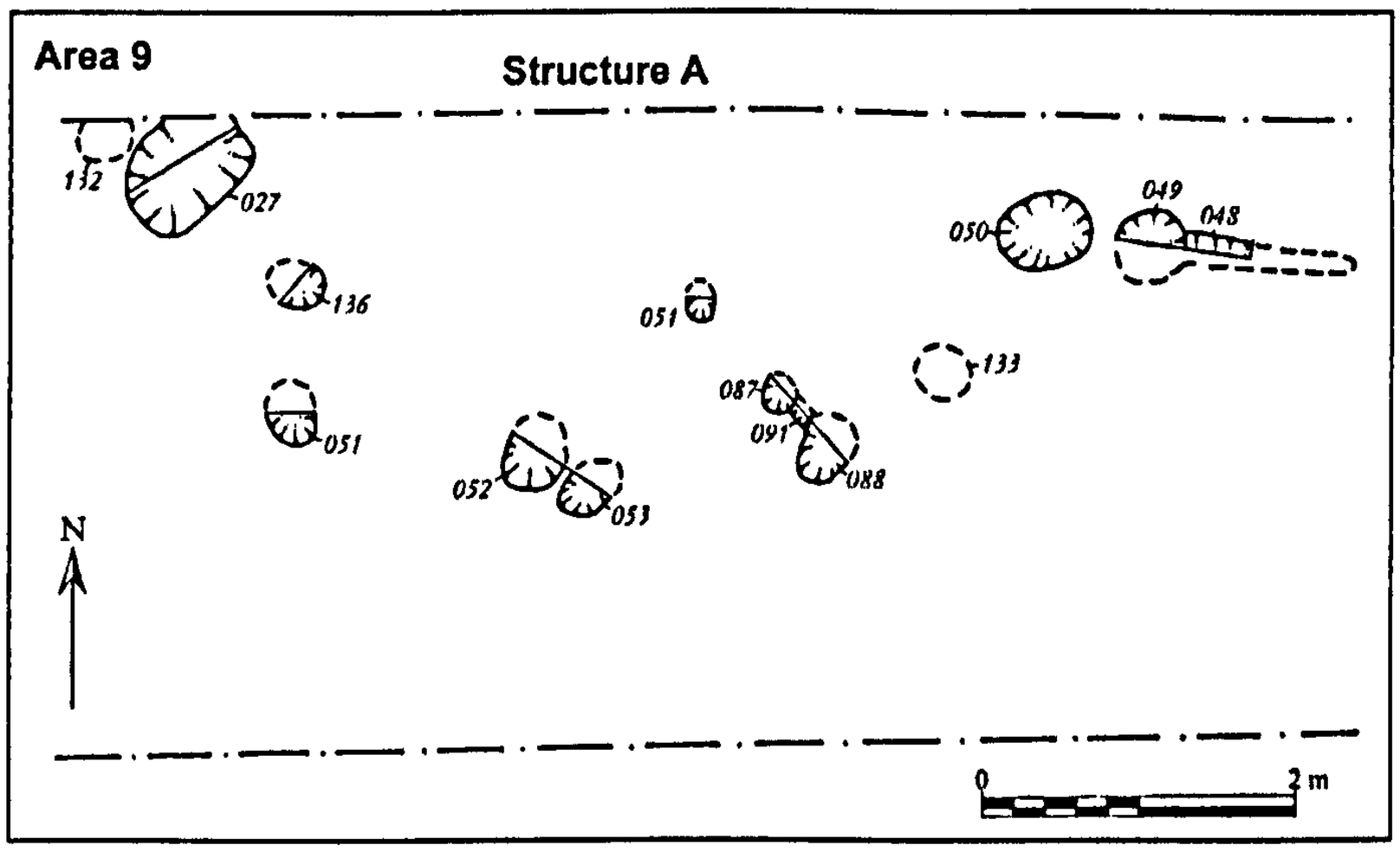
Through oblique aerial photography (largely from 1992) the site of Fox Plantation produced a variety of cropmarks including, curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures; a possible roundhouse; a series of pits and other undefined features. Excavations by GUARD took place in 1995 and 1996 (MacGregor *et al.* 1996; 1997). Surprisingly, upon excavation some of the cropmarks could not be detected (Cullen *et al* 1995, MacGregor forthcoming). For instance, curvilinear and rectilinear cropmarked enclosures that were supposedly covered by Trench 1 were not visible upon excavation. Yet interestingly, within the same trench a previously unrecorded curvilinear ditch segment, likely to be post-

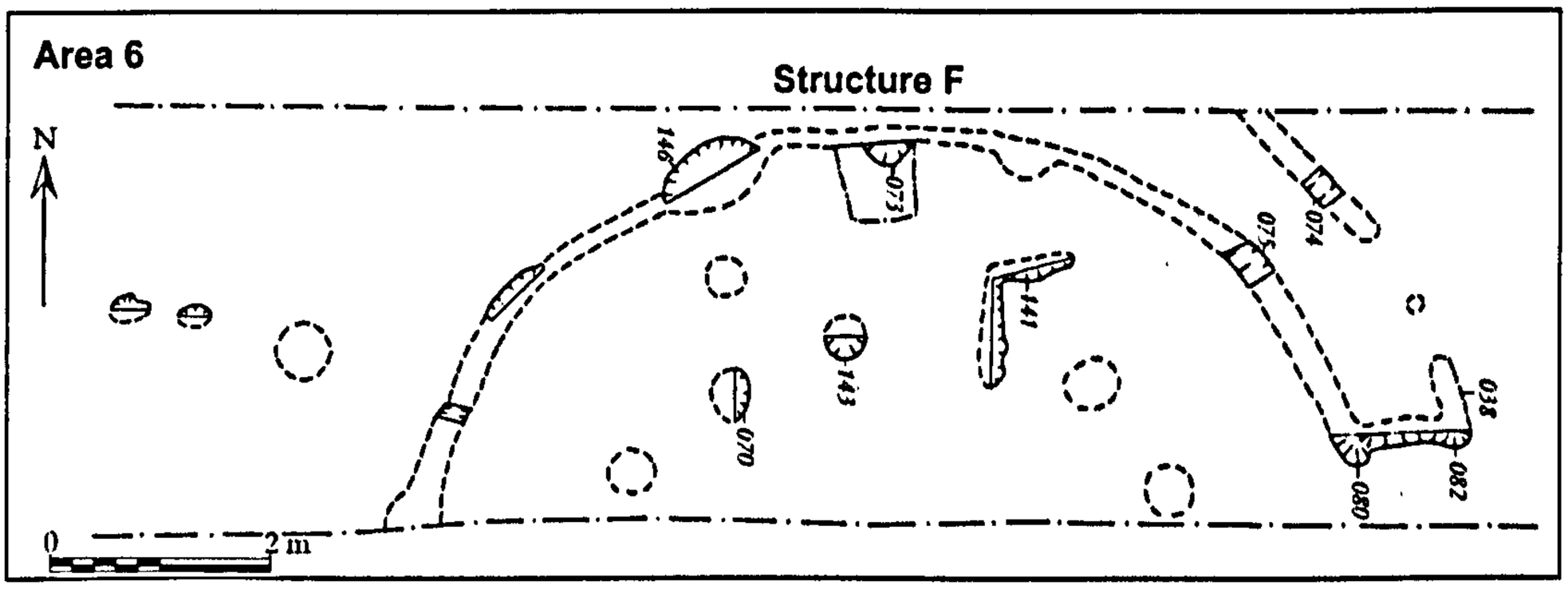
medieval in date, was uncovered. The results from each trench highlighted the different, but complimentary, information that can be gained through aerial photography when compared to excavation. These excavations also demonstrated that even large archaeological features could remain undetected by aerial reconnaissance even when conditions are favourable.

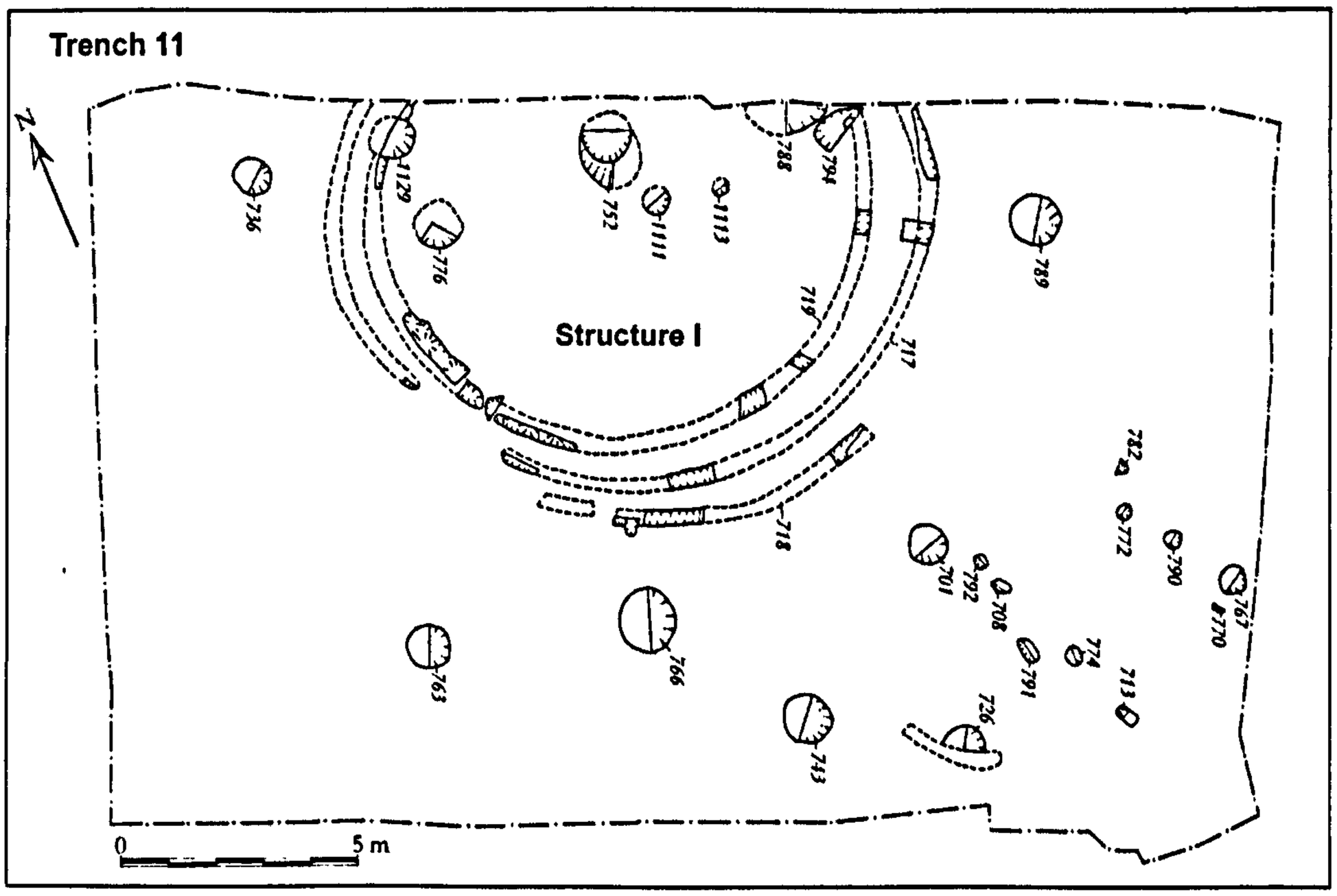
In Trench 2 the cropmarks of other curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures did correspond to excavated features (Fig. 5.18). These features were undatable, but a double-slotted, circular structure with internal post-holes (Structure B), not visible on aerial photographs, produced a date from the later part of the first millennium BC. MacGregor *et al.* (1996) suggests that this feature is the foundation remains of a roundhouse within a narrow palisade. Three other roundhouses, each of different construction, were identified in other trenches at Fox Plantation (Fig. 5.19). In Area 9 a post-defined circular structure (Structure A) dated to the Later Bronze Age was recorded, while in Area 6 an undated post-and-ring construction (Structure F) was revealed. A pit within a circular roundhouse composed of three concentric slots (Structure I) in Trench 11 was dated to the Romano-British Iron Age (MacGregor forthcoming).



(Fig. 5.18: Fox Plantation Trench B with the curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures that correspond to cropmarks and the roundhouse (Structure B) that was not recorded on aerial photographs © GUARD (after MacGregor forthcoming))





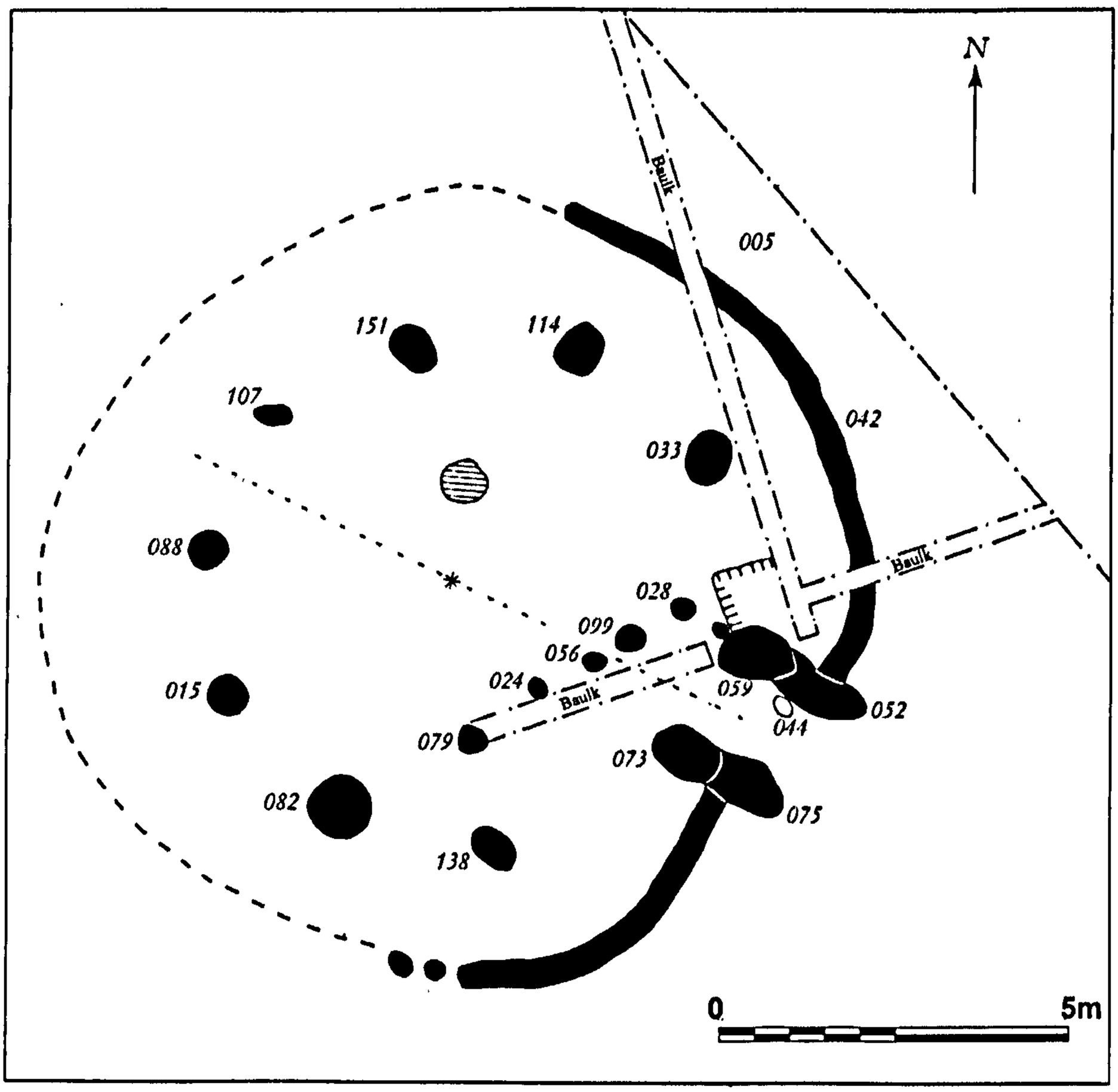


(Fig. 5.19: Roundhouses (Structures A, F & I) of Fox Plantation © GUARD (after MacGregor forthcoming))

The diversity of material uncovered within the limited area excavated shows that there was a complex process of habitation connected with this landscape throughout prehistory. The excavations at Fox Plantation uncovered evidence from the Mesolithic to Post-medieval periods and thus demonstrated the chronological depth of the landscape. Within prehistory people may have often been confronted with earlier and ancient material. Three Late Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age stone artefacts: an anvil, a stone adze and a hammer stone were found within the fill of the inner slot of the possible Romano-British roundhouse of Structure I and a Beaker pottery fragment was retrieved from a pit in the Iron Age roundhouse of Structure B (MacGregor *et al.* 1996). This evidence hints at the active reuse of previous occupation debris in later prehistory (MacGregor forthcoming).

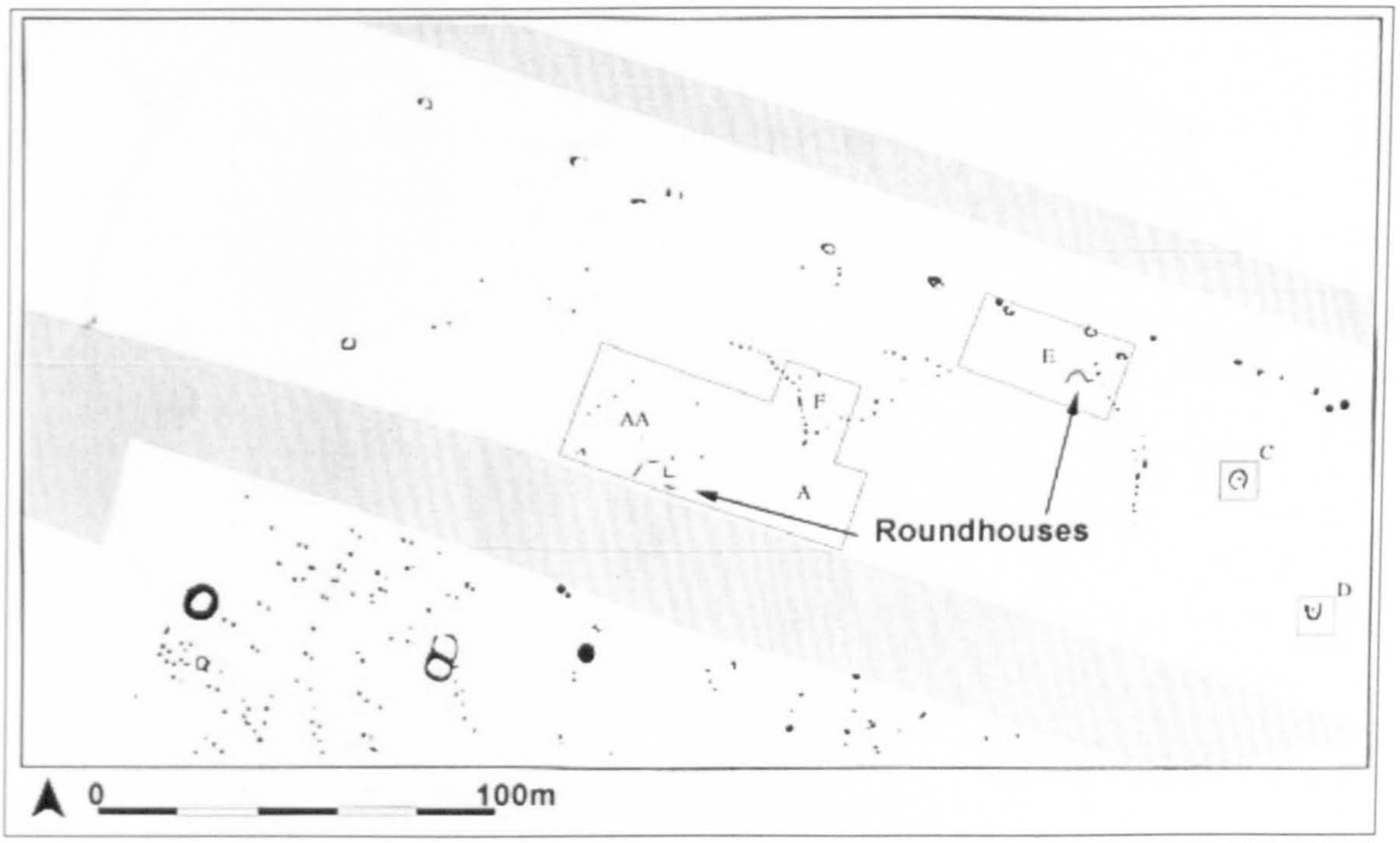
Although in many ways morphologically similar, the different construction techniques and spatial relationships between the potential Iron Age monuments such as the roundhouses and enclosures illustrate that there may have been a changing relationship with this landscape over time. MacGregor (forthcoming) acknowledges that there are a few comparable excavated sites within Wigtownshire and therefore relies mostly on examples of 'settlement' elsewhere to interpret the evidence at Fox Plantation. Comparing the results from other roundhouse excavations, such as the Boonies in Eastern Dumfriesshire (Jobey 1975), MacGregor suggests there is a general decrease in roundhouse size in the Late Iron Age, which perhaps relates to changing social relationships (*ibid*). This interpretation, although possible, is based on a small dataset in Wigtownshire and does not take into account the various possible uses of these places. It raises the questions as to whether all roundhouses can be assumed to have had the same function or role in society, i.e. the permanent house of a 'family' unit. The Stranraer Lowlands is a unique and archaeologically rich landscape within the SW of Scotland and throughout prehistory it is likely that there were different approaches to the habitation of this landscape. The excavations at Fox Plantation were a rare opportunity to explore this area, and while many different monuments were revealed, the excavations again raised more questions. Although some of the excavated features remain chronologically uncertain, more could be made of the archaeological evidence. This would require exploring the many possibilities, such as the distinctions between the roundhouses in terms of their specific location and their relationships to other monuments.

To the NW, approximately 12km from Fox Plantation, an evaluation trench at Soleburn uncovered a Late Bronze Age roundhouse (Fig. 5.20) (Cullen 1996; Cullen & James forthcoming). There were no prior indications of archaeological features here. The roundhouse was truncated, but still maintained the majority of its outline. It was defined by a timber-post and ring-groove construction with a porch at the single a SE entrance (*ibid*). Evidence of earlier Neolithic activity was identified under the roundhouse and although it is unlikely that there was continual use of the site from the Neolithic, it is probable that during the construction of the roundhouse earlier material was encountered. Early Bronze pottery and stone tools were intentionally deposited within the entrance to the roundhouse and again the detail of this excavation highlighted the potential reuse of earlier prehistoric material in later prehistory.



(Fig. 5.20: Plan of the roundhouse at Soleburn © GUARD (after Cullen & James forthcoming))

Post-built roundhouses were also found amongst the earlier prehistoric monument complex at Dunragit (Fig. 5.21) (Thomas 1999, 2001b). Roundhouses are small and, as in the cases above, often truncated; therefore these are unlikely to have been identified by aerial photography unless enclosed. The known archaeological evidence in Wigtownshire certainly is biased to particular types of sites and these excavations have highlighted another important aspect of later prehistoric settlement that needs to be considered within the wider landscape and how each feature relates to other earlier monuments and to each other.

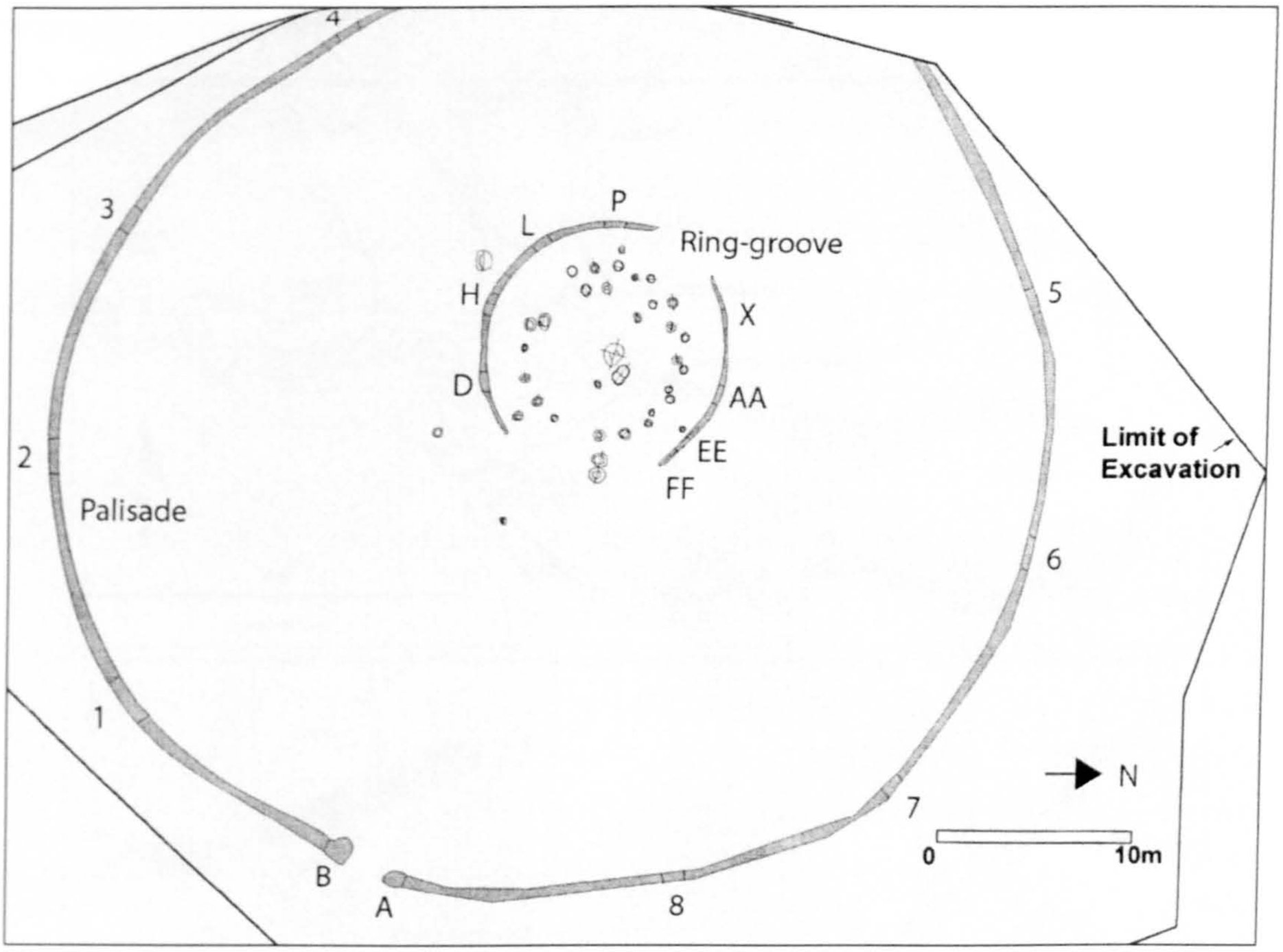


(Fig. 5.21: Dunragit early prehistoric monument complex with locations of roundhouses highlighted (after Thomas 1999))

5.4.4 Aird and the Mull of Galloway

At Aird, near Castle Kennedy, a palisaded circular enclosure noted from aerial photographs was threatened by the expansion of a quarry and in August 2002 the archaeological group AOC carried out an excavation. Aerial photographs from 1978 had shown a possible internal roundhouse within a circular palisaded enclosure. These features generally corresponded well to the excavated evidence (Fig. 5.22) (Cook 2002). Radiocarbon dates from the ring-groove of the roundhouse as well as internal pits suggest

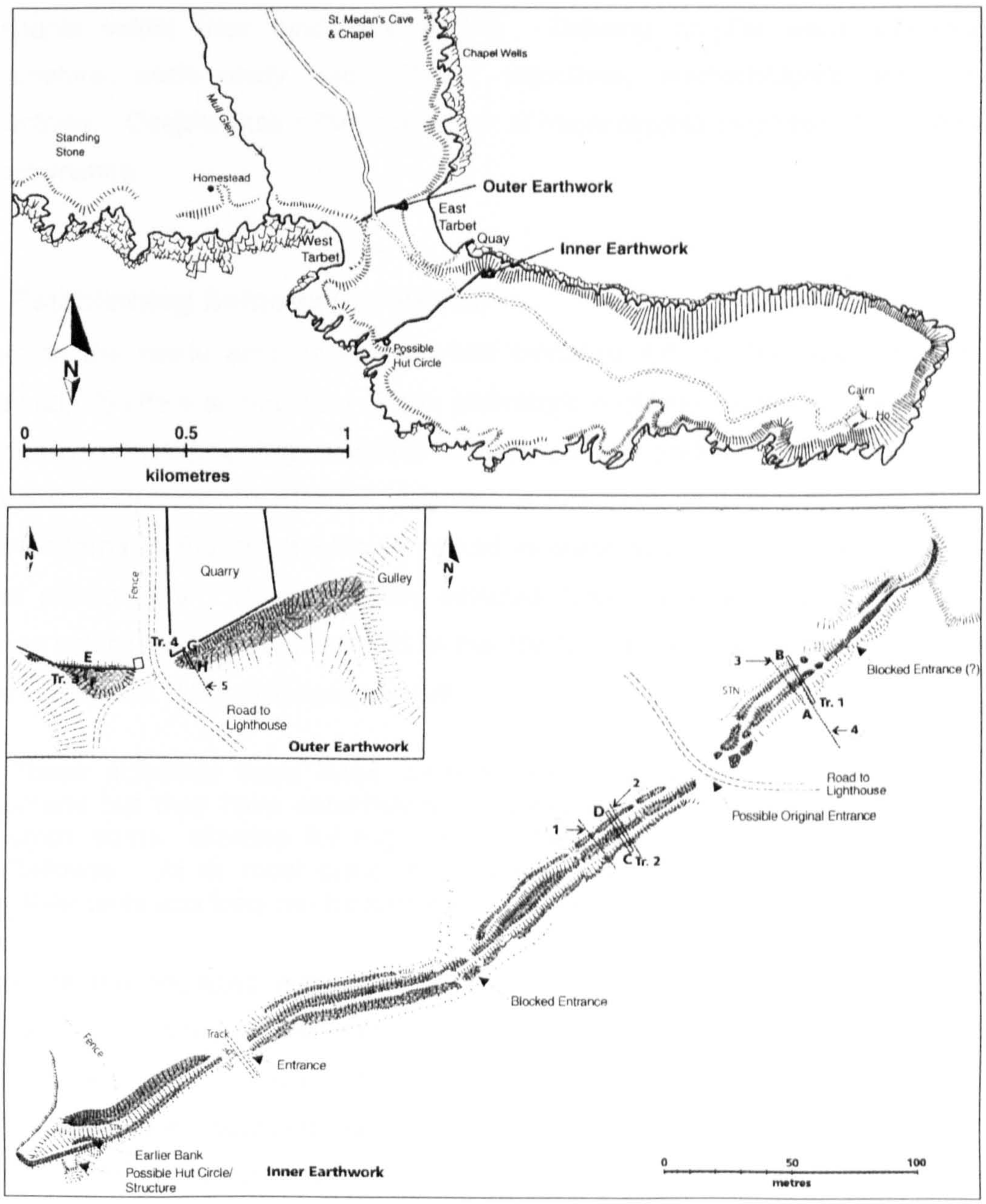
that this site was in use during the Later Bronze Age, around the same time as the roundhouse at Soleburn. Again the site was truncated, but what was particularly interesting was the large size of the palisade enclosure compared to the lone central roundhouse. There are many similar-sized palisaded enclosures in Wigtownshire and this excavation provides a local comparison. As more excavations are conducted a more detailed and diverse picture of later prehistory is emerging.



(Fig. 5.22: Plan of palisaded enclosure with internal roundhouse at Aird (after Cook 2002, fig.1))

At the Mull of Galloway two large linear earthworks cut off the peninsula and are quite a different type of monument than the ones previously discussed (Fig. 5.23). The Centre for Field Archaeology (CFA) carried out a research programme of survey and excavation to assess the extent of erosion of these earthworks and to elucidate their nature (Strachan 2000; Neighbour *et al*. 2001). No other earthworks on such a large-scale are known within the area, although they have been compared to the many promontory forts found along the coast of Wigtownshire (*ibid*; Toolis 2003b, 40). It was often thought that this earthwork, which cuts of the Mull, was a significant prehistoric boundary marker, which may have

been later prehistoric. In antiquity gold ornaments (now lost) found in the ditch suggests that the earthworks were constructed as early as the Bronze Age (Neighbour *et al.* 2001, 158). However, excavations (Strachan 2000) failed to yield any information on its date or function. These features may relate to a cairn and hut-circle on the peninsula (Toolis *pers comm.*; Toolis 2003b, 40, but still should not be dismissed from later prehistoric discourse. The multiple components of the earthworks highlight the complexity of its construction, and the fact that these are visible today suggests that the site would have been an important feature since prehistory.



(Fig. 5.23: Map and plan of the earthworks at Mull of Galloway (Neighbour *et al.* 2001, 159 & 161)

5.5 Individual Research Agendas: 1980s-onwards

5.5.1 Two Approaches to the Iron Age of Wigtownshire

In a response to the increasing amount of archaeological information available there have been several attempts over the past decade to rethink the later prehistory in Wigtownshire within a wider perspective. The following section will explore two recent approaches. Cowley (2000) presents the Iron Age in Wigtownshire as part of a larger cultural phenomenon that can be approached through large-scale settlement patterns, while Carruthers (2002) examines the symbolic and experiential influence of Iron Age monuments within their landscape setting. Drawing on the same evidence from Wigtownshire, each study had different objectives, methodologies and theoretical perspectives. Despite their differences, both of these studies emphasis the wide potential of Wigtownshire.

5.5.2 Establishing Settlement Patterns

Combining the newly established cropmark evidence with known upstanding features, Cowley (2000) offers an overview of later prehistoric settlement in the area west of Eastern Dumfriesshire, including Wigtownshire. He defines later prehistory chronologically as the time between 1000BC to AD500. Adopting a functional approach Cowley attempts to isolate patterns in the archaeological record in order to propose large-scale social and cultural phenomena. Cowley initially selected types of sites based on classification schemes established by the RCAHMS in the 1950s and 1970s for Southern Scotland and Northern England. He acknowledges that:

> 'These schemes have been criticized for employing sometimes muddled criteria but they have established a number of recurrent classes of sites of which some, allowing for regional variation, can be usefully employed in Galloway. At its most basic, open settlements of round-houses, enclosed settlements and forts can be identified...' (Cowley 2000, 169).

He ignores the 'muddled criteria' in preference to maintaining an enforced unity and comparability of monuments within the wider area. The types are based on a combination of morphological attributes and qualitative judgements. Like many Iron Age classifications, Cowley distinguishes between enclosed and unenclosed and then further divides these into subgroups depending on varying morphological and constructional attributes. Enclosures are either small curvilinear stone-walled, large curvilinear, rectilinear, or D-

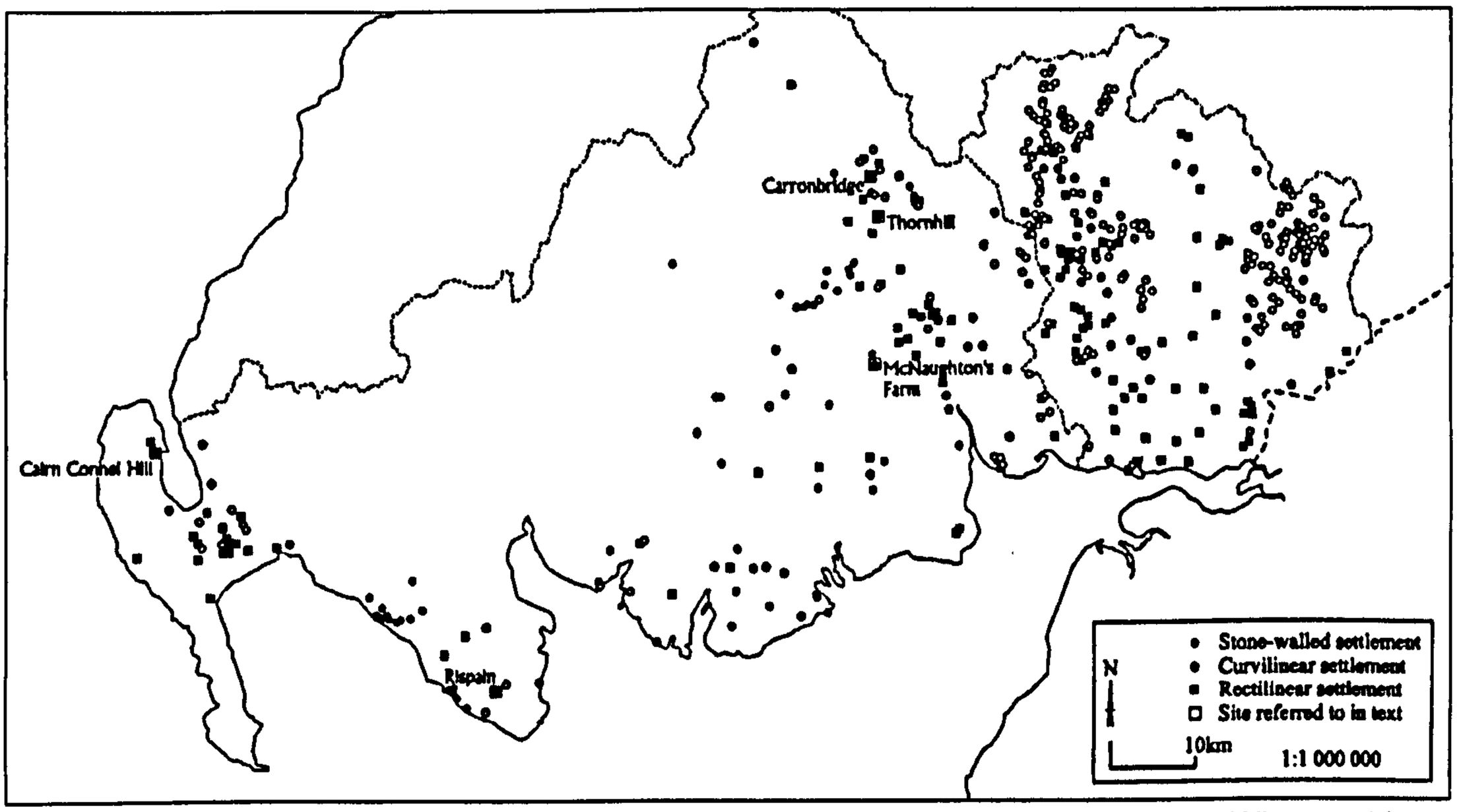
shaped. Forts are set apart from other enclosures and defended settlements when '...defence appears to have been an over-riding consideration' (*ibid*, 169). There is an underlying assumption not only of the relationship between certain characteristics and defensibility, but also that there are criteria defining settlement from other activities. The patterns that emerge from this study rely on this classification scheme and represent particular *a priori* assumptions about the way the landscape was inhabited. Reinforcing a traditional perspective Cowley chooses to emphasis the significance of morphology and the identification of defensibility over a variety of other possible characteristics and relationships. Some sites, many of which are enclosures, were not included because they were too ambiguous and could date from a variety of periods (*ibid*). The implication that the features he does discuss can be chronologically defined and confined to the later prehistoric period is misleading; sites left out of his discussion may have been later prehistoric.

Cowley suggests that the distribution patterns of the classes of monument are a direct result of social and cultural factors. For instance, he proposes that two groupings of stone-walled structures only found in Galloway (and not further east) may be a style of construction specific to the territory Novantae, a 'tribal' category recorded by Ptolemy in the 2nd century AD (*ibid* 172). In addition he suggests that territorial distinctions, which he proposes as 'historic reality', can be further appreciated by the fact that scooped settlements are only recorded in Eastern Dumfriesshire (*ibid* 172). Although there is a long tradition of associating archaeological features with particular Ptolemy's tribes (e.g. Votidinian pit-alignments and roundhouses (see Hanson & Maxwell 1983; Hill 1982a, 1982b), the evidence is too simplistic to be equated with the ill-defined cultural groups noted by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (see Fig. 5.25). There are other uncertainties with his interpretation, not only the veracity of the 'historical' record, but also the contemporaneity of the archaeological data. There is also the supposition that the differences identified by this classification reflect social distinctions, but they may be more complex and the possible variety of interpretations need to be considered equally. Even by Cowley's definition he is dealing with a period of some 1500 years.

Interpreting promontory forts and crannogs as pre-eminent centres of political power and influence, Cowley's (2000) ideas recall those of earlier scholars such as Feachem (1965). Yet in contrast to Feachem, Cowley defines brochs and duns in Wigtownshire as 'exotic

structures' and as 'bastard forms, which do not compare closely with the core concentration in their distributions to the north' (Cowley 2000, 174). He further proposes that the brochs and duns of Wigtownshire, like souterrains and square barrows, are a result of the flow of ideas from other areas (Cowley 1996; 2000, 174). This interpretation assumes that northern Scotland is the centre of origin and diffusion of brochs, which somehow came as a diluted entity to Wigtownshire, and thus demonstrates the biased eye of the archaeologist to see the wider picture and equate high densities with the core of innovation. A wide range of ideas may influence the design of a structure, and the question still remains why these features were built in Wigtownshire at all. Although they have certain similarities to the northern structures, their role in the landscape and how they came to be established, may be quite different and therefore cannot simply be thought of as a 'bastard' form.

In more general terms, and again common to traditional approaches to Iron Age studies, Cowley contrasts the distribution of curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures (Fig. 5.24) (Cowley 2000, 170). He suggests (in contrast to the pattern identified by Truckell twenty years previously) that there is an increase in the number of rectilinear enclosures in western Galloway. Assuming that they are chronologically later than the curvilinear enclosures and that very few overlie earlier features, he further surmises that rectilinear enclosures are a new adaptation to settlement expansion (i*bid*, 173). Again this interpretation is very general. Not only are the number of curvilinear enclosures under represented on Cowley's map, but the chronological relationship between them can be quite complex. Although many rectilinear sites have been shown to be late Iron Age or later, some are early, and more importantly many curvilinear enclosures date to the later Iron Age and medieval periods. Cowley's interpretation of the archaeological evidence adopts views with a long tradition in Iron Age studies concerning population identity, migration and the diffusion of ideas and types of monuments (see Chapter 2). Although this study engages with the vast archaeological evidence from Wigtownshire the interpretations are very general and highlights the need to explore the archaeology in more depth in order to test these interpretations.



(Fig. 5.24: Cowley's distribution map of the curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures in Wigtownshire (after Cowley 2000, fig. 4))

5.5.3 Exploring the Experience of Monuments

In contrast to Cowley's (2000) synthesis, Carruthers' (2002) investigation of the Iron Age evidence explores the experiential impact of monuments within the Rhins of Galloway. His research focussed on a much more restricted period of 200BC and AD200, but include most of the same types of monuments. Carruthers is critical of traditional classifications and approaches that are applied to Iron Age archaeology and his goal was to explore the integrated relationships between local communities and the monumental landscapes (*ibid*). Carruthers methodology is in fact two fold. While he explores the possible interpretations through more general classifications, he also considers site-specific situations.

In an attempt to understand the social impact of the monuments themselves, Carruthers remodels the RCAHMS classifications for particular sites, creating new groups and amalgamating others. For instance, instead of defining hillforts as a separate class, he allows for the possibility of comparison to other features by describing them as a type of enclosure (Carruthers 2002, 65). By doing this he is putting particular emphasis on the process of enclosure as a significant social phenomenon, regardless of specific morphology or notions of defensibility (*ibid* 65-68). However, Carruthers does acknowledge that the morphological character and position of some enclosures

distinguishes them from others and should be explored as another layer contributing to significance of each site.

He investigated specific examples of enclosures in their landscape context. For instance, he considered the spatial and visual experience of Cairn Pat hillfort within its landscape setting and demonstrated that it is the most visually prominent from the Stranraer Lowlands to the East, rather than the West where it blends into the skyline (*ibid*, 115), thus proposing that there was a specific power relationship directed specifically towards those inhabiting the Stranraer Lowlands (*ibid*). Carruthers is critical of the assumed defensive nature of hill-forts, suggesting that there are a variety of possible uses and functions, similar to other enclosures. Rather than simply extrapolating his interpretations of specific enclosures to the type in general, he expresses the importance of exploring the specific context of construction, use and deposition of each example (Carruthers 2002, 86).

By reclassifying 'promontory forts' as 'coastal promontory enclosures' Carruthers explored alternative interpretations to these features. Again moving away from the traditional perspective of these sites as defended settlements, he focuses on the dramatic relationship between the land and sea as an important symbolic resource, defined by the steep cliffs, which is specific to these sites (Carruthers 2002, 76). Carruthers suggests that constructing enclosures in such a marginal location as a cliff edge was culturally significant as they were vital liminal points where social processes could be negotiated (*ibid*). Again, in this example Carruthers does not suggest that promontory forts are defined by a single function, but rather his objective was to highlight the potential symbolic element of archaeological monuments, which had been rarely discussed.

More general themes of monumentality were explored through Carruthers' reclassification of brochs, duns and crannogs as 'substantial houses' (after Hingley 1992). This classification encompasses all elaborate, monumental house-type constructions (Carruthers 2002, 75). Monumentality, like defensibility, is a qualitative characteristic that relies on a judgement of the architectural features. Brochs and duns are defined as substantial houses due to their intricate architectural elements, while Carruthers suggests crannogs are monumental because of the large-scale investment required to construct them in watery locations (*ibid*). Traditionally brochs, duns and crannogs have been interpreted as socially distinct features of high status and influence. As substantial

houses, all of these features are related by their monumentality, and different relationships can also be evaluated, whether it is assumed to be a part of a hierarchical settlement system or not. Carruthers considers the theme of monumentality closely by examining Ardwell Point broch. Unlike any of the other substantial houses, Ardwell Point is potentially enclosed by an earlier bank. Carruthers suggests that the location of this rare substantial house was intentionally chosen in reference to the earlier enclosure, to augment the meaning of the place (*ibid*, 101). Although this is a small-scale study, Carruthers research in general demonstrates that there are alternatives to the traditional interpretation of monuments at various levels.

5.5.4 Comparing Approaches

The studies discussed above represent two approaches that have influenced current Iron Age research. Cowley (2000), on the one hand presents a functional based perspective of the evidence. The classification he uses stem from previous RCAHMS inventories and relies on a combination of morphological and qualitative assessments. He assumes that the shape and location of some features were defensive, or that they are domestic settlements. Discussions of other possibilities of the function or meaning of these sites are lacking. Carruthers (2002) on the other hand employs a post-processual approach and considers the symbolic aspect of the monuments in Wigtownshire, which had not previously been discussed. He acknowledges, however, that what he proposes is only one aspect of the use and meaning of particular places. These approaches although distinct, are not mutually exclusive, and in fact demonstrate the various ways in which the archaeological evidence can be interpreted depending on the questions asked. What is needed is an appreciation of the diverse methods that can influence our interpretation of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire.

The key differences between the two studies are their objectives and assumptions. Cowley's aim is to discuss large-scale cultural processes by recognising trends in the morphological differences of certain architectural characteristics. Carruthers' goal is to examine the relationships between people, groups and the monuments within a landscape by considering morphological characteristics as well as the experiential impact of certain places within the landscape. Although both studies use the same archaeological evidence

and chose particular observable morphological elements, their approaches and assumptions are different and therefore distinct interpretations result.

Cowley is aware of the effect changes in social processes would have on the archaeology through time, but in general he presents the later prehistory as one defined by tribal territories, dominated by hierarchically organised, but with isolated domestic settlement requiring varying levels of defence. He suggests that differences in size, shape and material of architecture indicate status or social standing, and brochs are interpreted as exotic and derivative of those in the north. Carruthers also discusses monumental features in Wigtownshire, but more generally. By their size, material and effort to build, he suggests that their construction reflects a need to organise people and resources and therefore would point toward distinct social relationships. He further generalises about the use of space and therefore establishes a more unified landscape. By exploring the specific landscape setting of particular archaeological features, Carruthers suggested alternative meanings, symbolisms, and functions for places within Wigtownshire. In both studies the way the social processes are carried out are still left unanswered. Nonetheless, they do highlight the complexity in the observable evidence and show there are multiple ways to approach the archaeology, therefore paving the way for further research of this area.

5.6 Site Types and Syntheses

In recent years there have been several studies of specific types of sites that have focussed on, or at least included, evidence from Wigtownshire. Traditionally differentiated types were explored separately from the rest of the monuments within a landscape and therefore implied that those features within the type have a distinct relationship. However, the results of these investigations have demonstrated clearly that there are significant differences between sites of a particular type, thus questioning the usefulness of these typological schemes.

5.6.1 Crannogs

Over a hundred years after it was destroyed and recorded by antiquarians (Munro 1885) the evidence from Dowalton Loch has been re-evaluated by Hunter (1994) and Cavers

(forthcoming). Both Cavers and Hunter similarly concluded that the crannogs in Dowalton Loch, like other crannogs, were the settlements of the local elite. Hunter (1994, 53) examined the amount and quality of artefacts found at Dowalton and compared this to other excavated sites such as the hut-circle at Moss Raploch in Kirkcudbrightshire (Condry & Ansell 1978). Cavers (forthcoming) re-evaluated the antiquarian descriptions of both the artefacts and the construction of the crannogs. He surmised that there was a substantial occupation of at least one of the crannogs through the Roman Iron Age (*ibid*). The lack of Roman finds from other types of sites in Wigtownshire suggested to Cavers that crannogs, including Dowalton Loch, were a direct point of contact between the Romans and the local elite (*ibid*). In both cases the presence of Roman finds on this 'native' site were interpreted as a symbol of the owner's status (Hunter 1994, 53; Cavers 2005, forthcoming).

These interpretations follow traditional perspectives of the Iron Age and relationships between types of sites. Both Cavers and Hunter assumed that different types of 'Iron Age' monuments are all examples of comparable domestic settlement, differentiated by status within a larger hierarchical system. Hunter's comparison of the evidence from the excavation of the Moss Raploch hut-circle located in the uplands with the crannogs at Dowalton Loch presumed that these features were contemporary and shared the same overall function. In addition, contrasting the amount of Roman artefacts found *associated* with types of monuments assume consistent processes of deposition. Different mechanisms such as the complex networks of local trade, communication and exchange can affect the deposition of artefacts at particular sites, or even types of sites. The idea that the discovery of Roman finds on Iron Age sites equates to the interpretation of the site as an elite settlement is a long-standing idea (see Macinnes 1989; Hanson and Macinnes 1991, 89-90), but alternative relationships between types of sites could equally be considered. Hunter (1994, 64) highlights the specific significance of the watery locations, in which crannogs are located, as the recipients of votive deposits. He further suggests that by appropriating 'sacred space' certain groups emphasised their status (*ibid* 65). However, the special significance of watery locations could be the key reason why Roman goods are deposited near or on some crannogs and may reflect a symbolic practice that was accepted community-wide.

The *South-West Crannog Survey*, initiated in 1989, was designed to produce strategies for resource management of dryland and wetland sites, but it also illustrated the diverse

character of the crannogs in Wigtownshire (Barber & Crone 1993; Henderson *et al.* 2003). Material sampled from crannogs such as Dorman's Island in Whitefield Loch suggested a mix of arable and pastoral activities were carried out in and around these crannogs (Henderson *et al.* 2003). Moreover, the construction techniques and materials used for the crannogs also varied; not only was brushwood and peat used but also in some cases substantial amounts of stone, a characteristic formerly thought to be particular to the northern crannogs (Munro 1882). Others also showed signs of deep midden and organic deposits, suggesting long-term occupation at the crannog (Henderson *et al.* 2003, 100). Dating evidence of wood samples from select sites showed a wide date range for crannogs (Barber & Crone 1993), but that many in Wigtownshire could be originally dated to the Iron Age or Late Bronze Age. Dates from different timbers in Cults Loch highlighted a shift in attention of occupation in the later prehistory from a promontory to the loch itself. Perhaps this reflects different attitudes or relationships (e.g. accessing different resources) to the loch. All of the evidence from the surveys showed that it is important to consider the specific relationships of each crannog to their landscape and surrounding structures within that landscape.

Cavers (2005) suggests that some crannogs, such as Rough Loch, with evidence for stone superstructures would be better linked to a wider traditional of Atlantic substantial stone-built roundhouses, which he proposes were contemporary. He determines that Rough Loch, although lacking Roman finds was a high status site. Like Cowley (2000), he proposes that 'it is possible that the use of monumental drystone architecture on this site reflects a desire of the occupants to demonstrate their status through the use of an exotic and particularly ostentatious house type' (Cavers forthcoming). Cavers continues to suggest that Rough Island had 'particular status within the local settlement hierarchy, evidenced by the combination of two established symbols of domestic power (Armit 2002; Hingley 1992), which would be the location and architecture (Cavers forthcoming). Again these interpretations evoke diffusionist models of settlement pattern and assume a hierarchical organisation that is separated, rather than unified by architectural expressions. All these studies demonstrate that the type 'crannogs' is not chronologically specific and that in Wigtownshire they may have had various purposes and meanings. How these features are interpreted rests on assumptions about over-arching social organisations.

5.6.2 Promontory Forts

Stemming from his interest in the Iron Age of Dumfries and Galloway and with the aim of monitoring coastal erosion, Toolis recently conducted a topographic survey of promontory forts along the north side of the Solway Coast (2003b). The study was an opportunity to investigate a type of archaeological feature that had not been examined in detail in this area before. Subsequent to this survey Toolis excavated the promontory fort at Carghidown, which revealed some unexpected results (Toolis 2003a, 2004).

Toolis surveyed 16 promontory forts and noted the diversity of character of these monuments 'promontory forts do not appear to represent a distinct, homogenous settlement form within the regional settlement pattern at all', but still suggests these features are distinct from other types (Toolis 2003b, 69). Aware that more detailed investigations are needed to understand the construction, occupation and abandonment of these sites he still interprets them as settlements that have their origin in the Iron Age (*ibid* 34 & 74). Espousing functional interpretations Toolis suggests their coastal position was in many cases manipulated for defence, and used as refuges.

Toolis attempts to explain the diversity of the promontory forts using already well-established arguments and assumptions in Iron Age studies. Referencing Cunliffe (1991, 2001) Toolis proposes various reasons for the banks and ditches of promontory forts: for separating domestic livestock from living areas, defining religious places, or reflecting certain symbols (Toolis 2003b, 63). Despite acknowledging the possible variety of uses and meanings of these sites, Toolis still tried to distinguish those that were 'defensive' from others with perhaps more domestic functions. While Castlehill Point, Castle Feather and Eggerness Castle were 'defensive' due to their locations, Cruggleton Castle, Carghidown, Airds and Dinnans 'patently do not occupy defensive positions', and therefore 'it is difficult to recognise universal defensive quality to these sites' (*ibid*, 62). Interestingly, upon the discovery of a deep ditch at Carghidown, Toolis now suggests that this site is also likely to be a place of refuge (Toolis 2004, 19). Again this study of promontory forts adopts the idea that there is a need for defence and that there is a primarily functional reason for the banks and ditches. In essence the evidence can be interpreted to fit an image; yet, as Toolis mentioned there are numerous possible, and perhaps co-existing, meanings for these sites.

5.6.3 Cairns, Hut-circles and Burnt Mounds

The upland zone in Wigtownshire has received much archaeological attention in recent years. Most of this interest has focussed on earlier prehistoric monuments, such as chambered cairns (Cummings 2002). However, in this area there are also a substantial number of hut-circles and field systems. Yates (1983, 1984) attempted to assess whether it was possible to distinguish earlier Bronze Age burial cairns from small clearance cairns, which are often thought to be a residue of clearing cultivatable land. In some cases, Yates suggests that the arrangement and composition of cairns may give some clues to their function and date. Nonetheless the majority cannot be discriminated by superficial differences alone (Johnston 2000). Excavations of small cairns or cairnfields have revealed a complex history of construction, deposition and reuse throughout prehistory (e.g. Chatton Sandyford, Jobey 1968; also see Barber 1997, Johnston 2000). The evidence suggests that some small clearance cairns contain burials or burnt bone and were not simple by-products of land clearance, but instead were carefully prepared and constructed. Although no small clearance cairns have yet been excavated or dated in Wigtownshire, Yates suggests that the variety of field systems and occasional hill-forts such as Bught Fell, near Mid Gleniron, are likely indications that significant later prehistoric activities occurred in the uplands (Yates 1983).

This suggestion contrasts with the idea that, after a surge of activity the uplands in the 1st millennium BC, these areas were completely abandoned in the Iron Age due to climate deterioration (Burgess 1985, 1990). Evidence from burnt mounds show that the uplands in Wigtownshire were inhabited at some level in the Bronze Age and Medieval periods and it is possible that some form of activity or settlement also took place in the uplands during the Iron Age (see Young 2000). Numerous burnt mounds (crescentic mounds of fire-cracked stone) are located near rivers and are predominantly found in the uplands of Wigtownshire. Their relationship to hut-circles or cairns is uncertain, but they often occupy different areas of the same landscape. Excavations of seven burnt mounds in Wigtownshire showed three were dated to the Bronze Age, one to the Later Bronze and two (the mounds at Auld Taggart) were Medieval (Russell-White 1990). Although none revealed evidence from the Iron Age, the fact that sites of similar morphology in the uplands span in use across millennia highlights the possibility that the uplands were not completely abandoned.

The abandonment of the uplands, because of the deterioration of the climate and an encroachment of the peat, is thought to have created an atmosphere of competition in the lowlands which resulted in an increase of enclosed settlement (Burgess 1985; Murray 1988, 31; Cavers forthcoming). Similar theories have been used to explain monumental architectural constructions in the Western Isles, but have been shown to result in variable social relationships and localised adaptations (see Armit 2002). It is important that these theories are applied with caution and not uncritically used to explain the meaning of all the possible later prehistoric 'enclosures' recorded in Wigtownshire. The specific situation and relationship of different features in the landscape need to be considered and it cannot be assumed that all later prehistoric enclosures represent isolated or exclusionary social relationships. It is clear there is a distributional bias of archaeological sites, but there is also a bias in how these 'types' are interpreted and compared. Because of the simple forms of hut-circles, burnt mounds and field cairns, and their wide possible chronology these features are often overlooked in syntheses of Iron Age settlement. Furthermore their classification has often presented them as a separate phenomenon from the rest of the lowland archaeological evidence, which had limited any form of comparison. The large numbers of hut-circles in the Eastern Rhins may reflect intense occupation over a short period in the Bronze Age, but may also reflect repeated short-lived use over a longer time span. Even if many of these features were not first constructed within the Iron Age, their impact on subsequent activities may have been significant. The possible dynamic and continued relationship between the uplands and the lowlands of Wigtownshire in the Iron Age needs to be explored further.

5.6.4 The Impact of the Romans

Evidence for Roman military occupation in eastern Dumfries and Galloway is well-documented and researched as evidenced by the detailed investigations at Burnswark (Jobey 1978), and Birrens (Barbour 1896, Robertson 1975). By way of contrast there is a distinct lack of known Roman forts west of Gatehouse of Fleet in Kirkcudbrightshire. However, stretches of a road from Gatehouse to Dunragit, and a temporary camp at Glenluce attest to Roman military contact in Wigtownshire. There have been various opinions as to the extent of Roman influence and interaction with the local Iron Age population of Wigtownshire. Some believe that Galloway was by-passed by a significant Roman incursion (Cowley 2000, 175), while others propose a closer political connection

between Romans and the elites of Wigtownshire (Wilson 1989, 2001; Cavers forthcoming). Wilson proposes that the Novantae were probably pro-Roman, like the similarly politically organised Damonoii (Wilson 2001, 76).

Through his research of the archaeology and literary evidence Wilson suggests that the Romans entered Galloway by land and that there is a yet undiscovered Roman fort in Wigtownshire (Wilson 1989, 2001). From Roman literary evidence and Ptolemy's map it is proposed that the Novantae occupied the area from the Nith westwards (Fig. 5.25). In Galloway, there are no noticeable major, assumed capital, centres or central settlements, like the hillforts of Traprain or Eildon Hill North, the proposed territory of the Votidini. Therefore, some have suggested the inhabitants were living in an unstable society composed of a decentralised confederation of septs (Scott 1976, 37; Cowley 2000, 175; Wilson 2001, 76; Cavers forthcoming). Yet, in general, differences in settlement morphology and size have been proposed to correlate geographically to the 'tribal' groups noted by Ptolemy (Cowley 2000, 172; Wilson 2001). These suggestions are based on certain assumptions; firstly, the political veracity of Ptolemy's distinctions; secondly, that a steep hierarchy existed that had large hillforts at its apex (similar to the 'oppida' of Gaul); and thirdly, that there is a simple relationship between settlement morphology and cultural identity on a 'tribal' scale.

The much-debated concept of 'Romanization' assumes that there would be visual signs, such as the presence or absence of Roman goods, of the extent of influence the Romans had on the 'natives', but relationships between groups has been shown to be expressed in various ways through the archaeological record (see volume edited by Mattingly 1997; Hingley 1996b). In Wigtownshire particular social relationships between the Romans and the local population have been suggested to explain the presence of Roman and Romano-British artefacts particularly the crannogs in Dowalton Loch (Cavers forthcoming). Cavers suggests that Roman artefacts were seen as high quality materials and therefore acted as a symbol of the intrinsic wealth of the people inhabiting the crannog. Furthermore he adds that if Romans were creating a buffer zone of appeasement then they would have interacted and dealt with the elite of the small local hierarchies and he suggests they lived in crannogs (*ibid*). As mentioned previously this interpretation supposes that the point of deposit corresponds to the point of exchange. But if crannogs were special places the deposition of artefacts here may reflect other more complex processes of deposition.

(Fig. 5.25: Translation of Ptolemy's map of Iron Age 'tribes' on a modern map (Cunliffe 1991, 195))

The impact of the Romans on the architecture of settlement in Wigtownshire has not been discussed in detail. Yet, general discussions of settlement change in south-west of Scotland propose that Roman influence was just part of a larger process which was already established and described by increasing 'hierarchical and agrarian values' (Gregory 2001c, 43). Although the vague chronological significance of morphological differences is noted, it has been proposed that there was a general shift from the 'socially isolated' early Iron Age hillforts, palisaded settlements, and unenclosed settlements to

more hierarchically organised enclosed settlements (*ibid*, 40-41). Macinnes (1984) had proposed that lowland brochs, which includes those in Wigtownshire, were an attempt by the local elite to express their authority and power in the time of Romans incursion (Macinnes 1984, 242). She suggests that this general practice was in keeping with local traditions of architectural expression, but these 'exotic' structures were specific attempts to gain wealth and respect from locals as well as the in-coming Romans. Cavers (forthcoming) suggests that the dry-stone architecture of brochs, homesteads and some forts within Wigtownshire were part of an Early Iron Age tradition and not a late arrival related to the Romans. Yet, general assumptions based on superficial morphological comparison can mask differences in the functions and meanings of these features and belie the complexity of settlement in the Iron Age. Therefore further investigations in terms of recording and appreciating the relationship between these features and their wider landscape setting are required.

5.7 Conclusions

> 'Consequently, when we interpret past material culture, we are not approaching the 'empirical reality' of the past 'as it really was' (as if such a thing was possible). We are creating an interpretation of an interpretation (or many interpretations), a cultural production fashioned from other cultural productions' (Thomas 1991, 4).

Differing objectives and approaches of antiquarians and archaeologists have influenced how the Iron Age in Wigtownshire has been presented. Wider trends in the discipline of archaeology and the rise and fall of the popularity of particular theories (see Chapter 2) clearly had an impact on the interpretation of the evidence in Wigtownshire. Like British Iron Age studies in general, certain images of the Iron Age have persisted over time and have become well-established. Once established, these basic interpretations have rarely been questioned. Nonetheless, a few studies have asked slightly different questions and presented alternative, but equally valid theories, even some contradictory to the well-established models of the past, and thus demonstrated that complementary views of the Iron Age of Wigtownshire are possible.

The quantity and detail of the known archaeological evidence from Wigtownshire has increased considerably over the past hundred years of research. Without the attention of Rev. George Wilson and his contemporaries in the 19th century, some archaeological

features, now destroyed, would not have been recorded for future generations. In the mid to late 20th century aerial photography combined with concentrated field survey has resulted in the recognition of many other features, such as hut-circles in the uplands and enclosure cropmarks in the lowlands. These features have redefined the potential for archaeological interpretation of the Iron Age landscapes in Wigtownshire.

The few early published excavations (including Teroy broch and Chippermore enclosure) did not yield 'significant' quantities of material culture (Curle 1912, Fiddes 1953). Nonetheless, these excavations highlighted the complexity and distinctiveness of the archaeological record in Wigtownshire. In the last thirty years excavations have further highlighted the variation and complexity of the archaeology in Wigtownshire. Not only have the interpretations of particular sites changed through excavation, such as at Rispain Camp, but also, new, previously unrecorded features and structures have been identified. Few unenclosed roundhouses in the lowlands had previously been noted prior to the recent commercially driven excavations and highlights their likely under-representation in the wider landscape.

Despite the increase in known evidence and the biases in the distribution of monuments, the basic underlying interpretation of the Iron Age has remained largely unchanged. The traditional image of war-faring Iron Age peoples organised in hierarchical tribes or septs has endured. The archaeology of the Iron Age, which spans hundreds of years, is often presented as a phase in a gradual evolution of society and therefore in Wigtownshire it is seen as a precursor to the medieval period that was defined by high status castles, abbeys, and priories (see Brooke 1994; Oram 2000). These interpretations are based on assumptions about the social organisation and the value of material culture in the Iron Age and have thus formed the framework from which the archaeological of Wigtownshire was made to fit. A combination of the ambiguous nature of the evidence, the lack of intensive research in Wigtownshire, and the desire to reinforce wider ideas, may have encouraged researchers to look elsewhere for ways to interpret the evidence in Wigtownshire and therefore rely on general patterns established in Iron Age studies.

In many cases, comparisons and connections were made between Wigtownshire and the excavated evidence in Southern Scotland or Northern England with theories derived from Southern England, which has been dominant in Iron Age studies for many years (again

see Chapter 2). In recent years there have been attempts to look for comparisons in different regions and to propose new associations; for instance, Cavers (forthcoming) situates Wigtownshire in the Atlantic region. However, his approach is based on an analysis of morphological differences in monument types, suggesting these differences were a direct translation of identity and status.

From a traditional viewpoint of Iron Age studies differences in architecture or the value of artefacts reflect differences in a specific group's social standing or identity, and thus rely on particular classifications. One of the main starting points when assessing the 'known' archaeological information is through the NMRS held by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. The information held here is a result of many years of research and a combination of various schemes of classification. The RCAHMS have specific objectives, which have shifted over time but essentially have always been to manage the archaeological data of the whole nation. Their goal has always been to standardise how the archaeology is described, but the result is a piecemeal combination of approaches to classification. Most of the classifications are based on measurable morphological differences, and include qualitative criteria of the architectural features that define a site. Little attempt has been made to include landscape or contextual information into these classifications.

Standardised types based on morphology have been the basis for many interpretations. The narrow criteria isolate certain differences and similarities in the form and size of archaeological monuments and therefore can only be used to explore a limited range of relationships. Studies of common types of monuments, such as crannogs and promontory forts, however, have showed that in Wigtownshire although sites may share some common morphological traits, they can have very different relationships to the wider landscape or key subtle differences in shape and construction. Moreover, sites of different shape, and therefore labelled as different types, may have attributes, such as landscape setting, in common. Yet, these observations are frequently ignored in many traditional typological approaches and are rarely explored further. This potential variety of relationships between sites of various types highlights the complexity of the evidence and demonstrates the need to ask more questions of the evidence.

Research like Carruthers (2002) have shown that by shifting the objective of classification to explore specific practices and themes, such as the process of enclosure rather than the shape of the enclosure, alternative connections between monuments in the landscape can be proposed. By extending the objectives of classification, early interpretations are not simply excluded; instead interpretive possibilities can be explored and layers of interpretation added to the history of archaeological research. Moreover it is possible to break away from reiterating the traditional image of the Iron Age and seek equally valid interpretations that relate to the monuments in Wigtownshire. The following chapter will continue to explore the process of interpreting archaeological monuments in Wigtownshire at different levels by considering the experiential impact of specific monuments in their landscape setting. Key to this approach is the assumption that the Iron Age monuments in Wigtownshire were integrated within an inhabited landscape, which was ever-changing but equally enmeshed within its past.

Chapter 6: Describing the Iron Age Archaeology of Wigtownshire

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to reconsider the Iron Age in Wigtownshire through an exploration of the archaeological evidence within a different theoretical framework than that outlined in Chapter 5. My approach will be to evaluate the archaeological evidence on various levels, not only based on generalised morphological types, but also by considering the experiential relationship between contextualised archaeological evidence and the human body (see Chapters 2-4). Using the information of previous work with my own field observations of the visual and physical experience of the archaeological evidence, this chapter starts to move beyond the confines of the well-established typological scheme used to describe the archaeology, in order to explore alternative interpretations of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part outlines my specific methodological approach to the archaeological evidence in Wigtownshire, highlighting the practical issues and problems that were encountered. The second and more substantial part of this chapter is a presentation of the results of this methodology and a discussion of the variety of archaeological features found in Wigtownshire. This second part is organised under subheadings that refer to traditional types commonly used by archaeologists and in particular those that have been used by the RCAHMS when describing the evidence from this area (see Chapter 5). Yet, these subheadings are only used as an avenue into the discussion of the specific archaeological examples. As mentioned, my aim is to break free from the cycle of this typological system, considering alternative characteristics of sites to highlight patterns that extend and overlap traditional types. Thus some archaeological features are discussed in more than one section, illustrating the complex and variable relationships that can be established between places and landscapes. The discussion and description of the archaeological evidence in this chapter will form a basis from which further interpretations will be made concerning Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire, outlined in Chapter 7. Chapters 6 and 7 represent distinct but connected points of interpretation along a specific hermeneutic spiral; from these observations, fresh interpretations can be proposed.

6.2 Approaching the Archaeological Evidence of Wigtownshire

Initially, my objective was to create a methodology that would be determined by the archaeology itself rather than relying on pre-determined systems of organisation. Yet, since I am already part of a much wider hermeneutic spiral of archaeological interpretation influenced by the research that has gone before me as well as my own social and cultural perspectives, the expectations and ideas of the archaeological evidence are already well formed. In order to maintain the link with past studies and also to be aware of my expectations of the evidence, traditional types will be reflectively employed in the initial organisation this chapter. The following will describe how I engaged with the archaeological evidence (e.g. incorporating my theoretical perspectives into my practical fieldwork) and the issues that were raised during this process.

As discussed in Chapter 1, while compiling the previously recorded archaeological evidence in Wigtownshire I became aware of much wider issues of archaeological interpretation that needed to be addressed (see section 1.4.3). It became clear that the classifications used to describe this evidence were created for very specific purposes, and that the repeated use of the same classifications emphasised certain interpretations at the expense of other equally valid interpretations. From this realisation the focus of my research shifted towards an exploration of possible alternative interpretations of the Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire stemming from observations of the evidence within its landscape setting. The aim of this research was to go back into the field and reconsider the evidence beyond the comparisons of morphology alone and thus move away from the limitations of the well-established classifications discussed in Chapters 2 and 5. Case studies were chosen from each common type of site used in Iron Age studies (i.e. roundhouse, fort, hut-circle). Each example was explored and described in detail. Observations about how the known features related to the surrounding landscape and how they influenced the observer's physical experience of the place and landscape was used to reconsider how these features compared with the experience of other features, and thus ultimately affecting how the Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire could be interpreted.

6.2.1 The Database: Assessing Previous Approaches

The database of previously known archaeological evidence in Wigtownshire, despite its inconsistencies, was still the basis from my research stemmed. The database influenced

which sites were investigated and acted as a constant source of information when comparing my own observations. As mentioned, this database was compiled initially using information from the NMRS, accessed remotely through the RCAHMS online database CANMORE. All the NMRS information for Wigtownshire was manually sifted through, evaluated for its significance to my research, and entered into the database. This data was then augmented with the local Sites and Monuments Record (SMR), which was supplied to me digitally, as well as information derived from published excavation reports and synthesis articles written by various scholars. Frequent visits to the RCAHMS aerial photography collection in Edinburgh, examining all the photographs of the archaeology in Wigtownshire, provided further information concerning the vast cropmark data recorded in this area. In total, the database contains 742 sites (279 of which are cropmarks), which were initially considered as *possible* evidence for Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire (see Appendix 1). Ultimately my own observations in the field provided be one voice among the many from which my final interpretations would be drawn.

During the process of collating the archaeological evidence it was noticed that, in some cases, multiple cropmarks were recorded as a single 'site' in the NMRS. Therefore in order to initially consider each 'site' on its own, each feature that was not visibly connected to another was given their own entry in my database. Although site types, such as cairns, and artefacts, were not included in the main database, they were recorded in other computer-based lists and were compared with the main dataset. From these diverse sources of information a GIS file was created in order to explore general distributions, to consider initial topographic situations, and to generate basic maps (see sections 6.3-6.6). This GIS-based description, like the main database, provided an initial assessment of previously recorded information in Wigtownshire, was referred to throughout my research, and was used to compare with my own observations.

As discussed in Chapter 1, creating standardised terms for fields within the database, such as for shape and size, was difficult because of the differences in perception, survey techniques and theoretical viewpoints used by the various researchers. Nonetheless, since the information in the database was to be used as a general comparative tool, the original description of each site was kept within this database, but from this description keywords relating to shape, size, location, details of morphology and information concerning the relationship to other sites were extracted. For examples where detailed information was not given, I made general interpretations from any photographs, sketches

or diagrams and, where possible, used terms consistent with the most recent survey by the RCAHMS.

As shown in Chapter 5, the lack of excavated and dated archaeological sites in Wigtownshire and the disproportionally large number of cropmark sites, has meant that syntheses of the Iron Age settlement evidence has relied on a wide range of generalised types such as circular and rectilinear enclosures, forts, and substantial roundhouses. All of these types, despite their sometimes vague criteria, were still included in my dataset. It is clear that some of these types, such as 'circular enclosure', are so ambiguous that all sites labelled as such may not have been constructed in the Iron Age. Despite this ambiguity, instead of ignoring these features, all were considered. One of the main issues of survey evidence is the lack of chronological certainty and at this stage it is not the aim (nor is it possible) to confidently identify which features were built or used in the 'Iron Age'. Nonetheless, it was important to explore the potential ways my fieldwork could identify relative chronological sequences in comparison to traditional morphological approaches. The creation of the database was an important process in my exploration and awareness of the data available and inevitably influenced my own subsequent fieldwork and experiences.

6.2.2 Fieldwork: Experiencing the Archaeological Evidence in Wigtownshire

The theoretical perspectives adopted in this thesis stress the importance of taking into account the wider setting of each archaeological feature. As outlined in Chapter 3 settlement can be considered in a variety of ways. To focus on architecture, it was shown that a building can go through different stages over its lifetime and can be perceived in various ways at any given time. Therefore, a building can have multiple relationships to the surrounding landscape and to the people that engage with them. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the theoretical approach espoused in this research looks at the relationship between settlement and physical bodily experiences, in this case specifically focussing on architecture and its situation in the wider landscape. Therefore an essential part of my methodology was to visit a selection of different types of archaeological features and record my experiences. Initially, I had chosen four areas to do intensive survey (including geophysics, field-walking and limited excavation): Craigcaffie, Knock & Carleton, Barskeoch and Kirkmabreck and each area was selected for its distinct environment and diversity of archaeological material (e.g. upstanding versus cropmark features), but it

became clear that to get a sense of the variety of features it was important to extend my survey and to include more examples of the different types of sites from across Wigtownshire. The results of the geophysical surveys and excavation were important in their own right, but will only be discussed in general terms within this thesis. In total over two hundred sites were visited (over 25% of the features in the database), but in the following chapter only select examples, chosen because they reflect specific patterns and anomalies, will be described in detail. By conducting detailed fieldwork on specific sites, as well as visiting a range of other sites throughout Wigtownshire, I appreciated different levels of bodily experience with the landscape.

My fieldwork was an opportunity to situate the archaeological evidence into a wider landscape. Each visit was a process of recording observations of my physical relationship to the monument or place in the landscape, including noting the views to and from the feature as I walked towards and around it. The visual and physical relationship between specific sites near to each other was also recorded. It is important to emphasise that all of the archaeological features that I encountered were not contemporary, but it remained important to explore possible relationships between features at various stages of use and disuse. The local topographic character of the natural environment surrounding a site was also a very important factor to consider. Observations were made concerning the relationship between the architectural features and the natural environment and how they impacted on the experience of each other. Where possible, wider perspectives of the sites were also recorded, such as views towards sites from different positions in the surrounding environment. Other aspects of the physical condition, preservation, and material nature of the evidence were also noted.

It is important to stress that not only were upstanding features visited and recorded in the way described above, but cropmarks were also considered in the field. In most cases, there were very few indications of the cropmarks on the ground and therefore my appreciation of the archaeology was guided by aerial photos and in some cases also a transcription. More imagination was required for these sites than those archaeological features with upstanding elements when considering how the space was used and how it related to the wider landscape. Yet, in Wigtownshire, much of the 'upstanding' evidence only survives in a reduced and denuded form and it too demanded a considered appreciation of the multiple ways it could have appeared in the past.

From the start of my fieldwork I was guided by the written descriptions and research of previous archaeologists. I translated and interpreted this information and it then influenced my expectations. This was particularly noticeable when attempting to locate a previously recorded hut-circle in peat moss or the location and orientation of a cropmark in its landscape. These experiences emphasised how the landscape can change dramatically over a few years and that a landscape can appear quite different depending on your perspective. The natural environment and topography have likely changed dramatically since prehistory; forestry plantations, agriculture, communication links and industry all have affected vegetation and the routes of natural waterways. I have tried to consider these aspects in general terms, but can only speculate how the natural environment looked in the Iron Age. More localised work needs to be conducted concerning the paleoenvironment of this area in order to consider the use of the prehistoric landscape. The observations noted in this chapter are part of ongoing process of monitoring and appreciating the archaeological evidence.

Awareness of the range of bodily engagements with the archaeological evidence is essential to my fieldwork, but I noticed that above other senses, visual characteristics were most striking and easiest for me to describe, and therefore this visual data plays a prominent part in the discussions in this chapter. It is difficult to express the visual and bodily experiences encountered in the field in 2-dimensional images and words. Furthermore, as soon as one leaves a place the experiences become less tangible and difficult to convey (see Tilley 2004, 26-29). However, in each case general notes were written on site and sketches were made or pictures taken, in order to illustrate specific points. These field notes and photos were not used to create quantifiable observations but were used qualitatively to compare my diverse experiences and isolate commonalities and anomalies.

Issues of rigour and validity underlie any comparison and discussion based on experiences. It should be emphasised that the goal here is not to translate my experiences into prehistory, but to explore the possible uses of space and the creation of places in the wider landscapes. Aware that my expectations and observations have been moulded by my particular education and social and cultural milieu, the presentation of my experiences in this chapter are the result of my relationship with the archaeological evidence and the wider landscape. These experiences are equally valid as any other

observations. By employing and exploring a myriad of observations that derive from the archaeological evidence richer interpretations of prehistory may be possible.

6.2.3 Presentation: Bringing the Different Strands Together

The following chapter brings together my fieldwork with the information previously recorded about the archaeological evidence in Wigtownshire. The observations and comparisons drawn out in the following discussion are a result of an analysis of patterns and anomalies highlighted through my own experiences and the information provided by previous scholars. During my fieldwork, when specific features or issues of interest were noted, these were compared with my experiences of other sites and to the previously known information recorded in my database and GIS. The database and GIS, like my field notes, are analytical tools and therefore each influenced the analysis and presentation of the information. From here, differences between sites of similar type and similarities between sites of different types could be explored.

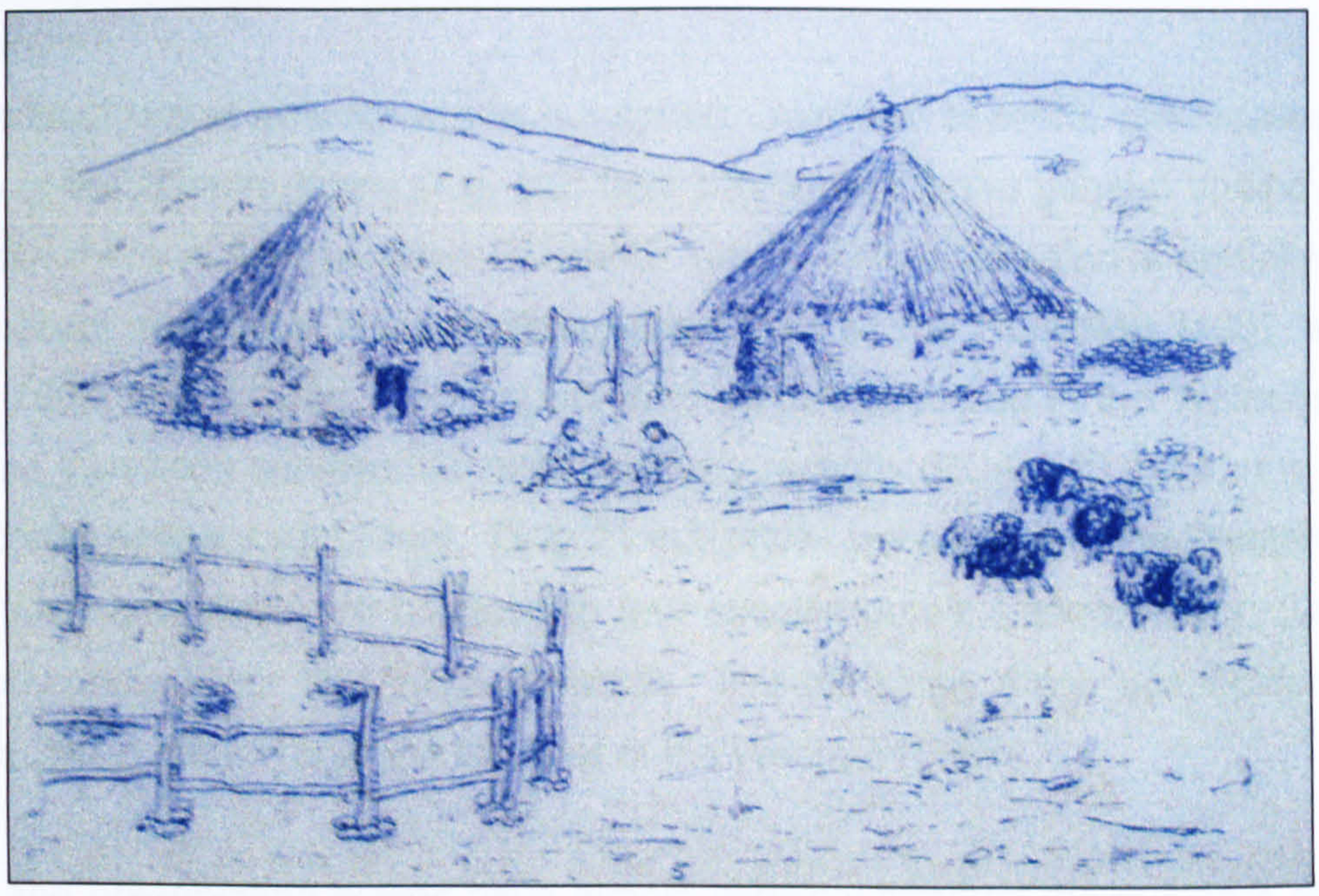
The structure of the following discussion of the archaeological evidence is based on subheadings of traditional types: hut-circles, roundhouses, substantial roundhouses and enclosures (which include forts). Each of these sections could have been separate chapters; yet, presented as one chapter I have emphasised my attempt to relate my interpretations to previous approaches, to subvert traditional classifications and to highlight alternative relationships that cut across these typologies. Therefore in some cases, a site may be discussed or referred to in more than one section. The names of the examples in the text are those used in the NMRS, but when more than one individual feature shared the same name, a number has been added to act as a discriminator (for more detail on each site, see Appendix 1).

Within each section both general observations and specific examples are expressed in predominantly qualitative narratives. The discussion of these examples will highlight variable interpretations of the use of space, the relationships of places in the wider landscape, as well as the differences and similarities to other established patterns. The detailed narrative and the use of maps and pictures all help express my experiences with the archaeology and offer the reader their own opportunity to engage with the evidence. Particular themes are drawn out in order to highlight the flexibility of the way the archaeology can be discussed. These themes will be discussed in more detail in Chapter

7 and when compared to traditional interpretations of Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire form the basis for alternative interpretations.

6.3 Hut-circles

The term 'hut-circle' refers to the archaeological remains of a roundhouse, but it also applies specifically to stone walled circular features, averaging 7m in diameter, predominantly located in the uplands, which are often considered marginal (Fig. 6.1) (e.g. RCAHMS 1994). There are over 180 known hut-circles in Wigtownshire, and these have important differences in their character and situation in the landscape. These sites can be defined by other characteristics rather than solely by the morphology or material of their remains. Moreover, it is possible to consider hut-circles in relationship to other settlement evidence.



(Fig. 6.1: Artist's reconstruction of hut-circles at Dranigower, local tourist information board located in New Luce)

Throughout Scotland, excavations have demonstrated that as a class hut-circles can generally be dated to the 2nd and early 1st millennia BC, i.e. the Bronze Age (Stevenson 1984; Rideout 1995; Barber 1997); however, there are notable exceptions. Excavations at Kilphedir, Sutherland (Fairhurst & Taylor 1970), Moss Raploch, Kirkcudbrightshire (Condry & Ansell 1978), Scarbo, County Down, Northern Ireland (Archaeological Survey of Northern Ireland 1966, 179-80) and several examples from NE England (Jobey 1980a, 1980b 1983; Gates 1983) suggest that some hut-circles were constructed in, or have at least been in use, during the later 1st millennia BC and early centuries AD. The theory that upland settlement, including all hut-circles, were largely abandoned during a climatic decline during Later Bronze Age is misleading or at least not representative of all areas (Young 2000, contra Burgess 1985). Although as a group they share many morphological similarities, hut-circles may have been constructed and used over many periods. A definition of hut-circles based on

morphological and geographical constraints, coupled with the assumption that this group is both chronologically and functionally distinct from any other type of settlement form has meant that they are treated separately and rarely compared with features from the lowlands. The distribution of hut-circles is a true creation of the archaeological record as they only survive as surface traces in the uplands. The following section will re-evaluate the significance of these features as a coherent group, drawing on selected examples.

6.3.1 Hut-circle Distribution and Architecture

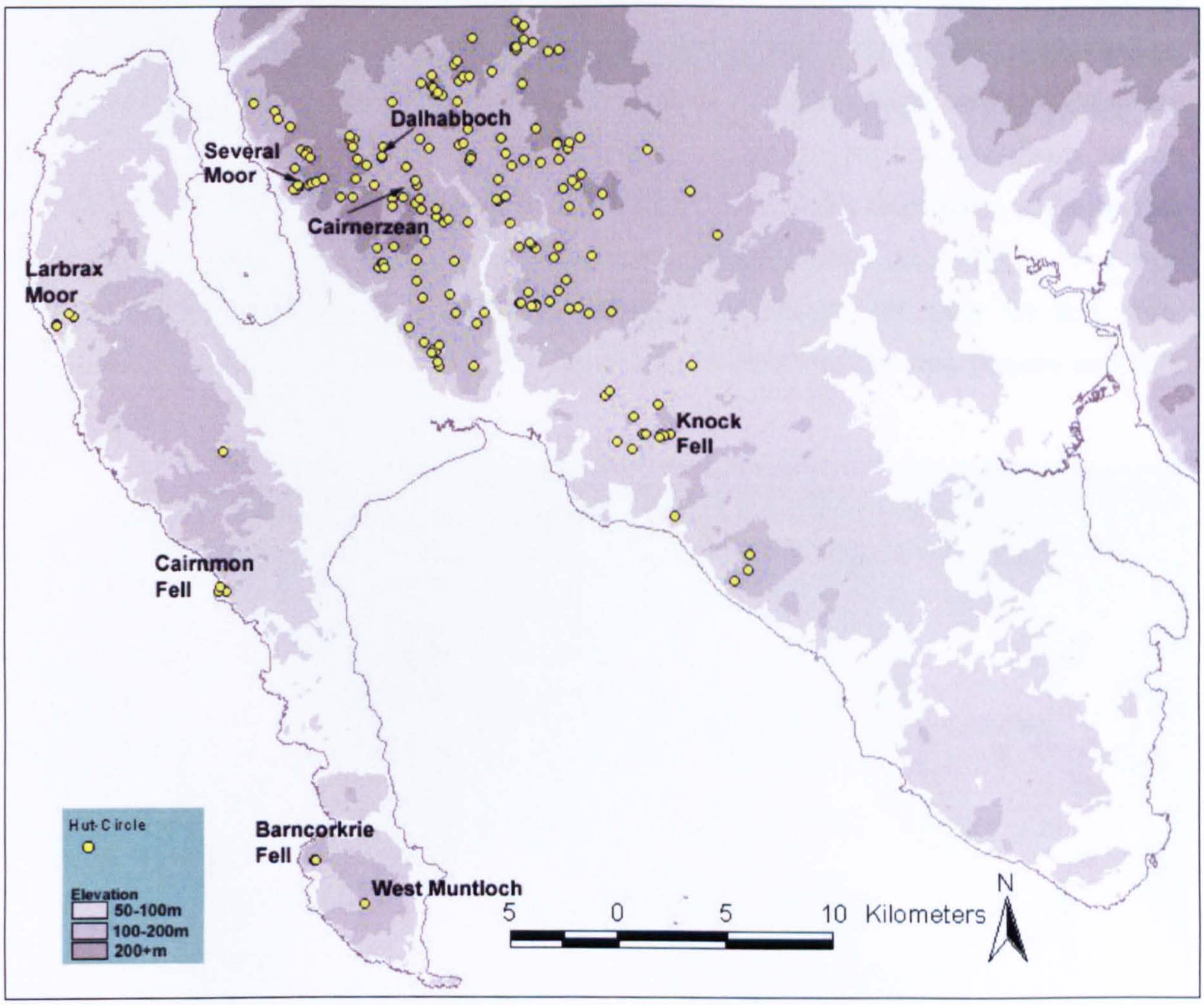
Distribution

In Wigtownshire the majority of the hut-circles, over 160 of them, are located in the uplands of the Eastern Rhins (Fig. 6.2) thus conforming to the general upland pattern found elsewhere in Scotland (see RCHAMS 1994). This distribution is partially biased by the recent surveys in Eastern Rhins conducted by the RCAHMS (1987 and see Cowley 2000, 167 & 168). Yet, compared to the few recorded in the Western Rhins, which has also been surveyed in detail relatively recently (RCAHMS 1985), the density of hut-circles appears significant. Only 11 hut-circles were noted in the Western Rhins survey (*ibid*) and these are confined to four specific areas: Larbrax Moor, Cairnmon Fell, Barncorkrie Moor and West Muntloch. Unsurprisingly these are located in the high undulating ground near the W coast of the Western Rhins.

Survey and preservation biases have almost certainly affected the numbers of known hut-circles in the Machars. To the south of Glenluce, Wilson noted 17 hut-circle sites in the 19th century (1882, 1885); however, 12 of these are no longer visible. Perhaps a combination of peat cover, forestry and other upland activities has destroyed these examples. Likewise other areas like the southern Machars may have had hut-circles, which are now no longer visible. The recognition and identification of hut-circles even during the detailed survey of the peat-covered moors of the Eastern Rhins was not straightforward. In some cases it took several trawls across the same area and practice to develop the skill to observe the subtle variations in the natural landscape and record possible sightings (e.g. Stab Hill Strat Halliday pers. comm.). Revisiting some of these sites, twenty years after the last survey, has revealed that the peat cover has encroached further and obscured even more evidence (e.g. Beoch Burn).

Hut-circles have not been recorded in the lowlands. If they existed in this area at all, the agricultural activity would probably have destroyed any surface evidence and it has

even been questioned whether they could be identified as cropmarks (Cowley 2000, 169). Yet even if they were identified, due to archaeological convention, these cropmarks would not be called 'hut-circles', but 'ring-ditches' or 'roundhouses', leading to further bias. Therefore features like hut-circles may have been far more widespread in prehistory, but have been destroyed completely or are less visible in areas subject to intensive agricultural activities. The distribution of hut-circles as a type of feature is meaningless without considering more of the character of these features. In fact, the distribution is intrinsically linked to, and created by, archaeological discourse.



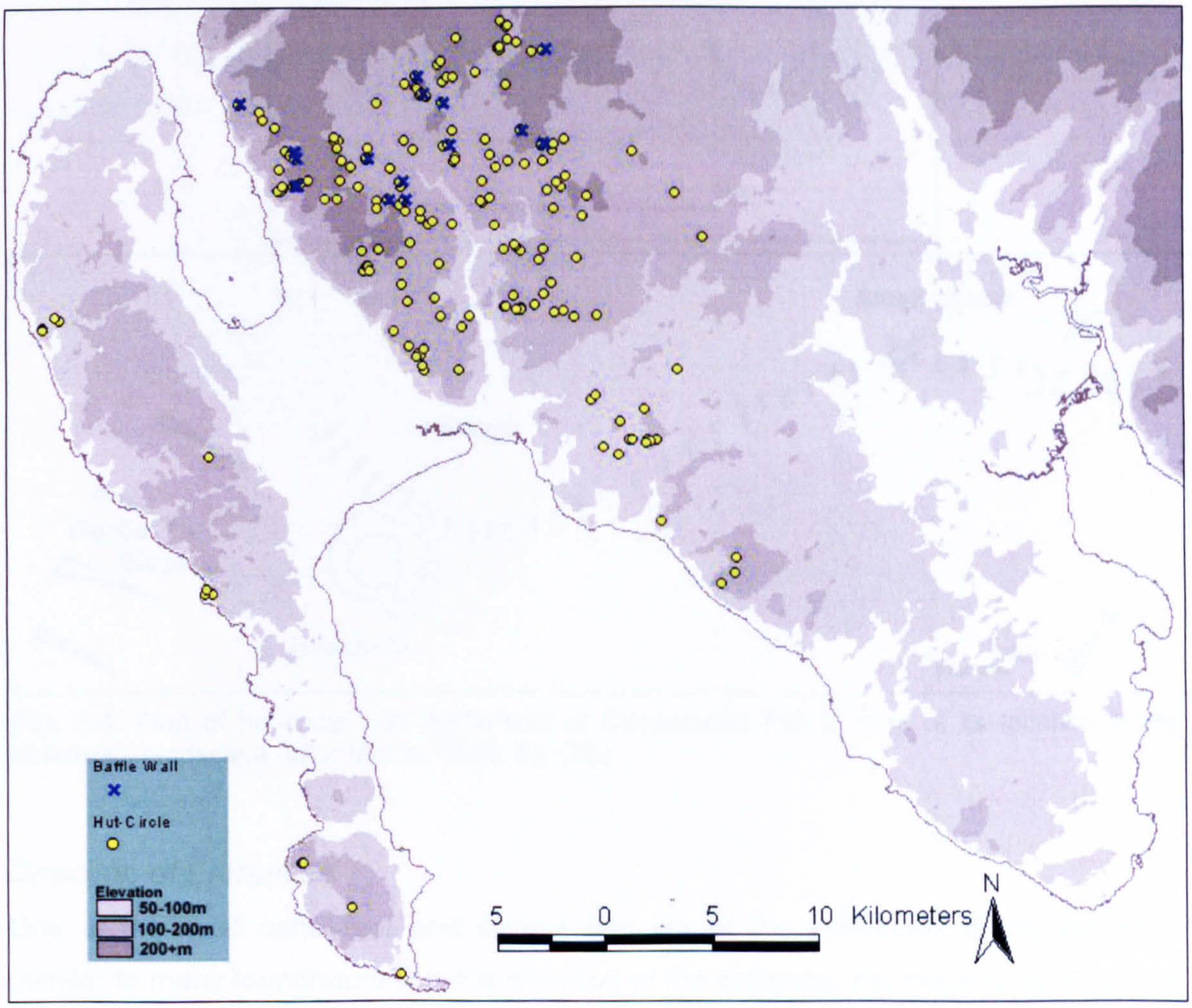
(Fig. 6.2: Distribution of hut-circles in Wigtownshire, some are no longer visible; labelled are the sites discussed in more detail in the text)

Morphology

Size, shape and construction material have been important criteria when defining hut-circles as a type. In Wigtownshire, as throughout Scotland, hut-circles are characterised by the remains of a circular or, at least, a curvilinear stone (or earth and stone) foundation with a single entrance gap. Despite the fact that hut-circles are in a ruinous state and often obscured by peat, measurements of their general size have been recorded by the RCAHMS. Based on these measurements the average internal

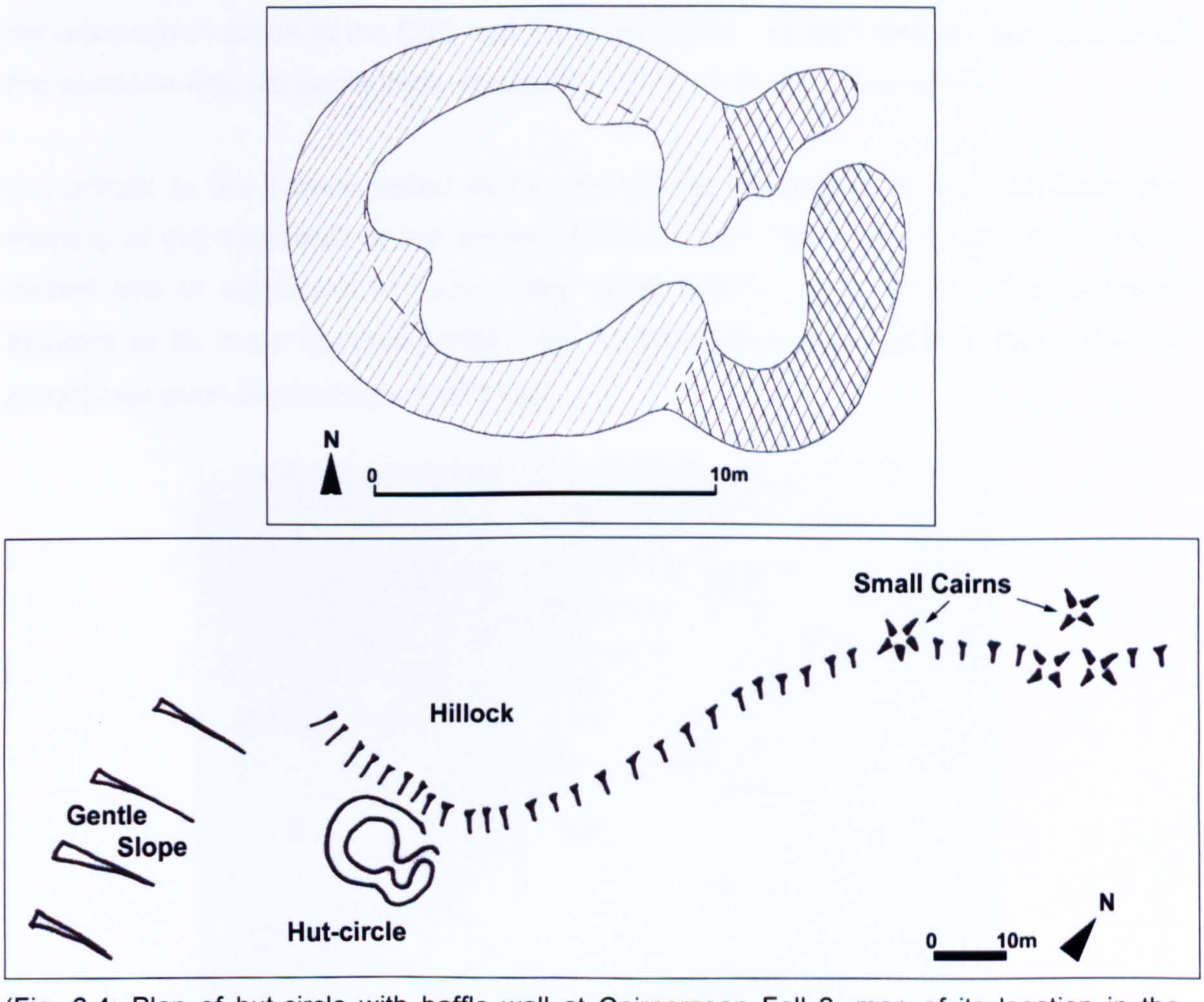
diameter of the hut-circles in Wigtownshire is approximately 7.8m, but can range widely from 4.0m to 15.0m. The thickness of the wall or bank can also vary, from 0.9m to 3.5m, but averages around 1.8m. Occasionally measurements are used to differentiate between a hut-circle and an enclosure. However, the specific measurements do not have an intrinsic significance in themselves and in some cases a hut-circle (especially at the larger and smaller end of the range) could equally have been classified as an 'enclosure' or even a 'shieling'.

Unusually in Wigtownshire, there are a few hut-circles with architectural embellishments called 'baffle' walls (RCAHMS 1987; Cowley 2000, 169). A baffle wall, is simply an additional section of stone walling that, in most cases, extends from the hut-circle and curves in front of the entrance, forming what is described as an antechamber or annexe. There are 19 examples of hut-circles with baffle walls and all of these are located in the northern half of the Eastern Rhins (Fig. 6.3). The hut-circles with baffle walls are almost all 'average' in shape and size for the area. However, the addition of a baffle wall would have transformed the way people and light would have entered the hut-circle.



(Fig. 6.3: Distribution map of hut-circles with and without baffle walls)

Although obscured by rubble, the baffle wall of the hut-circle at Cairnerzean Fell 2 is connected to the SW of the main wall (Fig. 6.4). The antechamber defines a separate space for particular activities. Protected by the contour of a hillock the narrow opening to the NE would have directed movement and access to the interior. The antechamber and the narrowed entrance to the hut-circle itself further define access to the interior and would have affected the direct visual and spatial relationship from inside a hut-circle to the external or 'open' space. The baffle wall transforms the potential view from the entrance at Cairnerzean Fell 2; instead of being directed down a gentle slope towards the moors it follows the contour of the hillock and faces a group of small cairns. The addition of the baffle wall may have been a deliberate act to represent a final phase of the hut-circle, metaphorically 'closing' it (see Bender *et al* 1997).



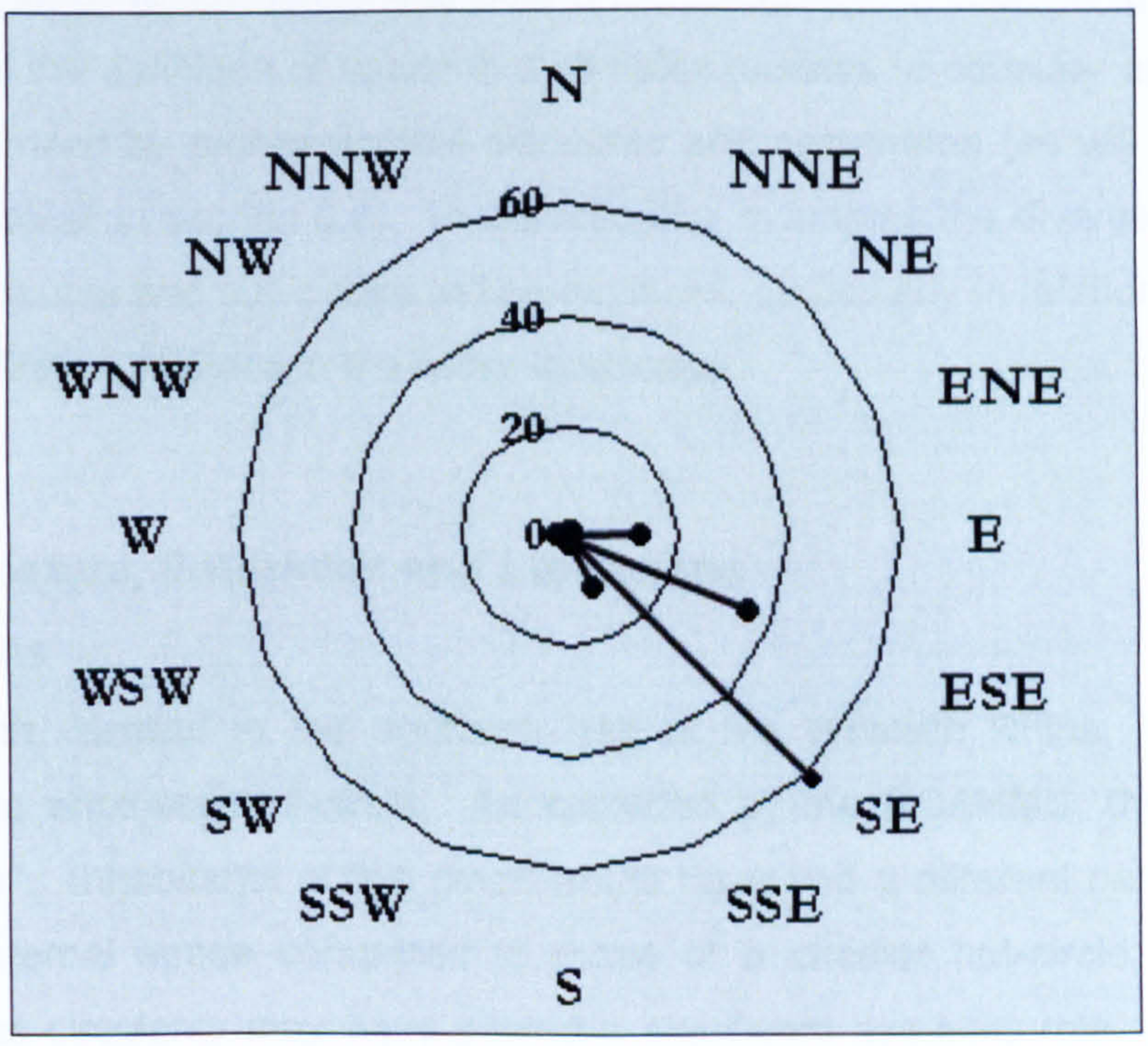
(Fig. 6.4: Plan of hut-circle with baffle wall at Cairnerzean Fell 2, map of its location in the immediate landscape (after Murray 1986, fig. 35))

Direction of Entrances

One of the most consistent and distinct features of the hut-circles in Wigtownshire (similar to many roundhouses) is the direction of the entrance, the majority of which are

oriented between E and SSE (Fig. 6.5). Oswald (1997), amongst others, has highlighted the significance and persistence of the SE alignment of the entrances of Iron Age roundhouses. Although his study was based on a small sample, this pattern has also been noted in other geographical areas and types of later prehistoric sites (e.g. Campbell 1991; Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999). In some cases, the circularity of the architecture and the deposition of artefacts has been proposed to be a physical manifestation of the movement of the sun and as a metaphor for various cycles of the inhabitants (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2; Parker Pearson 1999). The exact meaning of such consistency in the direction of entrances of hut-circles is uncertain. Nonetheless, there is likely to be an underlying tradition (a tradition that may have continued or was transformed over many generations), which influenced the majority of cases in the Eastern Rhins of Wigtownshire. Regardless of their location in the moors the entrance direction to the ESE and SE is persistent. In other words, the direction of the entrance was not necessarily practical with regard to the topography.

In contrast to the pattern noted during the Leskernick project on Bodmin Moor the majority of the entrances of hut-circles on the Eastern Rhins do not appear to frame distant hills or significant features (Tilley 1996; Bender *et al.* 1997). The direction appears to be more important than other considerations such as the view, which is sometimes even blocked by a baffle wall.



(Fig. 6.5: Radial chart showing that out of 128 hut-circles the majority are directed towards the E-SSE (this only includes those sites where the entrance could be detected))

There are eight exceptions to this general trend, none of which have baffle walls. Although these could be viewed as anomalous, it is interesting that half of these are located in the Western Rhins where, as noted previously, there are only a few examples of hut-circles. Here, relationships between the hut-circles and other features need to be considered. For instance, the entrances of the three hut-circles at Barncorkrie Moor, in the S of the Western Rhins are directed towards each other. These three are within 60m of each other and are in a roughly triangular arrangement. While one entrance is to the E, the other two are to the W and the ENE and may imply a particular social relationship that is not evident at other hut-circles. The 'usual' entrance direction was subverted and the huts were constructed in relation to one other. This is never the case in the Eastern Rhins, even when hut-circles are very close to one another. For instance, on the SW slopes of Several Moor the doorways all face the same direction even though some hut-circles, such as Drummuckloch 1-3, are within 10m of one another. Interestingly, even though some hut-circles in the Eastern Rhins, like the ones at Drummuckloch, occupy a strong position on steep slopes with potentially extensive views to Loch Ryan, these views are not appreciated from the threshold of the hut-circles; rather, they revert to the 'usual' entrance orientation.

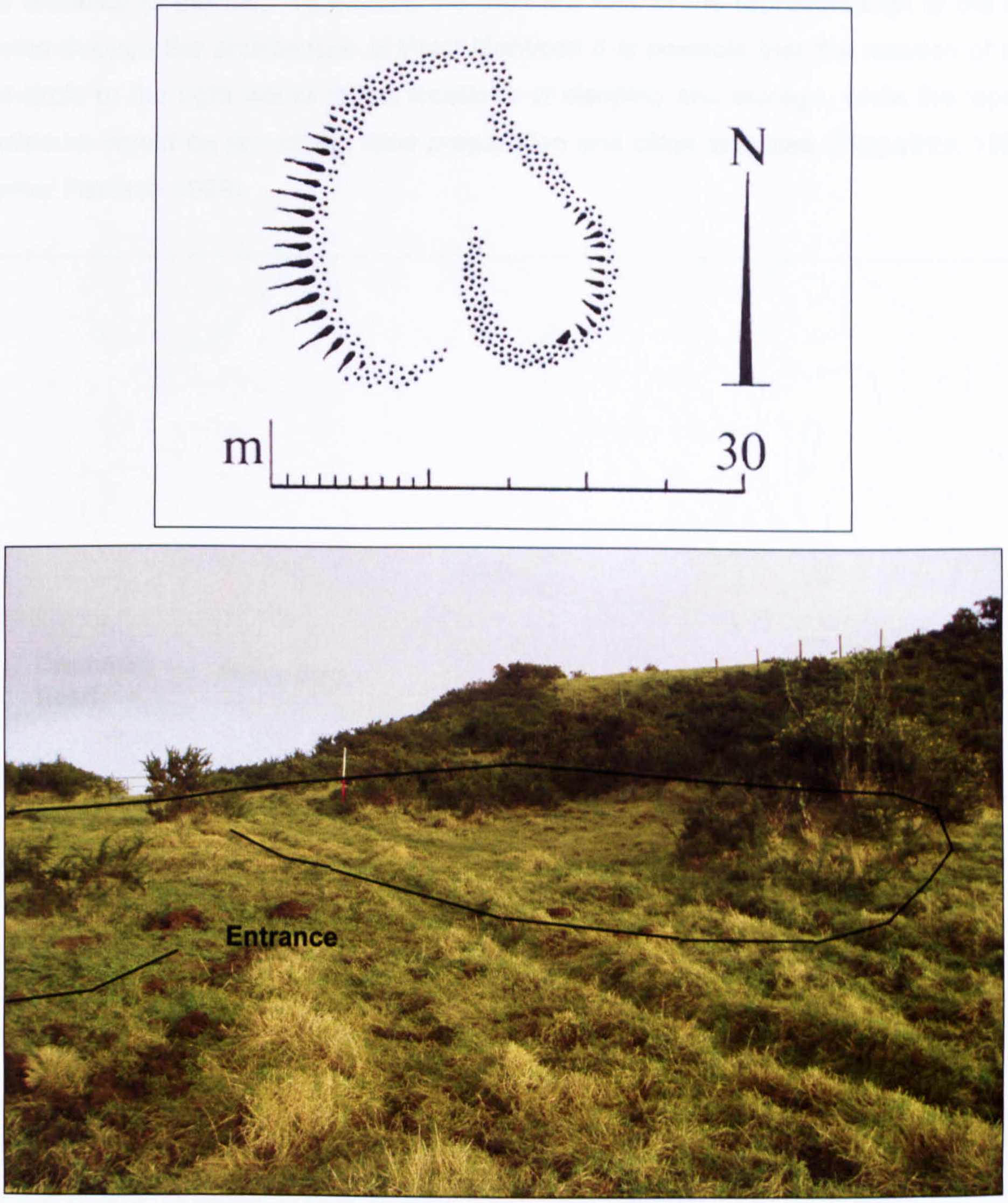
Hut-circles are often described as being components of 'open' or unenclosed settlements. Yet some are associated with enclosures and other features such as field-systems, all of which define and bound the landscape in relation to one another. Enclosure and the definition of space is a complex process to consider and one that is further complicated by archaeological discourse and convention (as will be discussed later in more detail in section 6.6). In the following examples the diverse relationships between enclosures and hut-circles will be explored, particularly in relation to the use of space and definition of place in the wider landscape.

6.3.2 Architecture, Entrances and Landscape

Western Rhins

West Muntloch, located in the southern half of the Western Rhins, is an unusual example of an enclosed hut-circle. As recorded by the RCAHMS, the hut-circle is 'markedly oval'. Inhabitants of this place would have had a different perception of the use of the internal space compared to those of a circular hut-circle, of which, as mentioned, the circularity may have played a significant symbolic role as a metaphor for various life-cycles. The hut-circle at West Muntloch is severely disturbed and continues to be eroded by a farm track that cuts through its perimeter and therefore the

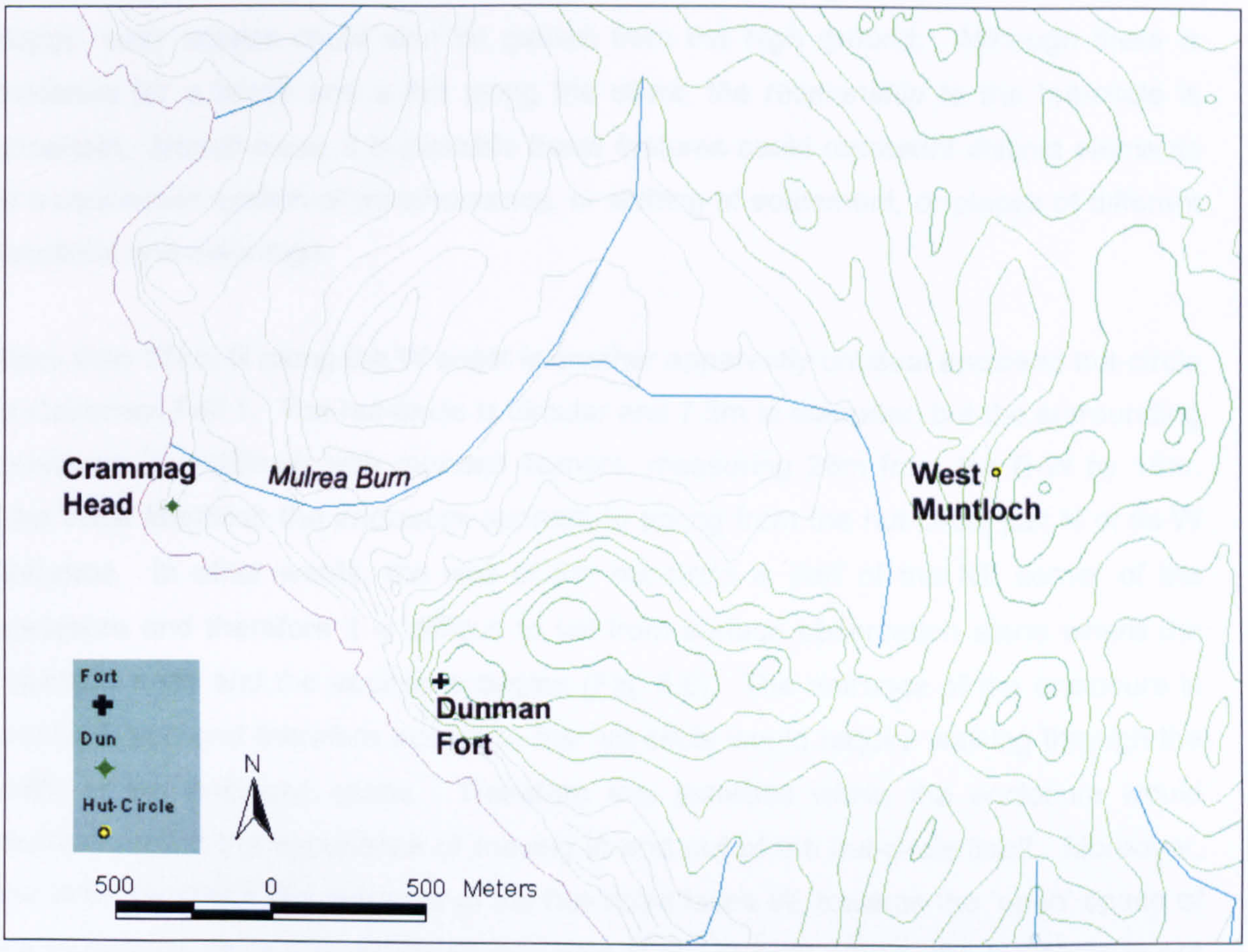
shape is not now as clear as it was twenty years ago. Nonetheless, the enclosure conjoined to the hut-circle is still just visible (Fig. 6.6).

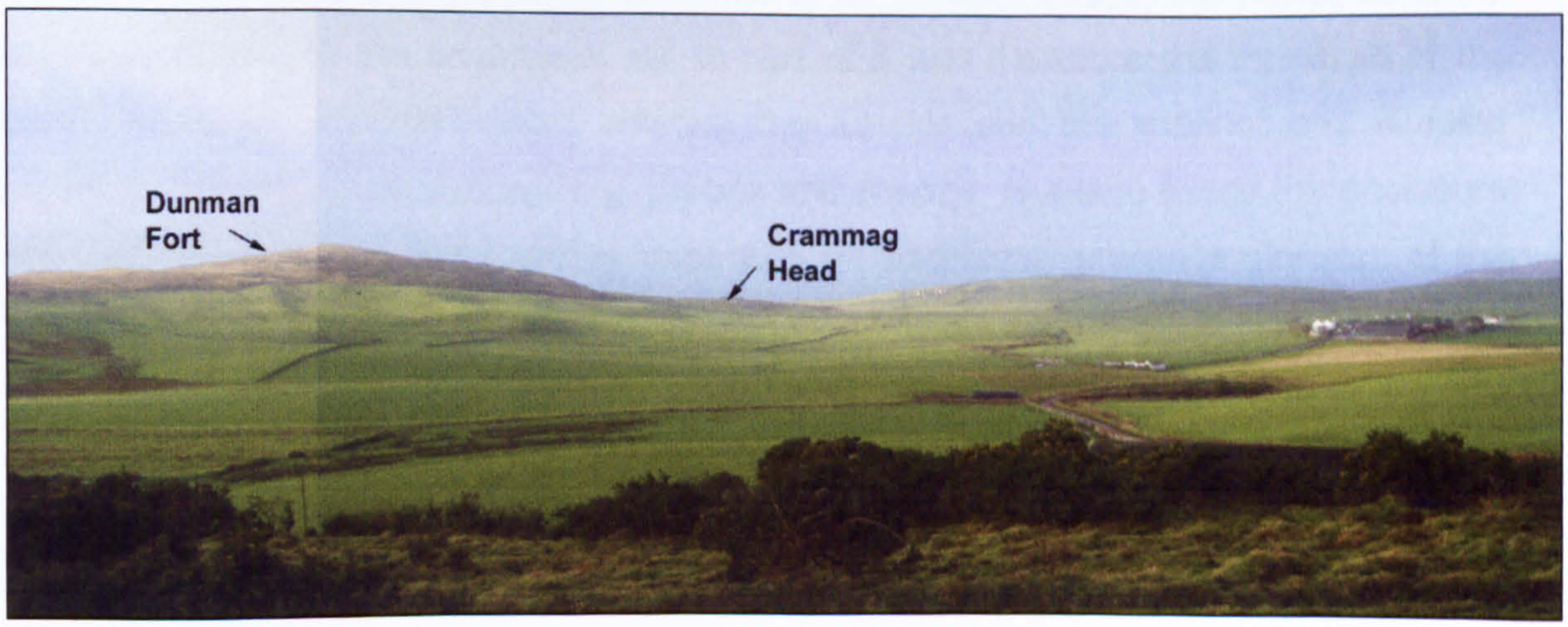


(Fig. 6.6: Plan of West Muntloch © RCAHMS; photo of West Muntloch showing the entrance to the enclosure and the hut-circle (author))

The hut-circle is very much a part of the enclosure and vice versa. The entrance to the hut-circle is to the NNW; which, as noted above, is unusual. However, while the location of the entrance of the enclosure is uncertain, it is most likely to have been on the S side, just 2m short of the wall of the hut-circle. If contemporary, the only way to access the hut-circle was through this narrow gap to the S and to walk across the 'open' space of the enclosure. The wall of the enclosure acts like an extended baffle wall controlling the entrance into the hut-circle. The internal architecture itself enforces

a circularity of movement in and out of this place. Therefore, in this case, the enclosure in fact was an extension of the hut-circle and it took on the 'usual' direction of the entrance to the SE. To explore the possible idea of the representation of the life cycles through the architecture at West Muntloch it is possible that the location of the hut-circle to the right would reflect locations of sleeping and storage, while the 'open' enclosure would be for eating, food preparation and other activities (Fitzpatrick 1994; Parker Pearson 1999).





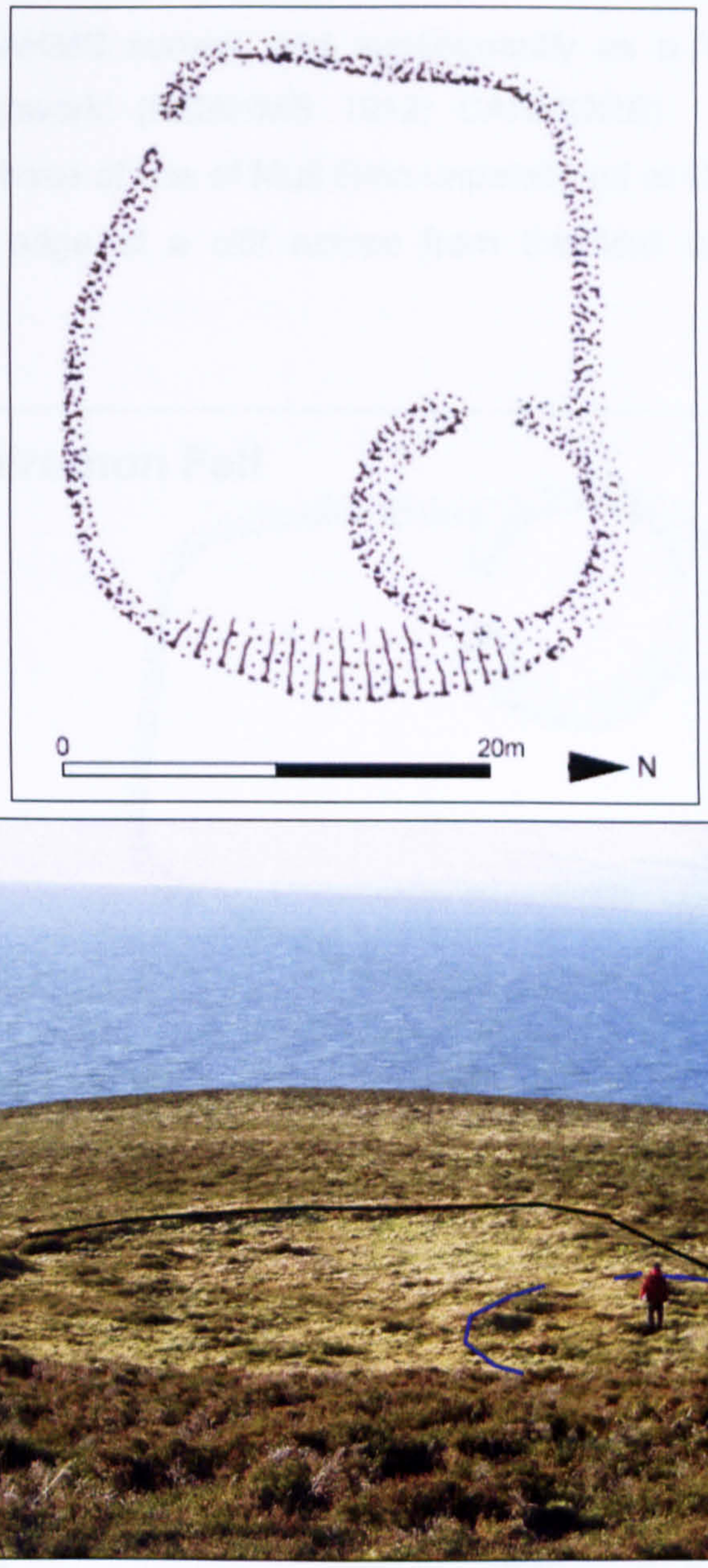
(Fig. 6.7: Contour map of West Muntloch and its surrounding area; view from West Muntloch hut-circle towards the W, Dunman Fort and Crammag Head (author))

West Muntloch is nestled on a level terrace on the E slope of a small hill. No other hut-circle has been recorded in the immediate area. However, this does not imply that this place was isolated. Although views from the doorway of the hut-circle may have been hindered by activities within the enclosure, from the terrace there were extensive views to the W and therefore any movement along this area could be observed (see Fig. 6.7). Furthermore, the site is next to a tributary of the Mulrea Burn that leads down slope and directly to the coast and the location of a sheltered bay. There were several possible access routes to the coast either across the low ground, but if this was too boggy, easy access could also be gained from the high ground. Although there is evidence for a broch and a fort along the coast, the relationship to the hut-circle is uncertain. Nonetheless, it is possible these features could represent distinct elements of a connected system of transhumance, or shifting of settlement, or places of different functions and meanings.

More than 15km N along the W coast is another apparently unusual enclosed hut-circle at Cairnmon Fell 1. The hut-circle is circular and 7.5m in diameter, but the surrounding enclosure is rectilinear with rounded corners, measuring 26m from the E-W by 18m. Like West Muntloch the enclosure appears to spring from the hut-circle just N of its W entrance. In other words, the wall of the hut-circle is part of the NE corner of the enclosure and therefore it is difficult to tell from surface observation alone where the hut-circle ends and the enclosure begins (Fig. 6.8). The entrance of the enclosure is on the S side and therefore access to the hut-circle would require walking through the width of the enclosed space. Therefore any activities within the enclosure would become part of the experience of moving in and out of the hut-circle itself. Moreover, like West Muntloch the entrance of the hut-circle faces W, towards the 'open' space of the enclosure, while the enclosure entrance is S. In both cases, the hut-circle is not simply protected by the enclosure, but is part of it and therefore the threshold of the enclosure is an important point, relating the interior and the exterior and dividing between different social spaces (e.g. private and public). In these cases the enclosure may be important in subverting the 'expected' or 'traditional' entrance direction of the hut-circle as well as the experience of the hut-circle itself.

Cairnmon Fell 1 may reflect a translation of the 'traditional' representations of spaces noticeable at other hut-circles. On one level the enclosure and the hut-circle are linked, but on another level the hut-circle would have been a separate space for particular activities and retained particular meaning reflected in its circularity. While the hut-circle at Cairnmon Fell 1 is circular, the rectilinear enclosure with rounded corners highlights

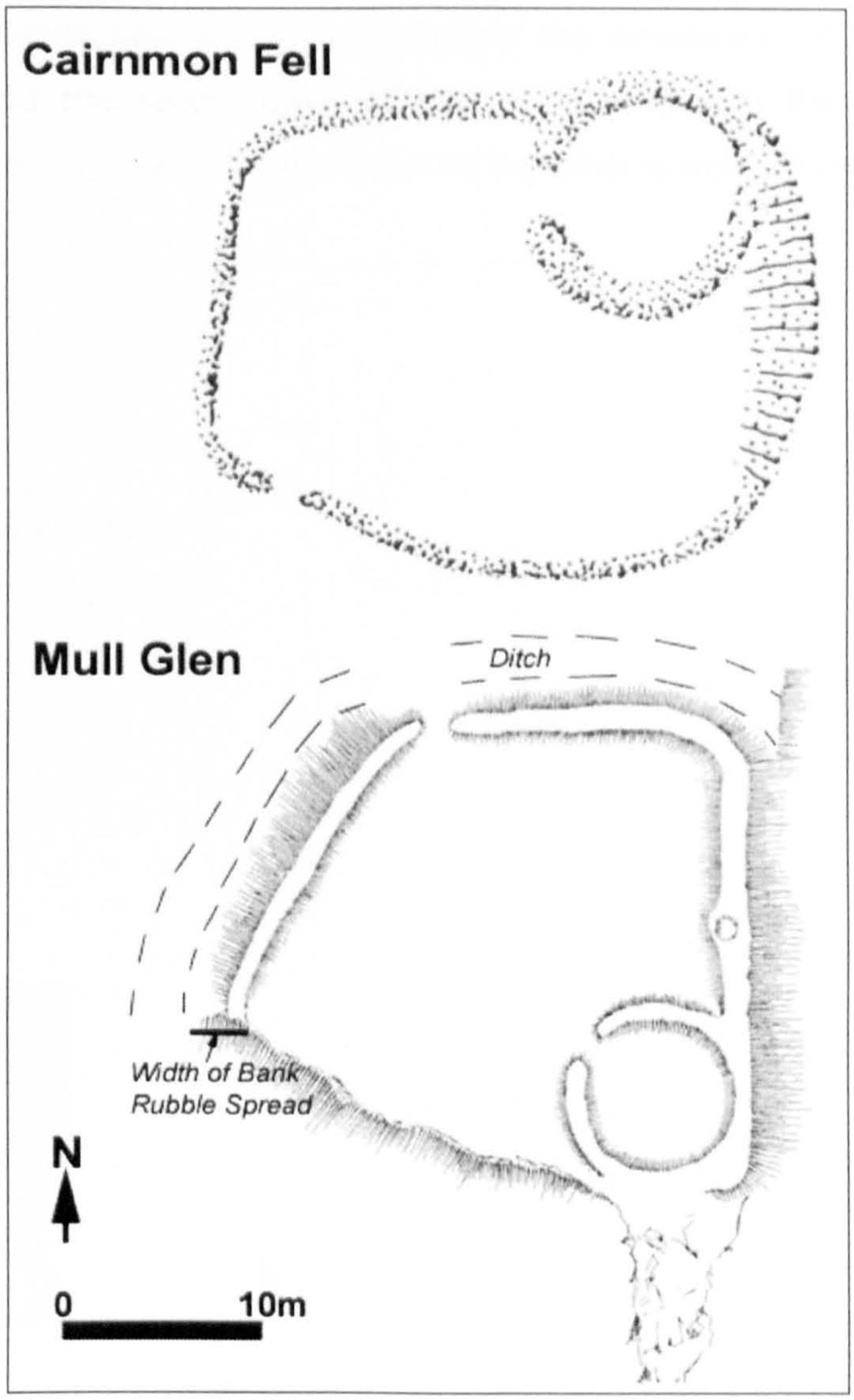
a potential change in attitude and meaning to the 'open' space, similar to that found at Rispain Camp (see section 6.4.3 & 6.6.1). The tradition that was contained within the whole architecture of other hut-circles and roundhouses may be 'fragmented' at Cairnmon Fell 1, as at Rispain Camp, and transferred to a wider spatial context. The hut-circle reinforces the symbol of circularity, while the entrances of the enclosure maintain the relationship with the exterior and interior.



(Fig. 6.8: Plan of Cairnmon Fell (after Yates 1983); view overlooking Cairnmon Fell 1 towards the W (author))

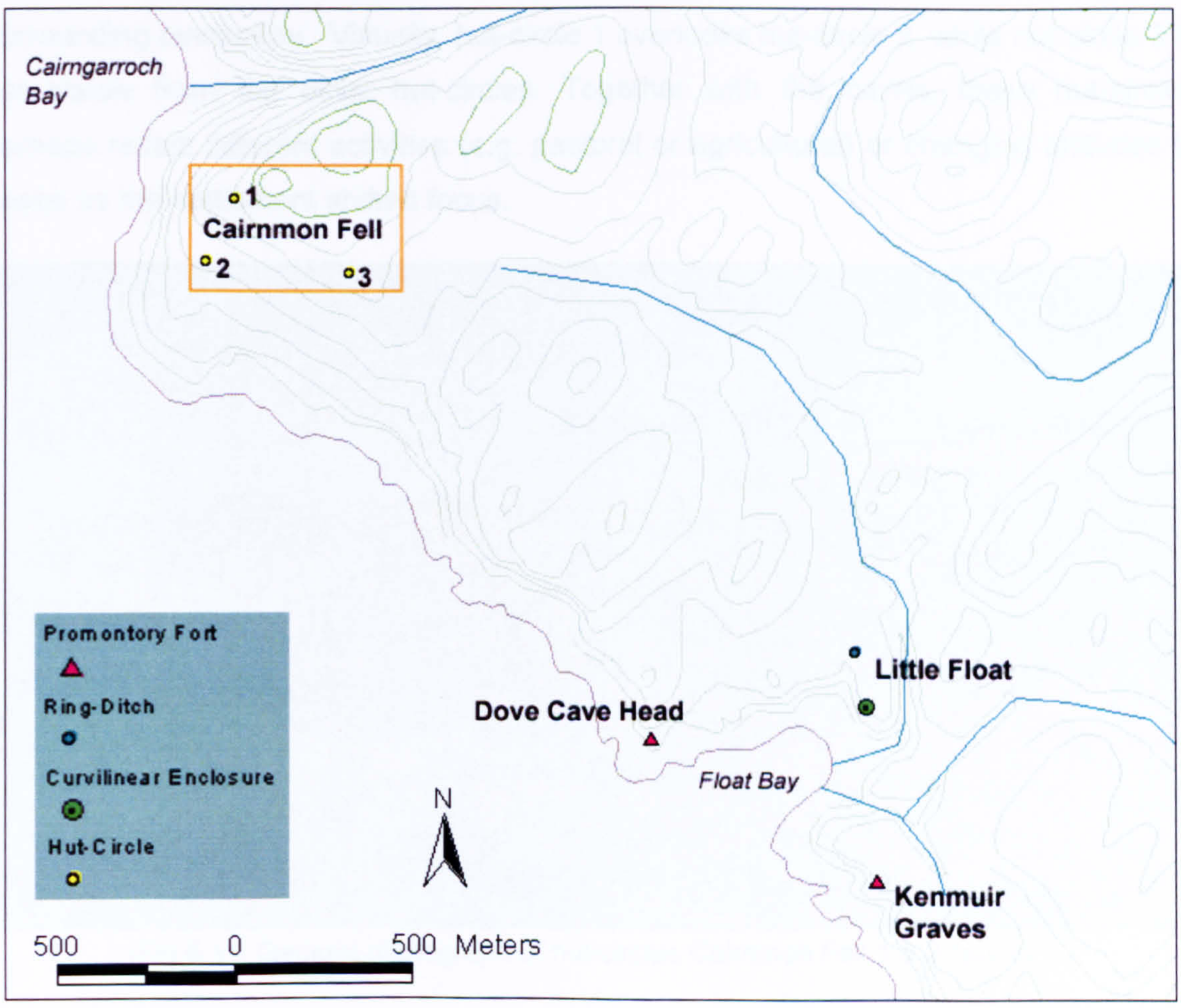
Of similar shape and size to Cairnmon Fell 1 is Mull Glen, located on a steep coastal cliff near the Mull of Galloway (Fig. 6.9). The dimensions of Mull Glen are similar to Cairnmon Fell 1. The hut-circle now is badly damaged, but in 1952 was described as circular, 6.5m in diameter, and incorporated within the SE corner of the enclosure bank

(CANMORE). It is overlooked on higher ground to the N with views to the sea, just like Cairnmon Fell 1. A key difference between Mull Glen and Cairnmon Fell 1 is the presence of an external ditch 3.6m wide and 0.6m deep (see Fig. 6.9). Compared to the thick stony wall of Cairnmon Fell 1, the substantial ditch at Mull Glen could be seen as excessive for a purely domestic site. The juxtaposition of the hut-circle and the enclosure at Mull Glen appears anomalous and has confused archaeologists. Interestingly this site has been re-classified many times, recorded as a 'fort' and 'hut-circle' in the first RCAHMS survey, and subsequently as a 'homestead' and more generally as an 'earthwork' (RCAHMS 1912; CANMORE). The ditch may have reflected a particular phase of use of Mull Glen unparalleled at Cairnmon Fell (which its location right on the edge of a cliff across from the Mull of Galloway may have influenced).



(Fig. 6.9: Comparative plans of Cairnmon Fell 1 and Mull Glen (after Yates 1983; RCAHMS 1912))

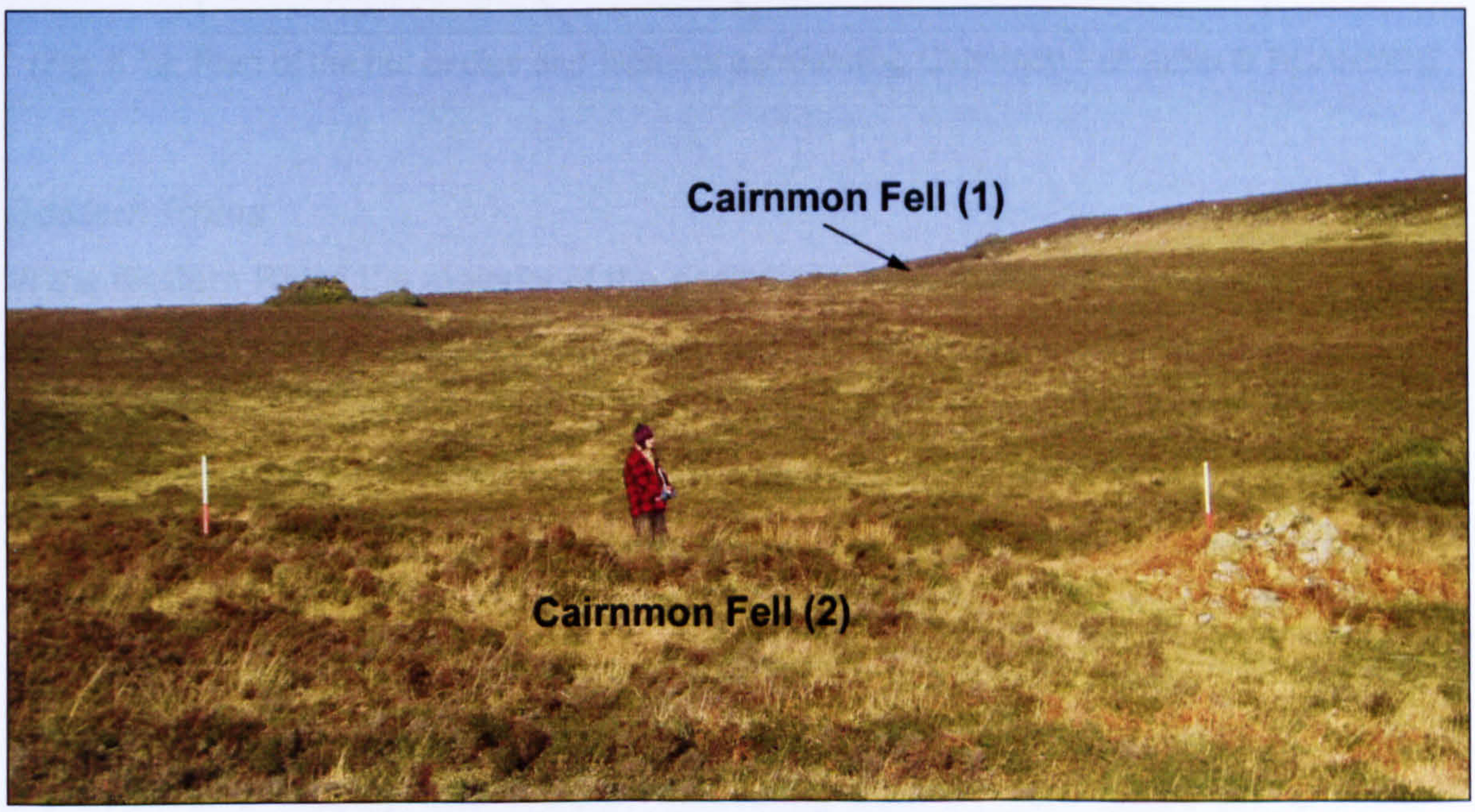
Cairnmon Fell 1 is located on a slight terrace, overlooked by higher ground to the E, but with extensive views of the ocean (see Fig. 6.8). As at West Muntloch, the sea may have played a defining role in these hut-circles, offering a point of reference and contact. The hut-circle at Cairnmon Fell 1 cuts into the hill and uses the local topography as part of its construction, hiding and protecting it. Any views, in and around the hut-circle, like West Muntloch, would be directed to the sea. Although hidden from the landward perspective, Cairnmon Fell hut-circle is not isolated. The Fell is a small hill next to the coast and is located near and overlooks Cairngarroch Bay, a sheltered stony bay. Approximately 2km to the S along the coast is Float Bay, a narrow sandy beach. On either side of this bay are two forts and there is cropmark evidence for a 'ring-ditch' and an 'enclosure' (Fig. 6.10). Little Float is likely to have been a significant point of access and trade. The hut-circle is set away from this centre, but it is clear that it is part of a very active and dynamic landscape. The backdrop of undulating hills would have shaped the perception of the settlements in this landscape and this would have offered a contrast with the nearby Stranraer Lowlands. The preconception of hut-circles as marginal is only a modern perspective.



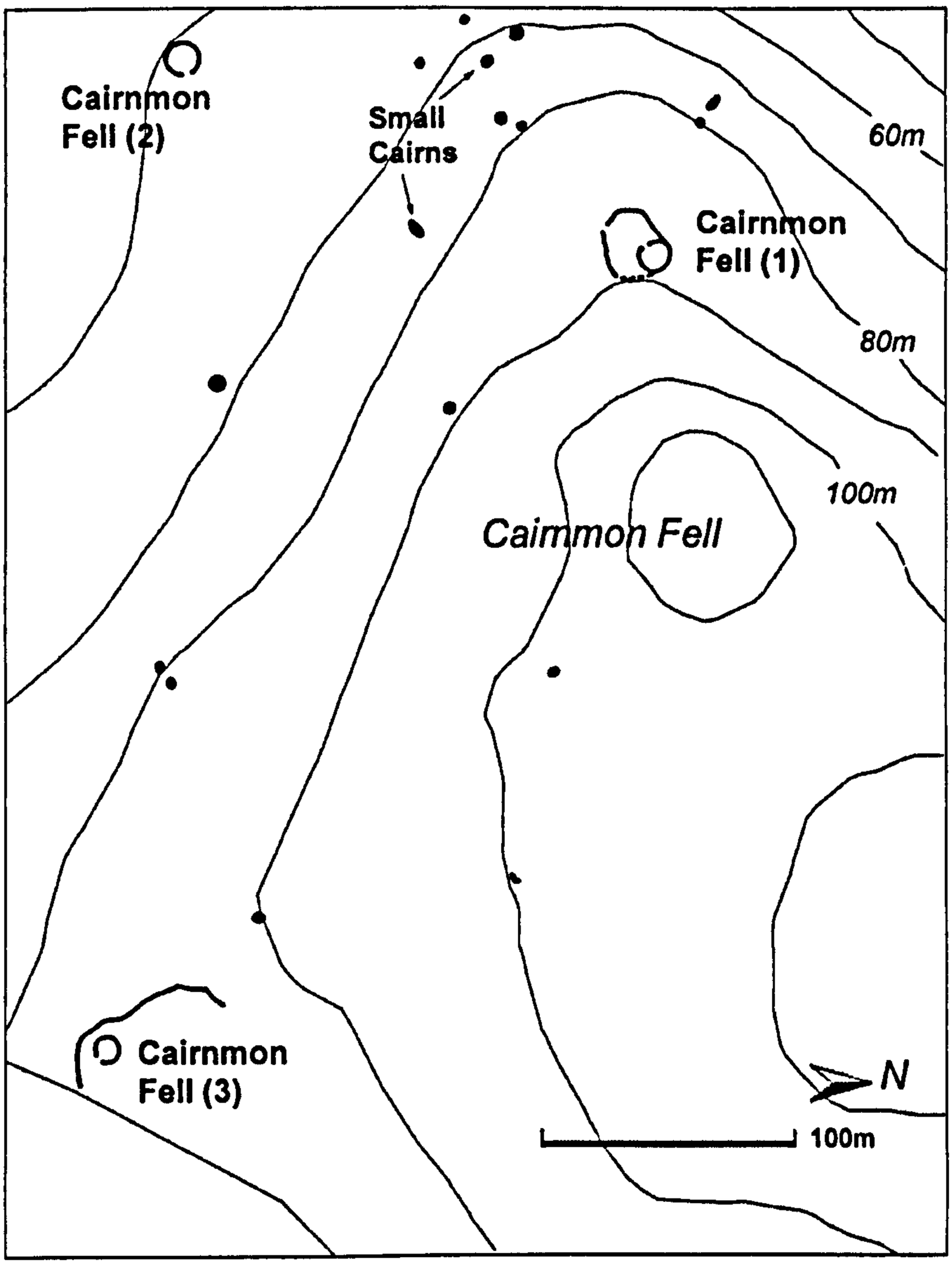
(Fig. 6.10: Contour map of Cairnmon Fell and surrounding features, the yellow box corresponding to Fig. 6.12)

Cairnmon Fell hut-circle 1 is also part of a more localised landscape relating to other hut-circles and remains of field-systems. Downslope from Cairnmon Fell 1, 200m to the SW, is another hut-circle (Cairnmon Fell 2) 9m in diameter with an entrance to the E (Fig. 6.11). Amid these two hut-circles, on the gentle SW slope, are at least nine small cairns and evidence of field banks (Fig. 6.12). Furthermore, on the E side of Cairnmon Fell is another small hut-circle (Cairnmon Fell 3) within the traces of a larger enclosure 60m from NW to SE by 30m. Both hut-circles (2 and 3) conform to the 'usual' conventions of shape, size and entrance direction.

In comparison to Cairnmon Fell 1 these hut-circles highlight the differences in the use of space. While hut-circle 2 is exposed and 'open' in the wider landscape, hut-circle 3 is enclosed, but has a different relationship to the enclosure when compared to hut-circle 1. Not only is the 'enclosed' area much larger and the stone bank less substantial, the enclosure and the hut-circle 3 are separate constructions. Unlike Cairnmon Fell 1, this hut-circle could potentially be accessed from a variety of routes or directions. Although the chronological relationship between the features on Cairnmon Fell is difficult to ascertain, each hut-circle demonstrates distinct relationships with the surrounding landscape. Visually, hut-circle 1 overlooks hut-circle 2, while hut-circle 3 is not visible from the other hut-circles. Together with the cairns, these hut-circles perhaps reflect different activities (e.g. pastoral or agricultural) or changing attitudes to space as the settlement shifted focus.



(Fig 6.11: General photograph of hut-circles Cairnmon Fell 1 & 2 (author))

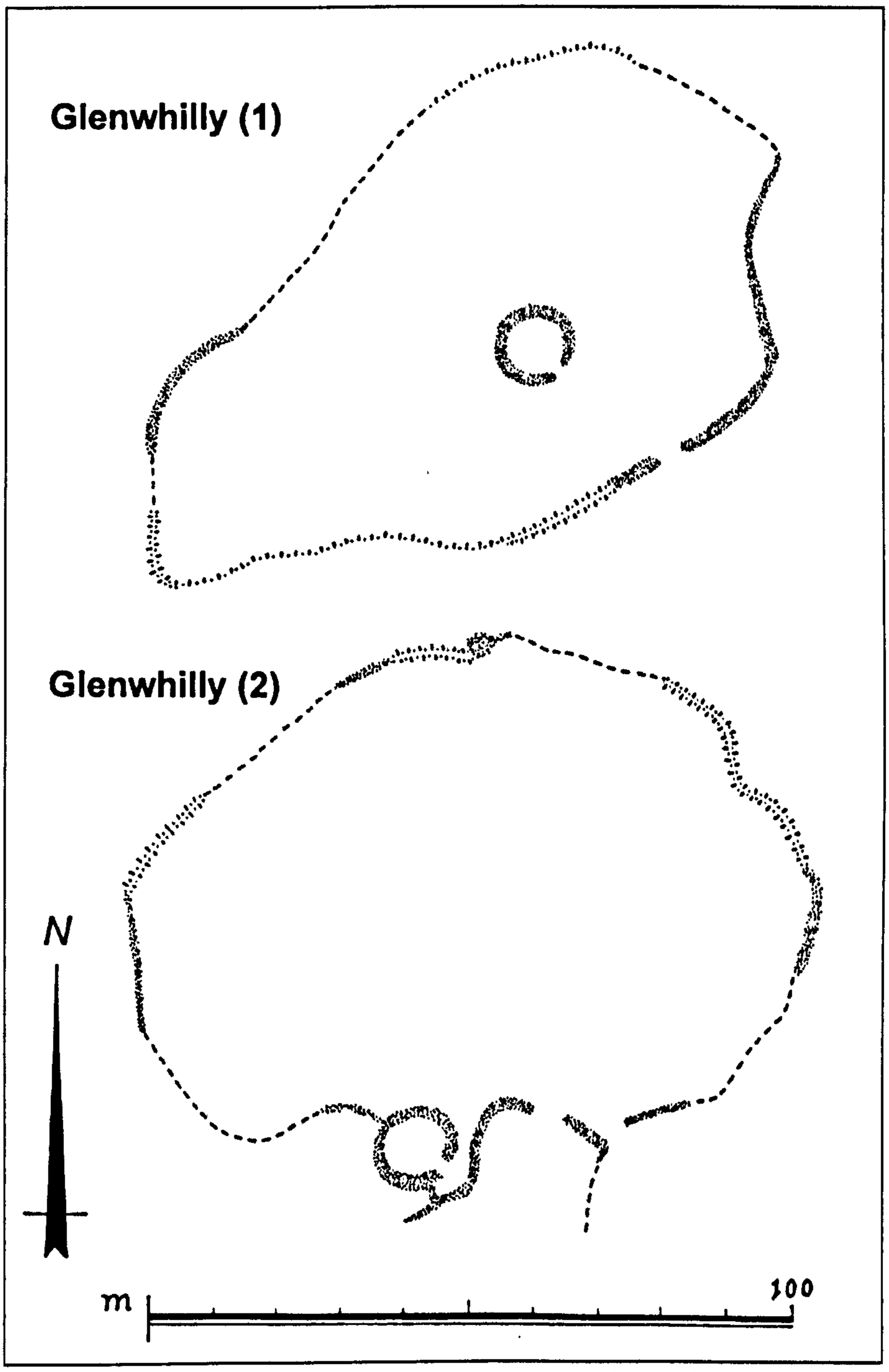


(Fig. 6.12: Plan of the hut-circles and features surrounding Cairnmon Fell (after © RCAHMS))

Eastern Rhins

In the Eastern Rhins the majority of the enclosures associated with hut-circles are large (some 0.4ha or more), irregularly shaped, and defined by a bank of stone, or earth and stone, such as Glenwhilly (1 & 2) (Fig. 6.13), Cairnerzean Fell 1 and Kilfeddar 1. Despite the fact that the relationship and function of each of these features is uncertain, the implication is that the hut-circle is a dwelling space while the enclosure is for other agricultural activities. Yet, in instances such as at Beoch Burn, the 'enclosure' may have a very different role, perhaps also a dwelling. On the gentle NW slopes of Braid Fell a small feature, 4.6m in diameter, has been classified as a 'hut-circle' and 30m to the ENE, is a roughly oval feature, measuring 20m by 18m called an 'enclosure' (CANMORE). In general the interpretation of upland enclosures have differed from the more speculative class of enclosure identified in the lowlands. Based on the material and size of the enclosure in relation to internal features, the lowlands enclosures tend

to be interpreted as having a social or defensive role and it is assumed that any agricultural activities occurred outwith its bounds. However, the uplands enclosures have often been interpreted primarily as defining cultivation areas or external animal byres or as part of a field-system. While there has been definite evidence for cultivation within some upland enclosures, it is also important to consider other roles and meanings integral to their construction. It is impossible to define hut-circles in isolation or in general terms and it is essential to look at their local context.



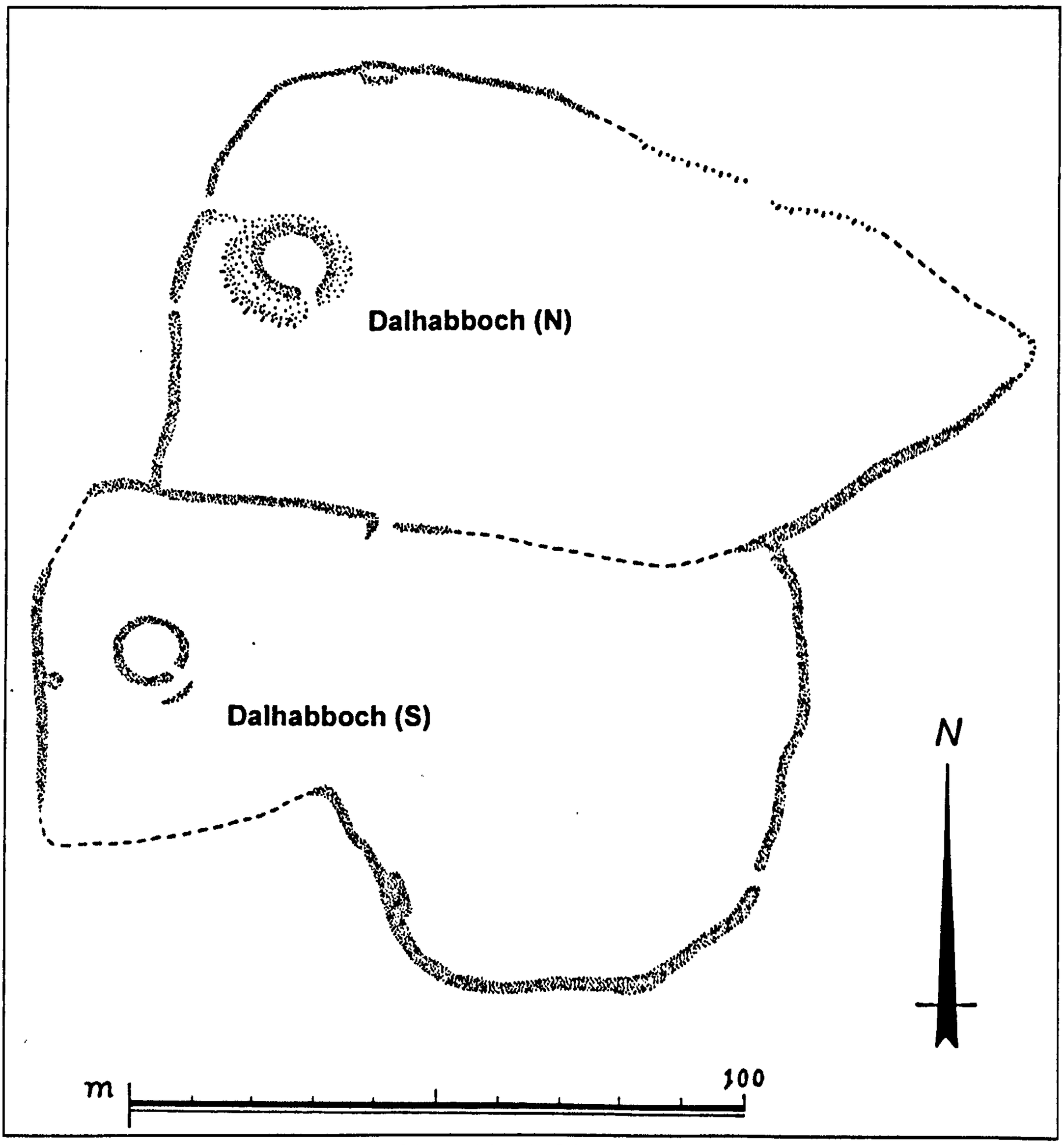
(Fig. 6.13: Plan of two enclosed hut-circles at Glenwhilly 1 & 2 © RCAHMS)

The two examples at Glenwhilly highlight the diverse relationships between the enclosure and the hut-circle and how different meanings may have been intentionally accentuated by the architecture. At Glenwhilly 2 the hut-circle is built into the enclosure. A part of the stonewalling of the enclosure blocks the entrance to the hut-circle and acts as a baffle wall. Thus the hut-circle, located in the SW corner, is out of direct sight as one enters the entrance and physically separated from the wider activities. Perhaps this enclosure is a later addition, signalling the end of the 'dwelling' phase of the hut-circle. By contrast, at Glenwhilly 1 the hut-circle is centrally positioned within the enclosure, and therefore surrounded by, and potentially more involved with, the activities that took place in this area. Furthermore, the entrance of the hut-circle is aligned with the only known entrance of the enclosure to the SE. The hut-circle and its entrance would have been emphasised as one approached and entered the enclosure. This arrangement is in some ways similar to examples in the lowlands such as the Aird roundhouse, enclosed by a palisaded enclosure (see Fig. 6.37) and perhaps reflects a tradition that has a wider geographical currency. Yet, in either case at Glenwhilly the enclosure may not have been contemporary with the hut-circle, but instead highlights their distinct histories, meanings and physical acts of remembrance.

Another distinctive and complex relationship between enclosures and hut-circles is demonstrated at Dalhabboch, located on the southern side of the gentle mid-slopes of Diddles Hill (Figs. 6.14 & 15). They are over-looked from the ground to the N, but the landscape has generally extensive views S to the moors and distant hills. The hut-circles are bounded by abutting enclosures (each over 100m across) composed of wide (up to 4m) banks of stony debris. Whether contemporary or not, during phases in its history the architectural features at this site were manipulated to separate and control the space around each hut-circle, and also to emphasise a connected relationship.

The different locations of the entrances to the enclosures would have affected the experiences of those inhabiting each hut-circle or those who used the enclosures. Although aligned with the enclosure entrance to the SE, the S hut-circle is set almost 100m away and access from this entrance would require crossing the 'open' space. However, the remains of a detached baffle wall blocked any direct view or access from the hut-circle to this space at least at one point in its history. The N hut-circle may have been set within an 'earlier' enclosure 22m from E to W by 19m, suggesting that the site was rebuilt more than once (CANMORE). The main entrance to the N enclosure is to the W (emphasised by a levelled path), but the entrance to the hut-circle

is SE facing and therefore access would require movement around the exterior of the hut-circle. The movement between each hut-circle and the external space is proscribed by the enclosures. The enclosure, in fact emphasises the 'open' space, which is slightly lower than the hut-circles and may have been waterlogged at particular times of the year. Although the enclosures separated the hut-circles, the mirrored spatial settings as well as the shared wall and entrance gap between the two enclosures highlight their close relationship. Together these features may represent a community or 'family' working and tending the surrounding landscape.



(Fig. 6.14: Plan of Dalhabboch, Diddles Hill © RCAHMS))

(Fig. 6.15: Dalhabboch, Diddles Hill, view of S hut-circle from the W bank of the N enclosure; view of N hut-circle from S hut-circle (author))

6.3.3 Landscapes and Movement

Considered as a group, the general spatial and visual relationship between hut-circles could be described as dispersed. However, this assessment is too simplistic and significant variations within these hut-circles densities may be overlooked (see Fig. 6.3). Although the distribution pattern partially reflects survey bias, it is also possible that only specific areas within the uplands were culturally or functionally suitable for settlement construction. In some instances, such as at Several Moor, Cairnerzean Fell and Quarter Fell, groups of hut-circles (many within 200m to 100m of each other) are distributed along curvilinear bands at specific contours (similar to some palisaded

enclosures in the lowlands, as will be discussed later). Each hut-circle may have only been in use for short periods of time and it is probable that these wider patterns reflect multiple phases of activity and shifting foci of settlement (Halliday 1999). There are a total of 11 recorded hut-circles on the mid-slopes of Several Moor. At High Croach, Fairy Knowes, there are several smaller clusters of hut-circles, eight within 200m or less from each other. These features generally curve along the contour of the hill and assessed together their distribution may demonstrate localised shifts in settlement. Notably, the two hut-circles at High Croach (1 & 2) sit 60m from one other and show evidence for a field bank that sharply encompasses one hut-circle and clearly divides it from the other. Rather than mere re-arrangements, this act perhaps relates to an act of reverence and remembrance or other specific conveyed messages about the social, functional, or chronological relationship between the two hut-circles in the wider landscape.

These groups of hut-circles, like many in the Eastern Rhins, may represent conscious attempts to establish new places but also importantly maintain a link to previous settlements. Not only are these landscapes connected through the hut-circles themselves, but through the remains of a multitude of cairns and field banks. Because of the undulations in the craggy upland landscape, punctuated with frequent gullies, many hut-circles would not have been visible from one another. Inter-visibility between hut-circles, at least directly from the doorways, does not appear to have been a significant factor in the construction of most of hut-circles in the Eastern Rhins, unlike Barncorkrie Moor in the Western Rhins. Although connections were not maintained through visual connections, places were connected when one moved through the landscape. Within several hundred metres another hut would be encountered and perhaps a particular memory or meaning evoked. Prior to, and even during the peat encroachment and climate deterioration, many stony hut-circles, cairns, and field banks (whether abandoned or not) would have been visible and still could have acted as important landmarks when people travelled through the uplands. On various levels, moving between areas of agricultural or grazing for animals, whether seasonally or cyclically, was probably a significant part of the identities of the inhabitants of the uplands and therefore encountering previous settlements were also part of this identity.

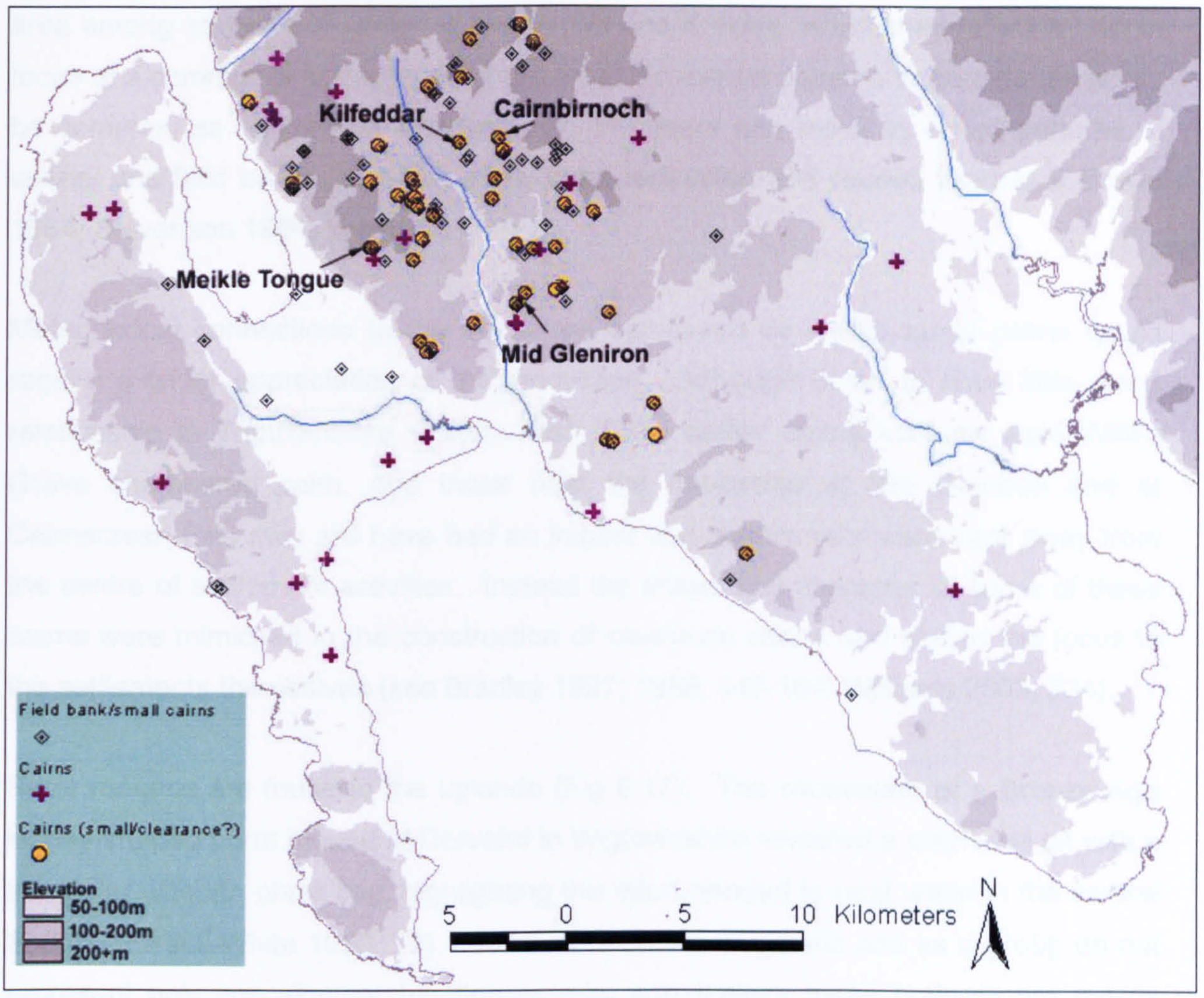
On a more localised level, such as at Dalhabboch, clusters of hut-circles may have also signalled boundaries relating to personal or community identities. The architectural arrangements of control and access between the two hut-circles at Dalhabboch is not evident at any other upland sites in Wigtownshire, however other less clearly defined

features, natural or cultural, may have influenced similar experiences at other sites across the Eastern Rhins. Natural gullies, ditches or slopes may have been appropriated as barriers in the landscape (see Halliday 2002). Interestingly, of the seven hills immediately to the E of the Stranraer Lowlands, Several Moor and Meikle Tongue are the only two that have hut-circles recorded on their slopes. Very few if any hut-circles have been noted on Braid Fell, Cairn Hill, Beoch Hill, Fell of Craigcaffie or Balker Moor. These areas therefore may have been of particular cultural and social significance; perhaps they even reflect particular identities. The upland moors of the Eastern Rhins were physically defined and it is important to be aware of the potential social and physical complexity of the uplands. Furthermore, it should be questioned whether the hut-circles can really be defined as 'open' settlements.

Other Upland Features

Numerous small cairns and field banks are often associated with hut-circles and are thought to be the remains of agricultural activities (Fig. 6.16). In Wigtownshire, small cairn groups can vary greatly in character, some may only be composed of a few (up to 10) cairns and located to one side of a hut-circle such as at Craigbirnoch, while others are in larger groups, up to 60 such as at Kilfeddar 1. The function of these features and their relationship to hut-circles may be quite complex, as many are not closely associated with any known hut-circle at all. Small cairns could have been constructed over many millennia and they may have had varying roles in the wider landscape. Some may even have been related to burial (Jobey 1968, 1981; Yates 1984, 8-9; Barber 1997).

At Meikle Tongue 1 a large distribution of fifty-seven cairns stretches along the crest of the lower contour of a 'tongue' of land, following the course of the Black Burn. These cairns may relate to the hut-circles found in close proximity, but may also relate to a wider group of hut-circles to the SE (Meikle Tongue 2-4, Balker Moor) and perhaps had particular resonance for wider community or over several generations. The remains of a possible long cairn to the S of the distribution of small cairns (Philstabban NX16SW 71) may further highlight boundaries relevant to particular groups and communities, legitimising their settlement in the wider landscape, as would the cairn on the summit of Loan Hill to the S and Cairniewa to the N.



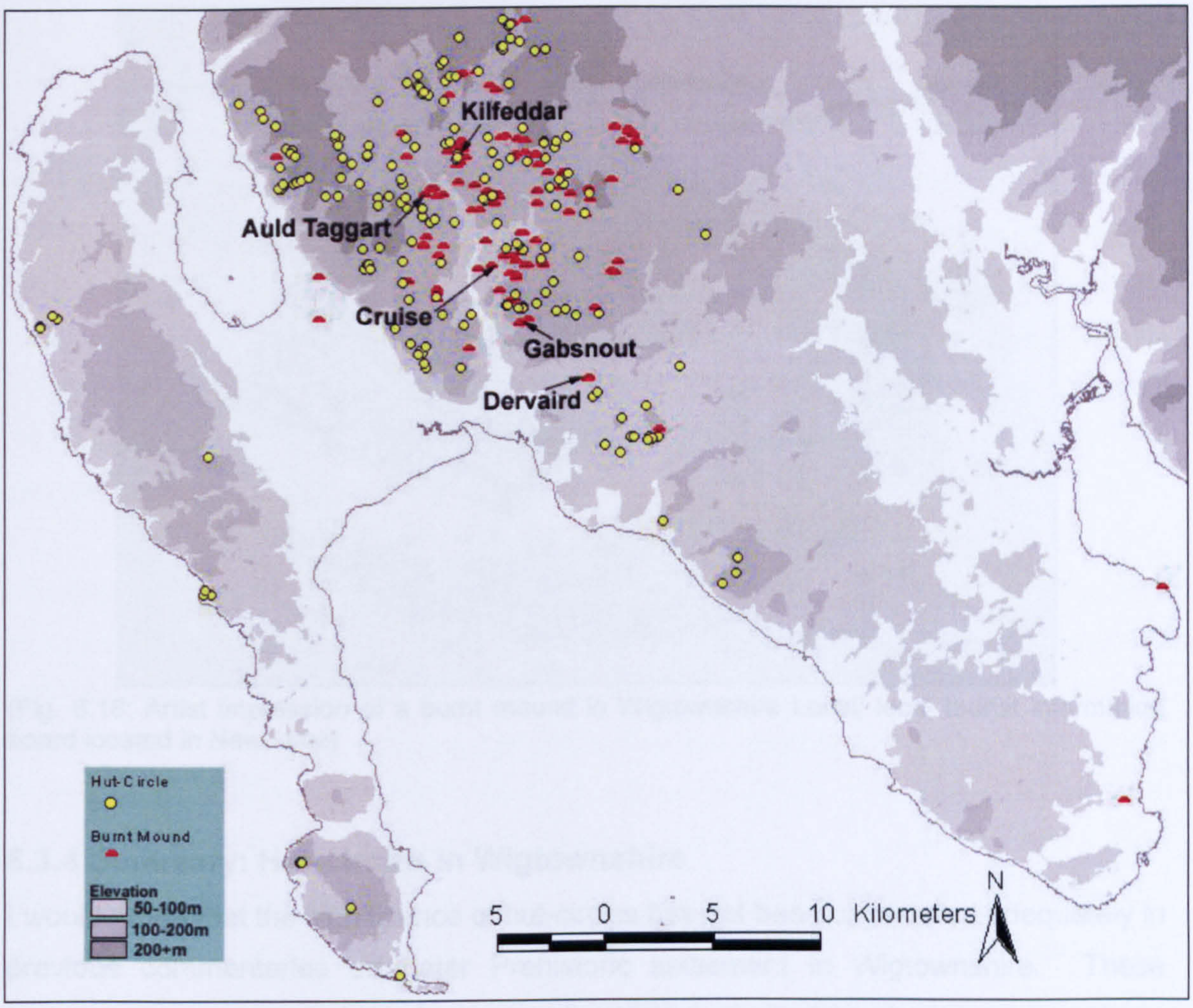
(Fig. 6.16: Distribution map of small cairns, field banks and cairns in Wigtownshire)

Recent discussions have argued that clearance or small cairns could have embodied metaphors of life cycles, the transition between life and death, as well as the agricultural cycle (Johnston 2000, 2001; Williams 2003, 230-231). The stone for many small cairns were then the product of field clearance, either for agriculture or in some cases pasture (Bradley 1978, 18; Yates 1983, 341-342). The creation of the fields as well as the cairns themselves were physical representations of the cycles of life and very much connected to the identification of people that worked and redefined the landscape (see Williams 2003; Johnston 2005). The creation of large numbers of small cairns would have involved an investment of energy into stone-picking over time. In some cases these fields extended over hundreds of metres. While these landscapes may have been cared for by small permanent co-resident groups over time (Johnston 2005, 217 after Barrett 1994a; Brück 2000), it is possible that these landscapes also represent more fluid movement of people both seasonally or over generations and therefore widening the responsibility of working the landscape to include a larger community. At Kilfeddar the group of 60 small cairns are scattered within a central

area among several hut-circles to the S, NW and E sides, which may reflect a shift in focus of a community or the reuse of the area. To extract patterns or boundaries would be complex, as agricultural activities over the years can result in varied patterns of cairns, and field banks, of which many were redirected and reused (Barber & Brown 1984; Stevenson 1984; Yates 1984, 231).

Metaphorical connections to the landscape dominated by earlier burial cairns would require a wider appreciation of the landscape. Although noted to have little direct relationship in Wigtownshire (Yates 1983, 353), earlier cairns such as Auld Wife's Grave chambered cairn, and those near the hut-circles at Mid Gleniron and at Cairnerzean Fell, may still have had an impact and intentionally were kept away from the centre of settlement activities. Instead the shape and character of some of these cairns were mimicked in the construction of clearance cairns and shifted the focus to the settlements themselves (see Bradley 1997; 1998, 147-164; Williams 2003, 234).

Burnt mounds are found in the uplands (Fig 6.17). The excavation of a Bronze Age kidney-shaped burnt mound at Dervaird in Wigtownshire revealed a clay-lined pit with a triangular wooden plank cap, highlighting the effort needed to heat water in the central trough (Russell-White 1990, 72). Burnt mounds are enigmatic and as a group do not represent only one singular function or role; nonetheless these features are mostly thought to be places for boiling water for cooking – feasting places, or baths or saunas (Fig 6.18) (O'Kelly 1954; Barfield 1987; Ó Drisceoil 1988; Barber 1990a, 1990b). Although there is little dated evidence to suggest that burnt mounds were extensively used in the Iron Age, it is possible they were constructed through the Bronze Age and into the Medieval period (Brindley *et al* 1989-1990; Russell-White 1990, 9; Moore *et al* 1999). In Scotland the only Iron Age dates are early and these come from the Northern Isles (Russell-White 1990, 91). There is no clear physical relationship between the distribution of burnt mounds and hut-circles in Wigtownshire, but this is not surprising considering the potential chronological and functional complexity of each of these features. Yet, in some cases burnt mounds seem to be set apart from hut-circles and potentially marginalised from settlement areas. This may be highlighted in the arrangement of burnt mounds at Kilfeddar seemly surrounding a group of hut-circles (1-3).



(Fig. 6.17: Distribution of burnt mounds in Wigtownshire, labelled are those sites mentioned in the text)

The results of archaeological investigations of several burnt mounds in the Eastern Rhins have shown that these morphological similar sites could be constructed more than 2000 years apart. W of the Water of Luce the mound of Auld Taggert 2 and Auld Taggart 4 are both dated to between 950 and 1220 AD (Russell-White 1990, 72-74). E of the Water of Luce the burnt mounds at Dervaird, Cruise 1 and Gabsnout date to the Bronze Age from 1640–950 BC. These dates could overlap with the construction of some of the lowland roundhouses such as Soleburn and Aird (Cullen 1996; Cook forthcoming) and emphasises the need to consider the potential differential uses of these geographical zones in a wider contemporary system of prehistoric land-use.

(Fig. 6.18: Artist impression of a burnt mound in Wigtownshire Local, local tourist information board located in New Luce)

6.3.4 Summary: Hut-circles in Wigtownshire

I would argue that the significance of hut-circles has not been considered adequately in previous commentaries on Later Prehistoric settlement in Wigtownshire. These features have many morphological and material similarities; however, on closer inspection there are significant variations. These 'anomalies' allow for the exploration of the expression of meaning through a variety of architectural elements and arrangements in the landscape. For instance, the implied assumption that hut-circles represent unenclosed or 'open' settlements is not universally applicable (see Cowley 2000, after Hingley 1984). Yet, it has been demonstrated that hut-circle landscapes were defined and 'enclosed' by a variety of natural and architectural features. There are also clear examples where enclosures of banks or walls affected how a hut-circle was experienced and how it related to other features in the landscape.

Enclosure, in the general sense, and the direction of the entrance can both play important roles in how a space is experienced. In the Eastern Rhins the direction of entrances are predominantly towards the ESE and SE, which seem to reflect a meaning other than one of function. By comparison hut-circles in the Western Rhins showed particular variability in enclosure and direction of their entrances and therefore may represent specific attitudes and practices that need to be examined more closely. In these cases, the proximity to the sea and other systems of settlement may have

affected the construction of hut-circles. In any case, it is clear that there are patterns of difference within specific clusters or groups of hut-circles.

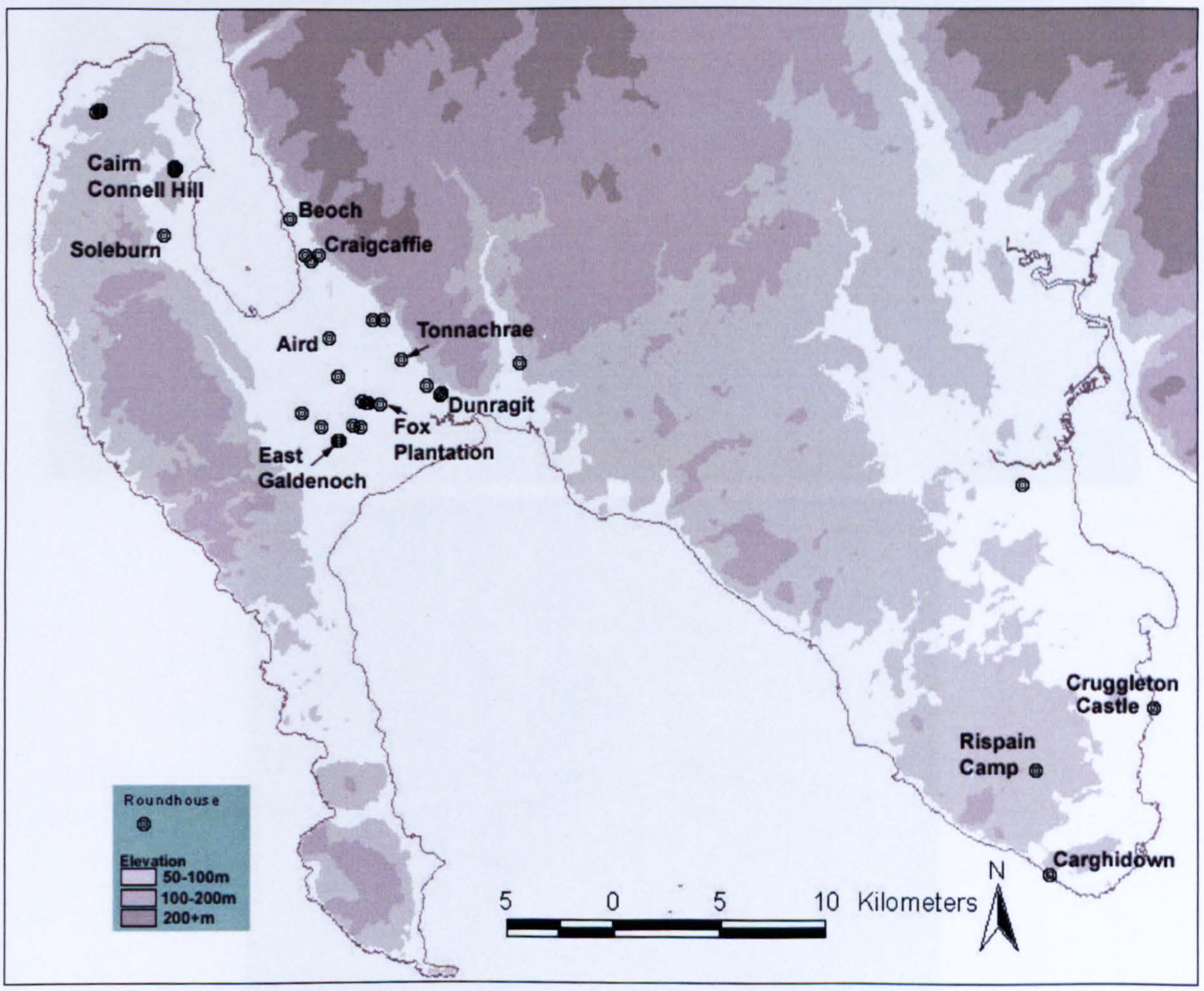
None of the hut-circles in Wigtownshire have been dated and they therefore may have had a long chronological currency. The only dating evidence in the uplands is from the excavations of burnt mounds; profusely distributed in the same landscape, they suggest that the uplands were actively used throughout the Bronze Age and Medieval periods. Although this has no direct bearing on the possible dating of hut-circles it does suggest that the uplands were actively used throughout prehistory, not just in the Bronze Age.

Clusters of hut-circles may not be contemporary, but instead represent a concentrated palimpsest. Both the constructions of the features themselves and the exploitation of natural resources would have markedly changed the natural environment, defining the environments of Iron Age communities. Nonetheless, clusters of hut-circles, like those in the Eastern Rhins, may reflect socially defined practices and traditions that were translated and reworked across the landscape as the focus of settlement and activity shifted, seasonally or over generations. From a wide perspective, features within the landscape: such as ancient burial cairns and other hut-circles were referenced in the construction and legitimisation of new settlement. On a smaller scale, the complex arrangement and construction of a hut-circle and any associated small cairns and enclosures were metaphors for different cycles relating to the lives of the inhabitants. In some cases, hut-circles were physically cut-off from the rest of the landscape, through the construction of 'baffle' walls, while other hut-circles were built into enclosures and once transformed, incorporated back into the cycle of settlement. We have to pick apart the elements of landscapes and look not at 'types' of site, but the relationships and juxtapositions they share with other sites in the vicinity.

Relationships can also be established between different 'types' of features. Some of the hut-circles can be compared to some roundhouses in the lowlands. Although the roundhouses at Dunragit do not have any stone walls, their distribution, direction of entrance and shape are similar to many hut-circles in the Eastern Rhins – highlighting similar social trends and attitudes (see section 6.4.1). However, differential use and condition of the features and landscapes may affect how these were subsequently appreciated and how we see them now as archaeological features. Some of these themes will be taken up in Chapter 7.

6.4 Roundhouses

As mentioned in Chapter 2 roundhouses are an essential characteristic of later prehistoric settlement, particularly in reference to the Iron Age. Roundhouses in Wigtownshire are defined by their morphology and materiality. The term describes timber constructions that occur predominantly in the lowlands (Fig. 6.19). Compared to hut-circles, there is greater variation in the size and construction techniques of roundhouses. Like hut-circles, however, roundhouses are thought to be circular 'domestic' units (i.e. houses); yet, as I have stressed elsewhere, the identification of 'domesticity' is not straightforward and does not preclude alternative or additional interpretations of these features. In Wigtownshire evidence for 46 possible enclosed and unenclosed roundhouses have been identified. In this section the nature of these features will be explored, relying mainly on the results of excavations, but also from my own experiences of visiting the locations of these places.

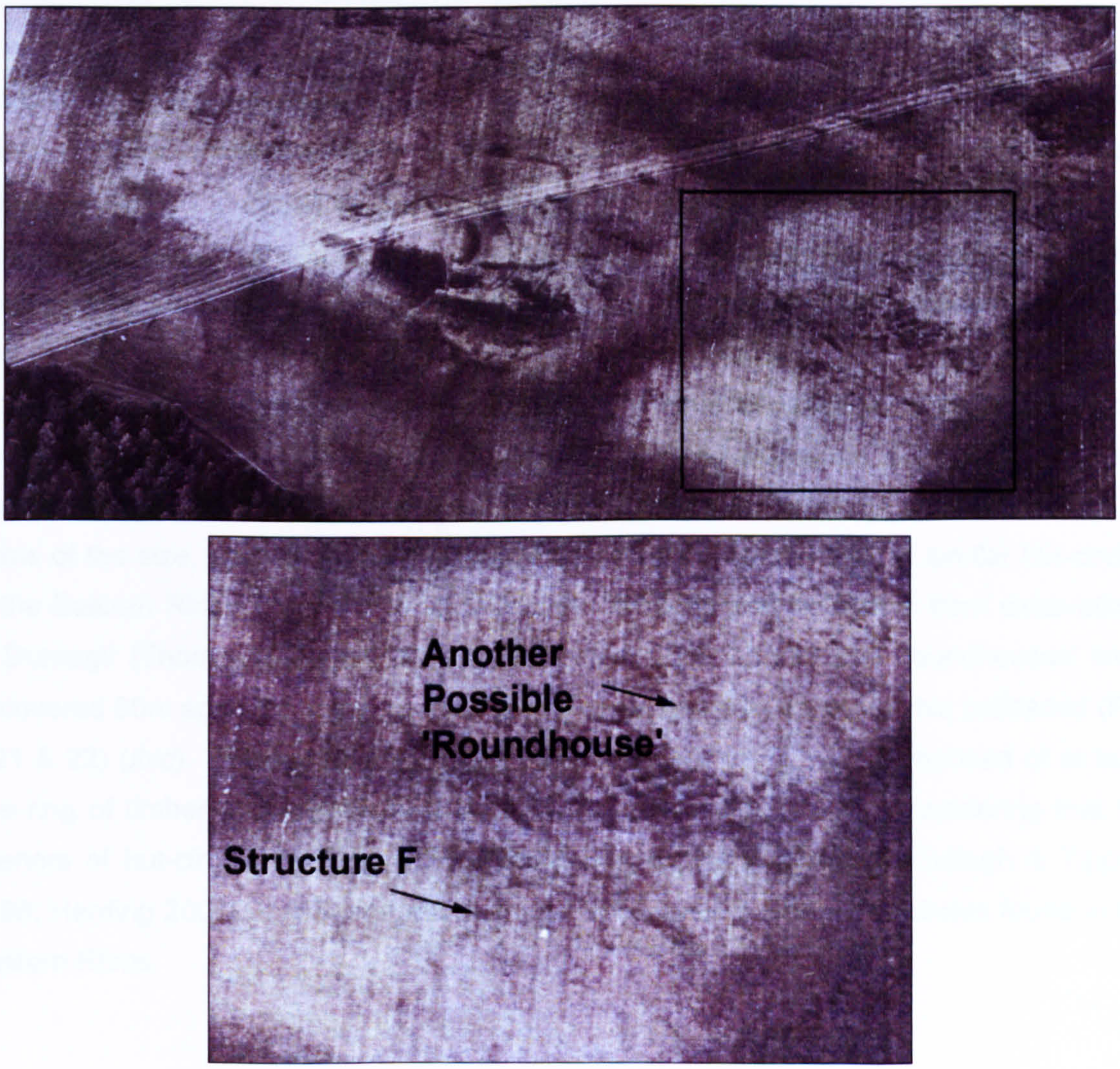


(Fig. 6.19: Distribution map of the roundhouses in Wigtownshire, labelled sites are discussed in more detail in the text)

6.4.1 Roundhouse Distribution and Architecture

Distribution

Excavation, often developer funded, has contributed substantially to the identification of roundhouses such as at Fox Plantation A, B & F, Rispain Camp 1 & 2, Cruggleton Castle, Soleburn, and Dunragit 1 & 2, many of which were 'unenclosed' and previously undetected by other survey techniques. Even extensive aerial photographic coverage has not recorded many potential unenclosed roundhouses, at least not in comparison to the numbers of enclosed sites recorded. Numerous cropmark enclosures have been noted at Fox Plantation; yet, of the four roundhouses identified through excavation only one, Structure I, had been previously recognised. And yet, a retrospective examination of the aerial photographs from Fox Plantation reveal subtle indications of the roundhouse (Structure F) excavated in Area 6 (Fig. 6.20).

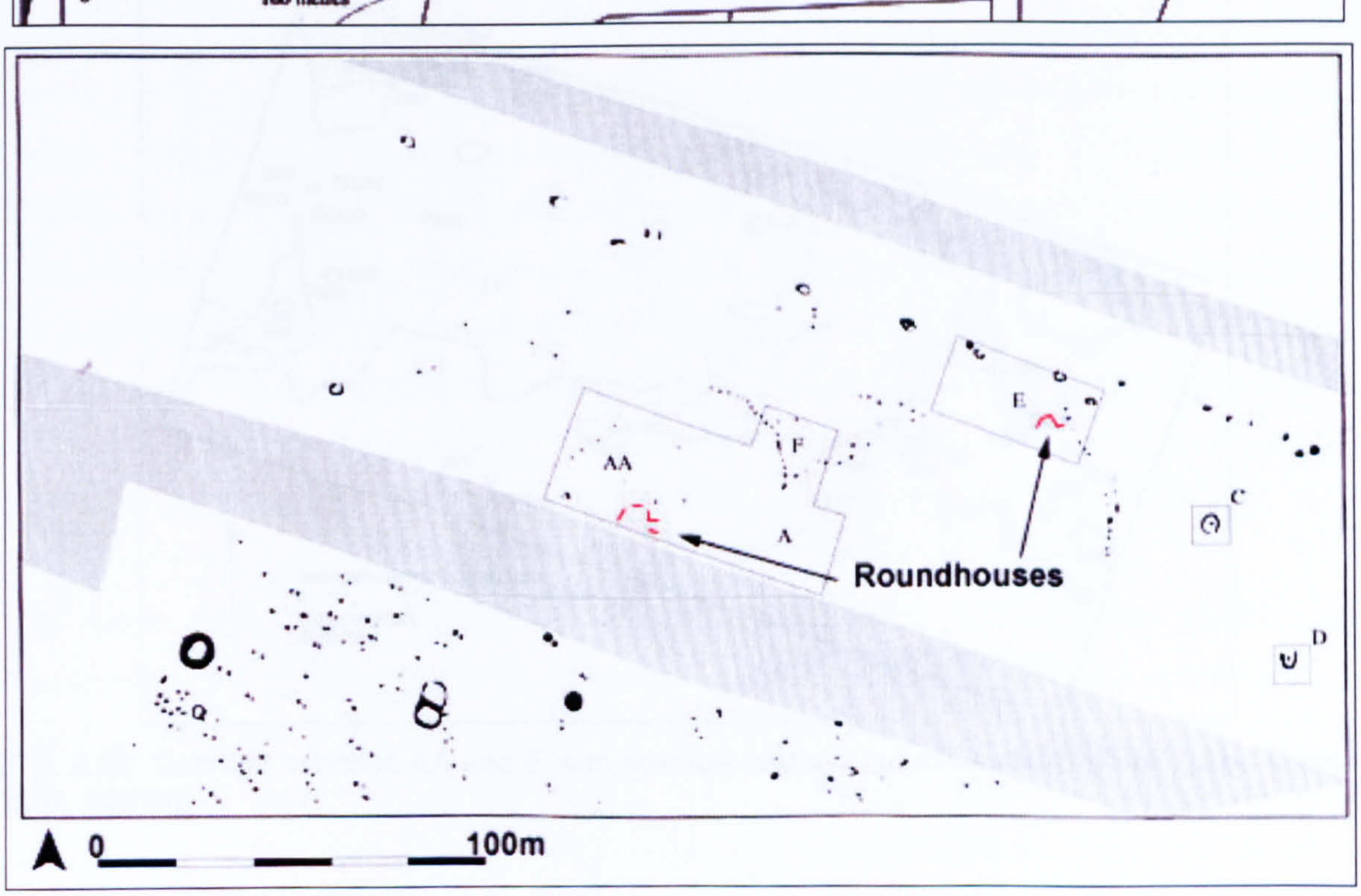


(Fig. 6.20: Concentration of cropmarks at Fox Plantation and close-up of Structure F unrecorded by RCAHMS and next to another possible cropmark of a roundhouse © RCAHMS)

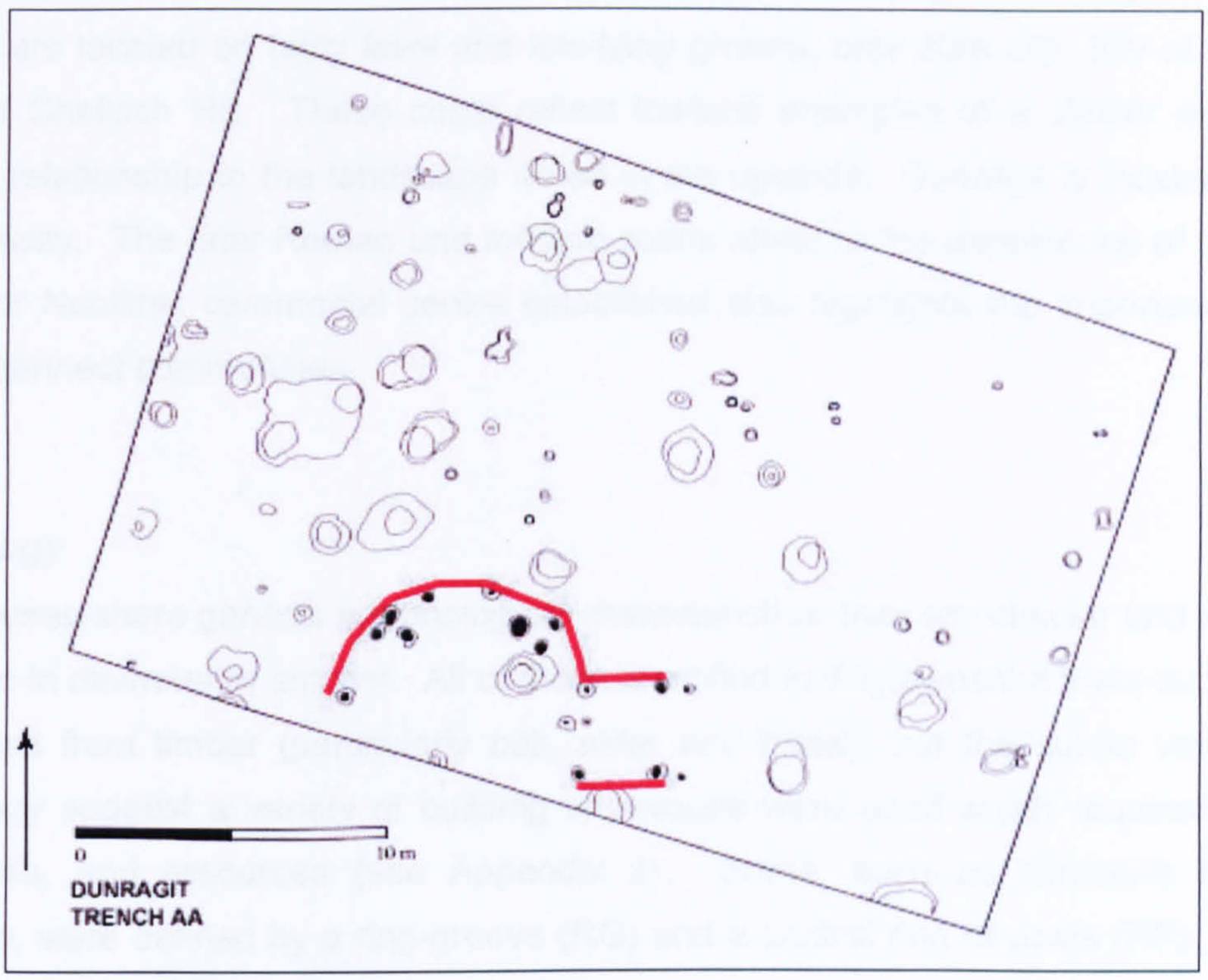
The cropmarks are comparatively faint and small, but shows a ring-slot and an internal ring of posts. It is understandable why this feature was overlooked. Small features can easily be masked by or misinterpreted as geological cropmarks. Further examination of the aerial photographs suggests that there may be one or two other similar roundhouses near to Structure F. Most of the other possible cropmark roundhouses were only spotted because they were enclosed. It is likely that further intensive survey or excavation would reveal further roundhouses, especially unenclosed examples. It is therefore important to stress that the current distribution of timber roundhouses in Wigtownshire is not representative of the number of unenclosed roundhouses built in the past. Yet, the meaning of this distribution is, in itself, not significant. At this stage it is important to explore the differences in the roundhouses and their relationship to other features in the landscape.

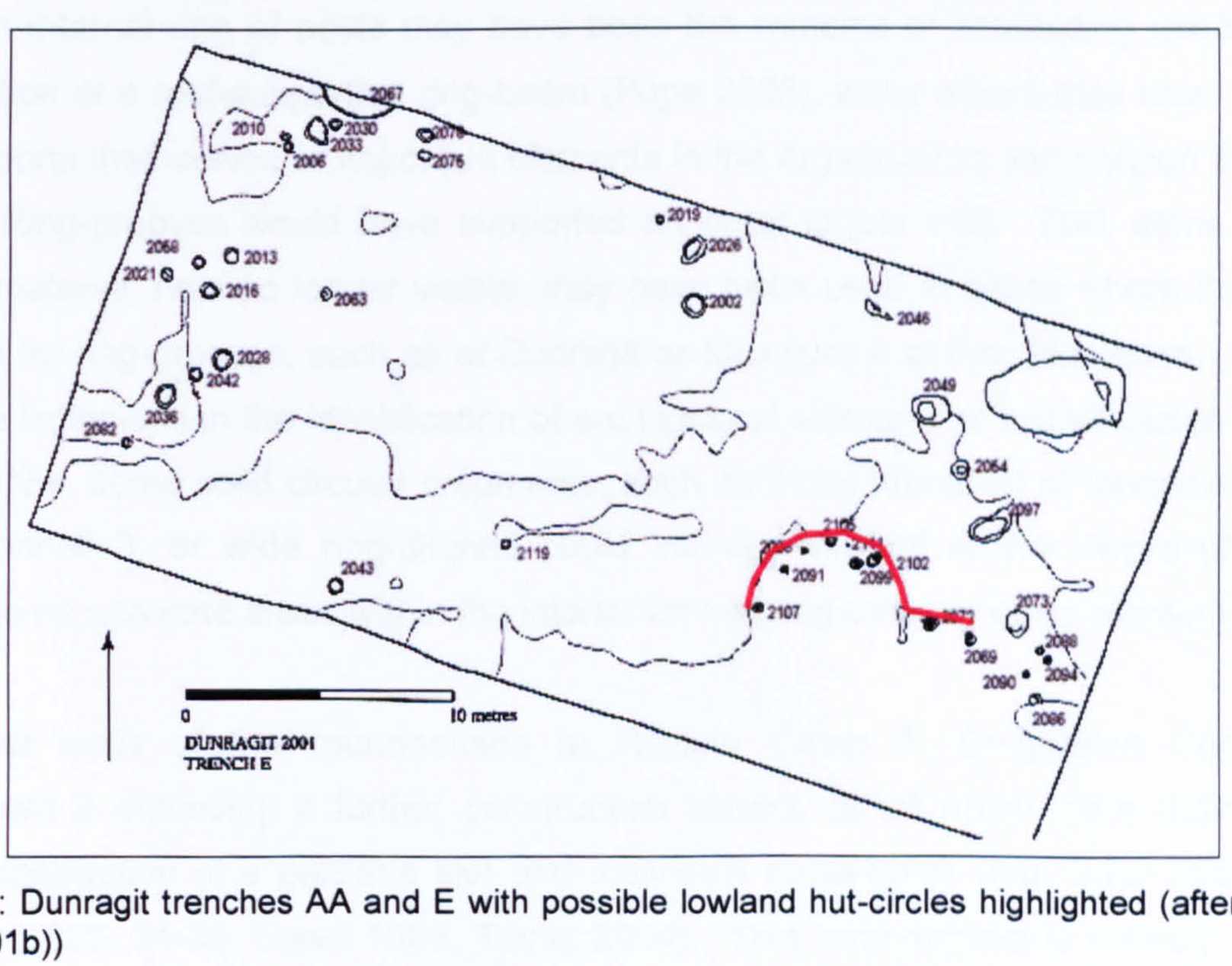
Hut-circles in the Lowlands?

The distinction between upland and lowland sites may not be as straightforward as it appears. Many hut-circles or baffle walls go undetected by aerial photography because they are too small or ephemeral and therefore either are not visible or are possibly misclassified as souterrains or geological features. The link between upland hut-circles and lowland cropmark evidence is rarely made. Features with similar underlying organising structures, but constructed of different material, may be recognised across geographical barriers. For instance, it was already noted that some hut-circles may have been enclosed and potentially reflect the organisation of community in the lowlands. In terms of the size, shape, entrance direction and physical relationship to similar hut-circles in the Eastern Rhins, the closest parallel in the lowlands may be drawn from excavations at Dunragit (Thomas 1999, 2001b). Two partial timber unenclosed 'roundhouses' were uncovered 80m apart from one another during the excavation of a Neolithic palisaded (Fig. 6.21 & 22) (*ibid*). These ring structures or roundhouses were each composed of at least one ring of timber posts, defining a diameter of approximately 7m. Considering that the interiors of hut-circles are likely to contain a ring of timber posts (McCullagh & Tipping 1998; Harding 2005), these features may be comparable to typical hut-circles found in the Eastern Rhins.



(Fig. 6.21: Dunragit transcription of cropmarks and location roundhouses in trenches AA and E (after Thomas 1999, 2001b))





(Fig. 6.22: Dunragit trenches AA and E with possible lowland hut-circles highlighted (after Thomas 1999, 2001b))

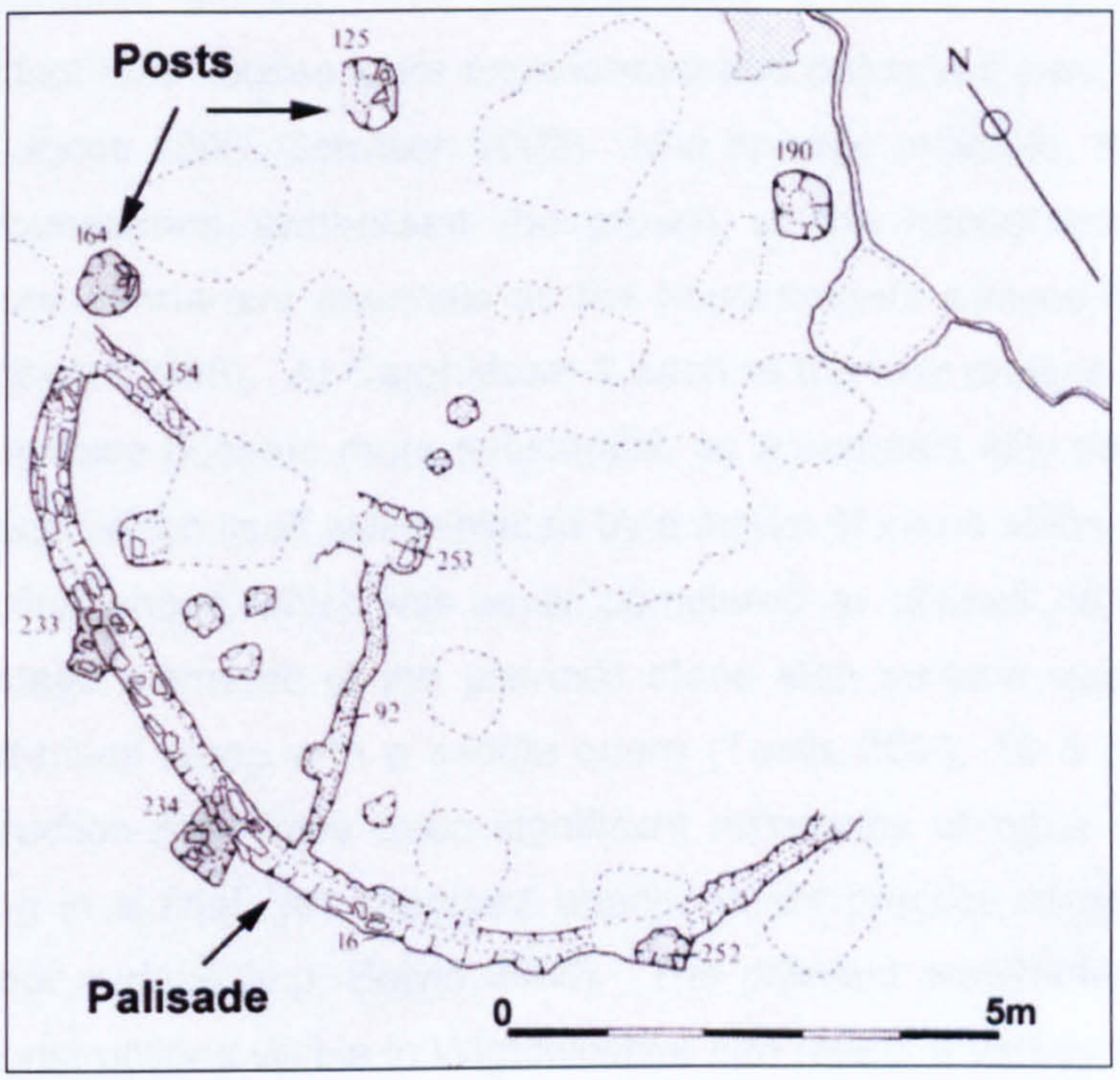
The two ring-structures were 80m apart and in terms of distance and orientation of entrance are reminiscent of some hut-circles (e.g. Several Moor). The clear difference is

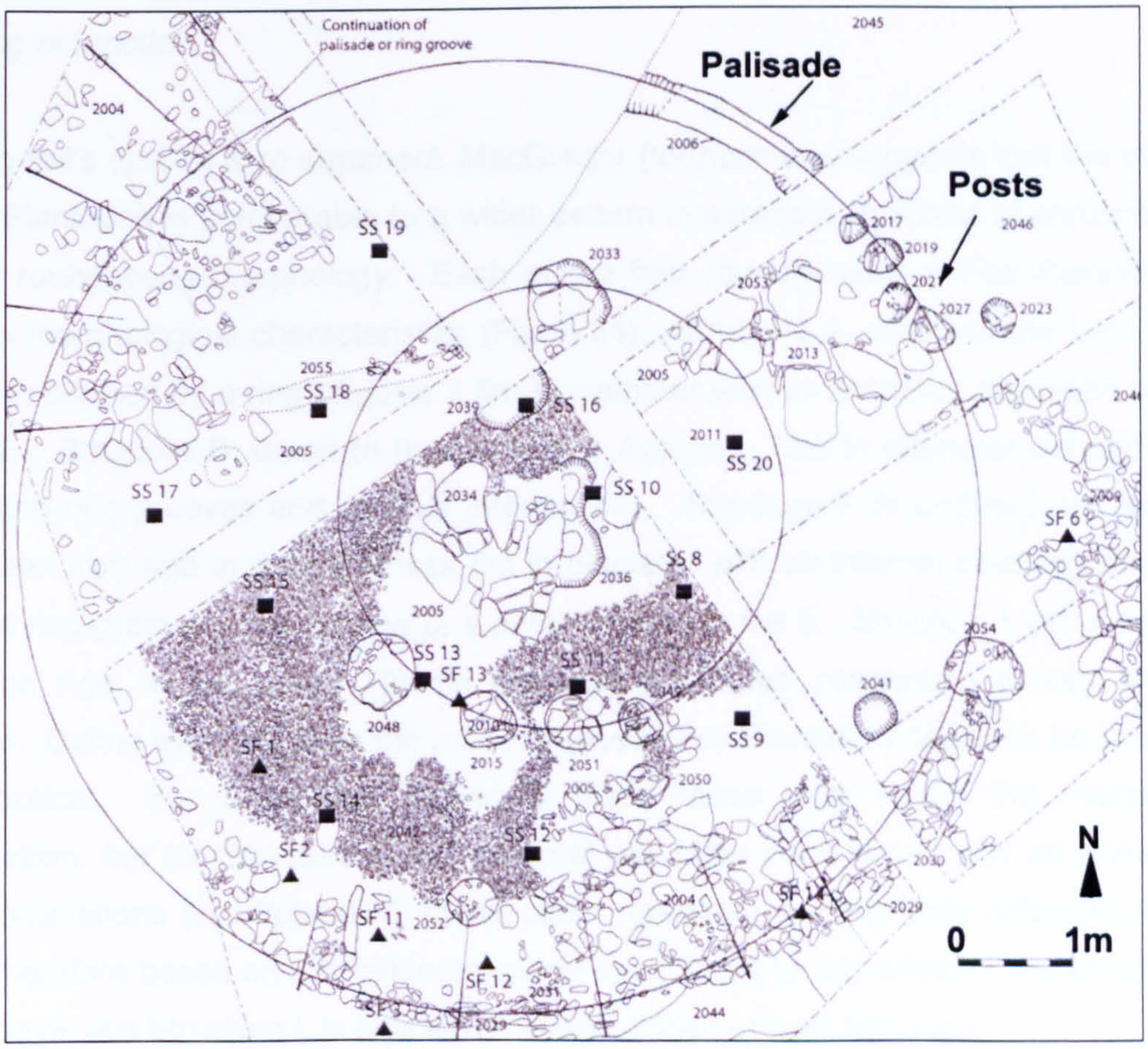
the geographical location and how they appear archaeologically. The ring structures of Dunragit are located on fairly level and low-lying ground, only 20m OD, SW of the steep slopes of Challoch Hill. These could reflect lowland examples of a similar mobile and transient relationship to the landscape noted in the uplands. Dunragit is located along a key routeway. The later Roman and modern roads attest to the persistence of this route. The major Neolithic ceremonial centre established also highlights the importance of this place to connect communities.

Morphology

Roundhouses share general morphological characteristics; they are circular and most tend to be 20m in diameter or smaller. All of those identified in Wigtownshire were substantially constructed from timber (particularly oak, alder and hazel), but the subtle variations in morphology suggest a variety of building techniques were used which required different tools, skills, and resources (see Appendix 2). Some, such as Structure F at Fox Plantation, were defined by a ring-groove (RG) and a central ring of posts (RP). In some cases an internal ring of posts may have been the remains of scaffolding used only for construction of a roof-supporting ring-beam (Pope 2003), while others may have acted as roof supports themselves or important elements in the organisation and division of internal space. Ring-grooves would have supported an outer timber wall. Turf, stone or other organic material, now no longer visible, may have been used in cases where there is no evidence for ring-grooves, such as at Dunragit or Structure A at Fox Plantation. Although there are limitations in the identification of architectural elements of roundhouses by aerial photography, some solid circular cropmarks, such as those identified at Innermessan and Cairn Connell 3, or wide ring-ditches could indicate internal sunken-floors (these are thought to be separate areas within the interior for keeping cattle or other livestock).

The outer walls of the roundhouses at Rispain Camp 1, Cruggleton Castle, and Carghidown 2 exemplify a further construction variant, all of which were defined by a partial construction of a palisade slot and individual posts-holes (Fig. 6.23) (Haggarty & Haggarty 1983, 34-35; Ewart 1985; Toolis 2004). This arrangement is unlikely to reflect differentially preserved phases of construction. Instead, it is possible that these structures were partially open or perhaps one section of the house was less substantial. Furthermore, all of these roundhouses are located in the Machars and may represent a particular geographic tradition.





(Fig. 6.23: Roundhouses defined by posts and palisade trenches: Cruggleton (after Ewart 1985) and Carghidown (after Toolis 2004))

As some ethnographic studies have demonstrated, different materials and general aesthetics can affect how houses were experienced and perceived (see Chapter 3, 3.2.2; Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995; Gerritsen 2003). In a specific example, materials used for the walls and foundations symbolised the growth of the householders, which were replaced with more permanent materials as the householders passed through culturally defined phases (Bloch 1995). At Carghidown 2 each of the four phases had distinct floor surfaces. Each surface became more substantial, as a compact silty sand was replaced by a pebble surface, which itself was replaced by a series of stone slabs (Toolis 2003a, 7; 2004,16). In the final phase, which was never 'completed' or 'utilised' no floor surface was detected, but instead elements of the previous stone slab surface was broken and re-deposited in post-holes along with a saddle quern (Toolis 2004, 16 & 19). All of these phases of construction may have been significant reflections of other social or cultural cycles, concluding in a final, yet important abandonment practice of destroying and re-depositing the floor surface (e.g. Boivin 2000). The different architectural elements and types of house constructions visible in Wigtownshire can reflect a variety of phases of use, meaning or function.

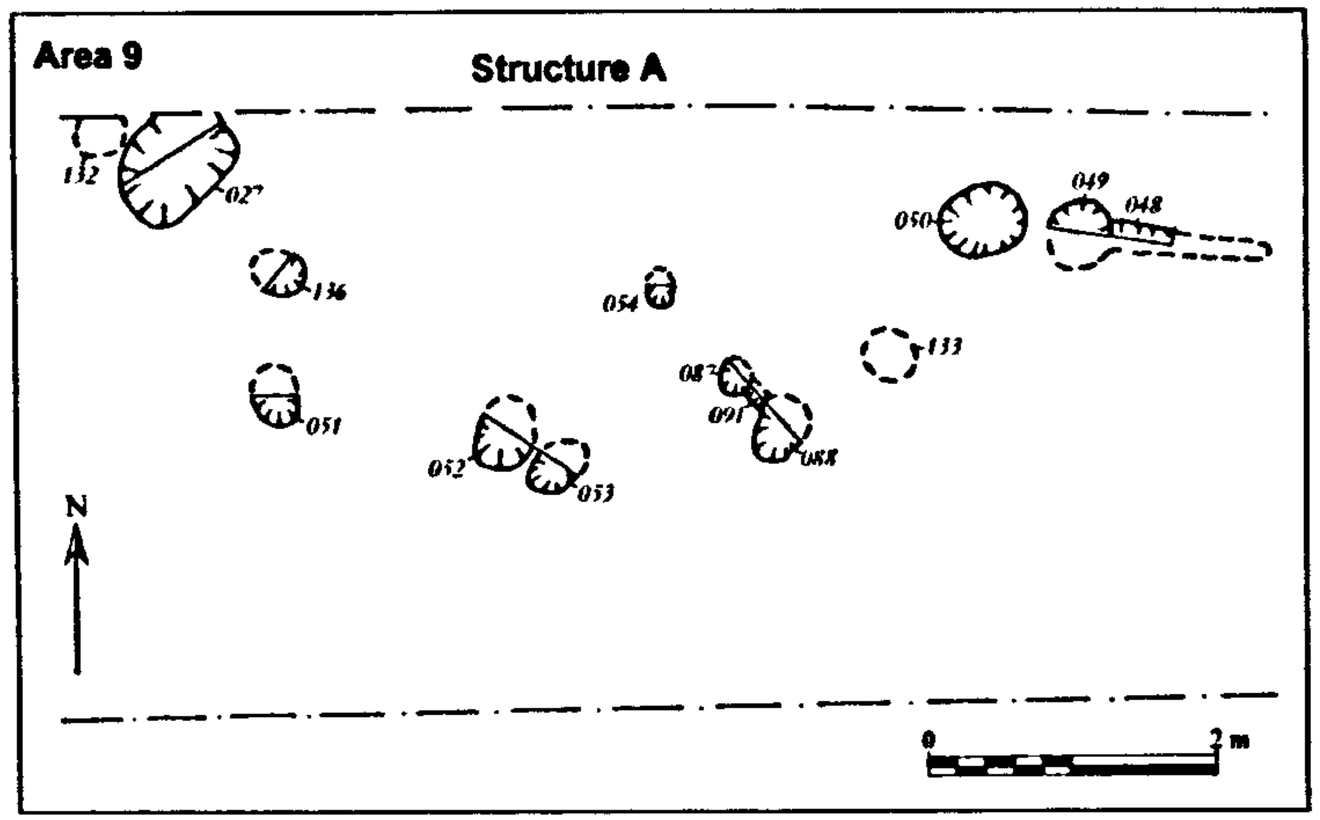
Evoking Hill's (1982a & b) argument, MacGregor (forthcoming) suggests that the evidence at Fox Plantation is comparable to a wider pattern in southern Scotland of chronologically distinct roundhouse morphology. Each of the four roundhouses at Fox Plantation has variable morphological characteristics (Fig. 6.24). Structure A, dated to the Late Bronze Age, was defined by a ring of posts 7.5m in diameter with an entrance extension or porch to the E. Structure B, dated to the Early Iron Age was 12m in diameter defined by two concentric ring-grooves and various internal pits. Structure F is undated but may also have been Iron Age in date and was 8m in diameter with an internal post ring and single external ring-groove and evidence of a porch feature to the E. Structure I, proposed to be Late Iron Age, is just under 10m in diameter with three concentric, closely set, ring-grooves. Dating evidence from the roundhouses at Fox Plantation should to be interpreted with caution. For Structures A and B these dates may reflect the roundhouses construction, but for Structure I, only internal pits have been dated and as shown from other excavations (i.e. Soleburn), these could represent a completely different phase of use. Therefore based on this evidence alone it is difficult to say whether the smaller multi ring-groove, like Structure I, is typically Romano-British or Late Iron Age.

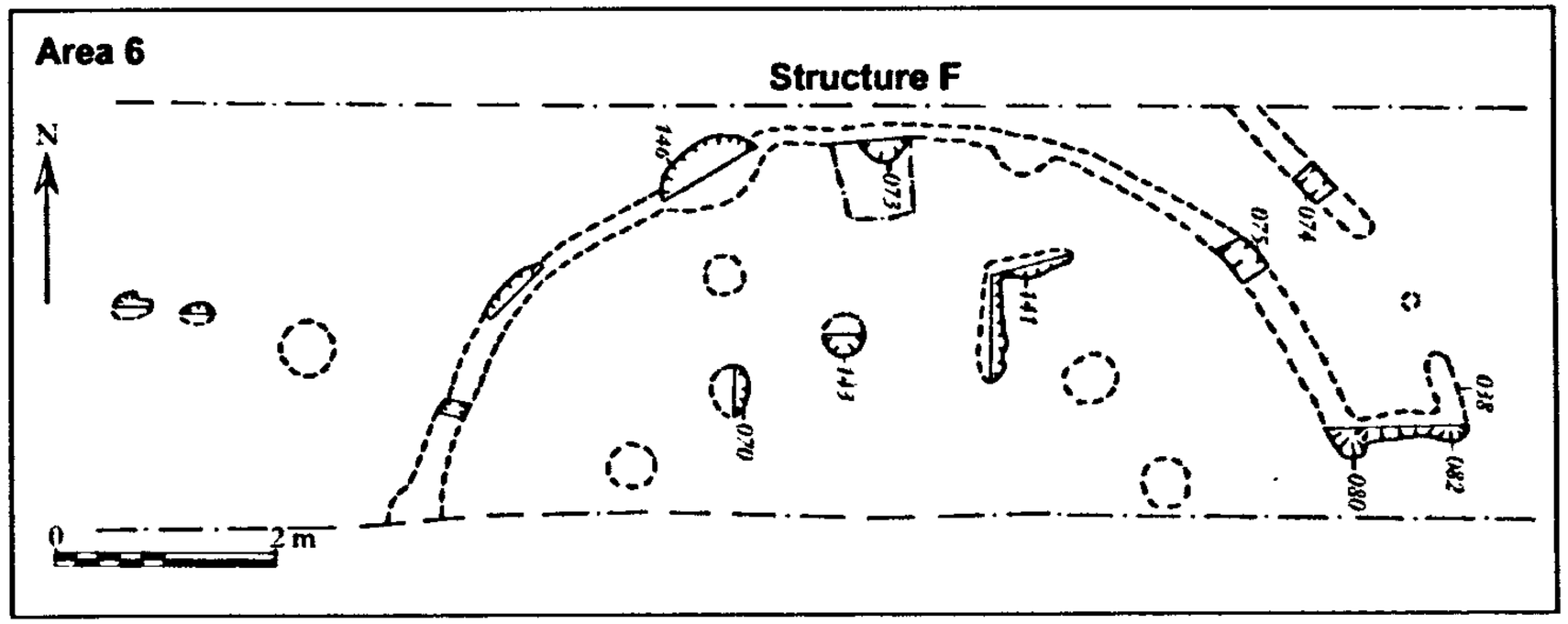
Even from this limited evidence, comparing the radiocarbon results with the general morphology of some of the roundhouses in Wigtownshire does highlight possible chronologically relevant styles, but equally demonstrates that some architectural elements such as post-rings had a long currency and that different architectural elements were used in a various combinations throughout prehistory (see Table 6.1). While the larger roundhouses, such as at Aird and Soleburn both date to the Later Bronze Age, the much smaller roundhouse, Structure A at Fox Plantation, also dates to the same time period. Therefore, the larger roundhouse may be a significant phenomenon in the Later Bronze Age, but this does not preclude the co-existence of other forms in a contemporary landscape. Interestingly, these three structures share the elaboration of the entrance to a porch and may reflect particular translations of architectural features in different contexts. These examples highlight the complexity of the later prehistoric landscape and how morphologically similar architectural elements may have been used to express a variety of meanings.

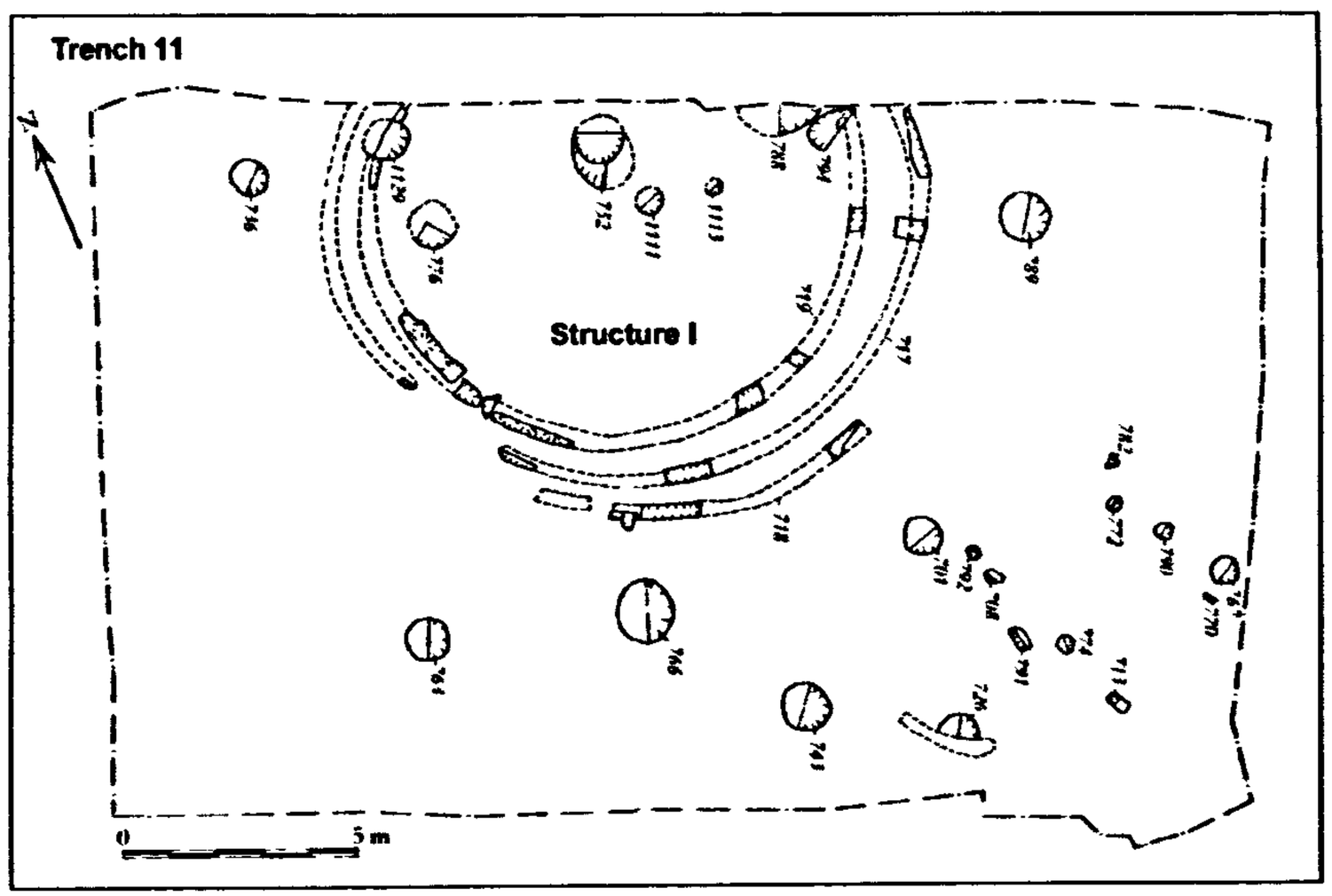
Caution should be used when making general comparisons between morphology and chronology. It is important to consider the variability of roundhouse construction in Wigtownshire for a period of at least 1000 years. For instance, the roundhouses at Fox Plantation were all located within a narrow evaluation trench and were identified amongst a range of other features dating from the Mesolithic to the Post-Medieval period (Fig. 6.25). It is important to consider the roundhouses in context, in a landscape that has been the focus of variable activities over many years. Various factors may have influenced the experience and perception of each roundhouse and their contexts need to be explored.

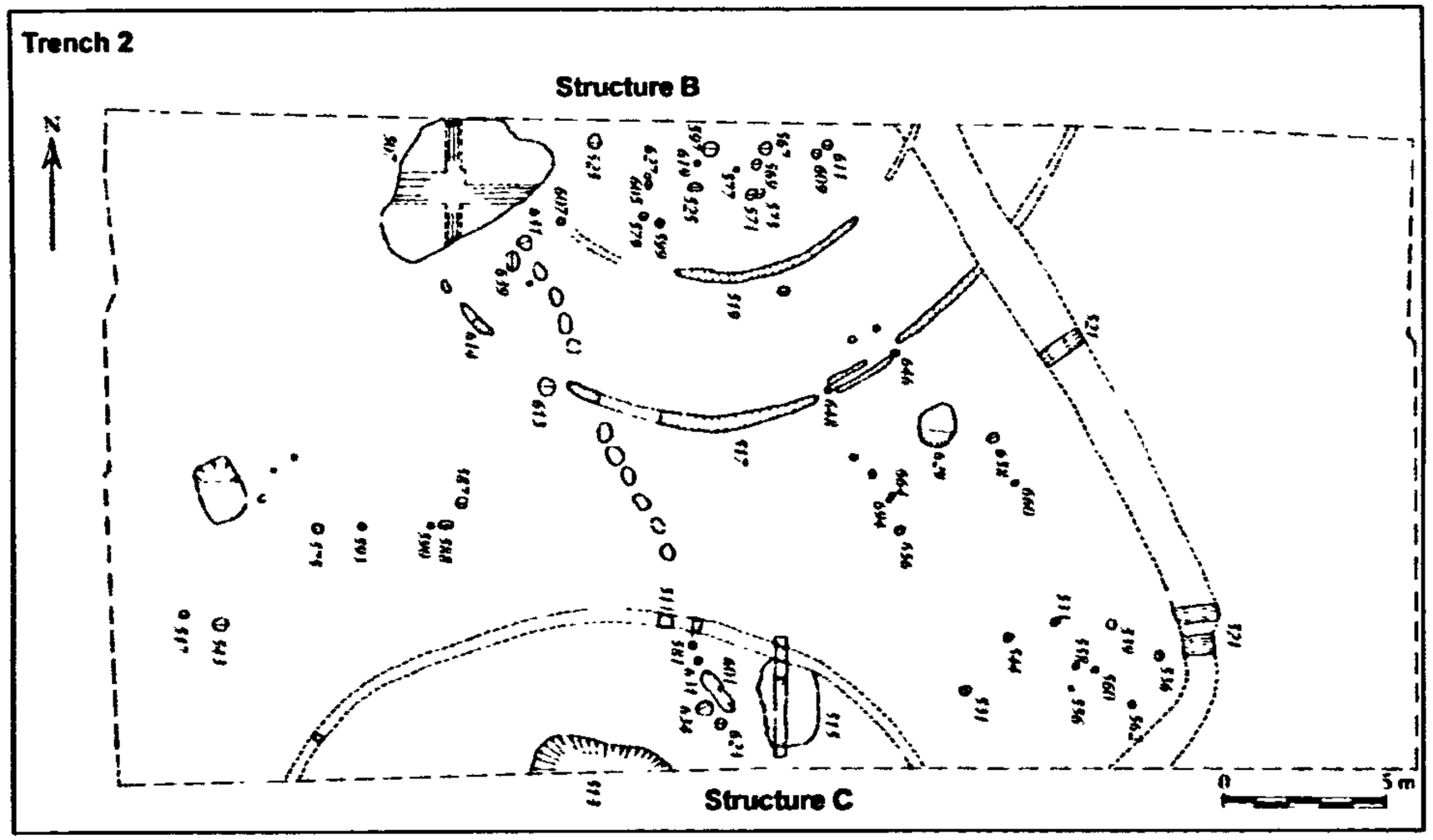
Structure/ Type	Context	Material	Lab Code	Years BP	Calibration 1-sigma	Calibration 2-sigma
Fox Plantation Structure A (Ring-Post)	014 (fill of entrance post 050)	*Hordeum Vulgare*	AA-28056	2990+/-50	1370-1137 BC	1400-1050 BC
Fox Plantation Structure B (Ring-Post & Ring-Groove x2)	529 (inner slot)	*Quercus*	GU-7435	2180+/-60	370-167 BC	390-100 BC
	518 (outer slot)	*Corylus Avellana*	AA-28047	2060+/-50	160-9 BC	200 BC-AD 52
	524 (internal pit with Beaker pottery)	*Hordeum*	AA-28053	2045+/-55	152-9 BC	190 BC-AD 70
Fox Plantation Structure I (Ring-Groove x3)	749 (fill of internal pit 776)	*Hordeum Vulgare*	AA-28053	1875+/-45	AD 76 –197	AD 23 – 238
	1109 (fill of internal pit 1111)	*Triticum aestivo-compactum*	AA-28054	1860+/-45	AD 84 – 218	AD 56 – 246
Aird (Ring-Post & Ring Groove & porch)	059 (fill of entrance post)	*Quarks*	GU-12258	2440+/-35	760-410BC	770-400BC
	112 (fill of post)	*Quercus*	GU-12259	2645+/-35	826-798BC	900-780BC
	112 (fill of post)	Cremated Bone	GU-12256	2510+/-35	790-540BC	800-510BC
	069 (fill of post in ring)	Cremated bone	GU-12255	2695+/-40	900-805BC	920-790BC
	017 (fill of post in ring)	*Quercus*	GU-12257	2730+/-35	900-830BC	970-800BC
Soleburn (Ring-Post & Ring Groove & porch)	128 (fill of post-hole preceding post ring)	*Corylus*	AA-28070	3500±50	1879-1832 BC	1931-1685 BC
	072 (fill of left entrance post)	*Quercus*	AA-28069	2950±50	1255-1240 BC	1309-999 BC
Rispain Camp 1 (Ring-Post & Ring Groove, double entrance)	Posthole 6 (fill of post-ring)	Mixed charcoal	GU-1628	2440±85	760-400BC	790-390BC
	F408 (fill of ring-groove)	*Quercus*	GU-1627	2085±80	340BC-AD60	370BC-AD70
	F408 (fill of ring-groove)	Ash	GU-1164	1830±90	AD70-330	10BC-410AD

(Table 6.1: Details of the radiocarbon dates from excavated roundhouses in Wigtownshire; based on Haggerty & Haggerty 1983; Cook forthcoming; Cullen & James forthcoming; MacGregor forthcoming;)

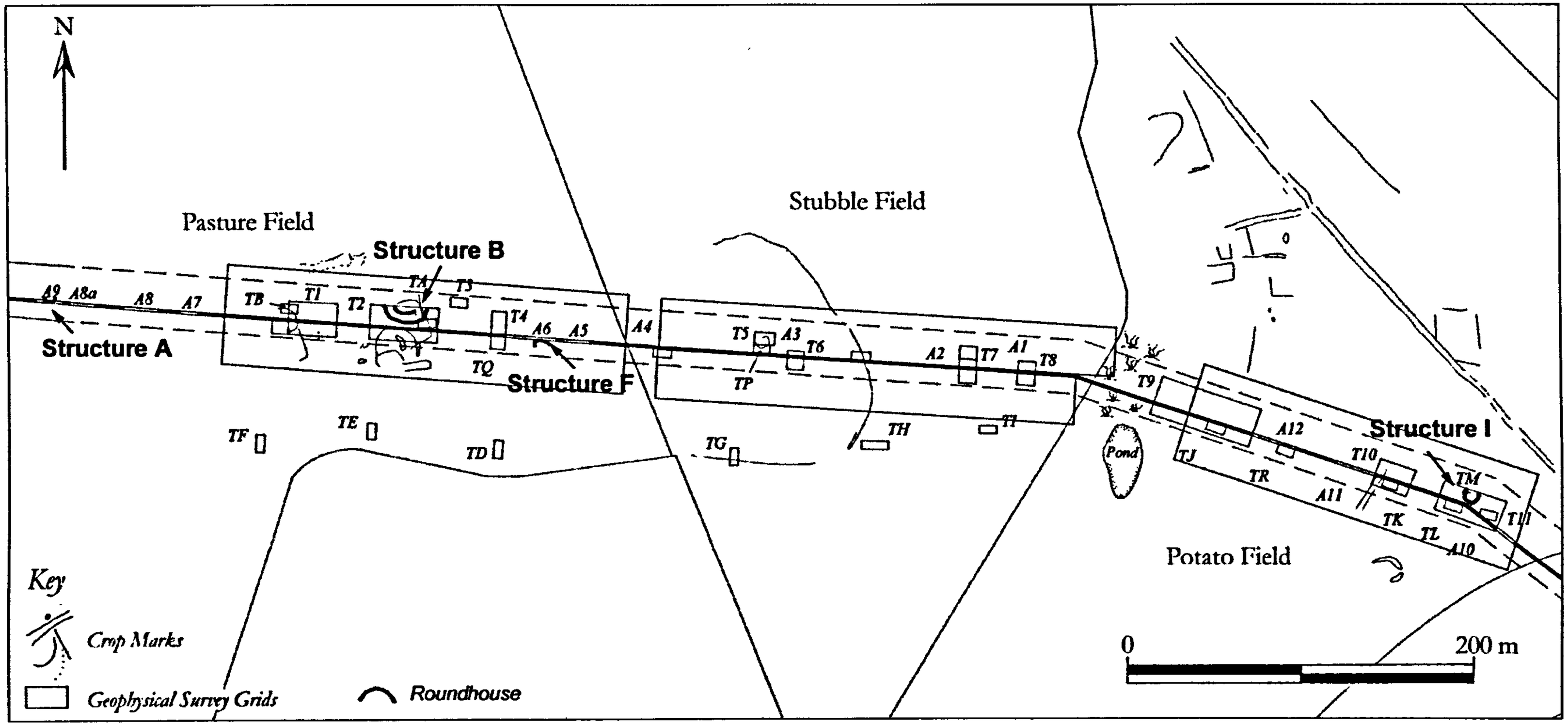








(Fig. 6.24: Fox Plantation excavation plans of roundhouses A, F, B & I © GUARD (after MacGregor forthcoming))



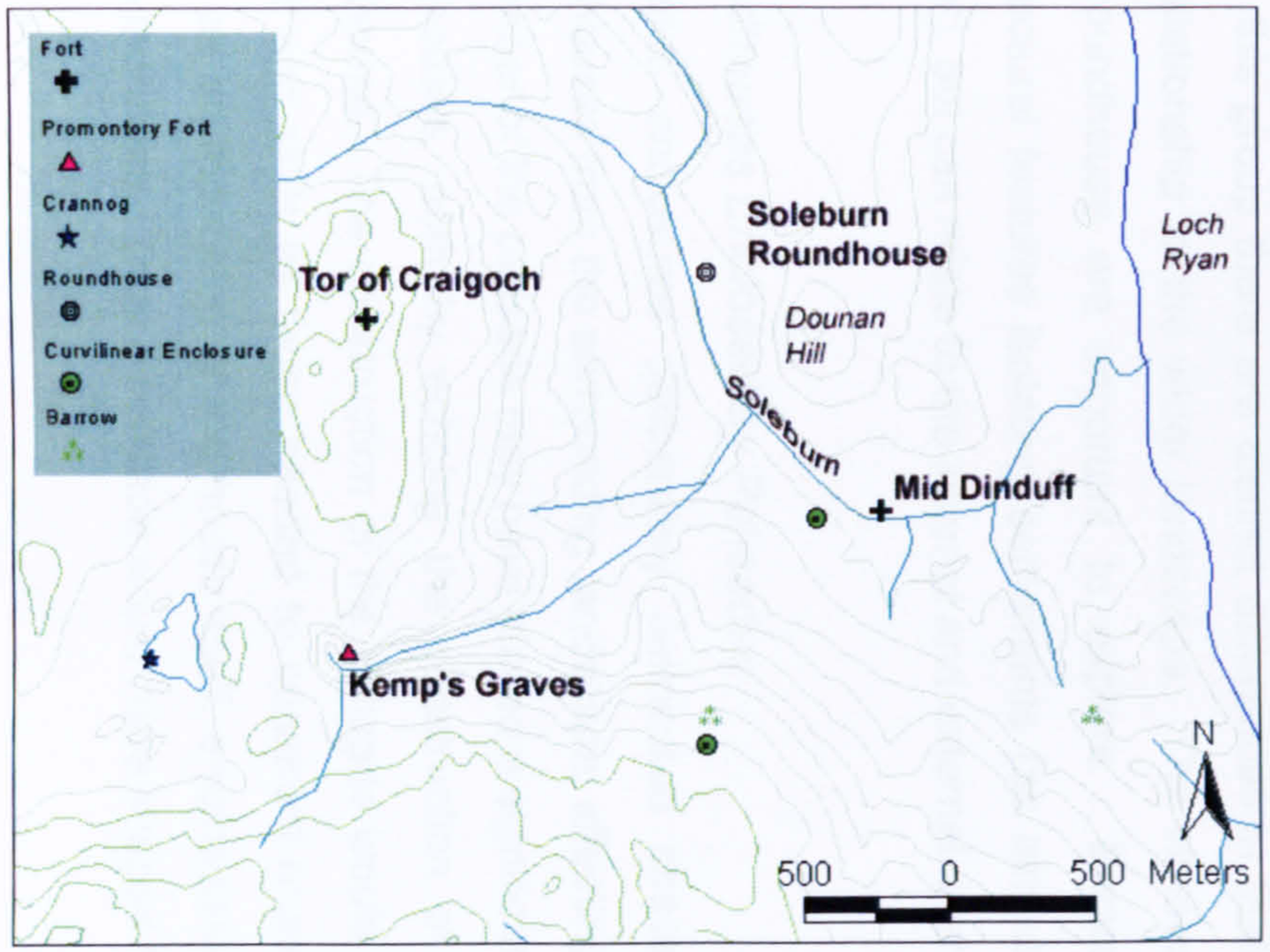
(Fig. 6.25: Fox Plantation excavation trench location map © GUARD (after MacGregor forthcoming))

6.4.2 Inhabiting Roundhouse Landscapes

Roundhouses in their Setting

The roundhouses in Wigtownshire are situated in diverse landscapes. While the roundhouses at Carghidown and Cruggleton Castle are located near the edge of steep coastal cliffs, in the Stranraer Lowlands Soleburn and Fox Plantation are defined by riverine landscapes. It is important to consider the possible ways these landscapes were inhabited. From Soleburn botanical evidence such as willow, hazel, oak, wild cherry and weed pollen suggests the landscape at the time when the roundhouse was constructed was similar to earlier phases of the site and characterised by open woodland and grassland (Ramsay & Alldritt forthcoming). Soleburn roundhouse sits on one of a few wide terraces located directly next to the burn and therefore is in a strategic position to access the particular resources provided by the woodland. Seeds of hulled barley were also recovered from within the structure demonstrating that some minimal cultivation took place, while evidence of 'wild' plant remains also suggest that some gathering activities were practised (Ramsay & Alldritt forthcoming). It is possible that there was a small 'garden' plot associated with this site along the terrace (see Johnston 2005).

The roundhouse at Soleburn is located in a low-lying position on a slightly SW sloping riverine terrace, approximately 20m OD. It is surrounded by higher ground and therefore the views are predominantly restricted in the direction S along the burn and to Dounan Hill, which would have been directly framed by the entrance (Fig. 6.26). Towards the W, the Tor of Craigoch would have been visible just emerging above the foreground. Not only was the location of Soleburn ideal to access resources, but also its position may have been further influenced by views to this hill. If contemporary, or built prior to the roundhouse, the fort on the Tor of Craigoch may have been a significant visual connection between the inhabitants of this low-lying/'hidden' roundhouse and the wider cultural landscape, and perhaps affirmed their identity and relationship with other communities. From a wider perspective, the existence of several prominent forts in the vicinity of the roundhouse attest to the focus of the Soleburn river system in later prehistory for settlement. The river and its tributaries were likely important, not only for subsistence and water, but also as a route way connecting various places to each other and to the sea.



(Fig. 6.26: Map of the area around Soleburn roundhouse; excavation photo of Soleburn showing landscape © GUARD; Views from the location of Soleburn roundhouse, with Tor of Craigoch fort just visible to the right (author))

The two unenclosed small roundhouses identified at Dunragit are also located in an important route way. The spatial arrangement of these similar morphological roundhouses potentially represents a dispersed settlement pattern, and perhaps distinct to the relationship noticed between the roundhouses B & F and the enclosure C at Fox Plantation. Excavations at Fox Plantation have shed no light on the chronological relationships between the features (two of which are over 20m in diameter), but all are located within 50m of each other. If contemporary, this highlights a concentration of settlement or activity in this particular area. In contrast, Structure A (of similar morphology to the Dunragit roundhouses) is set away from this concentration and has no features recorded within 100m either to the E or W along the excavation trench. These variations in spatial arrangement may reflect flexible attitudes to the tenure of land; one that may reflect a change over time or represent different relationships of land by different communities in a contemporary landscape. Moreover, the roles of roundhouses in their landscape could be diverse and layered with multiple meanings.

6.4.3 Enclosures and Roundhouses

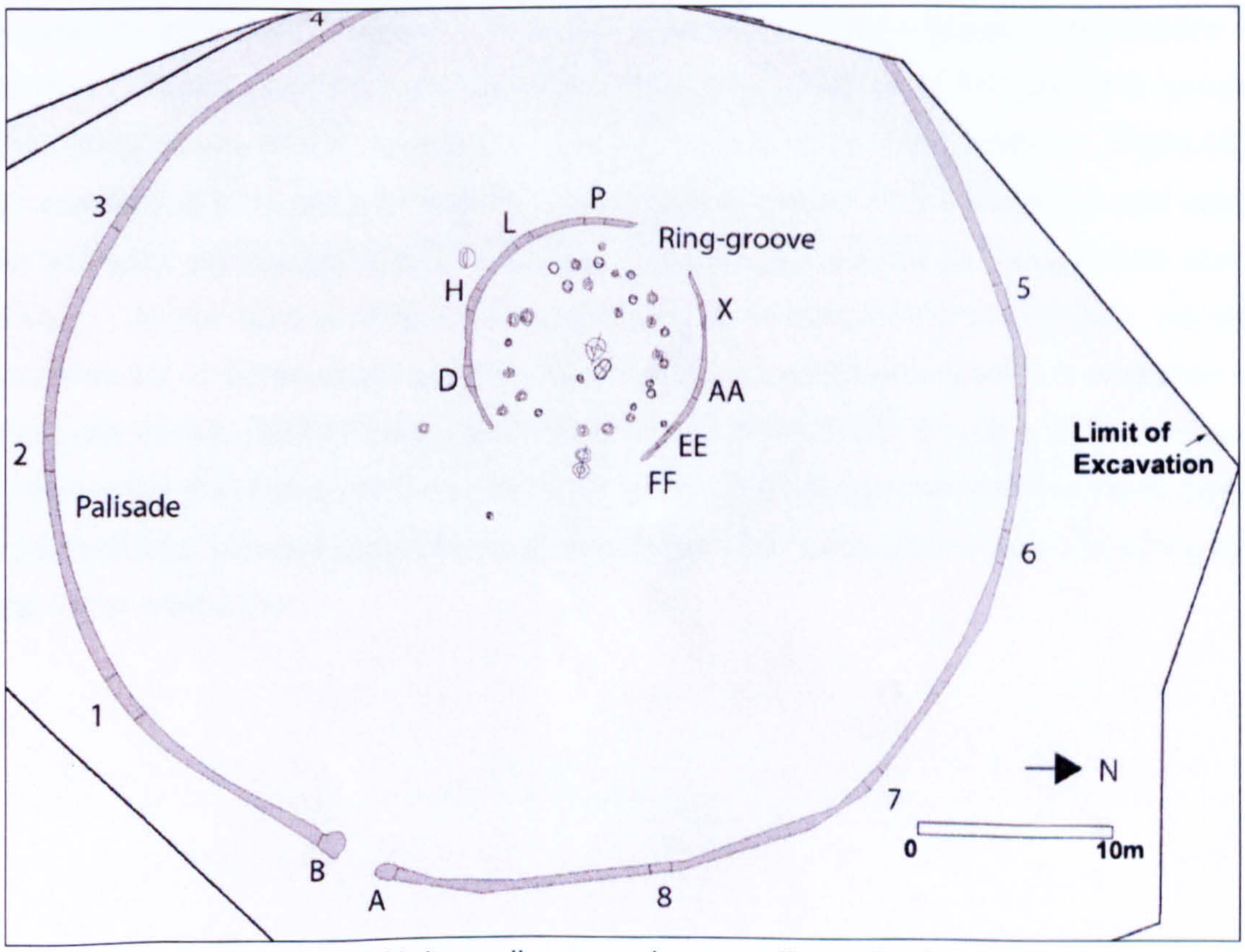
Of the 46 known roundhouses in Wigtownshire, 29 are enclosed (see Appendix 2), but within this group there are distinct differences in their construction, spatial relationships and relationship to the wider landscape. The various relationships between 'enclosure' and roundhouse are important to explore. Enclosures were not simply defensive architectural features isolating settlements (as already noted in the discussion on 'hut-circles'), but can relate to the internal and external space in multiple ways (also see 6.6).

Roundhouses Enclosed by Palisades

Palisaded enclosures deliberately delineated space and in some cases separated roundhouses from the surrounding landscape, affecting how they were viewed (see 6.6.3). The timber of the palisade may have played a significant symbolic role in the experience of roundhouses, both by echoing the construction of, and determining access to, the roundhouse. The construction of the palisade would have demanded similar resources, labour and skills as those needed to construct roundhouses and therefore could have acted as an extension of the house itself, emphasising the architecture and circularity of the roundhouse. Thus a palisade would have shaped the experience of a roundhouse in a

different way to those defined by ditched and/or banked enclosures, making a distinct statement about the separation of the activities within the enclosure and those outside it.

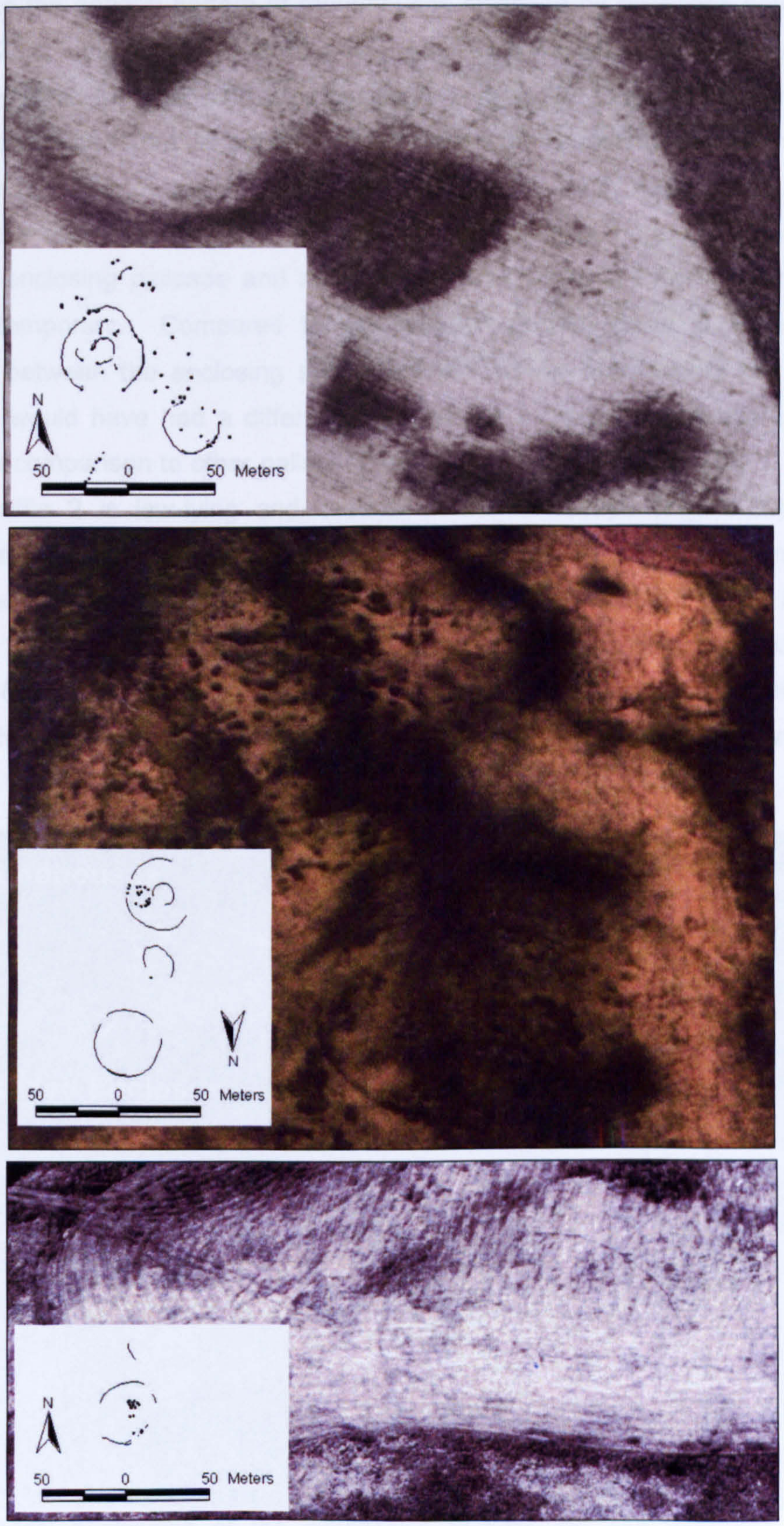
At Aird, the roundhouse is located near the centre of a large circular palisaded enclosure (approximately ten times its size) (Cook 2002) (Fig. 6.27). In terms of economising the use of space, there would have been ample room within the enclosure to build more roundhouses. 'Paired' posts within the internal ring of the roundhouse suggests minimal maintenance and the house was probably only in use for a limited period of time (*ibid*, 4). Yet, when the central roundhouse was abandoned, no further construction occurred at this place, but instead the focus of settlement shifted elsewhere. The role of the palisade may have been to enhance the expression of the roundhouse, and also set it apart from the rest of the landscape. On one level Aird is architecturally and chronologically similar to Soleburn and perhaps reflects a particular tradition. On another level, they differ significantly. The low-lying position of the roundhouse at Soleburn made this feature less visible and certainly less prominent. At Aird the large palisaded enclosure made this place locally visible and prominent, as did its position on the plateau of a terrace. These two roundhouses expressed very different messages in terms of location.



(Fig. 6.27: Excavation plan of Aird roundhouse and surrounding palisade enclosure (Cook 2002)

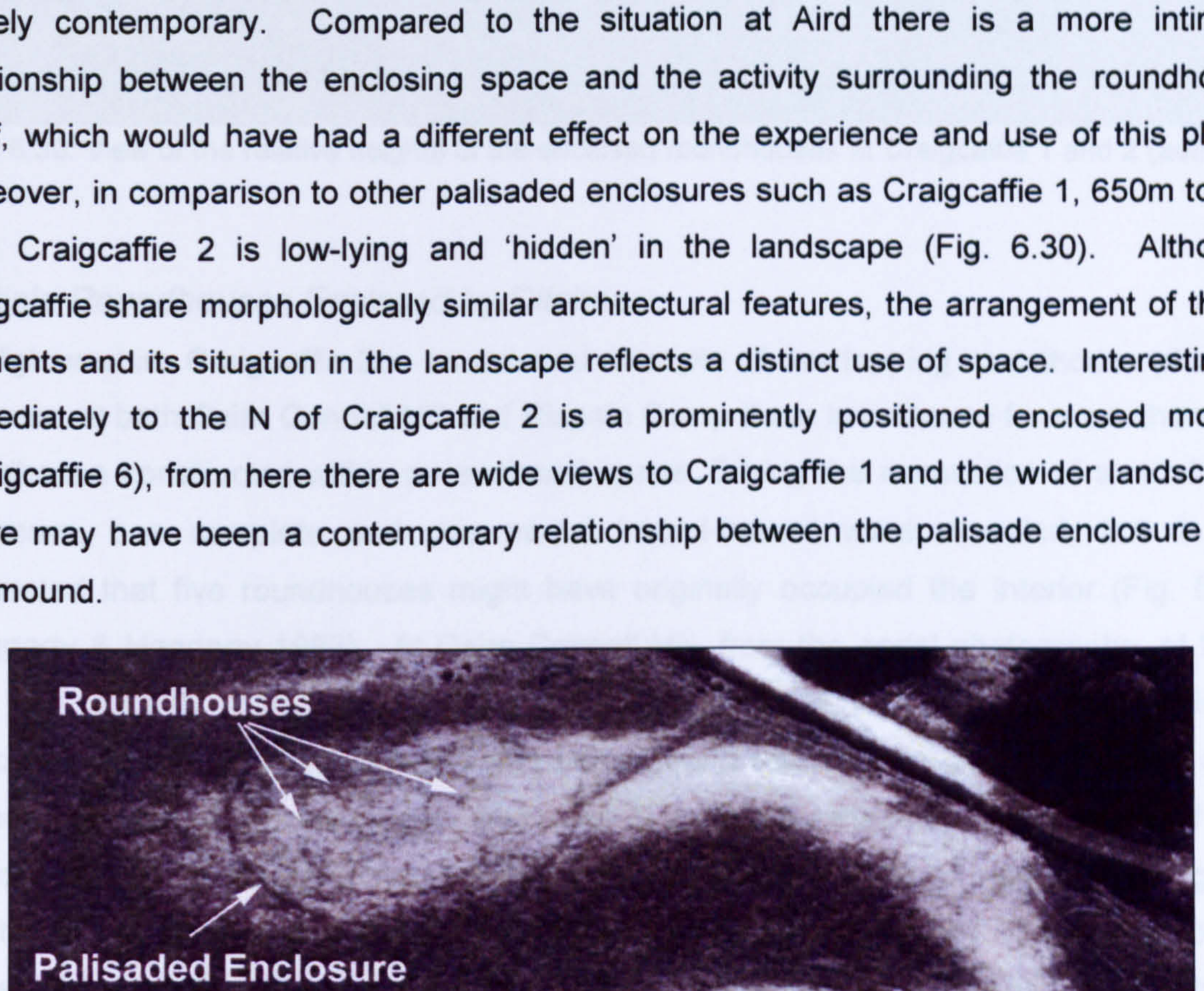
By acknowledging that these architectural elements can exist exclusively of the other, it is then possible to consider that the palisaded enclosure and the roundhouse, at places at Aird may not have been entirely contemporary and instead the enclosure was converted to a settlement or the old house was symbolically 'closed' from the external landscape or hidden from view. Although the excavator of Aird cites the alignment of the entrances to indicate contemporaneity, this arrangement may have equally been the intentional practice of mimicry in the process of reuse (Cook 2002, 4). Nonetheless, whether contemporary or not and regardless of their individual function, together these features reflect a particular attention and attitude to the creation of place in the wider landscape.

Cropmarks from the area along the raised beach situated between the lowlands and uplands highlight a distinct cluster of palisaded enclosures. Aerial photographic evidence from Drumflower 1, Beoch 1, Tonnachrae 3, East Galdenoch 1 and Craigcaffie 1 show potentially similar arrangements (Fig. 6.28). Although it is possible that there are more features within each enclosure that are not visible on the aerial photographs, these examples appear to show only one or two roundhouses enclosed within a large palisaded enclosure. Each of these enclosures, like Aird, is located on the plateau of a terrace and is located in prominent positions within their local landscapes. These constructions may illustrate a distinct, and perhaps repeated, attitude or tradition to the use and re-use of some roundhouses within a particular geographical area in Wigtownshire. Pope (2003, 383) suggests that in general roundhouses at the boundary of the lowlands and uplands were probably permanent foci of settlement facilitating activities in the uplands and the lowlands. In the case of Wigtownshire, the lack of evidence for maintenance, rebuilding or overlapping of enclosures, suggests that specific roundhouses were not inhabited over many generations, instead there was a shift in settlement focus across a wider landscape. Yet, the visual dominance of these features could have had a lasting impact and perhaps were intentional outward expressions of identity through place, which new roundhouses or settlements referred to.



(Fig. 6.28: Examples of cropmark palisaded enclosures with possible internal roundhouses; Drumflower 1, Beoch 1, and Craigcaffie 1 © RCAHMS)

In contrast to the general pattern of roundhouses enclosed by palisades noted above, at Craigcaffie 2, at least three overlapping ring-grooved roundhouses (3-5) of varying sizes are enclosed within an oval palisaded enclosure (Fig. 6.29). Two of these roundhouses may have co-existed, but in another phase only one roundhouse was in use. The roundhouses are not centrally located and, noticeably, each roundhouse takes up a considerable proportion of the internal space of the enclosure. One roundhouse appears to abut the enclosing palisade and may suggest that some of these features were not closely contemporary. Compared to the situation at Aird there is a more intimate relationship between the enclosing space and the activity surrounding the roundhouse itself, which would have had a different effect on the experience and use of this place. Moreover, in comparison to other palisaded enclosures such as Craigcaffie 1, 650m to the NW, Craigcaffie 2 is low-lying and 'hidden' in the landscape (Fig. 6.30). Although Craigcaffie share morphologically similar architectural features, the arrangement of these elements and its situation in the landscape reflects a distinct use of space. Interestingly, immediately to the N of Craigcaffie 2 is a prominently positioned enclosed mound (Craigcaffie 6), from here there are wide views to Craigcaffie 1 and the wider landscape. There may have been a contemporary relationship between the palisade enclosure and this mound.

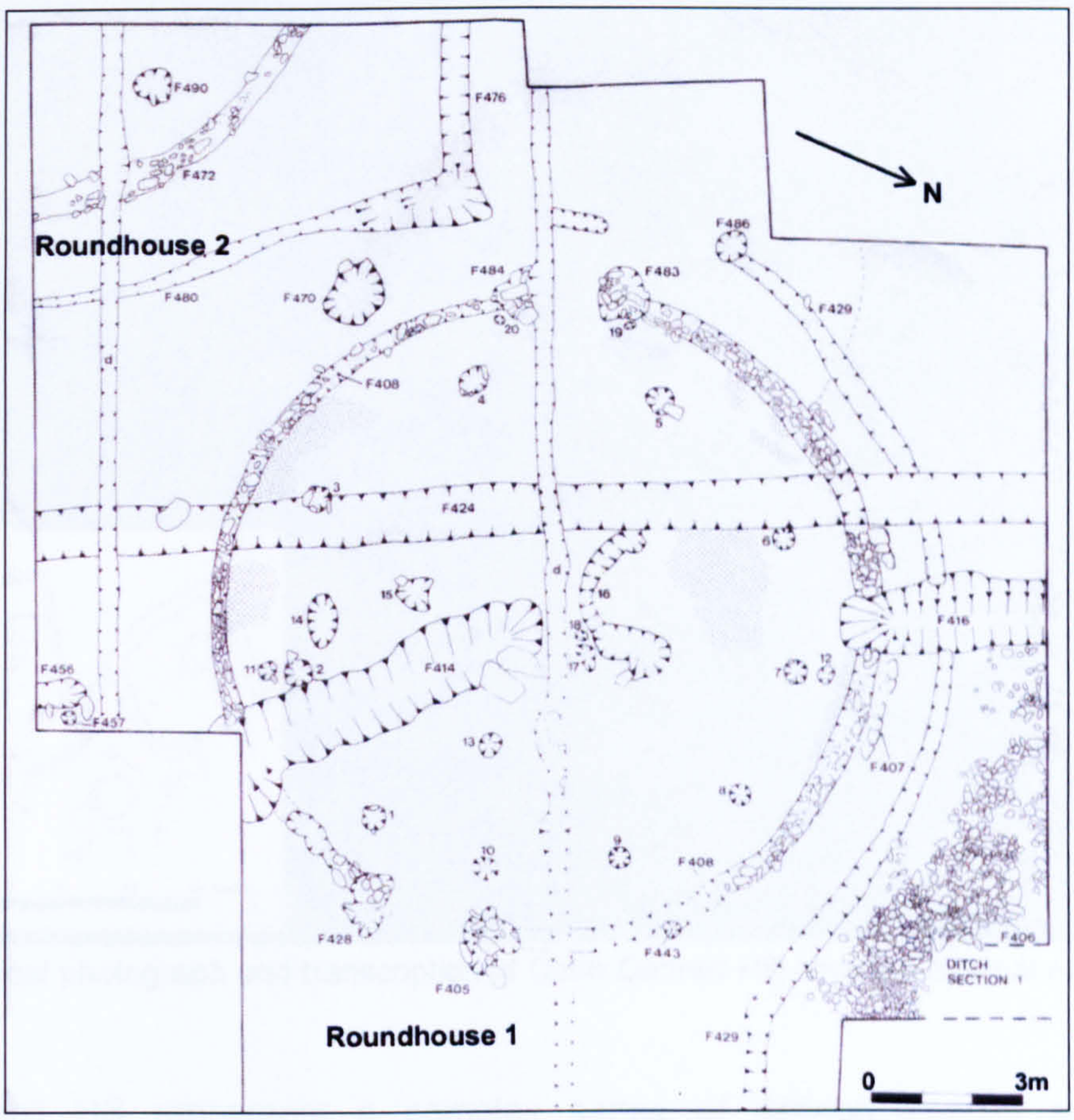


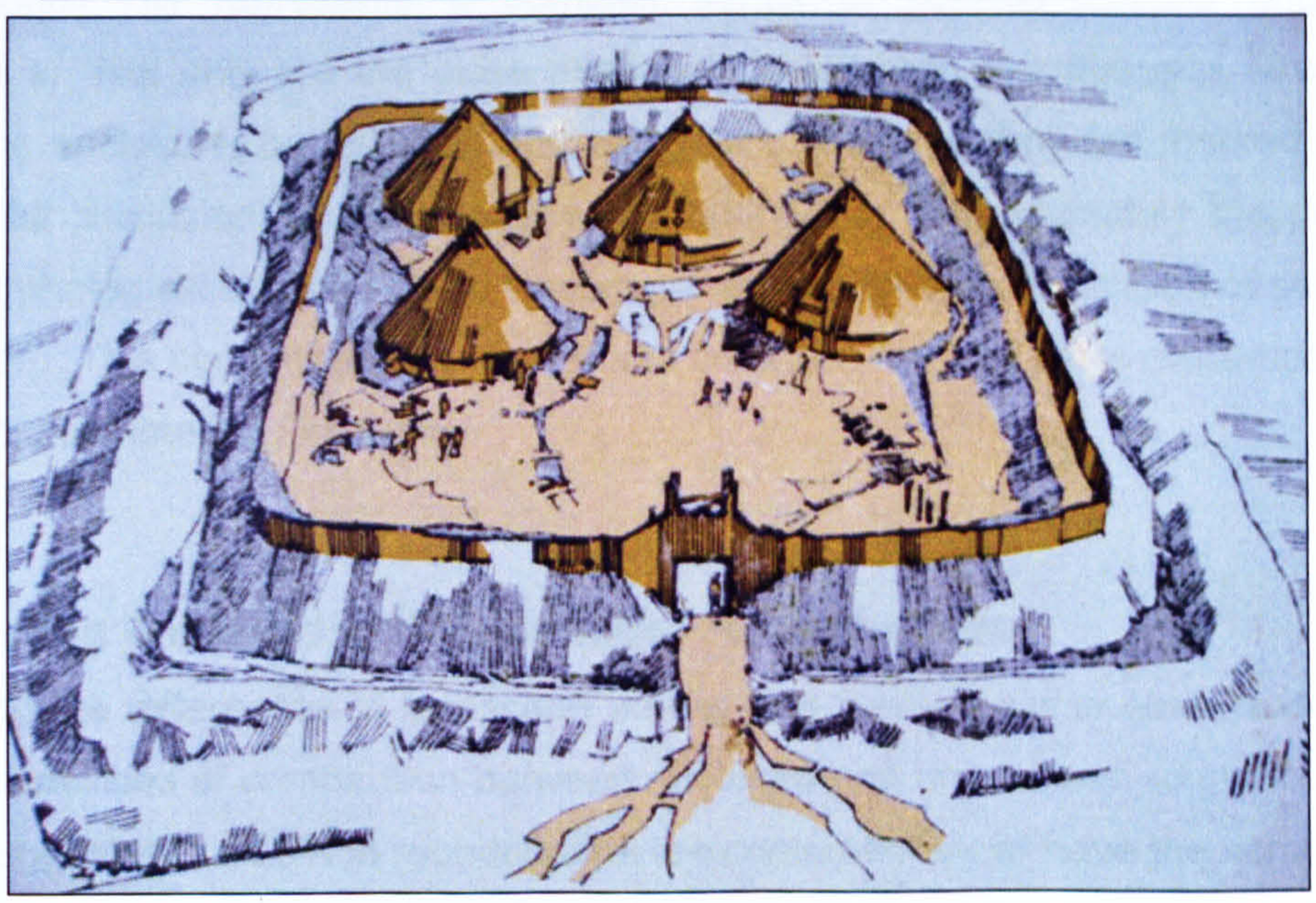
(Fig. 6.29: Aerial photograph of the overlapping roundhouses and palisaded enclosure at Craigcaffie 2, cows provide scale © RCHAMS)

(Fig. 6.30: View of the relative heights of the enclosed roundhouses at Craigcaffie 1 and 2 (author))

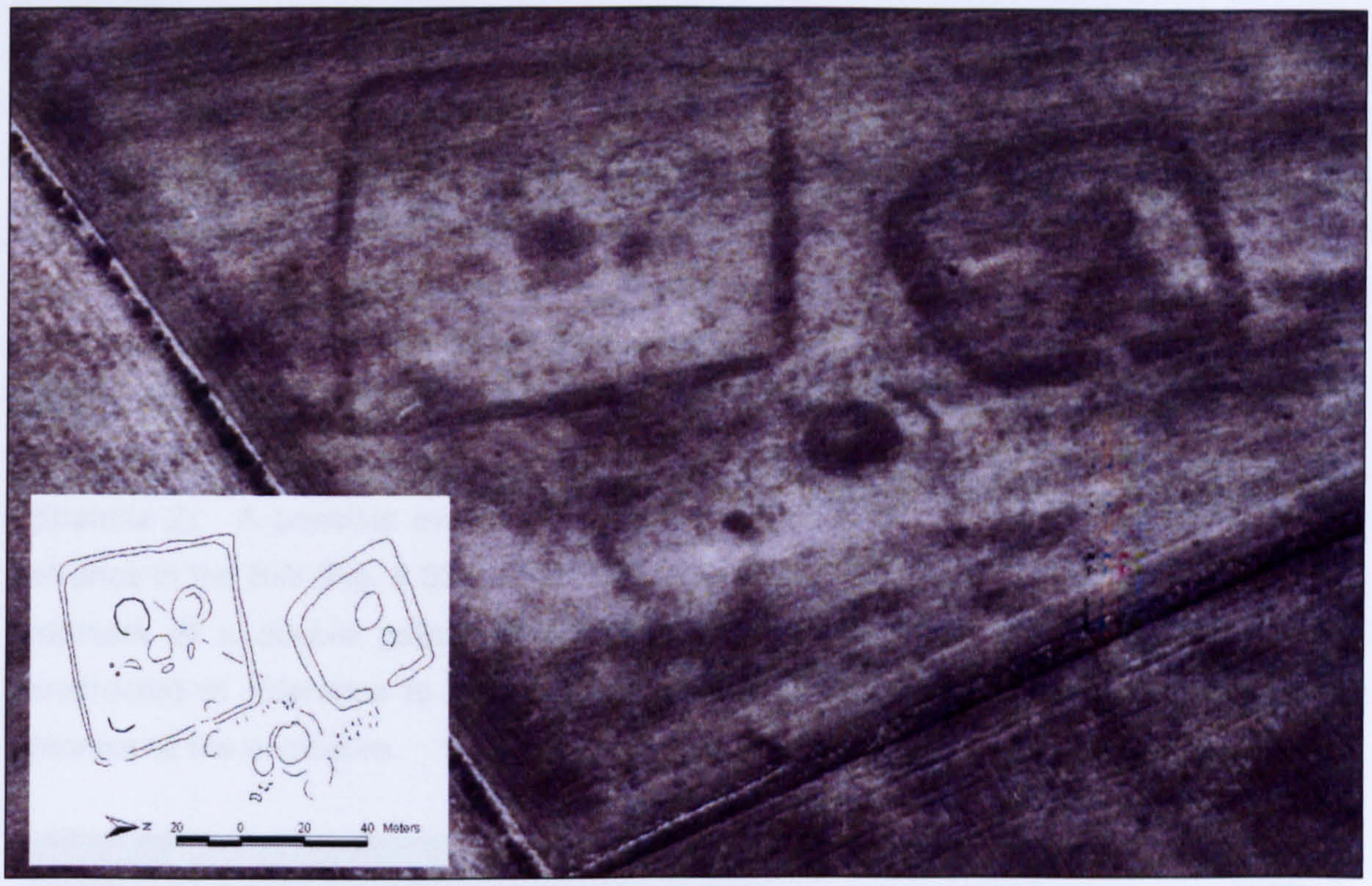
Multiple Roundhouses Enclosed by Ditches

In Wigtownshire Craigcaffie 2 is an unusual example of overlapping roundhouse phases, however, at both Cairn Connell Hill and Rispain Camp there is evidence for more than one roundhouse constructed within an enclosed space. During the excavation of a rectilinear enclosure, one complete and one partial 'round-house' were revealed, but it was suggested that five roundhouses might have originally occupied the interior (Fig. 6.31) (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983). At Cairn Connell Hill, from the aerial photographs, at least two, but probably more, roundhouses can be identified within each of the rectilinear enclosures (Fig. 6.32). In both of these cases, each roundhouse was constructed on a separate stance and could have been used contemporaneously. Yet, even if the roundhouses were not contemporaneous, the arrangement of the roundhouses suggests that there was a conscious effort *not* to build over the location of any other roundhouse. Large ditches define the enclosures at Rispain Camp and Cairn Connell Hill. Ditches would have further distanced the physical access and approach to the roundhouses (see section 6.6), but like the palisades would have emphasised the internal features. In contrast to the enclosures with only one central roundhouse, such as Aird, or unenclosed roundhouses such as Soleburn, at Rispain Camp and Cairn Connell Hill there is an explicit social relationship between the roundhouses that is conveyed or stressed by the enclosure.





(Fig. 6.31: Plan of the roundhouses at Rispain Camp (after Haggerty & Haggerty 1983); Artist reconstruction showing four roundhouses in the interior (tourist information board at Rispain Camp))



(Fig. 6.32: Aerial photograph and transcription of Cairn Connell Hill showing internal roundhouses © RCAHMS)

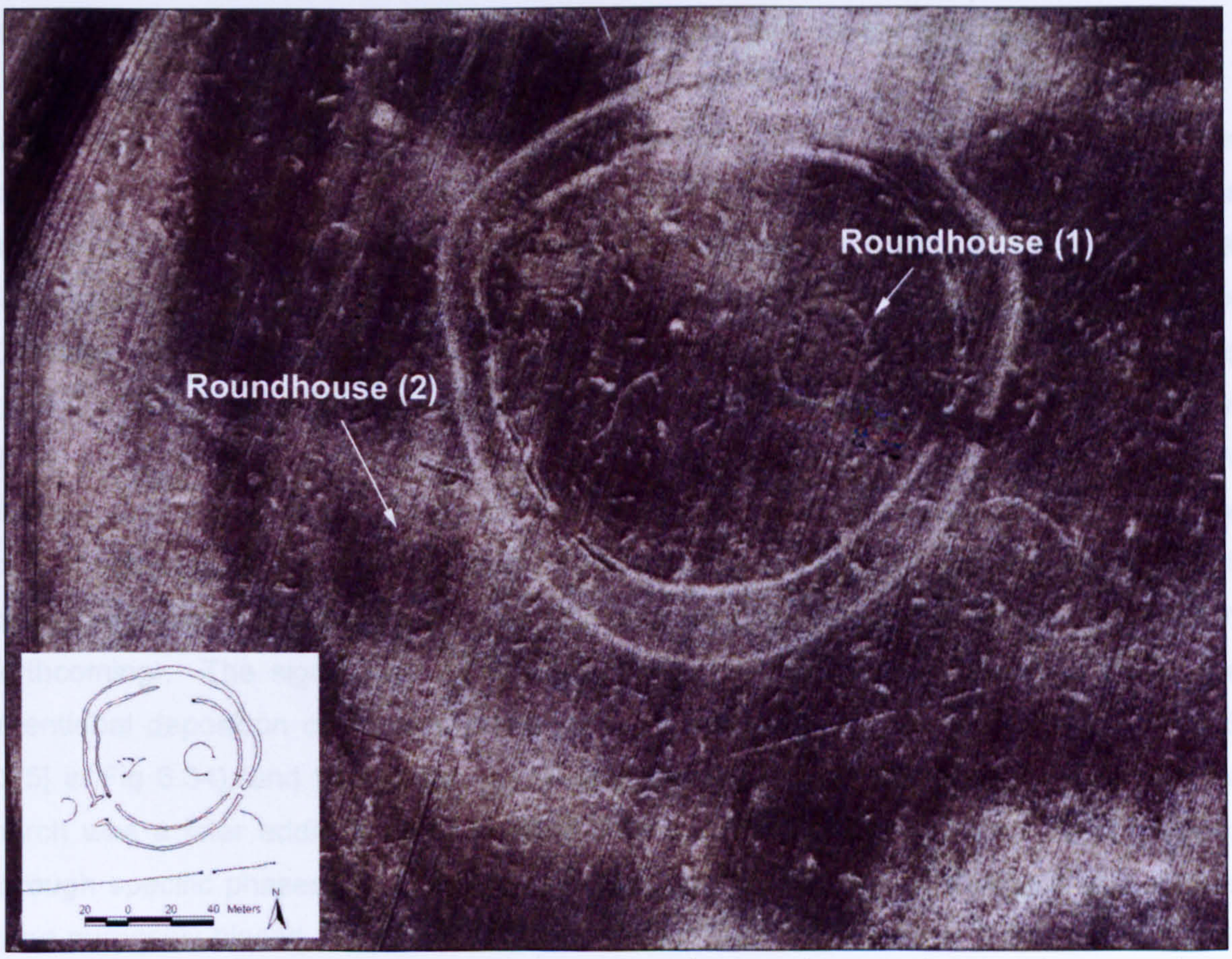
Cairn Connell Hill represents a complex series of defined spaces and possible relationships. Not only are the close relationships between roundhouses stressed by a surrounding enclosure, but also by their separate enclosures they are marked as distinct through their 'exclusion' of the unenclosed roundhouse. Yet, ultimately the proximity of similar morphological features in the landscape represents a concentration of settlement in one location. This concentration of settlement contrasts with the more dispersed evidence of roundhouses noted at Dunragit.

6.4.4 Relating Enclosed and Unenclosed Roundhouses

Considering the differences in landscape setting and relationship to other features, there are still possibilities of comparison between enclosed and unenclosed roundhouses. This is not to suggest that all of the roundhouses are contemporary or have the same meaning, but to highlight the translation of architecture to represent different aspects of a socially adapting and changing population of the later prehistory.

Entrances

As shown in the discussion of hut-circles entrances can be highlighted as important points of transition, relating specific symbolic and cultural meanings through their orientation and embellishment. Meditating between different spaces and features, entrances can be used to express complex social relationships. Only a few of the entrance directions can be identified from the roundhouses in Wigtownshire. In some cases, like Rispain Camp, roundhouse may have more than one entrance, adding additional possibilities to how the interior space was accessed. Nonetheless, of the thirteen entrances that could be recognised, all except one has at least one entrance in the E or SE direction (see Appendix 2). A possible exception is East Galdenoch 2, which has a possible second entrance in the SW (Fig. 6.33). This roundhouse is situated outside the SW entrance of a cropmark of a double palisaded enclosure and therefore may have been specifically constructed in reference to this feature or have a specific function that relates to the entrance of the enclosure.

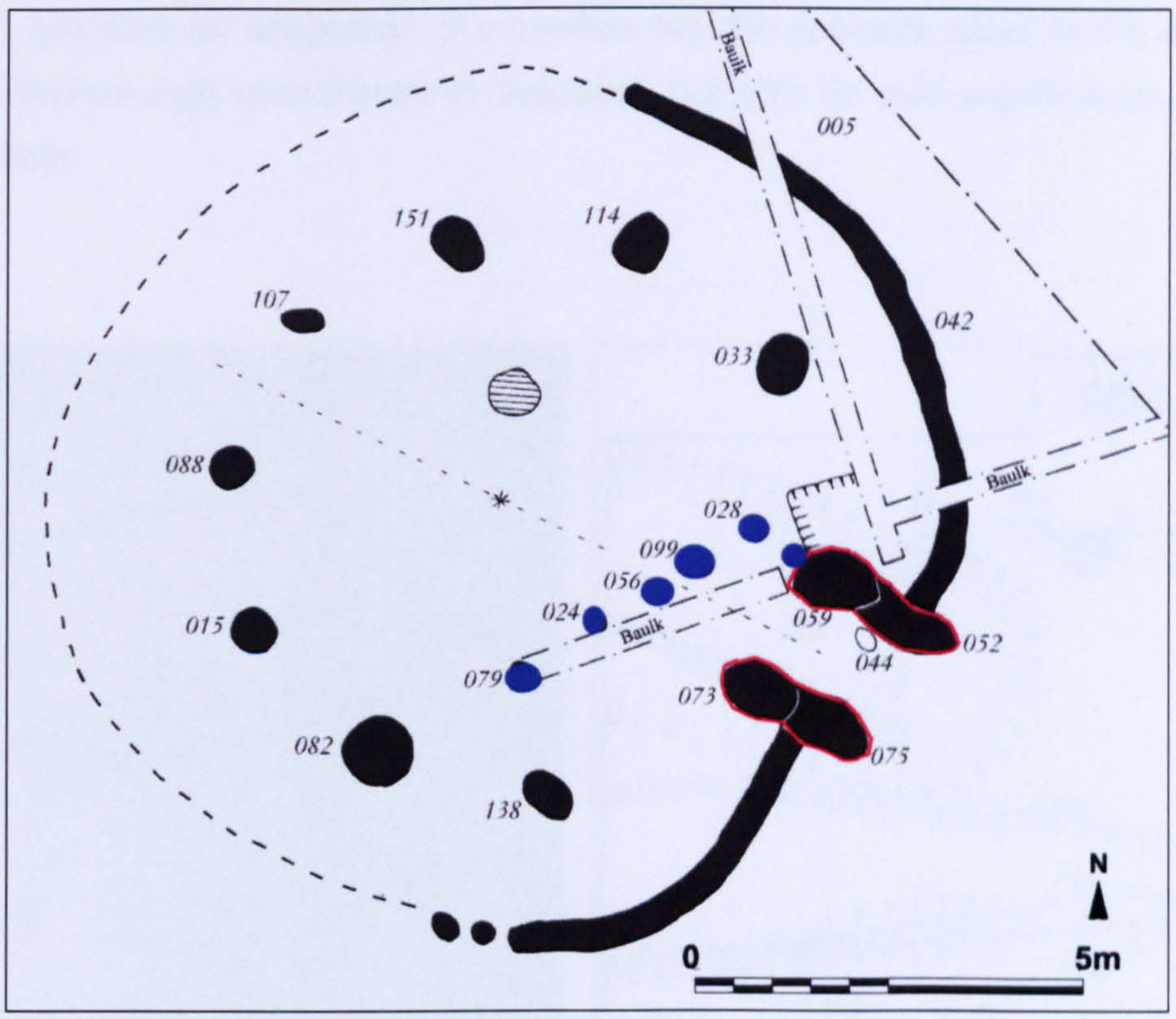


(Fig. 6.33: Aerial photograph and transcription of East Galdenoch, an enclosed and an unenclosed roundhouse © RCAHMS)

Several roundhouse entrances in Wigtownshire such as Dunragit, Structure F at Fox Plantation, Aird and Soleburn have porches. Such embellishments emphasise the entrance as a symbol of transition (Mugerauer 1993). Porches physically direct the flow of movement, channelling people from the 'open' exterior through a confined space before emerging within the interior of the roundhouse. They increase the time it takes to move between the interior and exterior, focussing the attention onto the journey of passing between two spaces. Porches can potentially restrict the amount of natural light that can filter into the interior, which may affect the kind activities that could take place inside a roundhouse. Structure A at Fox Plantation, Soleburn and Aird date to the Later Bronze Age and all have porches (Cullen 1996b; Cook 2002; MacGregor forthcoming). This does not preclude porches from being constructed at other times in prehistory nor should be suggested that all roundhouses with porches date to the Later Bronze Age. Nonetheless, this evidence highlights an important tradition of the Later Bronze Age that extended across the Stranraer Lowlands. All the roundhouses with porches in Wigtownshire conform to E-SE entrance direction noted at many of the hut-circles in the Eastern Rhins and may reflect an even wider tradition that continued over many generations.

Movement within the house at Soleburn was defined not only by a porch, but was further controlled once within the roundhouse by an internal screen directing access around the structure in a counter-clock-wise or sunwise direction (see Fig. 6.34). Similar architectural features that direct movement has been noted at other Iron Age roundhouses (e.g. Sollas; Campbell 1991, Armit 1996), perhaps evoking life-cycles metaphors and may relate to particular social concerns and beliefs (see Giles & Parker Pearson 1999; Parker Pearson 1999). At Soleburn, through the construction of the entrance a variety of culturally potent metaphors were exploited. From the botanical information, the entrance posts were the only constructional feature in the roundhouse where oak charcoal was recovered. Hazel, birch and willow defined the inner post-ring and the outer ring groove (Ramsay & Alldritt forthcoming). The significance of the entrance at Soleburn was further evoked by the intentional deposition of variable artefacts in the entrance post-holes ([052, 058, 073 & 075] in Fig 6.34), and this will be discussed in more detail later). It is possible that the porch was a later addition and a metaphor of the ageing of the inhabitants or passing through specific phases. The roundhouse too was 'hardened' and the hard oak timbers were purposely placed at the entrance. Moreover, the internal screen may also be a later addition, and like 'baffle' walls of hut-circles represent a phase of 'closing' the house,

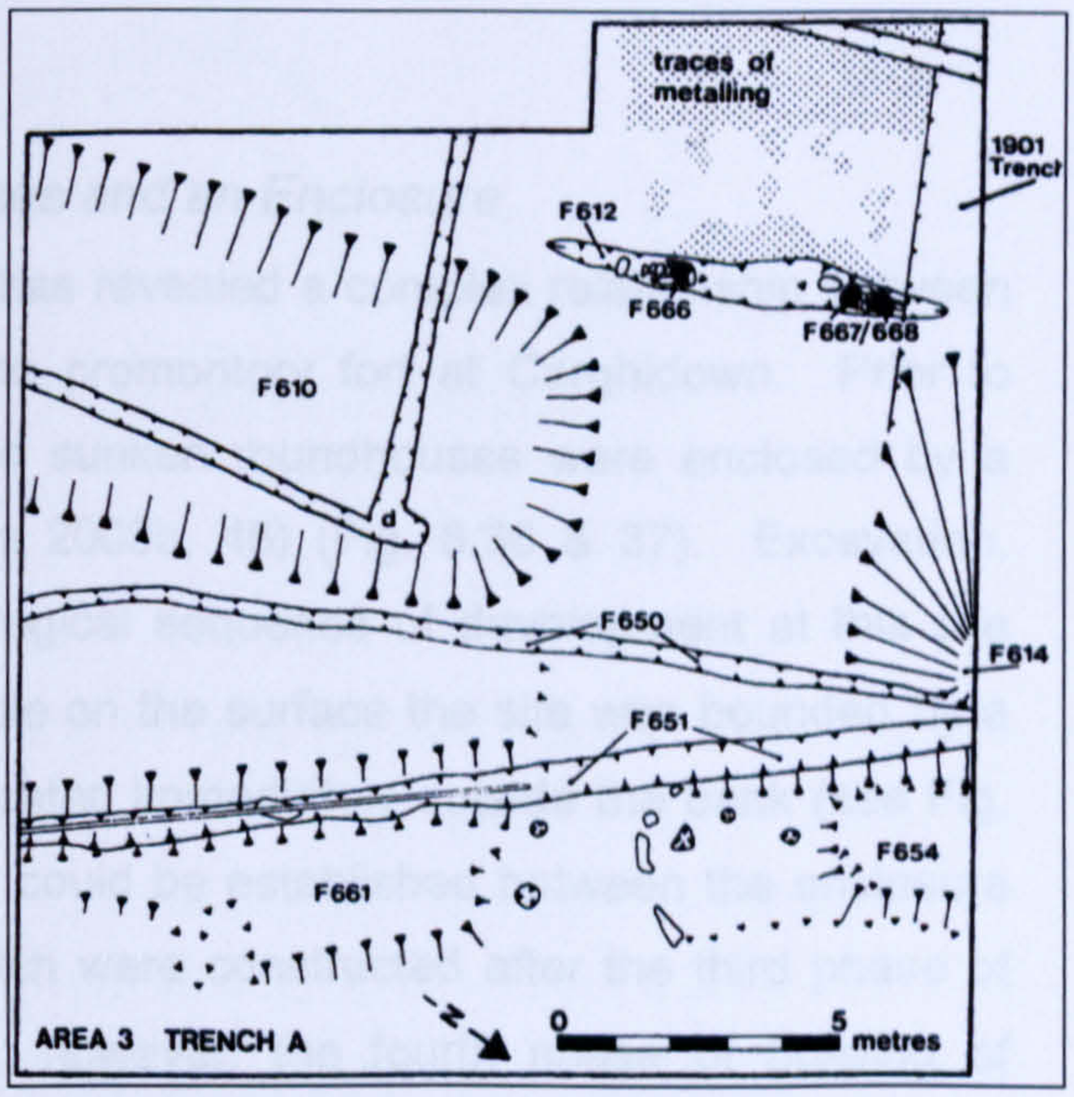
shutting out light. The architecture at Soleburn has both practical and symbolic meaning, both in its construction and subsequent use.



(Fig. 6.34: Excavation plans of Soleburn highlighting entrance and internal screen © GUARD (after Cullen & James forthcoming))

In the case of enclosed roundhouses, it is often the entrance to the enclosure rather than the individual entrances of the roundhouses themselves that played a significant role in defining experiences of inside and outside. At Rispain Camp 1 the completely excavated roundhouse has two opposing unelaborated entrances, one facing E and the other facing W (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983). These two entrances would have provided options as to how the interior of the roundhouse could have been accessed and experienced- although it is possible that access to each entrance would have been restricted by social custom. Nonetheless, in contrast to unenclosed roundhouses, it is the enclosure at Rispain Camp that mediated between the inside and the outside (Fig. 6.35). There is only one entrance to the enclosure: across a causeway over a deep ditch. The entrance in the interior was further amplified by a gateway. The enclosure at Rispain Camp may be comparable to the porch at Soleburn not in morphology, but as a mediator of space, controlling access and

emphasising the transition between the exterior and interior. Interestingly, it is in the ditch of the enclosure at Rispain Camp that there are significant structured depositions of human remains that may symbolise the transitional character of this area. This evidence may be in one form an adaptation of a tradition like the deposits noted in the entrance of the Later Bronze Age roundhouse in Soleburn, but with its own significance, and on a grander scale.

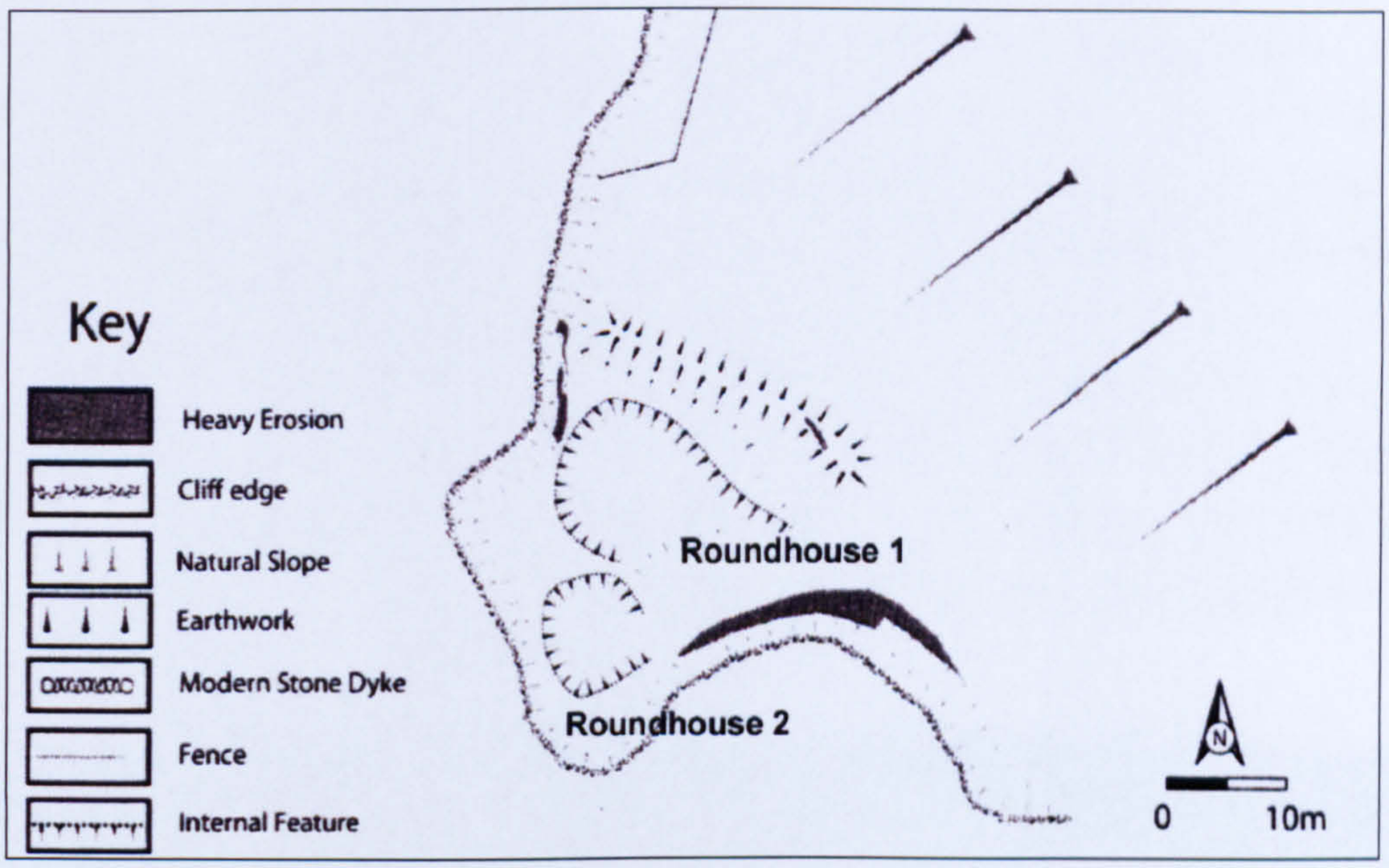


(Fig. 6.35: Aerial photograph of Rispain Camp © RCAHMS; Excavation plan of entrance of ditch (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983); Photo of ditch of Rispain Camp (author))

Not all enclosures follow the same pattern and should not be expected to. 'Enclosure' is a vague term and could reflect various functions. At Aird, a short porch defines the access to the interior of the roundhouse; however, as mentioned this roundhouse is enclosed by a large palisaded enclosure (see Fig. 6.29). In this instance, the porch would have mediated between the large space within the enclosure and the interior of the roundhouse, emphasising the entrance to the roundhouse. Alternatively, as mentioned, the enclosure may not be contemporary with the roundhouse. In this case the porch may have been constructed during an unenclosed phase of the roundhouse.

Carghidown: A Case-study of Roundhouses and an Enclosure

A good example of a site where excavation has revealed a complex relationship between an enclosure and what it encloses is at the promontory fort at Carghidown. Prior to excavation the evidence suggested that two sunken roundhouses were enclosed by a bank on a steep coastal promontory (Toolis 2003b, 46) (Fig. 6.36 & 37). Excavation, however, revealed a more complex chronological sequence of development at this site (Toolis 2003a, 2004) (Fig 6.38). Unnoticeable on the surface the site was bounded by a substantial (3m wide by 1.5m deep) ditch located immediately outside the bank (see Fig. 6.38). Unusually a stratigraphic relationship could be established between the enclosure and the internal features. The bank and ditch were constructed after the third phase of Roundhouse 2 and before Roundhouse 1; however, the fourth phase of building of Roundhouse 2 and the construction of Roundhouse 1 were never completed (Toolis 2004, 16 & 19). Therefore there is no evidence the settlement was in use when enclosed. Furthermore, the substantial rock-cut ditch was not open for long, but instead was quickly backfilled (*ibid* 18). This example questions how we perceive and interpret enclosures and their relationship with internal features. The function and use of enclosures may well represent a temporal or symbolic phase of the use of a place. Again, it could be that settlements were enclosed when the roundhouse was abandoned, removing it from the world of the living.

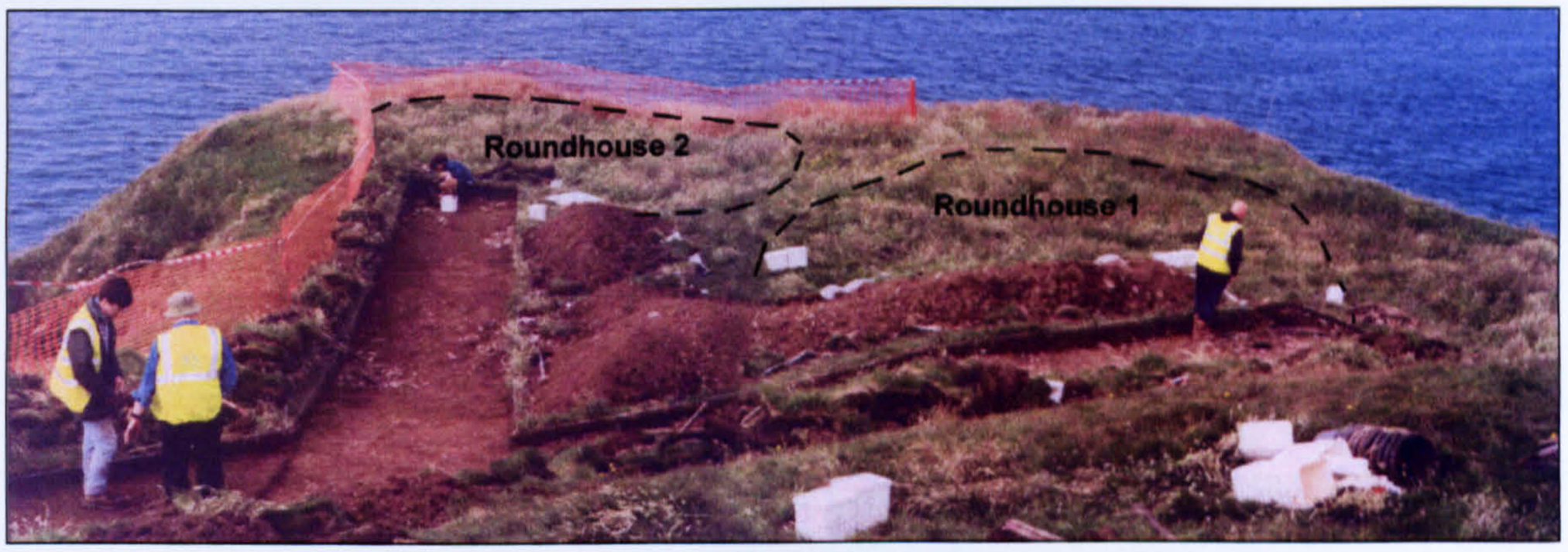


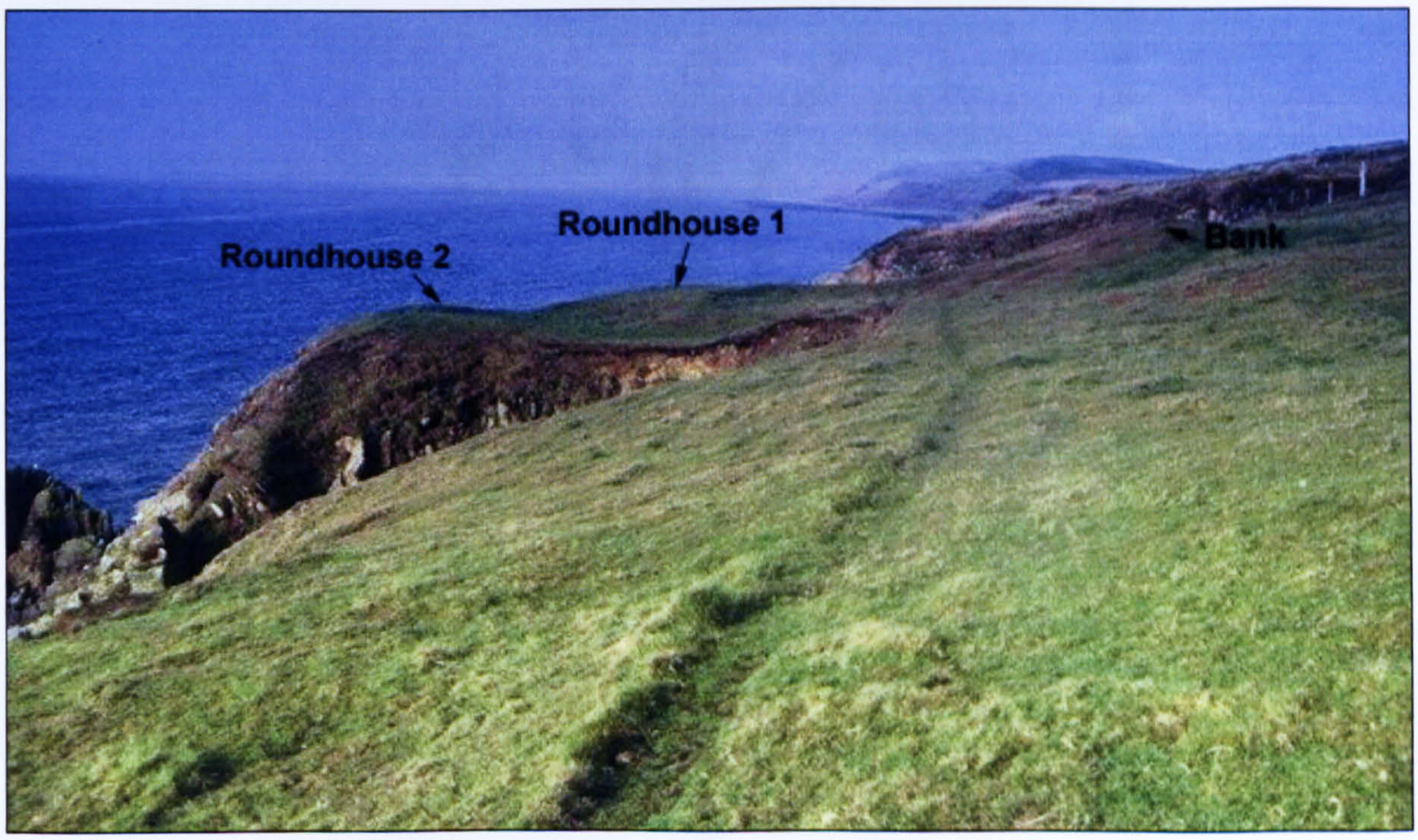
(Fig. 6.36: Carghidown survey plan before excavation (Toolis 2003b))

6.4.5 Roundhouses and Domesticity

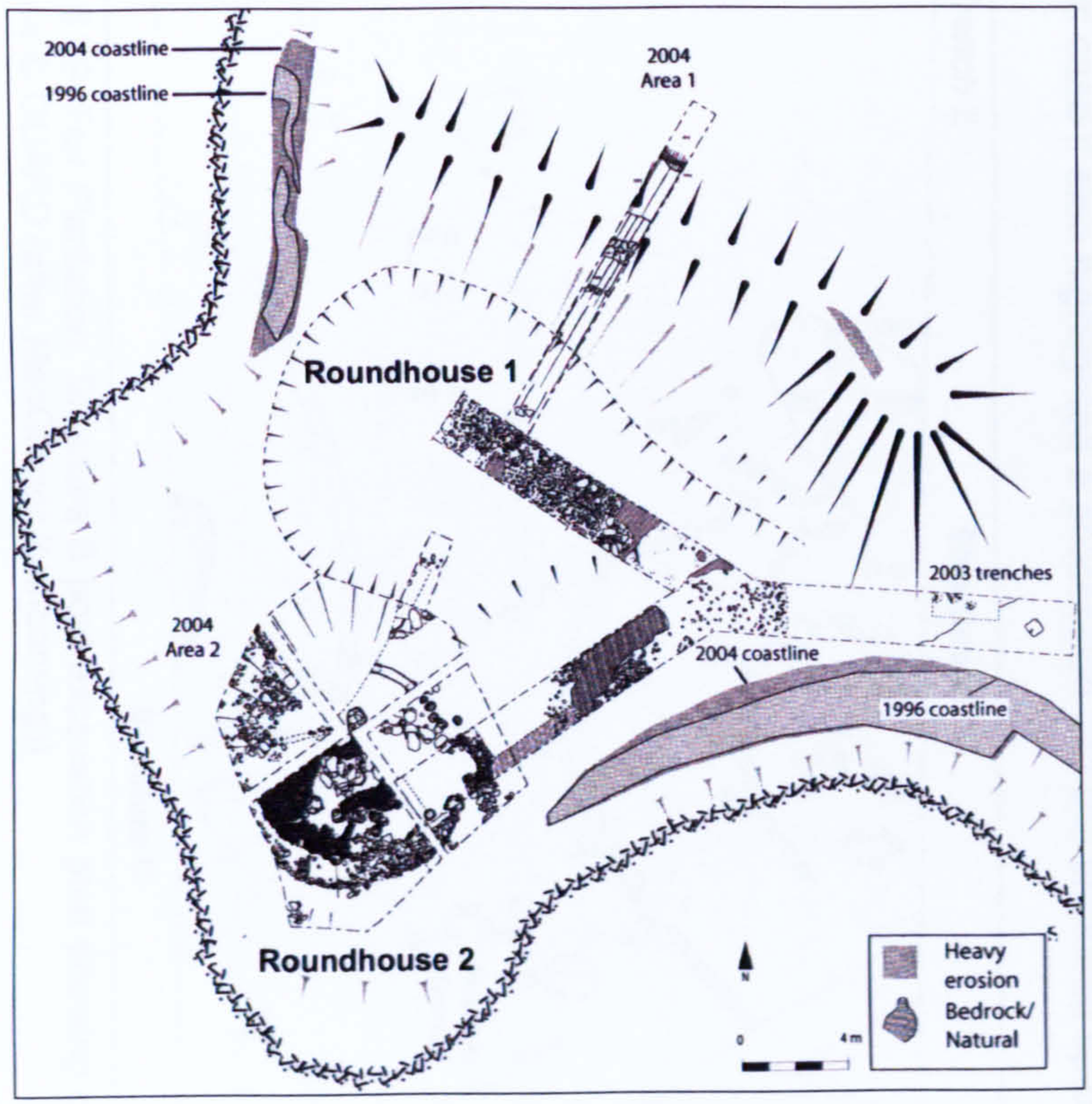
The differences in contexts and morphology of the roundhouses in Wigtownshire demonstrate that there can be multiple layers of meaning that relate to the same archaeological evidence, and these features do not have to be interpreted in the same way functionally. Toolis assumed that Carghidown was a refuge (*ibid*, 19-20), yet the evidence suggests that for all the effort in constructing the ditch it did not relate to the occupation of the internal features. If it were a refuge or a protected place from attack, the promontory would not have been a practical location, as it could have been easily surrounded and isolated from resources from the land. Furthermore, the site is also overlooked by higher ground (see Fig. 6.37). The location of these roundhouses on the promontory fort may have been ideal and integral part of the meanings attached to the sea. The marginal and dramatic location of Carghidown– situated between land and sea – is likely to be itself significant to the experience of this place, and certainly emphasised the setting of the roundhouses. As Carruthers (2002, 76) proposed the coastal promontories could have been perceived as significant symbols of liminality and this location may have been intentionally appropriated to reflect a phase of an inhabitant's life-cycle or their role in the wider community. As the inhabitants passed through phases of their life so too did the roundhouses in which they lived. Thus the character of the roundhouses would change accordingly.

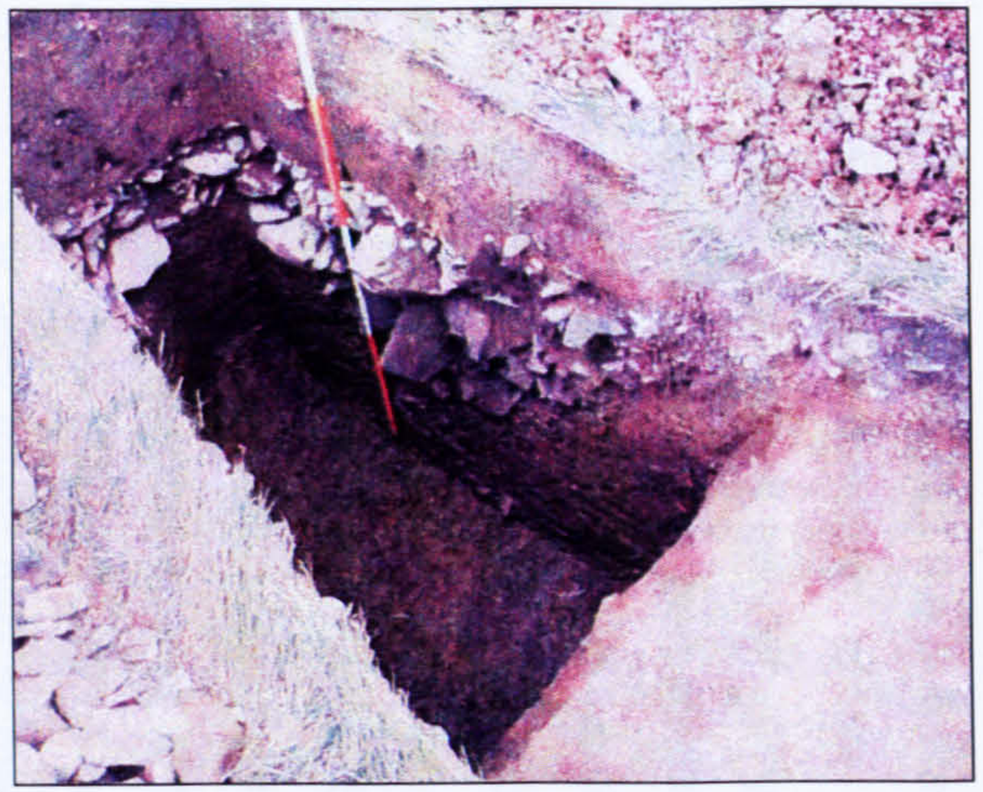
Toolis (2004, 19) proposed that Carghidown was of, 'higher status' because '...considerable effort and resources were invested in occupying and protecting Carghidown'. He also remarked on the 'hidden' aspect of the site with higher ground rising to the east (Toolis 2003b, 46). It is not in a prominent position and therefore the ditch could not be appreciated from a wide distance but only to those who knew it was there or those who came across it by foot along the coast. The ditch may not have been a visual symbol to impress external visitors but instead marked a particular phase of the place and its inhabitants. It therefore cannot be assumed that this evidence fits within a hierarchically defined social system; recent efforts show that there are different systems of social interaction that may be equally valid (Hill 2005).





(Fig. 6.37: Photo showing 'sunken' roundhouses during excavation in 2003, Carghidown from the N along the shore highlighting roundhouses and enclosing bank (author))

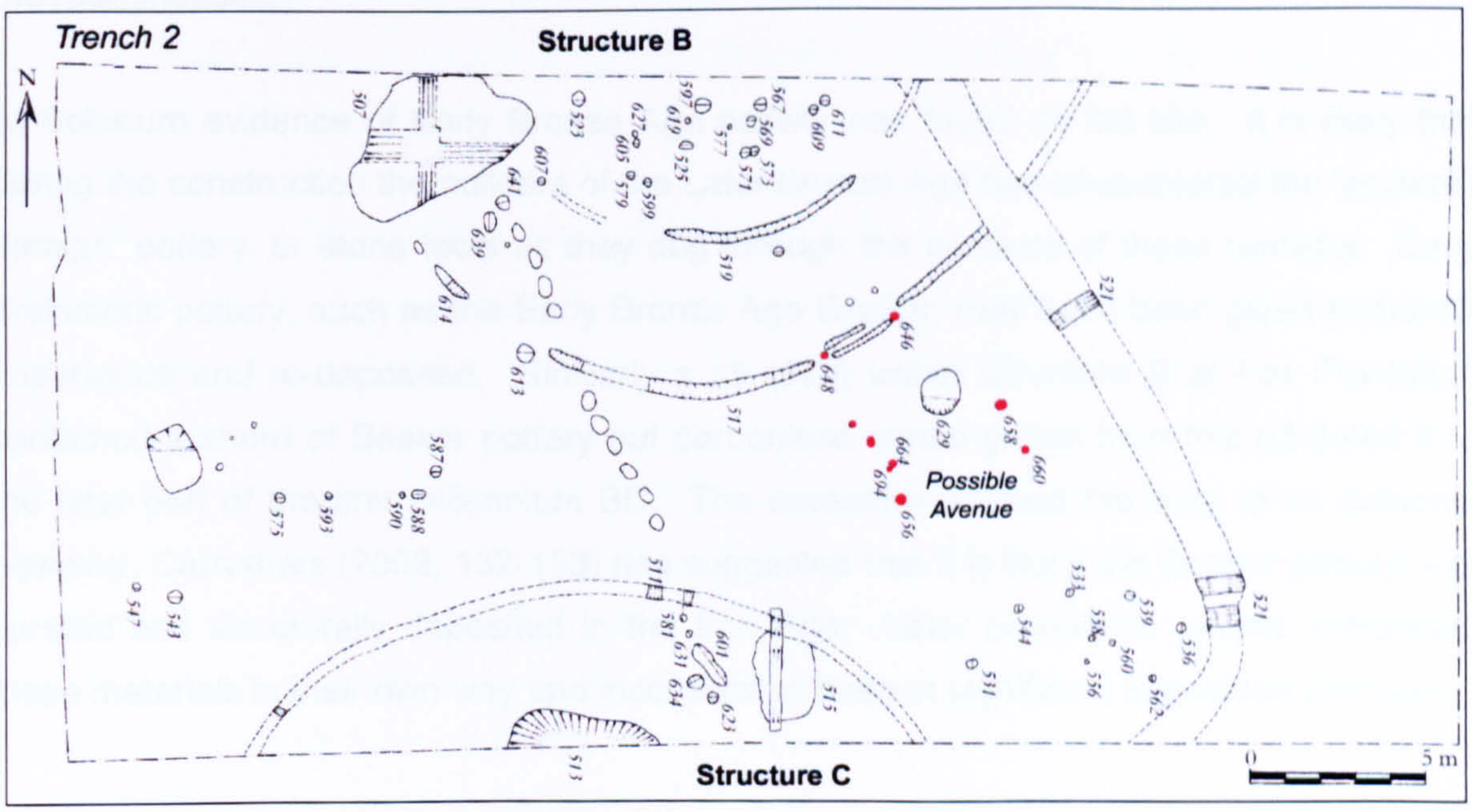




(Fig. 6.38: Carghidown excavation plan; photo of ditch (Toolis 2004) and excavation picture of Roundhouse 2 (author))

Fox Plantation, Structure B: a House?

Structure B at Fox Plantation is defined by two discontinuous ring-grooves, the outer groove, an enclosing palisade, is 4m from the inner ring-groove, a probable wall-slot (Fig. 6.39). It is possible that the outer and inner grooves were not contemporary and reflected a subsequent redefinition of the roundhouse. However, a similar fill of charcoal, carbonised oat, barley and wheat grains, as well as occasional fragments of burnt bone, suggests that they were contemporary (MacGregor et al. 1996, 19). Carruthers (2002, 134) noted that: 'the palisade screen around the building may have at least limited the kinds of activities we normally associate with domestic contexts'. The circuitous access route into the roundhouse further illustrates the subversion of the traditional sense of 'domesticity' at this place. In the SE of the outer ring-groove two small posts (648 and 646), approximately 2m, apart may have defined the entrance (MacGregor forthcoming). Further access into the interior of the actual roundhouse is not direct to either possible entrances in the SW or ESE. In this case, like the hut-circle at West Muntloch the enclosure is very much part of the experience of the roundhouse. Additionally, several post-holes (666, 662, 664 and 656) align with the SE entrance of the palisade and although interpreted as an unrelated structure by the excavator (MacGregor *et al.* 1996, 20; forthcoming), these posts could equally be contemporary with the roundhouse, forming an elaborate avenue. This avenue, like 'porches', would have mediated between spaces. In this case it also highlighted a procession into the enclosed space.



(Fig. 6.39: Fox Plantation, Structure B post-excavation plan showing close palisades and possible avenue © GUARD (after MacGregor forthcoming))

Domesticity and Status

Types of artefacts found on roundhouses have also been used to define status by archaeologists. Evaluating stone tools from Soleburn, Simpson suggests that apart from an unstratified leaf-shaped stone (SF116), no recognisable high status or special artefacts were recovered (Simpson in James forthcoming). The concept of value is subjective, yet, metalwork is often equated with high status and simple pottery or stone tools are often regarded as low status. This needs to be evaluated with caution. Where possible it is important to consider the context and depositional practice in which the artefact was integrated. At Soleburn many of the artefacts associated with the roundhouse were structurally deposited in the entrance post-holes. In the west post-holes [073 & 075] a flint and coarse pottery were recovered, while in the eastern post-holes [052 & 059] saddle quern fragments, Late Bronze Age pottery, a stone ard point and the fragments of a possible Early Bronze Age Beaker were excavated (see Fig. 6.36). These seemingly 'domestic' low status materials may have been imbued with special significance and value, which was highlighted by their deposition in a key position in the roundhouse. Structured deposition of pottery and other unusual artefacts (i.e. the rock art at Hayknowes (Gregory 2001b, 36)) have been noted at the entrances of other roundhouses and therefore further emphasising the importance of this area as a symbol of transition (*ibid* 131; Brück 2000, 287). The querns and the stone ard may have been intentionally chosen for their relationship to the agricultural cycle and cannot be equated to status of the inhabitants of the roundhouses.

At Soleburn evidence of Early Bronze Age activity was found on the site. It is likely that during the construction the builders of the Later Bronze Age had encountered the 'ancient'/ 'foreign' pottery, or stone tools as they dug through the contexts of these remains. Early prehistoric pottery, such as the Early Bronze Age Beaker, may have been given particular importance and re-deposited. Similarly a pit (523) within Structure B at Fox Plantation contained a sherd of Beaker pottery but carbonised cereal grains from this pit dated it to the later part of the first millennium BC. The excavator claimed the date to be dubious; however, Carruthers (2002, 132-133) has suggested that it is likely the Beaker pottery was curated and structurally deposited in the Iron Age. Later prehistoric people interpreted these materials in their own way and incorporated them in significant deposition practices.

6.4.6 Defining Roundhouse versus Ring-ditch

'Ring-ditch' is a generic term used by aerial archaeologists to describe the appearance of small circular features that do not have any specific morphological details that could define them in more specific classifications such as barrows or roundhouses. Yet, most ring-ditches with wide ditches are often interpreted as barrows. Although cropmark ring-ditches could reflect a range of features they are often disregarded in the discussions of later prehistoric settlement. The excavation at Hayknowes, near Annan in Eastern Dumfriesshire highlighted the problem of limiting the interpretation of archaeological features to general morphological similarities. The cropmark was initially interpreted as a large round 'barrow' (RCAHMS 1997, 105), but excavation has shown the site to be a Medieval roundhouse (Gregory 2001a; 2001b, 41). Ring-ditch houses of similar general morphology have been dated to the Iron Age in the NE of Scotland. In some instances the cropmarks of ring-ditches may represent foundation trenches for stone walls; moreover, from an examination of the ring-ditches in Wigtownshire suggests that some of these may be roundhouses, either ring-groove or ring-ditch (e.g. West Galdenoch). There is an assumption that houses would look different from barrows; however, intentional parallels in construction may inform these features. There are potential symbolic parallels between round barrows and roundhouses (Bradley 1997). Separating 'domestic' from 'ritual' or 'mortuary' is an assumption. The arrangement of early prehistoric barrows in the landscape, such as Kirkmabreck, may have been an important reference point for further habitation of the landscape. Early features likely influenced later prehistoric constructions, both physically and symbolically (Bradley & Sheridan forthcoming; Barrett 1999a).

6.4.7 Summary: Roundhouses in Wigtownshire

Roundhouses have a long currency throughout the later prehistoric period. Although they share certain morphological similarities, it is not surprising to find them in diverse relationships to the landscape and the places around them. Some are enclosed, while others are unenclosed. Enclosures separate roundhouses from the wider landscape, but they also are integral parts of the experience of roundhouses and like many of the palisaded enclosures in Wigtownshire may have physically enhanced the presence of roundhouses in the landscape. There are various ways similar morphological features can relate. For instance the roundhouse at Aird was enclosed within a wide enclosed space, while the palisade around the roundhouse of Structure B at Fox Plantation inhibited activity and access into the interior of the roundhouse. Rectilinear enclosures at Rispain Camp

and Cairn Connell Hill contained several separate roundhouses and may represent a reorganisation of the use of space and how roundhouses were related to each other.

Separating timber roundhouses such as those found at Dunragit from the upland hut-circle may belie a pattern that spans the different environmental zones and merely conforms to artificially created expectations. The timber elements of roundhouses are significant and demanded specific skills, but it cannot be precluded that hut-circles had comparable characteristics (which may include timber). Nonetheless, from the frequency of unenclosed roundhouses that have been uncovered through excavation compared to what was previously known it is most certain that unenclosed roundhouses are underrepresented in Wigtownshire.

Although differences between enclosed and unenclosed roundhouses can be highlighted, similarities or parallels on multiple levels can also be established. The circularity of roundhouses likely played an important symbolic role in the organisation of daily life and wider life-cycles of the inhabitants. Entrances into roundhouses, like hut-circles, are significant points in the transition of space. The elaborated porch entrances may have related to the significance of wider beliefs and to the phases of the life of the inhabitants. Furthermore, within enclosed roundhouses the entrance of the enclosure or the causeways across ditches may have acted as the primary role of mediator. Traditions and the morphological character of roundhouses may be transformed, or fragmented to different architectural contexts over time. Yet, it is important to be aware of differences in the relationships between roundhouses and other features, which may themselves highlight variable patterns of land tenure, movement and social systems.

The assumption that roundhouses are simply 'functional', or that the prehistoric world can be defined by simple binary opposites such as domestic/ritual, constrains the way the archaeological evidence can be interpreted and what features are compared. Roundhouses can go through several phases of construction over time accumulating different layers of meaning, enclosures may be added; such as at Aird or Carghidown. In other cases, roundhouses may intentionally reference earlier prehistoric features in form and function.

6.5 *Substantial Roundhouses*

Introduction

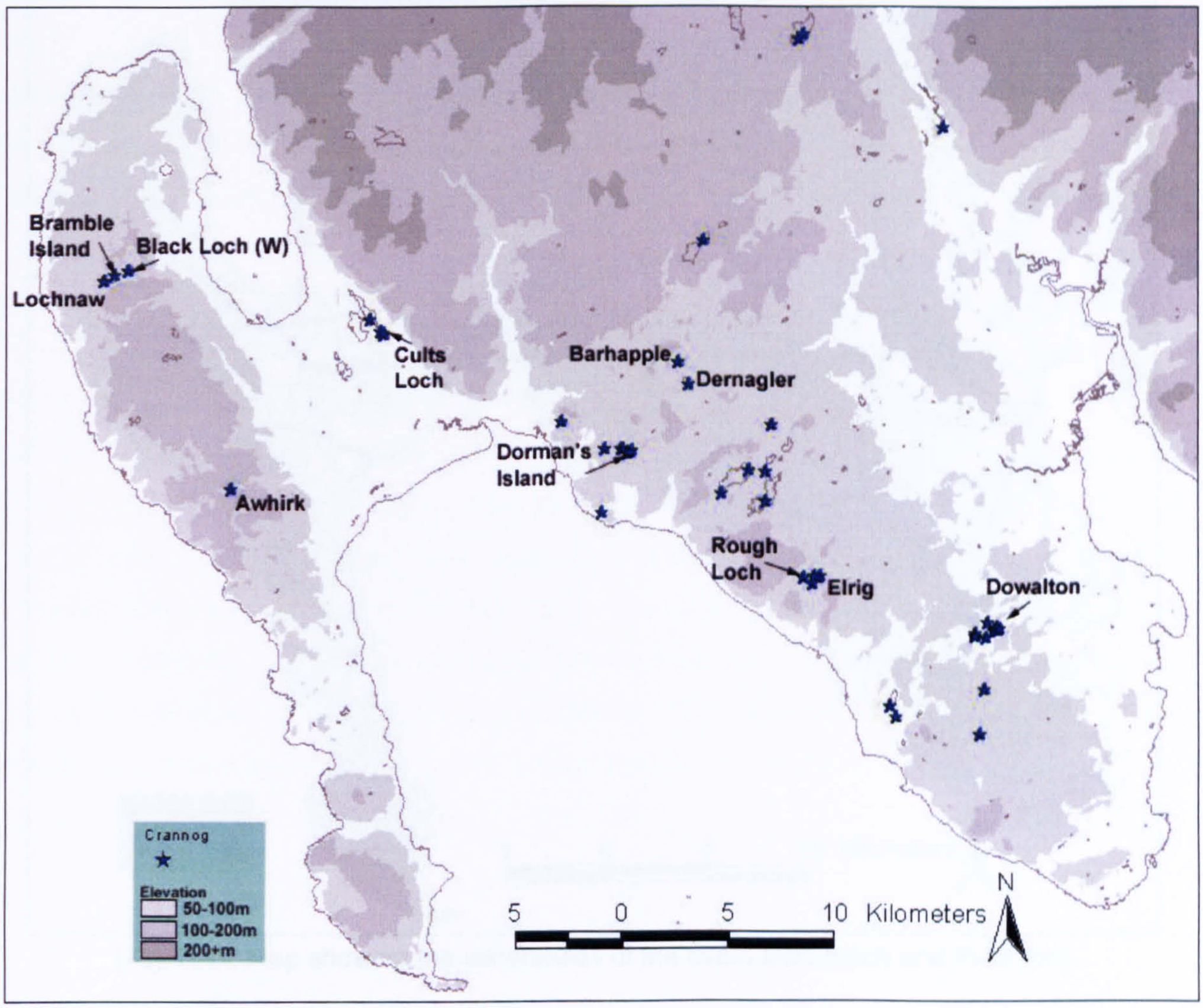
Substantial (or Atlantic) roundhouses are elaborate monumental 'houses', and the term includes structures traditionally classified as brochs, duns and large timber roundhouses (*cf.* Armit 1990a, 1990b, 1992; Hingley 1992, 1995). It has also been proposed that crannogs should be considered as substantial roundhouses because of the large investment in materials and construction and that they 'present very powerful images as complex monumental constructions' (Carruthers 2002, 77; see also Nieke 1990). Although they share the general shape and underlying 'domestic' function of smaller roundhouses (already described), substantial roundhouses are thought to be high status residences because of their elaborate construction. Compared to the Western Isles and Northern Scotland there are few brochs in the whole of Southern Scotland and only three recorded in Wigtownshire. Despite the lack of brochs, there are a notable concentration of crannogs and homesteads (or duns). The substantial roundhouses in Wigtownshire are situated within distinct landscapes, creating diverse relationships, and therefore express their 'monumentality' in varying ways. These features will be first discussed by their more traditional categories and then as part of a wider group of substantial houses.

6.5.1 Crannogs

The term crannog is generally applied to any partially or wholly artificial island. Many crannogs in SW Scotland and Wigtownshire have been dated to later prehistory, purportedly the main period of crannog use (Barber & Crone 1993, 521; Henderson 1998, 231 & 235; Henderson *et al.* 2003). Crannog is a vague term and refers to the island construction and not any specific type of settlement. Broad patterns of chronologically and geographically distinct traits of crannogs have been proposed (Munro 1885; Morrison 1985; Henderson 1998; Harding 2000), but surveys have shown these are not consistent and many characteristics overlap. Therefore crannogs can vary widely in date, from the Neolithic to the post-Medieval period and therefore care should be taken in designating all crannogs in the study area as later prehistoric (Armit 1987, 2003; Fredengren 2002; Henderson *et al.* 2003). Furthermore, it is important to be aware of the different meanings and reasons for the construction of crannogs and the possibility of re-use. Much of the detail of the nature of the crannogs discussed in this section relies on detailed survey evidence and the few excavations of other researchers (cf. Henderson *et al.* 2003; Cavers 2004).

Distribution

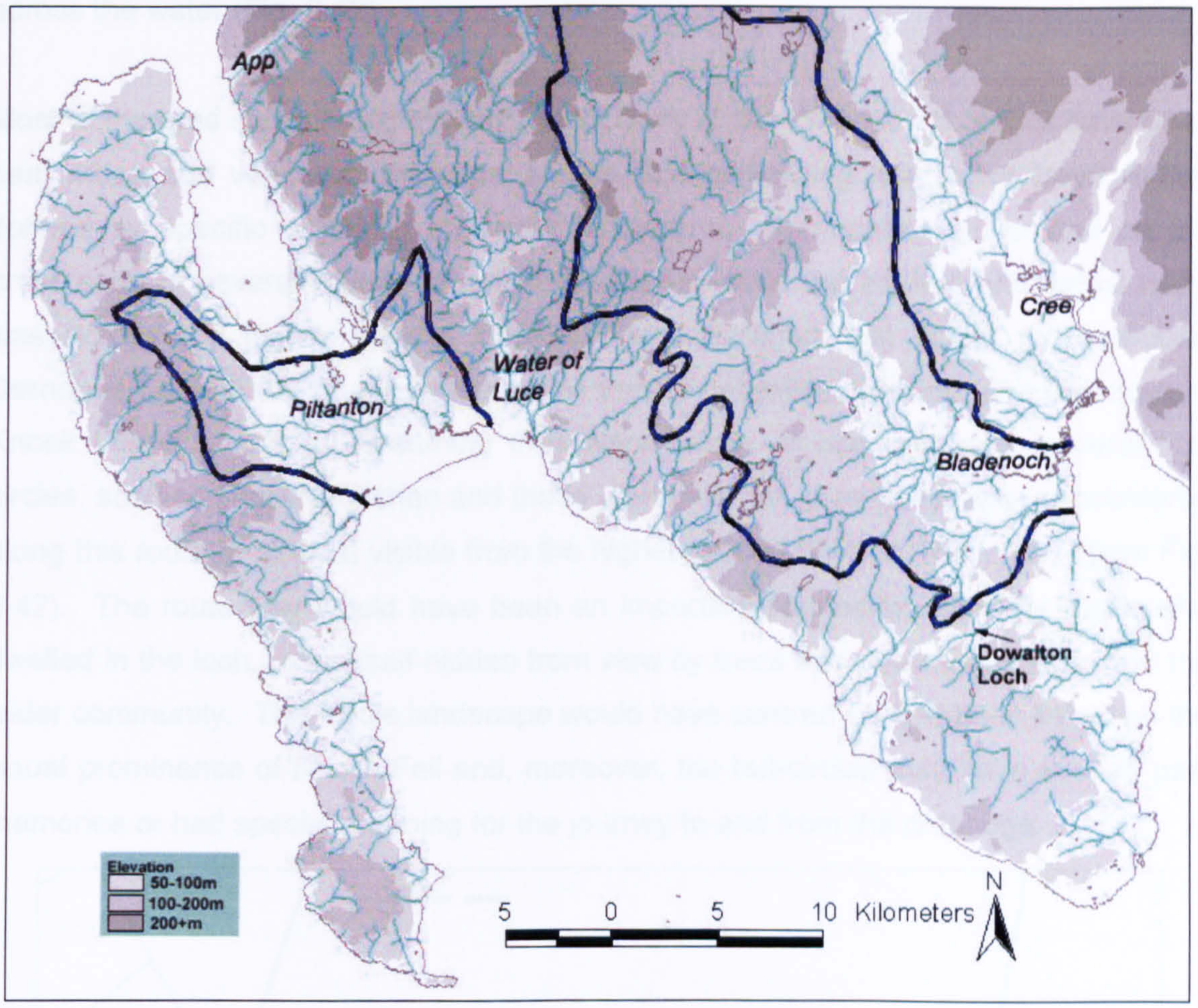
There are 46 possible crannogs identified within Wigtownshire (Fig. 6.40); however some of these were noted in antiquarian times and their veracity in some instances has been questioned (Cavers 2004, 3-4). Regardless, there is still a substantial concentration of crannogs in this area in comparison to other areas of Scotland. The distribution is obviously constrained by the location of lochs; nonetheless, most of the crannogs in Wigtownshire are located in the Machars.



(Fig. 6.40: Distribution of crannogs in Wigtownshire; labelled are those discussed in the text)

More than 60% of the crannogs are located along the watersheds of the Piltanton Burn and Baldenoch River and reflects a specific focus for construction (Fig. 6.41). The flow of water and its drainage from the land would have been important knowledge in prehistory, both for practical and ideological reasons. The watersheds are the points in the landscape from where water drains into individual river systems and they may have been viewed with specific interest, perhaps as natural boundaries or places of transition in the landscape (Goldberg forthcoming). Many of the lochs in Wigtownshire are located along these drainage systems. In comparison to river valleys, such as the Cree and Luce Water, the watersheds of the Piltanton and Baldenoch are less

topographically distinct and therefore the construction of crannogs may have helped to delineate and reaffirm these transitional points in the landscape. Dowalton Loch, where antiquarians recorded a group of at least five crannogs, is located at the point where the Bladenoch watershed divides the Machars from N to S and therefore may have been particularly significant as a boundary. It is perhaps therefore not surprising that the loch was a focus of votive deposition from the Iron Age and into the Medieval period (see Hunter 1994).



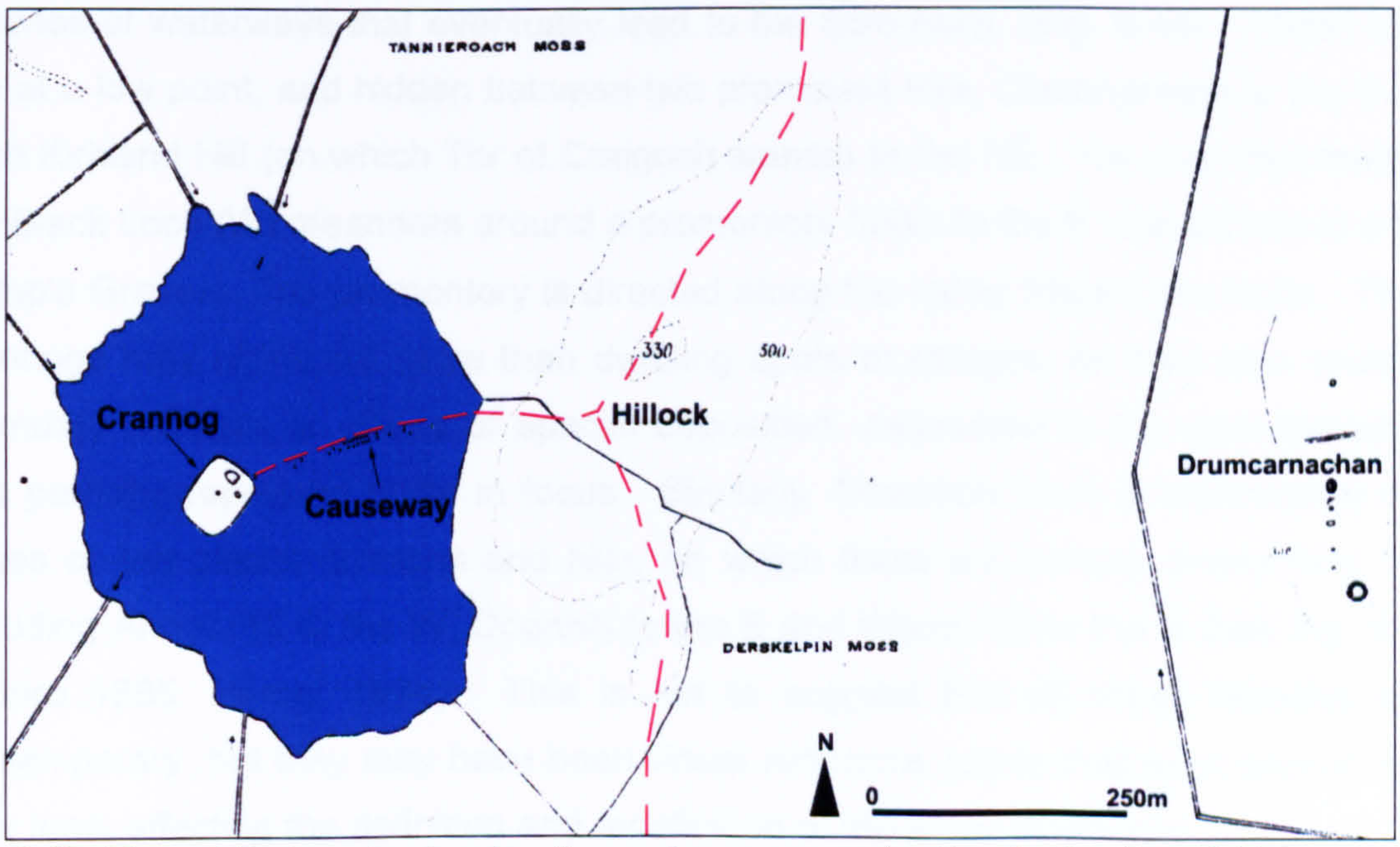
(Fig. 6.41: Map showing the watersheds of the rivers Baldenoch and Piltanton)

Landscapes

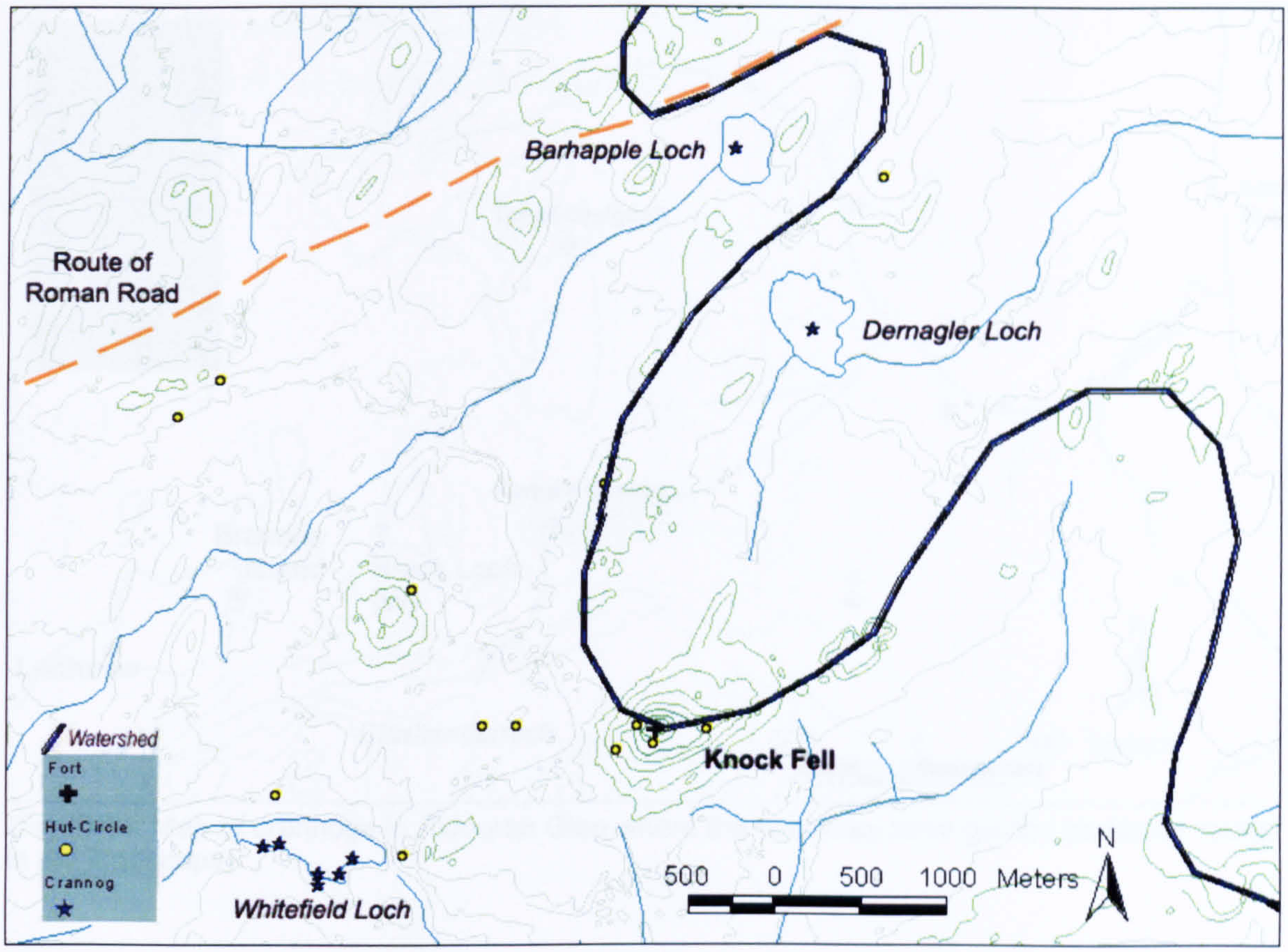
Watersheds would have provided route ways between crannogs and other places in the wider landscape. Restricted within the confines of a loch, no crannog would be self-sufficient; access to resources on the land was essential. While logboats or canoes would have been used to access some crannogs (Mowat 1996), causeways connecting crannogs to the dryland have also been noted at other sites in Wigtownshire. When Barhapple Loch was drained at the end of the 19th century, besides fragments of a canoe, a substantial timber gangway was noted to the E, with a possible secondary causeway to the N (Munro 1882, 1885; Wilson 1882). These

gangways, comparable to the porches of 'roundhouses' or the causeway across a ditch, would have similarly controlled access to the crannog, highlighting the transition between the dryland and the crannog. The length and character of causeways affected the experience and perception of a crannog and of the of relationship people to the loch, perhaps imbued with liminal symbolism. Although the crannog at Barhapple was located nearest the W shore of the loch, the main causeway is directed to the higher ground to the E and its length emphasised the journey in and out of this crannog and across the water (Fig. 6.42).

Most of the area surrounding the loch, particularly to the W, N and S, would have been peat moss and very wet, therefore access to the crannog may have been further defined by specific routes in the wider landscape. Barhapple was located on the crossroads of several routes. Prior to the Roman road the easiest and safest route was across the higher ground following the watershed that would circle around Dernagler Loch to the S, where there was another possible crannog, and then toward Knock Fell (Fig. 6.43). Assuming they were earlier or contemporary, several hut-circles, such as Drumcarnachan and those on Knock Fell, may have been encountered along this route or at least visible from the higher ground (Wilson 1882, 56-7) (see Fig. 6.42). The route way would have been an important connecting point for those who dwelled in the loch, often itself hidden from view by trees and other vegetation, and the wider community. The whole landscape would have centred on and been linked by the visual prominence of Knock Fell and, moreover, the hut-circles may have evoked past memories or had special meaning for the journey to and from the crannogs.

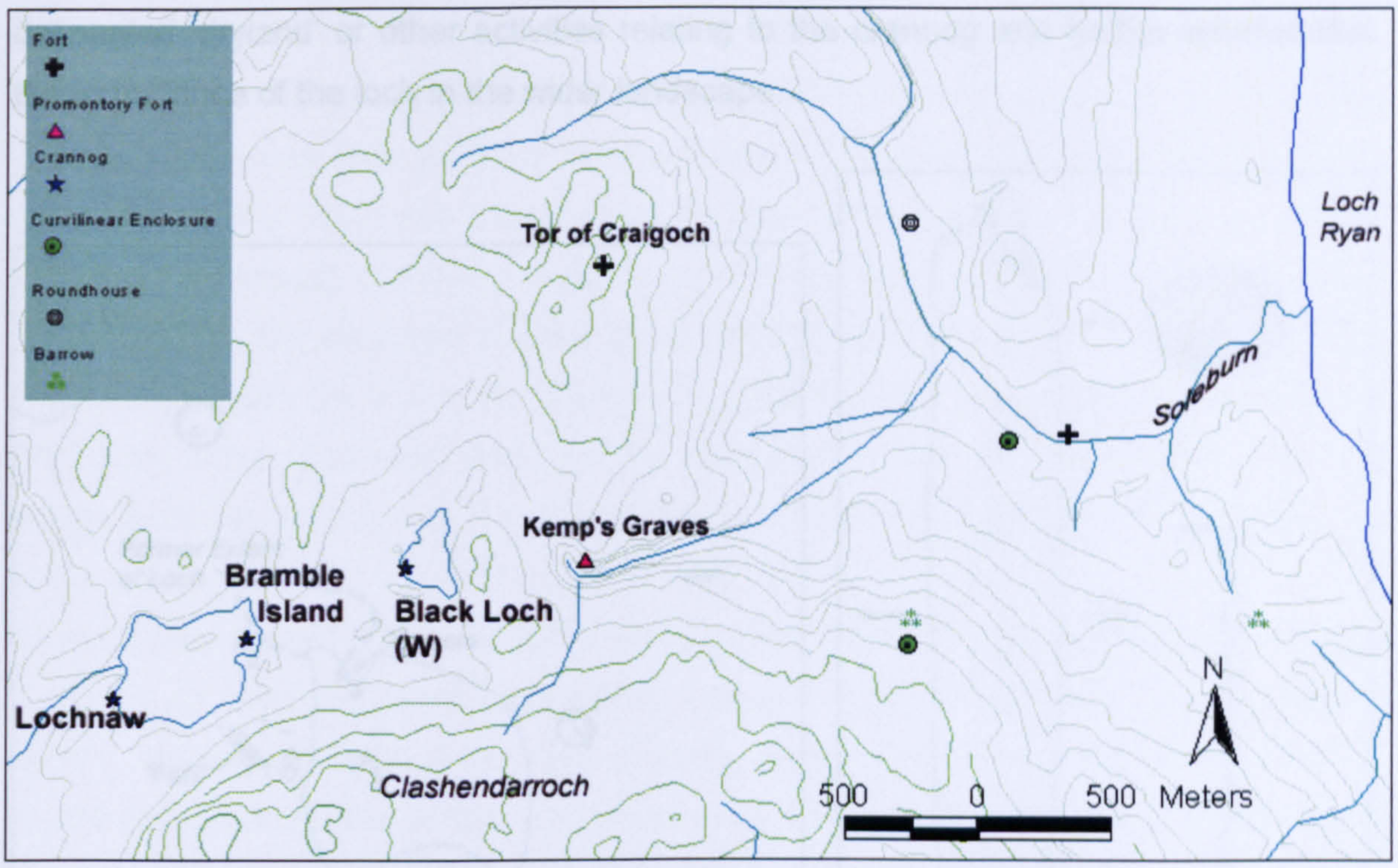


(Fig.6.42: Map of Barhapple showing the main causeway leading to the E and higher ground and possible route ways north and south (after Wilson 1882))



(Fig. 6.43: Map showing the line of the watershed weaving around the crannogs in Barhapple, Dernagler and Castle Lochs, with Knock connecting the high ground)

Although isolated features, in low-lying positions that were often visually hidden by woodland, crannogs were important in a local context and as one moved through the landscape. In the Western Rhins, along the Aldouran Glen, there are three lochs, each with crannogs, Lochnaw, Bramble Island and Black Loch (W), which are connected by a series of waterways that eventually lead to the Sole Burn (Fig. 6.44). These lochs are at a low point, and hidden between two prominent hills, Clashnarroch to the S and High Kirkland Hill (on which Tor of Craigoch stands) to the NE. The river that leads to the Black Loch (W) meanders around a promontory 500m to the E where there is a fort, Kemp's Graves. The promontory is directed along the valley toward the lochs. These crannogs may represent more than dwelling spots or refuges, as they also could be boundary markers or places of special deposition, connected to the local landscape and perhaps represent shifts in focus. Similarly, Dowalton Loch is surrounded by a series of low glacial drumlins and hills, on which there are several overlooking forts including Annat Hill to the W, Doonhill to the E and Wood Hill to the N (see Fig. 6.46) (Munro 1885, Hunter 1994). This is not to suggest that all these features were contemporary, but they may have been visual reference points that were appropriated over time, affecting the definition and redefinition of the wider landscape.

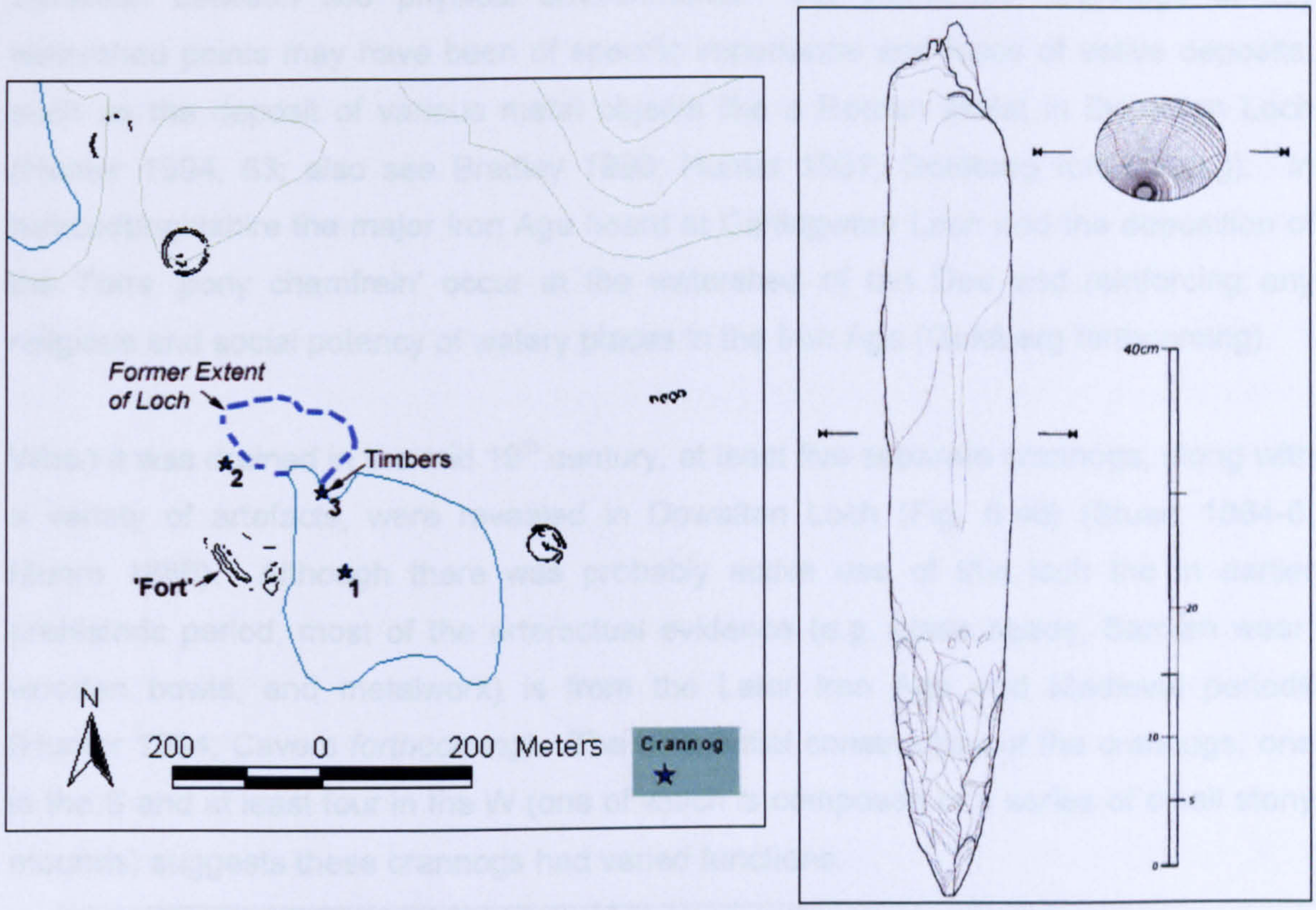


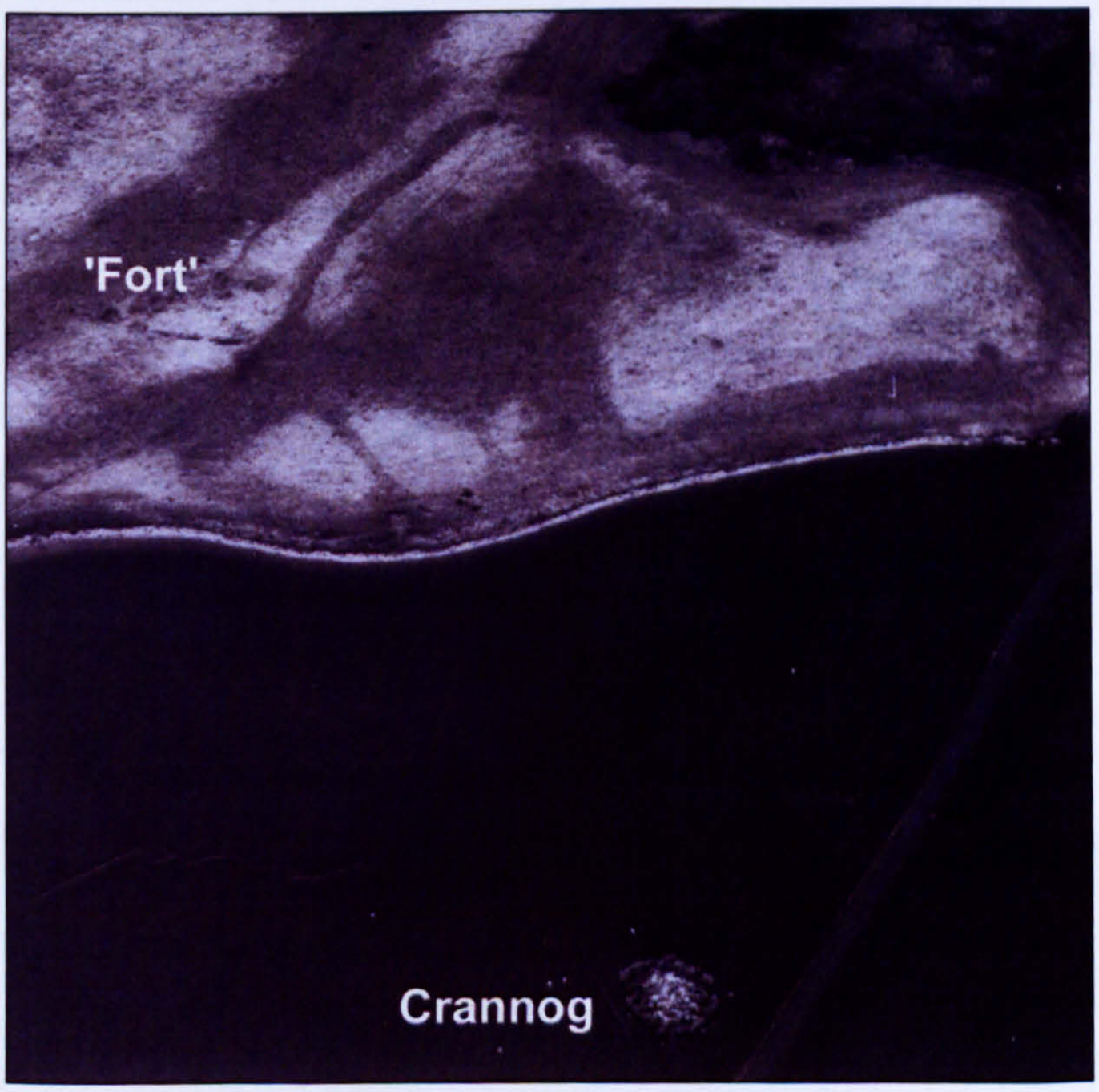
(Fig. 6.44: Map of crannogs in Aldouran Glen where the river may have guided particular routes in the landscape)

Shifting Focus

Some lochs in Wigtownshire provided a focus for settlement throughout prehistory. At Cults Loch both the dating evidence and the morphological variety of features in the area highlight the differential relationship between the loch and 'settlement' over time (Fig. 6.45). Timbers enclosing a northern promontory (Cults 3) of the loch were dated to *c.* 3rd century BC, while timbers from the crannog (Cults 1) dated to *c.* 1st century AD (Crone *pers comm.*). This evidence suggests a potential shift in the role of the loch in the landscape. In the past, as noted on the 1st edition OS map, Cults Loch had extended to the NW where there a third possible crannog (Cults 2) was located, but is no longer traceable (Barber & Crone 1993). A variety of activities centred around this loch, which is evidenced by a large enclosure (classified as a 'fort') on the W side of the loch (see Fig 6.45). The ditches of the fort abut the edge of the loch and were likely to have been filled with water, which may have been an essential part of its architecture and significance of this place. The ditches and the interior faces towards the loch, therefore demonstrating any activities within this enclosure were in particular reference to the loch and likely to have been waterlogged, especially during the winter. The experience of this fort therefore can be contrasted to forts on higher, better-drained lands and reflects a distinct definition of space and it may be questioned whether this is a fort at all. If contemporary the internal space and the ditches of this large enclosure were directed towards the crannog (Cults Loch 1). This enclosure may have

delineated 'dryland' or other activities relating to the crannog and further emphasised the importance of the loch in the wider landscape.



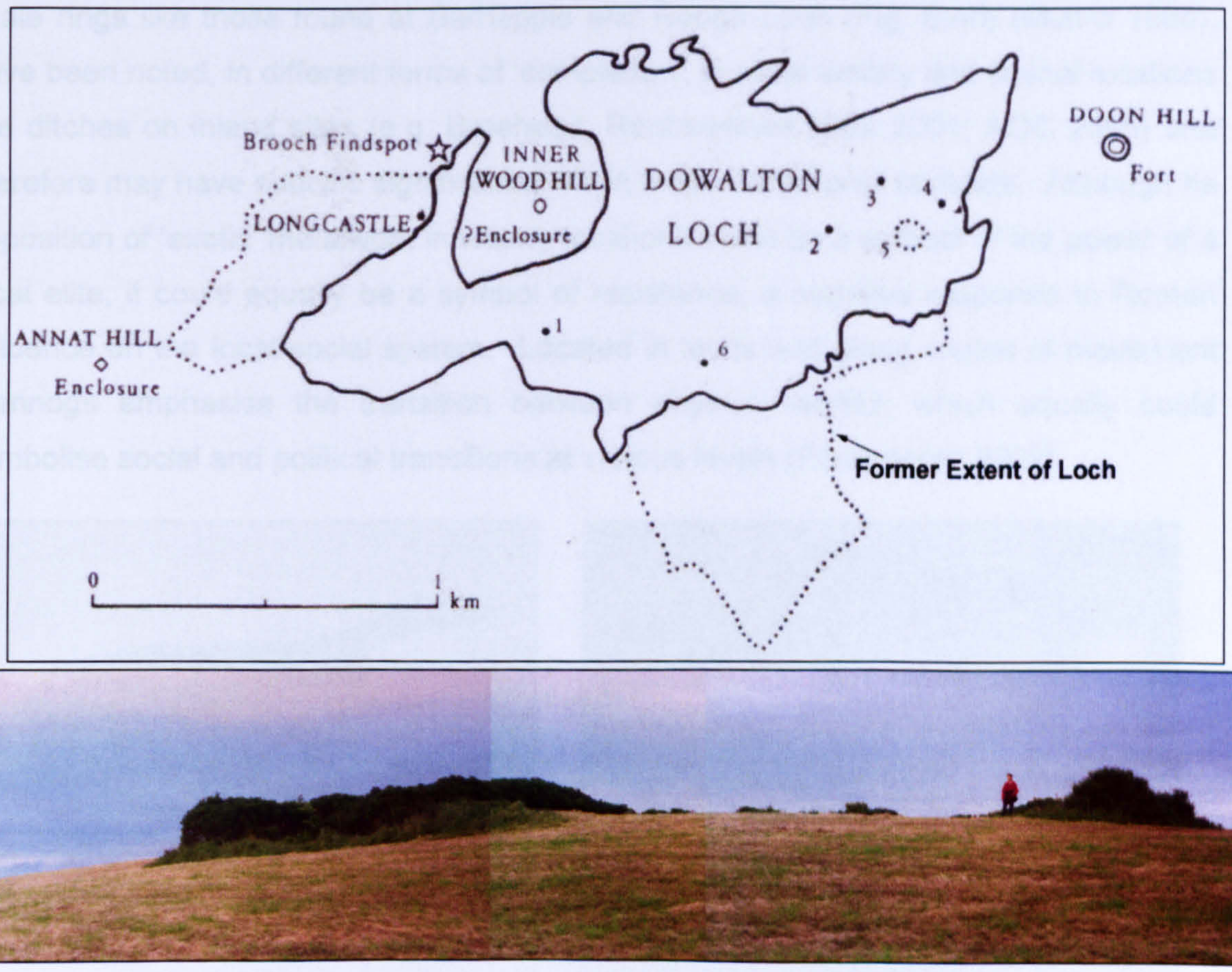


(Fig. 6.45: Map showing the location of the crannogs and surrounding cropmarks in Cults Loch © RCAHMS; oak timber from the promontory crannog (Cavers 2004, 25); aerial photograph showing the relationship between the 'fort' and crannog 1 © RCAHMS)

Status and Function

By definition crannogs are located in watery places and can be suggested to reflect the transition between two physical environments. As mentioned, crannogs at key watershed points may have been of specific importance and focus of votive deposits, such as the deposit of various metal objects like a Roman skillet in Dowalton Loch (Hunter 1994, 63; also see Bradley 1990; Hunter 1997; Goldberg forthcoming). In Kirkcudbrightshire the major Iron Age hoard at Carlingwark Loch and the deposition of the Torrs 'pony chamfrein' occur at the watershed of the Dee and reinforcing any religious and social potency of watery places in the Iron Age (Goldberg forthcoming).

When it was drained in the mid 19th century, at least five separate crannogs, along with a variety of artefacts, were revealed in Dowalton Loch (Fig. 6.46) (Stuart 1864-6, Munro 1885). Although there was probably active use of this loch the in earlier prehistoric period, most of the artefactual evidence (e.g. glass beads, Samien wear, wooden bowls, and metalwork) is from the Later Iron Age and Medieval periods (Hunter 1994; Cavers *forthcoming*). The differential construction of the crannogs, one in the S and at least four in the W (one of which is composed of a series of small stony mounds) suggests these crannogs had varied functions.



(Fig. 6.46: Plan of the crannogs in Dowalton, numbered 1-6 (Hunter 1994); picture of the 'fort' on the summit of Doonhill (author))

It has been argued that the crannogs in Dowalton Loch were high status or elite settlement, but this interpretation relies on assumptions on the value of the artefacts and the function of crannogs (Hunter 1994; Cavers forthcoming). The loch was certainly a focus of activity and deposition over several generations, but the function and reason of deposition at these points cannot be simply equated to status. The amount of Roman goods at Dowalton or at other crannogs in the area, such as Awhirk and Black Loch (Castle Kennedy) are assumed to have an intrinsic value or are positive symbols of power and therefore only the elite would have access to them (Cavers forthcoming). The value of the patera at Dowalton Loch and the cauldron at Awhirk may have more to do with their function, symbolic character or perhaps even their shape rather than an inherent value as exotic metalwork (Fig. 6.47) (see Green 1998).

It is also important to consider the context of these artefacts and appreciate their complex histories. The crannogs were not necessarily the initial place of exchange. Instead the objects may have passed through a complex series of social processes before being deposited in or near a crannog. Considering an artefact's biography each one could have had numerous associated meanings and values. For instance, jet or shale rings like those found at Barhapple and Rough Loch (Fig. 6.48) (Munro 1885), have been noted, in different forms of 'completion', in other watery and liminal locations like ditches on inland sites (e.g. Braehead, Renfrewshire (Ellis 2001; AOC 2005) and therefore may have specific significance within these transitional contexts. Although he deposition of 'exotic' metalwork in watery locations could be a symbol of the power of a local elite, it could equally be a symbol of resistance, a negative response to Roman influence on the local social system. Located in lochs and along routes of movement crannogs emphasise the transition between physical worlds, which equally could symbolise social and political transitions at various levels (Fredengren 2002).

(Fig. 6.47: Roman finds from crannogs such as the patera from Dowalton and the bronze cauldron from Awhirk are assumed to be high status objects © SCRAN)

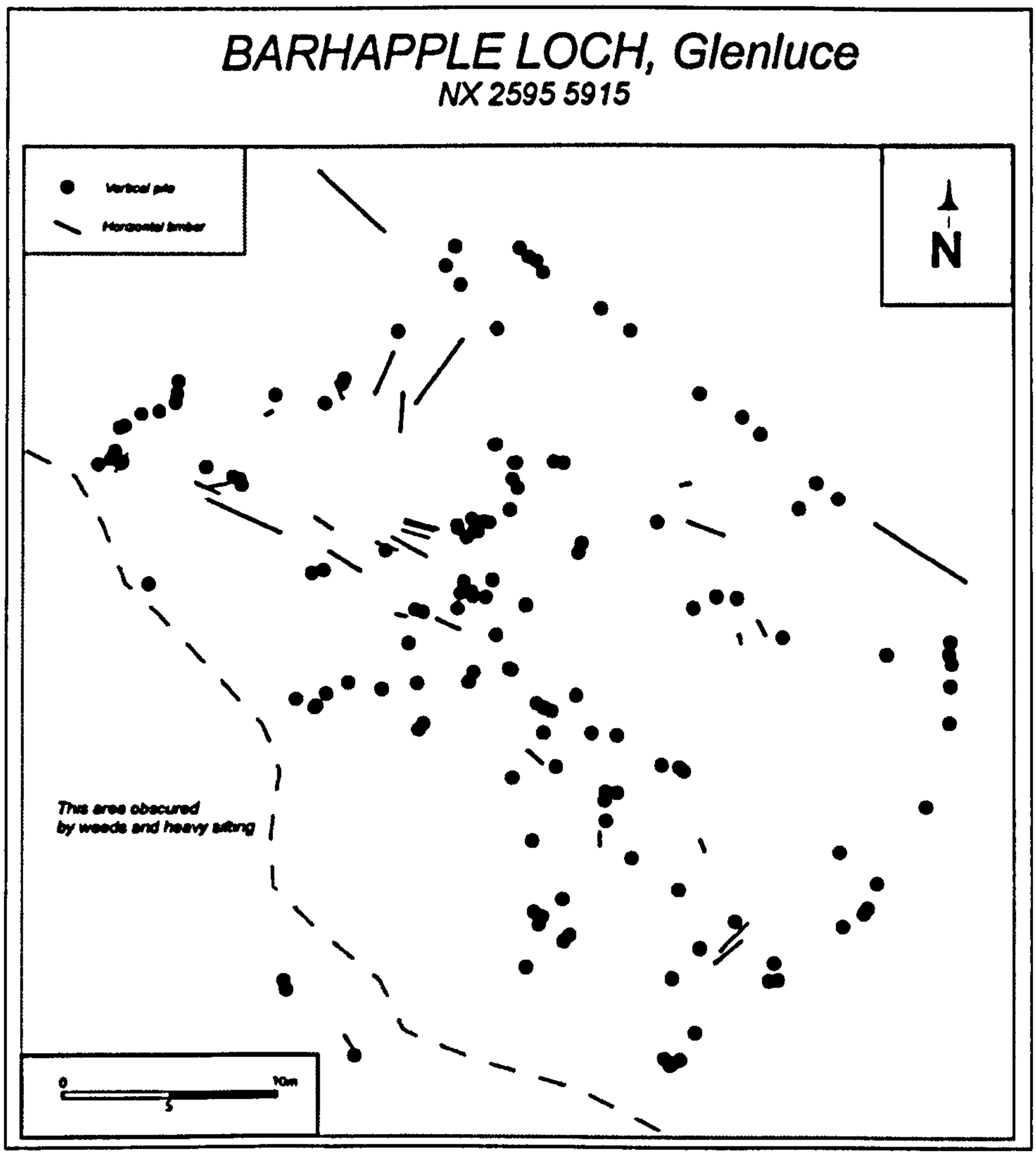
(Fig.6.48: Shale bangle from Barhapple crannog, Wigtownshire (smaller of the two), the other is from Dalry moss, North Ayrshire © SCRAN)

Construction: habitations and memory

Recent surveys have shown that the crannogs of Wigtownshire can be made up of a variety of materials and may reflect differences in chronology, function and meaning (Henderson *et al* 2003, 100; Cavers 2004). Furthermore, once they are established, crannogs in Wigtownshire had different biographies, some continued to be used in the Medieval period, while others were abandoned. Places such as Dorman's Island, Whitefield Loch, dated to 400-150 BC from structural timbers, showed signs of sustained occupation, which focussed on pastoral and agricultural activities (Henderson *et al* 2003; Cavers forthcoming). The large amounts of midden material (dung, twigs, woodchips, charcoal, hazelnut shells, grain chaff and bone) that make-up Dorman's Island (Henderson *et al* 2003, 94) indicate that many phases of activity occurred on the site itself: animals were kept, grain was processed, and perhaps structural timbers were finished here. The depth of midden material may mirror the chronological depth of occupation of this crannog; and thus suggesting that Dorman's Island was a permanent settlement or one that was used at specific times of the year for a range of 'domestic' activities in the Iron Age.

Platforms of timbers layered with peat or other organic material and held together with vertical timber piles, what Munro called *packwerk* are evident at a number of crannogs in Wigtownshire, such as at Barhapple and Dowalton Loch 2 (Munro 1885, 80; Henderson 1998, 236-7). Specific skills were required in the construction of these specialised timber features. In a recent survey, over 170 separate timbers were noted

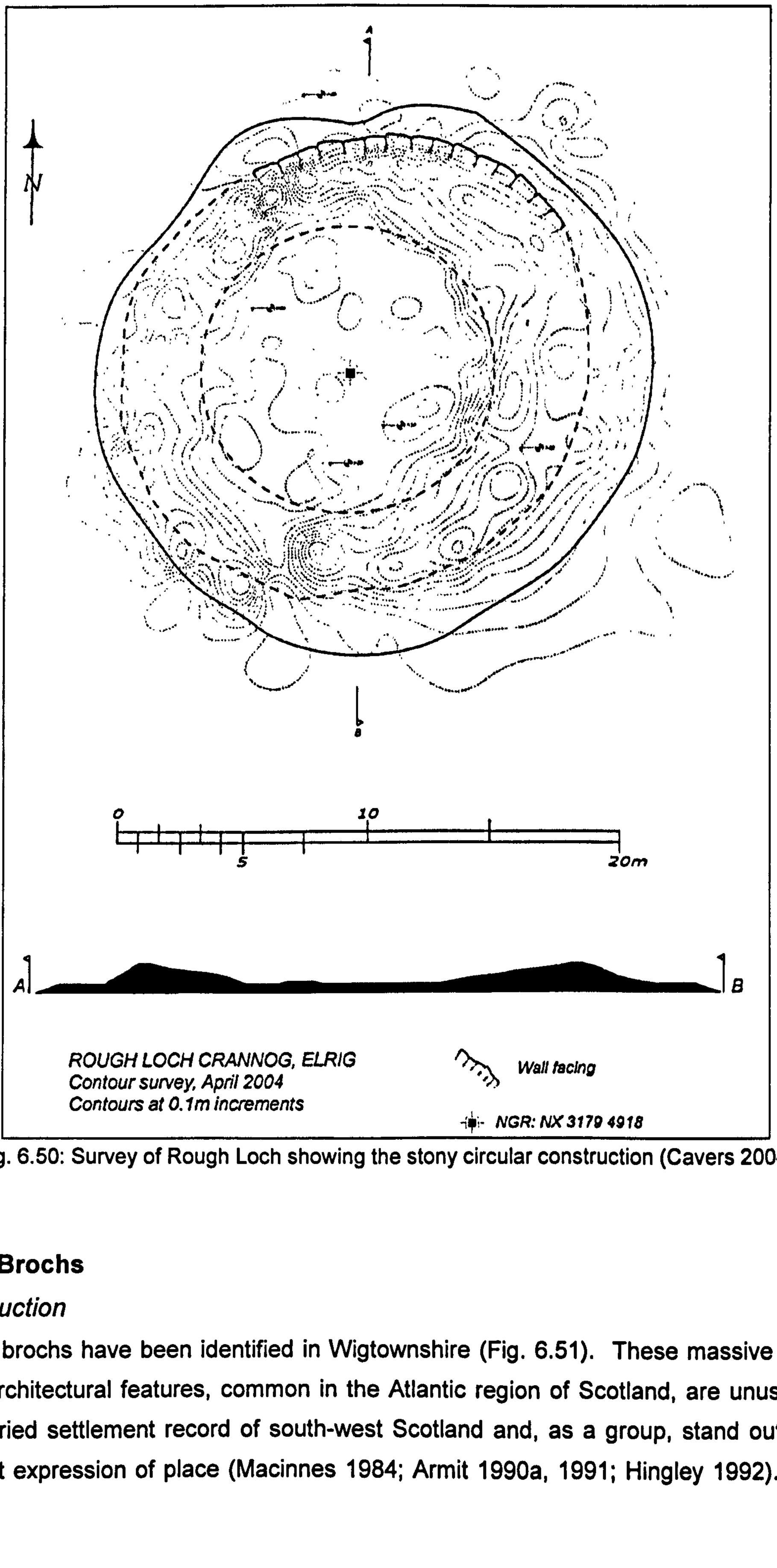
at Barhapple crannog and when it was initially drained it was estimated that up to 3000 trees were have been used for its construction (Fig. 6.49) (Cavers & Henderson 2002; CANMORE). Like palisaded enclosures, access to timber resources, required communication between people and communities. Co-ordinating all of the resources and skills would have made the construction of a crannog an event. The structure of Barhapple, dated to 500-50BC from structural piles, was composed of a variety of materials, including both wood and stone flooring (Wilson 1882, 54-55, Cavers forthcoming) and brought together different physical elements, such as timber, stone and earth to create a settlement on water, which would emphasis the significance of this place as a symbol for the wider environment. The mound of organic debris defining the crannog at Dorman's Island differs greatly to the crannog described at Barhapple. At Barhapple the layers of clay in between layers of habitation (*ibid*, 54) may highlight flooding events. Also the successive phases of hearths at this site may indicate that this loch was not continuously occupied. It was perhaps only used seasonally and abandoned during the winter when flooding of the low island was most likely to occur.



(Fig. 6.49: South West Crannog Survey Barhapple Loch crannog (Cavers & Henderson 2002))

Traditionally the *packwerk* crannogs of the SW, such as Barhapple, differed from stonier Highland crannogs; yet the quantity of stone has been shown by recent survey to be more frequent in Wigtownshire than previously thought (Morrison 1985, 20; Henderson *et al* 2003; 1000). Some have suggested that stone crannogs belong to a later phase of refurbishment as a prerequisite to subsequent settlement (Dixon 2004, 129), but others have stressed that this stony appearance could be the result of the degradation of organic superstructures and preservation biases (Crone 1988, 47; 2000, 3). Yet, it is also possible that some stone capped crannogs, aptly named 'crannog-cairns' by Davies (1942) reflects an intentional abandonment phase created to symbolise the end of a settlement similar to the process seen at some hut-circles (e.g. Bender *et al* 1997). The hardness of the stone compared to the organic timber may represent the metaphorical 'hardening' and a final phase of settlement, such as that seen at Dorman's Island. Once they had a cairn-like experience these crannogs, like Dorman's Island, which protruded from the loch and was not prone to flooding, remained for some time as 'islands of remembrance'. As already demonstrated, cairns were important symbols of the life-cycle that were incorporated into upland settlement (see Johnston 2000). Moreover, the cairn-like features on top of some crannogs may have been important visual mnemonics for people moving through the landscape, connecting the lowland and upland environments and highlighting the relationships between particular communities or activities (Fredengren 2002).

Due to the variability and complexity of crannog construction and the possibility of reuse, no singular interpretation can be applied to all. The context of each crannog must be considered. The crannog at Rough Island was composed mostly of stone with vertical timber piles consolidating it (Cavers 2004, 5-6). Several courses of stone walling of a large structure are still visible in Rough Loch (Fig. 6.50) (*ibid*, 6). Compared to timber-built crannogs, such a stone feature represents a different architectural expression of settlement on an artificial island. Yet, as Cavers proposes, this construction may be related to other stone built features (i.e. homesteads) that dominate the immediate surrounding landscape (*ibid*, 6 &7). However, the difference in the construction of this crannog may also reflect specific activities that were carried out at Rough Loch. The lack of organic build up seen on other Iron Age sites, coupled with the artefacts recovered from this site (including glass beads, a bone spindle whorl, a bronze fitting for a sword and a crucible) (Munro 1885, 113-115) contrast to the evidence at Dorman's Loch (Wilson 1873) and suggests that Rough Loch was a more specialised settlement, designed for specific productive activities such as small-scale metalworking. Comparing Rough Loch to Dorman's Loch further highlights the diverse of forms of 'settlement' that took place on the crannogs in Wigtownshire.



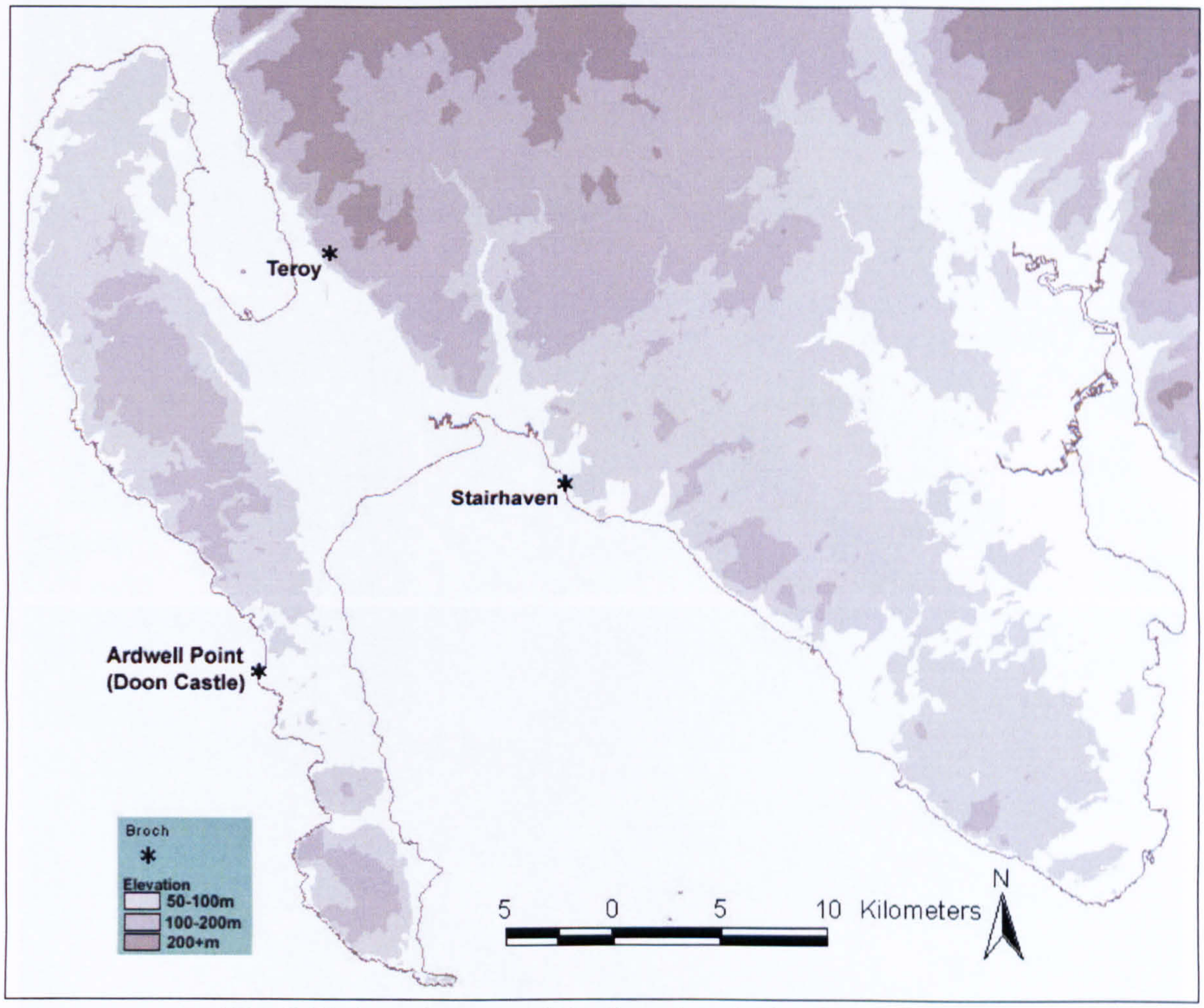
(Fig. 6.50: Survey of Rough Loch showing the stony circular construction (Cavers 2004))

6.5.2 Brochs

Introduction

Three brochs have been identified in Wigtownshire (Fig. 6.51). These massive stone built architectural features, common in the Atlantic region of Scotland, are unusual in the varied settlement record of south-west Scotland and, as a group, stand out as a distinct expression of place (Macinnes 1984; Armit 1990a, 1991; Hingley 1992). Yet,

an examination of the Wigtownshire brochs suggests that, on another level, each one had a different relationship with the local landscape and may not be a result of a singular phenomenon of elite construction. Therefore each broch will be discussed separately to assess their situation in the wider landscape and, where possible, their architectural character.

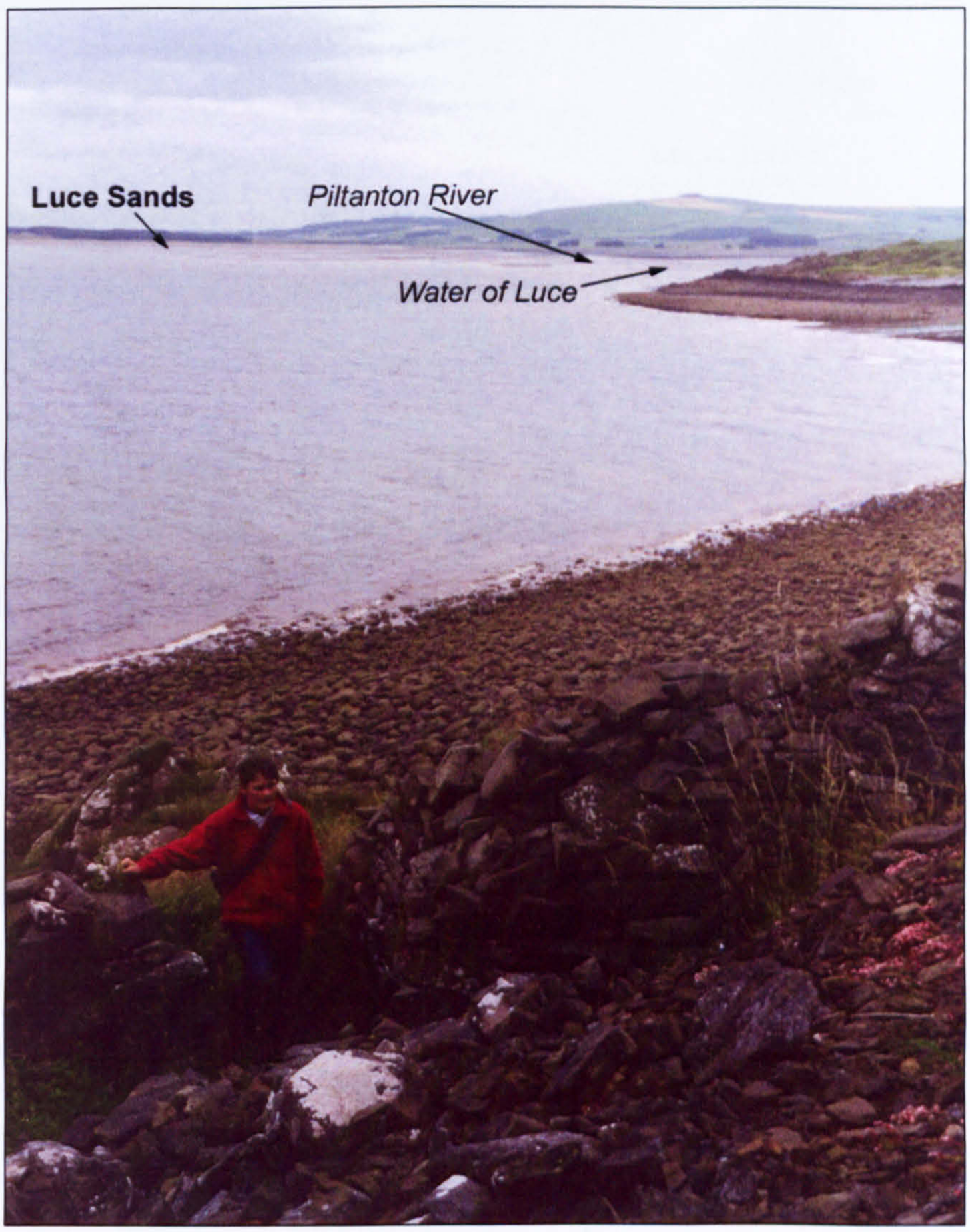


(Fig. 6.51: Location map of the three brochs in Wigtownshire)

Stairhaven

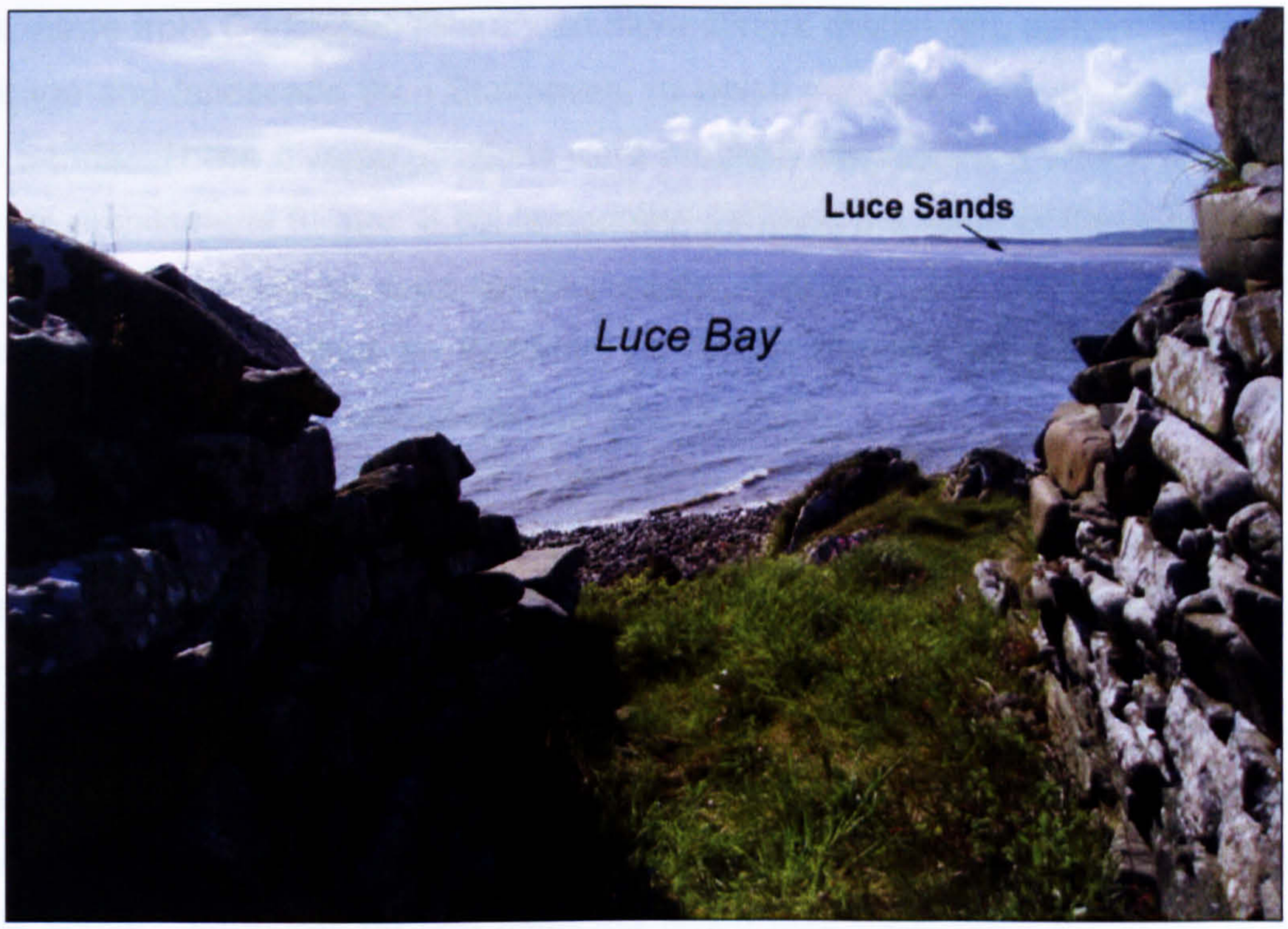
Stairhaven broch is positioned on a sea stack connected by a thin causeway to the steep overlooking coastal cliffs to the E (Fig. 6.52). Not only is the broch physically, but it is also visually separated from the landscape. The cliffs immediately to the E 'hide' the broch from the landward approach (see Fig. 6.52). Moreover, the curve of the coast at this point in the landscape further limits any views to this broch from the lands to the S. The concealed character of this position is attested by a more recent use of the broch as an illicit whisky still, accessing a supply of water from a spring on top of the bank (Wilson 1899, 176). As an elaborate stone building, Stairhaven could only have been visually appreciated from the sea or Luce Bay, where it perhaps acted as a symbol or landmark to those approaching the mouth of the Luce Water (Fig. 6.53).

(Fig. 6.52: Views of Stairhaven: approaching the broch from the N; showing the overlooking ground to the E (author))

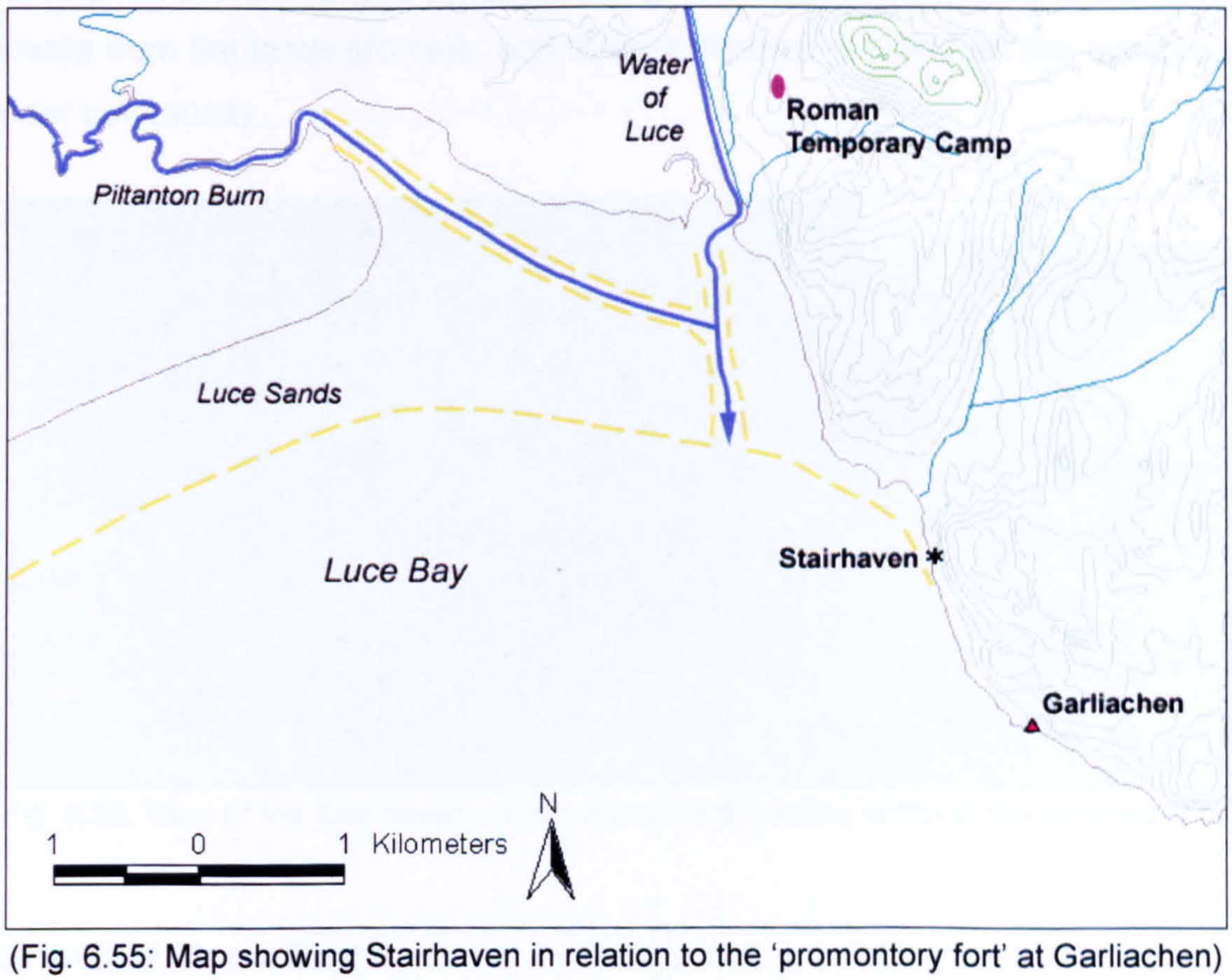


(Fig. 6.53: View from Stairhaven towards Luce Sands and the mouth of the Water of Luce, Challoch Hill overlooking Dunragit in the distance (author))

Conversely, from the broch, sea movement could be observed without obstruction. The main entrance is directed toward the ENE with views to Luce Sands and where the Piltanton Burn and Water of Luce meet Luce Bay (Fig. 6.54 & 55). The concentration and diversity of artefacts recovered from Luce Sands (and Torrs Warren) attests to the focus Luce Bay as a place of trade and activity throughout prehistory (Wilson 1876, 1880c; Davidson 1954; Cormack 1963, 1964, 1967; Coles 1965; Idle & Martin 1975). One of the roles of the broch at Stairhaven may have been as a symbol of control to those people occupying Luce Sands. Furthermore, from Stairhaven access inland via the Piltanton River or the Luce Water could be monitored. Stairhaven's visibility relates directly to its relationship to the sea and movement inland. Its massive architecture was therefore not only a symbol of control but also one of connection, highlighting the movement between land and sea.



(Fig. 6.54: View from the entrance of Stairhaven broch (author))



(Fig. 6.55: Map showing Stairhaven in relation to the 'promontory fort' at Garliachen)

The nearest known possible Iron Age settlement feature to Stairhaven, the promontory fort of Garliachen, at Laigh Sinniness, is approximately 1.5km S along the coast. Because of the variable character of the coastline, this feature is not visible from the broch, or vice versa (see Fig. 6.55). The promontory fort at Garliachen faces towards the S and the Irish Sea; where, on clear day the hills of the Isle of Man are visible.

Thus, views from Garliachen referenced more distant places and connected to a wider seascape and landscape than Stairhaven, in which the views are directed inwards to Luce Sands. These diverse positions were probably appropriated with respect to their different architectural forms. If contemporary, perhaps the roles of these two features within the wider landscape were complimentary. Together they may have worked as a series of landmarks along an important routeway, evoking particular messages as travellers in the sea approached and left Wigtownshire.

The broch at Stairhaven was much more than a place of habitation, if it was a 'settlement' at all. Occupying the entire summit of the stack, 'domestic' activities would have been limited, with no room for growing crops or keeping animals. The only entrance to the broch would require impractically scrabbling up the steep sides of the cliff (Fig. 6.56). To access resources such as food, crops or pasture, the inhabitants of the broch would have had to rely on the settlement of the surrounding landscape on the slopes above. Although, on one hand the broch may have been a symbol of power and control from the seaward perspective, on the other hand it was overlooked and vulnerable from the landward side, and to be sustained, it relied on the acceptance of the wider community.

(Fig. 6.56: View of the Stairhaven, which occupies the entire width of the stack (author))

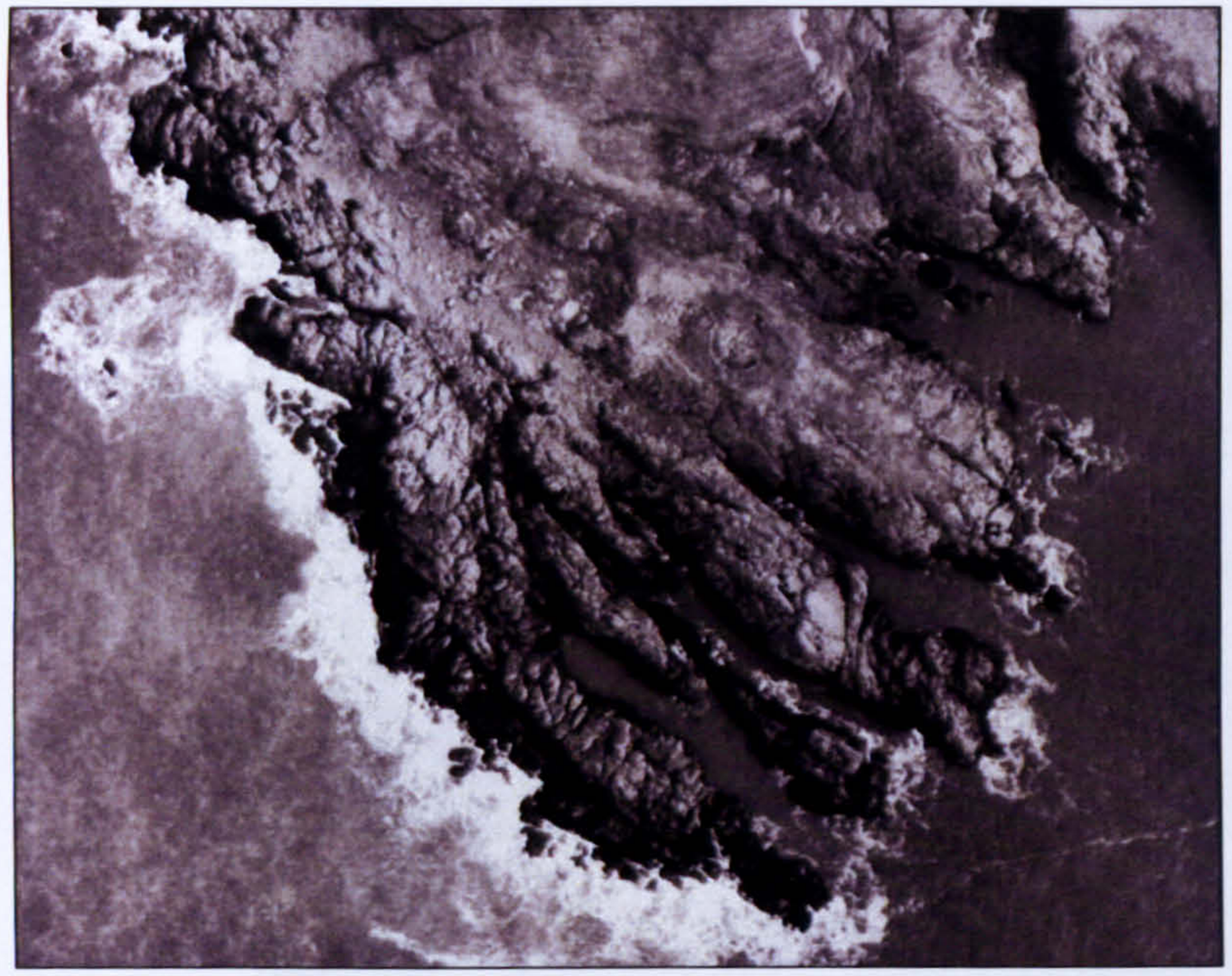
Ardwell Point, Doon Castle

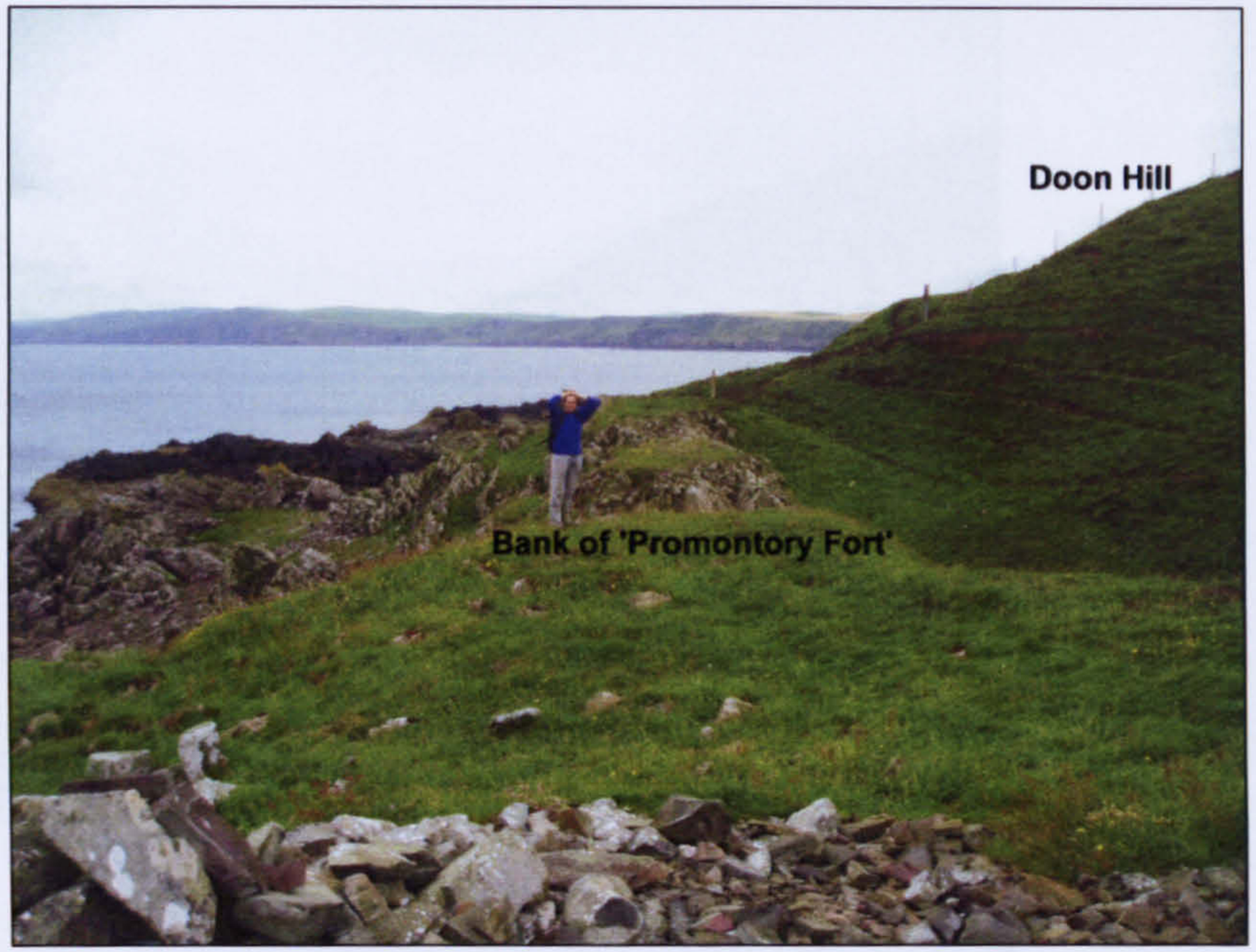
On the W coast of Wigtownshire, Ardwell Point is located on a steep sided promontory attached to the mainland by a narrow neck of land. Like Stairhaven this promontory is hidden from the landward approach to the NE and is overlooked by higher ground, in this case, Doon Hill (Fig. 6.57). Natural gullies on either side of this promontory physically separated the broch from the rest of the landscape. This broch is not

visually prominent from a landward perspective and could not be referenced by a local land-based population. However, Ardwell Point stands out from the promontory and would have been visually impressive to anyone travelling by sea along the W coast of the Rhins, from Carrickglassen towards the sandy Ardwell Bay or further N. The proximity to Ardwell Bay would have provided easy access to trade and communication routes to places across the Irish Sea.

The broch at Ardwell Point has been partially cleared of rubble and the basal layers of walling are more visible than at Teroy or Stairhaven. Although filled with rubble the internal diameter of the broch is approximately 9m and on par, in terms of internal space, with other roundhouses in Wigtownshire (see Fig. 6.59). The broch occupies the breadth of the N end of a promontory. Immediately to the SW of the broch, along the promontory, is a grassy terrace. Unlike the brochs in northern Scotland and the Western Isles, which have only one entrance, Ardwell Point has two opposing entrances, one towards the landward approach in the NE and the other to the SW, towards Carrickglassen and out to sea (Fig 6.58). The views from the landward entrance are limited; yet, like Stairhaven coastal movement could be observed from the entrance to the SW. The two entrances at Ardwell Point also allowed for more flexible movement into the broch and created specific relationships with the wider landscape. For instance, access to the grassy terrace to the SW of the broch would have been gained either via a very narrow path around the exterior or, more conveniently, through the broch itself. Unlike Stairhaven, the SW entrance at Ardwell Point, leading to the small terrace, possibly emphasised a direct relationship between the broch and specific 'open air' activities, which could have taken place on this terrace. These activities, whatever they were, could have had a performative element, viewed from the broch and surrounding land.

The easiest way to access Ardwell Point broch is across the neck of a narrow ridge, which is bridged by a low bank, possibly the remains of an earlier promontory fort (Toolis 2003b) (see Fig. 6.57). Carruthers (2002, 88) suggests that reuse of this place is of particular and intentional significance, 'the fact that the broch sits within a coastal, promontory enclosure must be a factor of the complex continuities and traditions of occupation of particular places'. The maintenance and reuse of a bank of an earlier promontory fort may have emphasised a link to the ancient landscape. Neither brochs at Teroy nor Stairhaven incorporated earlier promontory forts into their constructions and therefore the question remains why at Ardwell Point such as feature was appropriated?





(Fig. 6.57: Ardwell Point: Aerial photograph © RCAHMS; View from Ardwell Point broch towards the NE showing Doon Hill; View of the broch from Doon Hill (author))

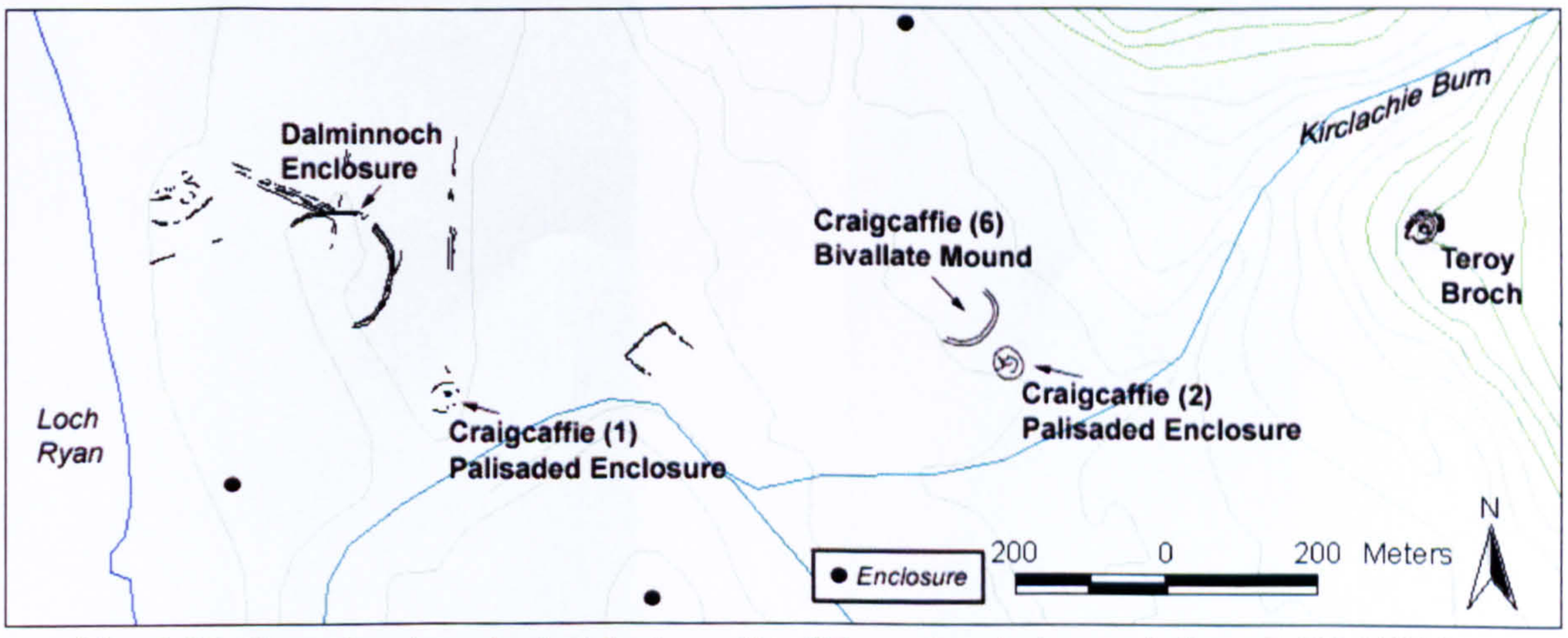



(Fig. 6.58: Clockwise: Ardwell Point opposing entrances; view from NE entrance; from the terrace looking back to the broch; view from SW entrance (author))

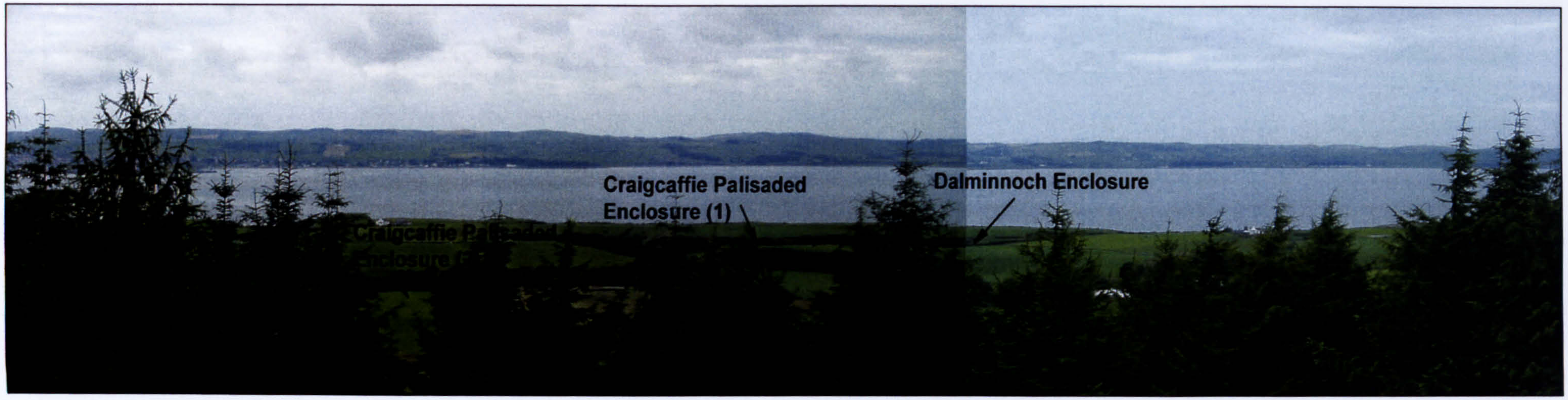
(Fig. 6.59: The of interior Ardwell Point broch looking S (H James))

Teroy

In stark contrast to Stairhaven and Ardwell Point, Teroy broch is located on a high position inland. Teroy overlooks the raised beach area of Craigcaffie farm, where many archaeological features have been recorded by aerial photography (Fig. 6.60). If contemporary, the broch would have been a prominent structure visible from a variety of features, such as the bivallate mound (6) and the palisaded enclosed roundhouses at Craigcaffie (1 and 2) (Fig. 6.61 & 62). Within the immediate landscape the broch would perhaps have been a symbol of power, one to literally look up to. However, visibility in this case would depend on the surrounding vegetation. Currently the broch is secluded within forestry; yet, in the Iron Age it is uncertain whether this area was forested or open pasture. Nonetheless it is important to consider that without the hindrance of trees the views from Teroy towards Loch Ryan and the Western Rhins would have been extensive (Fig. 6.63). Interestingly, the singular entrance noted at the broch is located to the ENE, turned away from the extensive views and the many features on the westward lands below. In this case the emphasis was on seeing the broch and not the views from the broch.



(Fig. 6.60: Map of archaeological features W of Teroy broch, transcriptions © RCAHMS)



(Fig. 6.61: Views W from Teroy broch (author))

(Fig. 6.62: Views to Teroy from Craigcaffie 6, a bivallate enclosure, illustrating prominence of broch (author))

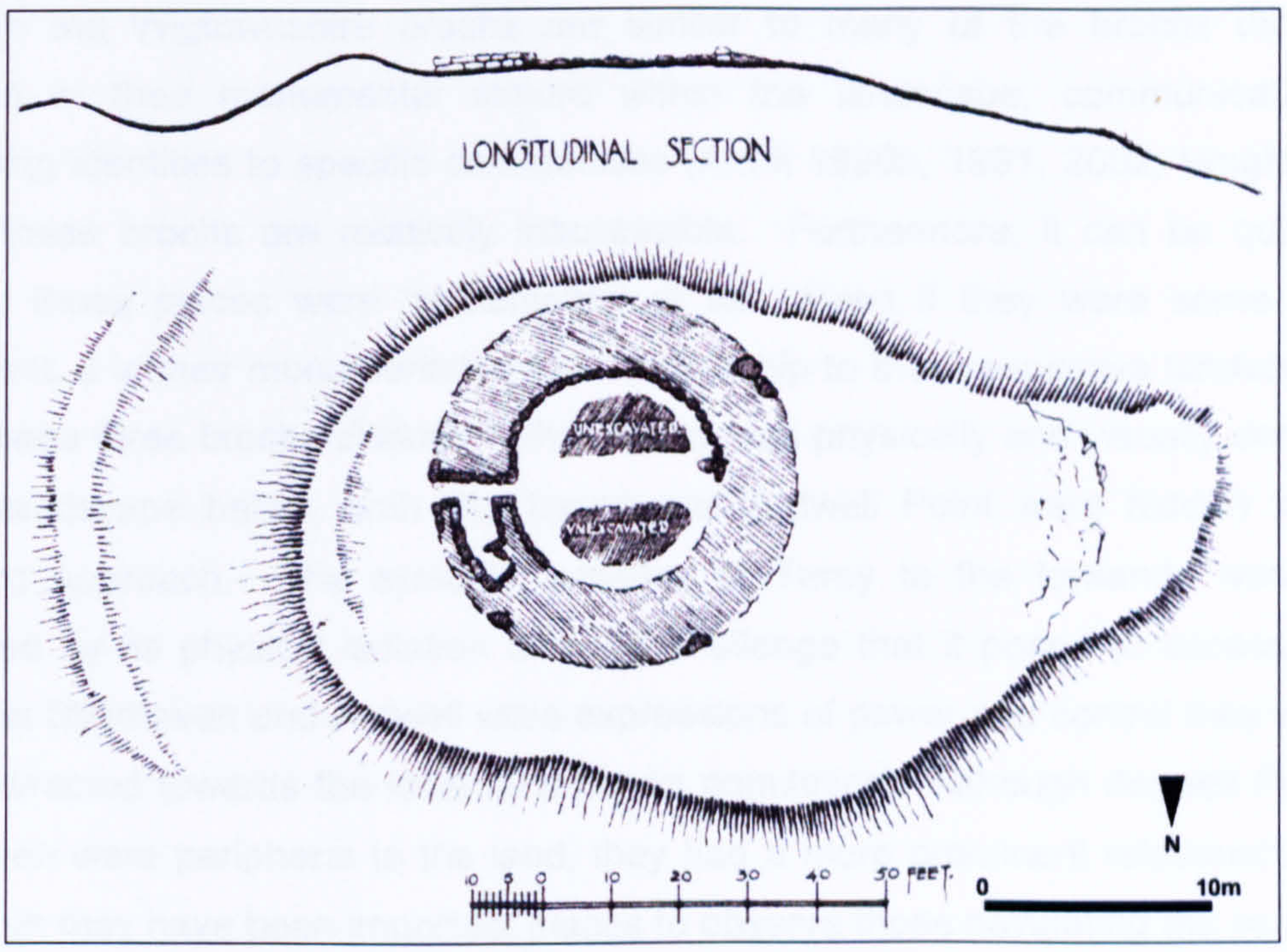
(Fig. 6.63: Teroy broch view from the SW (above), view from the E in ditch (left), view of entrance in ENE (right) (author))

To further enhance the physical prominence, isolation and exclusivity of the broch, like Stairhaven and Ardwell Point, the natural character of the landscape at Teroy was exploited. The broch is situated on a protruding natural outcrop (Fig. 6.63). To the N a steep-sided gully of a stream separates the hill on which the broch is set, while to the W and SW the steep slopes and a terrace of rock outcrops make these approaches challenging. The easiest approach to the broch was from ENE where the land rises gently to the moors, rather than from the lowlands. Yet, on the ENE side, a wide ditch was cut into the bedrock and would have impeded access from this direction. Where the natural gently sloping topography failed to enhance the appearance of the broch, the ditch would have emphasised the prominence of the broch from this approach.

Curle (1912) excavated Teroy almost 100 years ago (Fig. 6.64). He found that Teroy had a large wall-base to overall diameter ratio, a narrow entrance (only approximately 0.7m wide) and a 'guardroom' at the N of the entrance, allowing the categorization of the site as a broch. Yet, no other features such as an internal staircase or internal divisions were discovered making this broch was quite distinct (*ibid* 186). The narrow entrance, like the porches of roundhouses channelled and controlled access to the interior, signalling a transition of social space. The quality of construction was notably neat with small stones fitted within the gaps between larger stones and forming a smooth, flat face. This is unlike most other prehistoric stone features in the region and particularly in the immediate area. Compared to the timber features on the raised beach below Teroy would have stood out as unique place in the wider landscape. It is a distinct architectural expression.

Within the interior of the broch Curle noted evidence for levelling material between stone outcrops but no floor layers or internal divisions were identified (*ibid* 186). However, opposite the entrance, Curle uncovered a dark soil which contained charcoal and burnt bone within the crevices of a rock, as well as two dark red fragments of pottery, a lump of iron and what he interpreted to be the end of a tuyère (the nozzle through which the blast is forced into a furnace), and therefore suggested that there was possible evidence for iron smelting (*ibid* 187). Other artefacts such as water-worn pebbles, burnt bone, cockleshell and the small bone of an ox were described without reference to context. The presence of these remains and the lack of internal features are unlike the brochs excavated in the Atlantic region, which have complex settlement histories consisting of hearths and rooms partitions (e.g. Hedges 1987; Ballin-Smith *et al* 1994; Baines 2002). At Teroy, although these may have been symbols of power constructed by a community or leader, the lack of Roman finds, prestige items, or

occupation evidence do not conform to the traditional idea this is a *house* of a local tribal elite (Macinnes 1984). Perhaps Teroy was more of a powerful symbol than an elite 'settlement'. The lack of internal divisions and possible evidence for iron working, although stratigraphically tenuous, could suggest that at least one phase (perhaps a secondary phase) of activity in the broch was for specialised craftwork, which was literally and metaphorically set aside from the rest of the community, but still remained a powerful and mysterious presence in the landscape. The relationship between the metalworking evidence and the initial construction of the broch is uncertain; nonetheless, regardless of the nature of the short-term activities that occurred inside the broch, its main function was as a prominent visual symbol for the local community.



(Fig. 6.64: Plan of Teroy broch (after Curle 1912))

Wigtownshire Brochs

These three brochs share key morphological similarities with other brochs throughout the Atlantic region, and may reflect widespread connections or perhaps a desire to emulate or reference these distant places. Although there is a tradition of stone built features in Wigtownshire, such as the stone homesteads in the Machars, these three brochs are architecturally distinct. Yet, the chronology of these brochs is uncertain. While by some classification schemes the example at Teroy would have been an earlier form of broch (MacKie 1965, 73-75), others suggest that lowland brochs were built by a wealthy native elite to show strength and as a point of contact with the Romans (Macinnes 1984, 235-6). In any case, these features and their well-designed construction techniques were not copied on a wide-scale; either they were not

successful or they were initially constructed for very specific short-lived functions, which were not widespread. The lack of occupation evidence at Teroy suggests that these broch may not have been permanently settled, but perhaps used for specialised activities. Everyday living at Stairhaven, in particular, would have been impractical. In all cases, the restrictive location of these brochs put limitations of the possibilities of expansion, which is in contrast to brochs elsewhere, such as Gurness or Edin's Hall (Dunwell 1999). In all cases the emphasis is on the construction of such a monument and therefore any activities that occurred in and around them were likely specialised, functionally and/or socially.

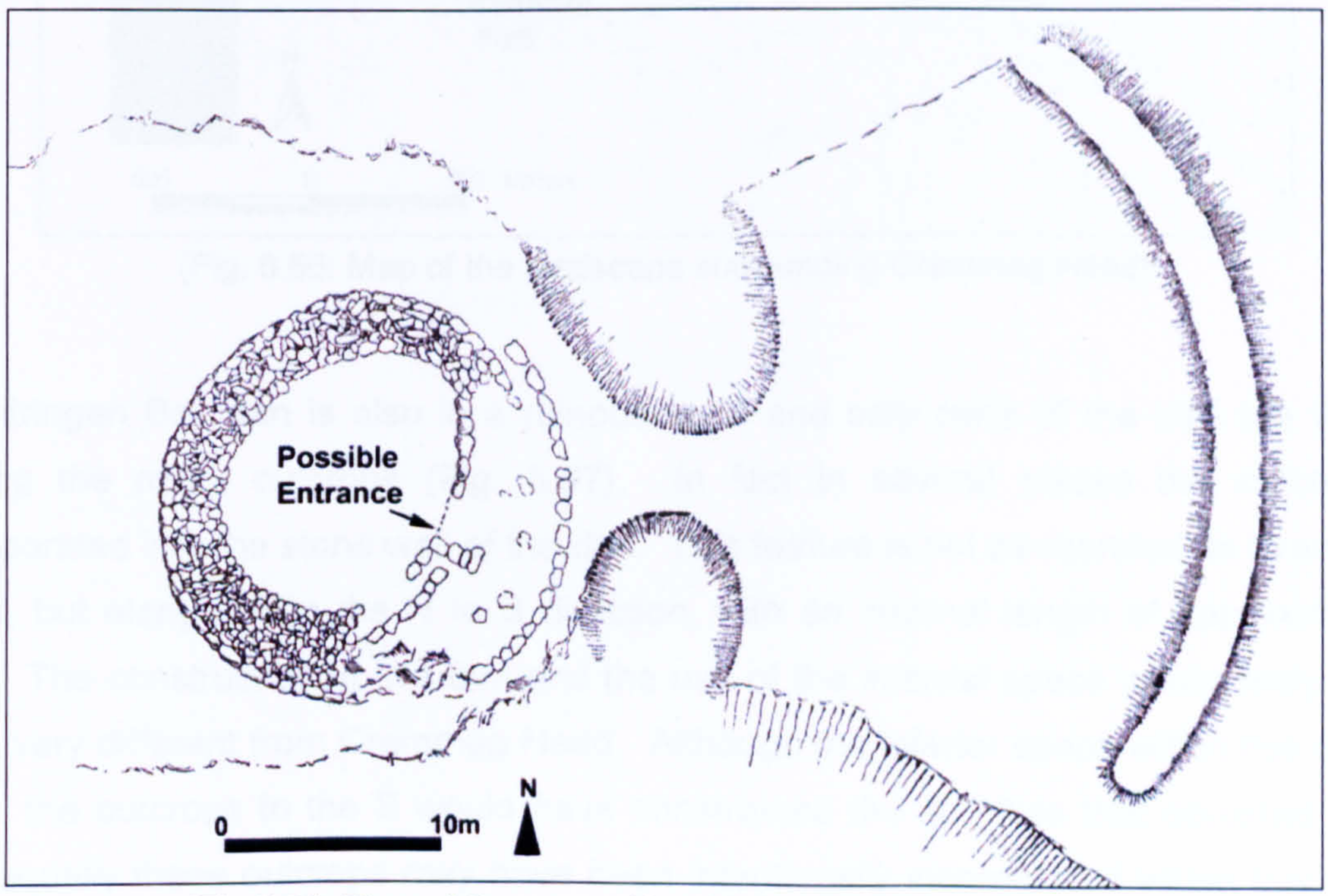
Although the Wigtownshire brochs are similar to many of the brochs throughout Scotland in their monumental stature within the landscape, communicating and reaffirming identities to specific communities (Armit 1990b, 1991, 2002; Hingley 1992, 1995), these brochs are relatively inaccessible. Furthermore, it can be questioned whether these places were 'settlements' at all. Even if they were some form of settlement, it is their monumentality and relationship to their respective landscape that made these three brochs distinct. While Teroy was physically and visually dominating to the landscape below, both Stairhaven and Ardwell Point were hidden from the landward approach. The symbolic potency of Teroy to the lowlands was further enhanced by its physical isolation and the challenge that it posed to access. If the brochs at Stairhaven and Ardwell were expressions of power and control they were not clearly directed towards the local land-based population. Although Ardwell Point and Stairhaven were peripheral to the land, they had a more prominent relationship to the sea. Both may have been important places to observe those navigating the sea. In the case of Stairhaven, views from the broch were directed inward to the access point between two of the main river systems in Wigtownshire. Ardwell Point, however, had a visual relationship to the southern coastline. The reuse of an earlier promontory fort at Ardwell Point perhaps legitimised its bond to the history of the local landscape and established connections to local community.

6.5.3 Duns and Homesteads

Introduction

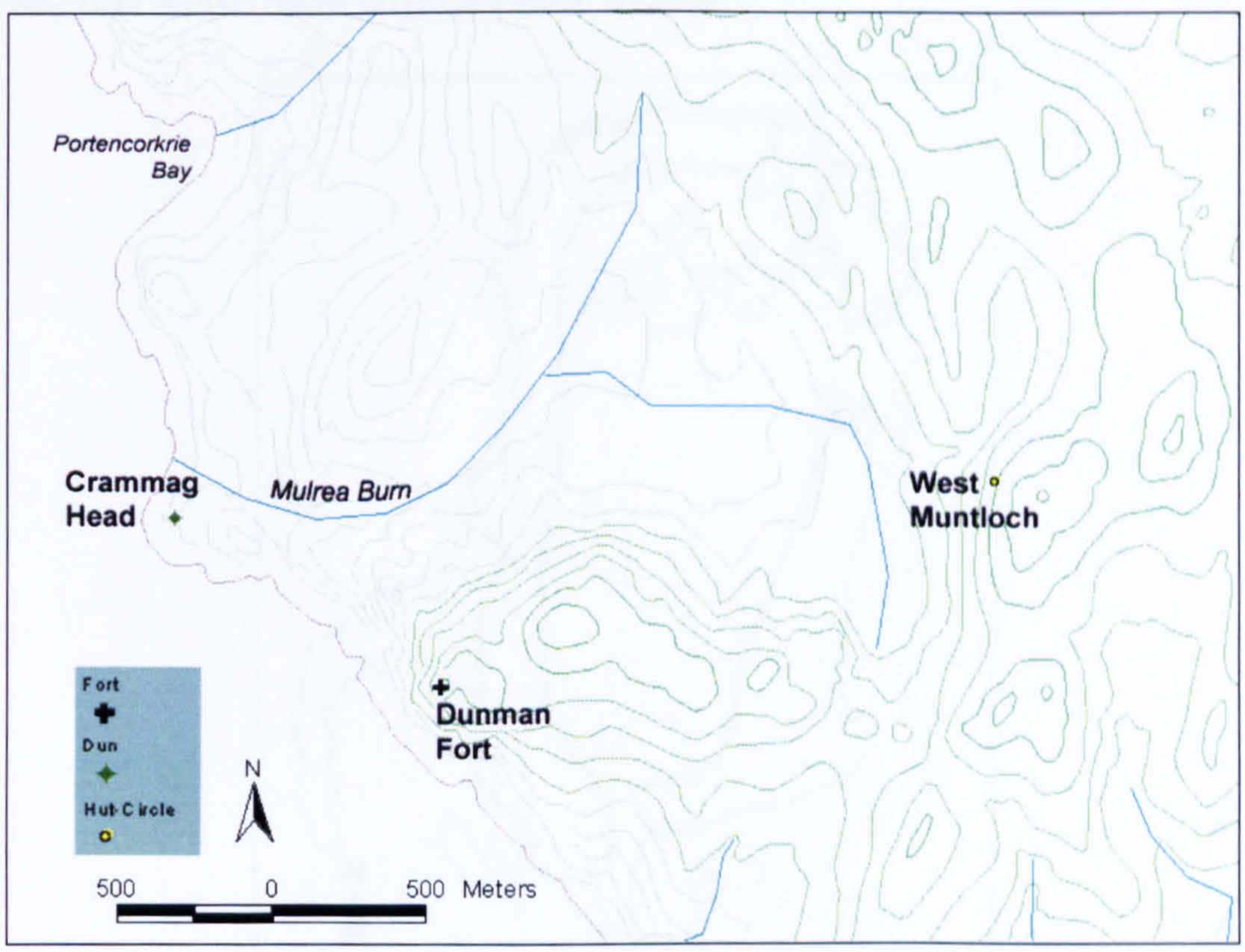
Three features in the study area are classified as duns in the NMRS. Crammag Head, Killantringan Bay and Craigoch, are all located in the Western Rhins (see Fig. 6.69). Craigoch, however, is more likely to have been a medieval tower-house and so is not discussed here (see RCHAMS 1985, 32). The classification of 'dun' is poorly defined

and can refer to any large circular stone construction (Hingley 1992, 13). While both Crammag Head and Killantringan share certain similarities, Crammag Head appears to have had more in common to Ardwell Point broch. Unfortunately, most of this site was obliterated by the construction of a lighthouse and its outbuildings at the beginning of the 20th century. Even before this, 20th century destruction the site was already in a ruinous state and therefore difficult to classify. Crammag Head has been suggested to be both a broch and a dun in the past (RCAHMS 1912, 54-55; Feachem 1956, 1977; CANMORE). Crammag Head was a substantial stone construction (with walls up to 6m wide) situated within an area enclosed by a wide ditch with a further outer bank and ditch, possibly of an earlier promontory fort (Fig. 6.65), similar to Ardwell Point. The whole architecture of this dun, like the Wigtownshire brochs, was designed to be elaborate and exclusive as highlighted by its substantial entrance. The entrance at Crammag Head was 6m deep, perhaps with intramural chambers on either side, and therefore the access to the interior was guided through a confined, controlled and likely dark entranceway. The entrance is to the SE and is aligned with the only gap in the outer bank and ditch, over 20m away. This may reflect an intentional complimentary visual relationship between these features. The space within this outer bank would have enhanced the dun's appearance and crossing this earthwork next to the edge of a steep drop would have added to the precarious and exclusive significance of this space. Interestingly the wide ditch immediately to the E of Crammag Head cuts off any direct physical access to the entrance of the dun and perhaps indicating that this was a later addition or was constructed to further add to the challenge of accessing the interior of the dun.



(Fig 6.65: Plan of Crammag Head (after RCAHMS 1912, 55))

Like Teroy broch, from the location of Crammag Head there are extensive views out to sea and sea traffic (hence the lighthouse), but the probable entrance to the site is directed away from this, towards the landward approach. The dun itself may have acted like a beacon and would have been visible from the sea, but access was from the land. Crammag Head is in low basin surrounded by a series of hills (like an amphitheatre). This area could be approached either along the high ground, passing the hut-circle of West Muntloch and Dunman fort, or along the Mulrea Burn (Fig. 6.66). Although the dun was in a sheltered and hidden position, the landscape all around would direct movement and attention to this point. This place would have been a key point of communication between land and sea. From all directions the site is physically separated and isolated. Like Ardwell Point and Stairhaven brochs, Crammag Head is a connective point between land and sea.

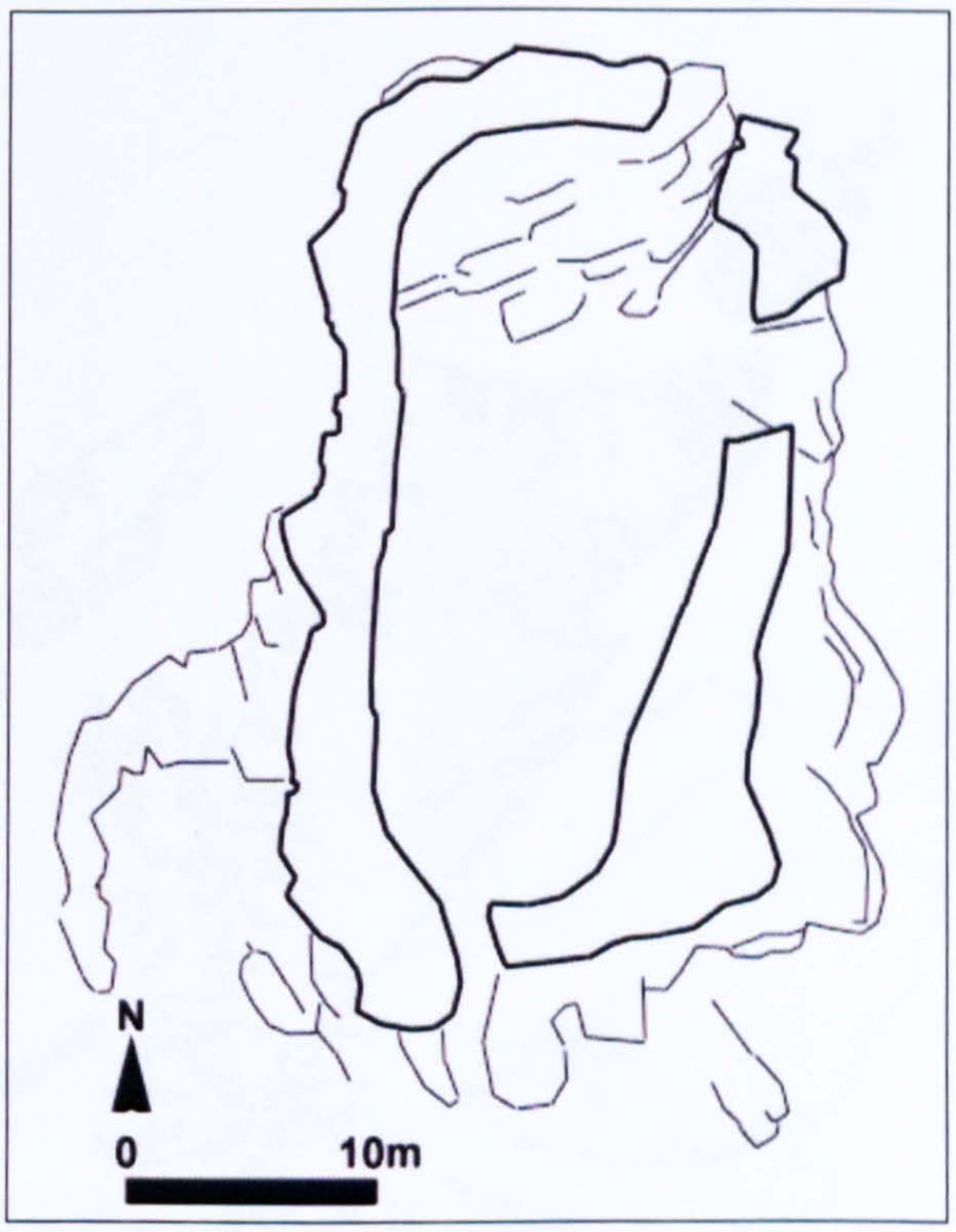


(Fig. 6.66: Map of the landscape surrounding Crammag Head)

Killantringan Bay dun is also in a ruinous state and only parts of the wall are visible among the rocky outcrops (Fig. 6.67). In fact in several places the outcrop is incorporated into the stone wall of the dun. This feature is not as rounded as Crammag Head, but elongated in the N to S direction, with an internal length of approximately 30m. The construction of this dun and the use of the internal space would likely have been very different from Crammag Head. Although the interior space within this dun is large, the outcrops to the S would have constrained the activities that occurred here. Yet, equally these outcrops may have been intentionally incorporated within this place

and used as a distinctive activity area or had a specific symbolic reference, comparable to some of the forts in Wigtownshire like the Bennan of Garvilland and Tor of Craigoch.

Like the brochs in Wigtownshire, it is clear this place is not practical for 'everyday' life, such as tending to the crops or keeping animals. Killantringan is set on the edge of the landscape. The promontory on which Killantringan sits is on the lower reaches of the coastal cliffs and the easiest approach to the dun is from a narrow rocky spine from the cliffs to the E. The dun is in a secluded location and, like Stairhaven the natural character of the topography would have isolated this place and helped it to blend into the landscape. Although the construction may be different from the broch at Stairhaven, their situation in the landscape is similar. Approaches to this site were difficult and views are limited. Yet, like Crammag Head and Ardwell Point, this dun is near a bay that would have provided easy access.



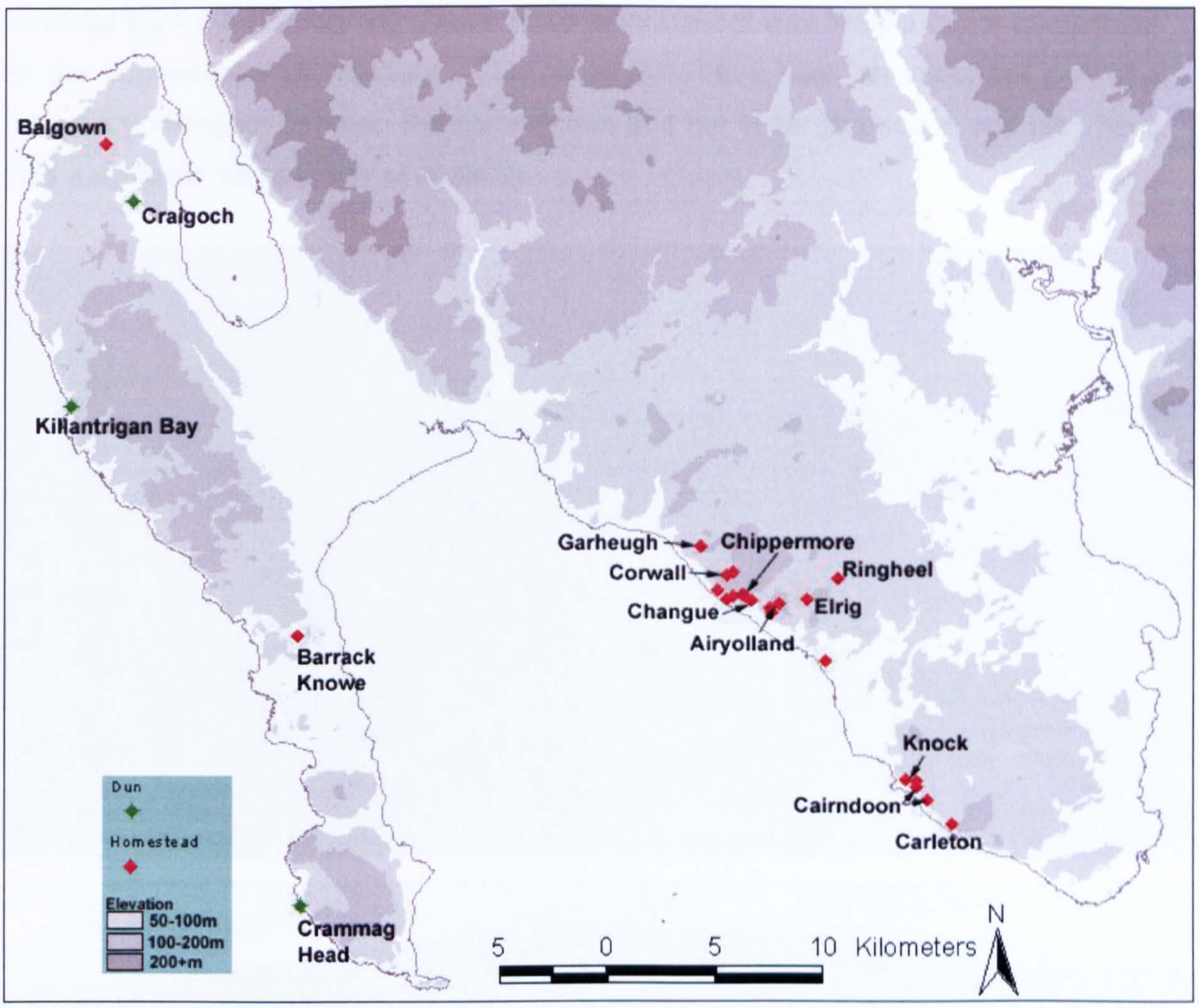
(Fig 6.67: Plan of Killantringan Bay dun (after RCAHMS))

Homesteads

Some researchers have also included a group of morphologically distinct stone-built features in Wigtownshire in their discussions of duns or 'substantial roundhouses' (see Fig. 6.68) (Rivet 1967; Cunliffe 2001, 2005; Ralston & Edwards 2003; Cavers forthcoming). Yet, the situation of these features in the landscape as well as their relationship to one another illustrates important differences from Crammag Head and Killantringan. Due to their suggested undefendable positions these features were

classified as 'homesteads' in the last systematic survey of the Machars by the OS in the 1970s, a classification that is retained in the NMRS. There are 22 possible homesteads in Wigtownshire (Fig. 6.69). The greatest concentration is located along the west coast of the Machars. Unfortunately, 'homestead' is a misleading term, loaded with assumptions about the function of these places and therefore it is slowly being phased out in the NMRS (Halliday *pers comm.*). The homesteads in Wigtownshire share some general morphological characteristics, but also demonstrate differences, which should be explored.

(Fig. 6.68: Map of the duns and brochs of Scotland, the blue box shows those in Wigtownshire - specifically a cluster in the western Machars (Cunliffe 2005 figure 14.12, 324 *after* Rivet 1967)).



(Fig. 6.69: Distribution map of the duns and homesteads in Wigtownshire; labelled are sites mentioned in the text)

The size of homesteads range from as small as Balgown (14.3m by 13.0m) to Changue (40.0m by 28.0m), but on average they are 20-30m in diameter, defined by roughly constructed stone, or stone and earth, banks. These are of similar size to some forts such as Doon Hill, near Dowalton and Fell of Barhullion. They are also comparable in size to some lowland cropmark enclosures (e.g. Several Hill) and in one aspect may reflect particular adaptations to their unique environments: the stony and craggy Machars compared to the silty and relatively flat Stranraer Lowlands.

Even within the Machars, the architecture of the homesteads appears to embody the minor variations within this glacial landscape. The largest cluster of homesteads, at least fourteen, surrounds Mochrum Fell. The majority of these homesteads are notable for their wide stony banks, such as Airyolland (14) where the banks are 4m wide or Changue, an oval enclosure 40m by 28m within a stone bank up to 8m wide (Fig. 6.70). The excavation at Chippermore showed that under the loose stone the walls, 2.5m in width, had well-built faces, but with a 'careless filling' (Fiddes 1953, 144). The

material from the surrounding glacial scree environment was likely a major component of the homesteads' architecture. This scree may have been an important part of a 'structural dialogue' between the homesteads and the wider landscape and may have had a symbolic value (Tilley et al 2000).

(Fig. 6.70: Changue homestead showing the wide stony banks (author))

On one hand, The incorporation of the stone into the thick walls may have been a practical response to field clearance, but it also emphasised the metaphor of the agricultural cycle embodied within these *round* houses, similar to some of the hut-circles in the Eastern Rhins. The life cycle metaphor may have been further played out at some of these homesteads, when they were 'obscured' and covered by 'clearance' cairns, such as at Chippermore and Airyolland 16 (Fig. 6.71). Although some material of these cairns may reflect modern agricultural practices, their chronology is uncertain and may have been part of an process of 'closing' the settlement. On one level homesteads may reflect a wider consideration of 'houses' (crannogs, hut-circles, and roundhouses) as metaphor for important cycles of living and dying.

(Fig. 6.71: Airyolland 16 a homestead situated in a landscape of cairns and is itself obscured by a cairn (author))

The only homestead to have been excavated is Chippermore 1. Although the results were not published to a modern standard (Fiddes 1953), the site shows more specifically the complexity of homestead construction and their reflection of wider metaphors of life. The results of the excavation showed a complex arrangement of stone walls, some of which extended into the interior of the homestead, defining different levels of space. Through the stone rubble the remains of these internal divisions curving into the interior are still visible (Fig. 6.72) (Fiddes 1953). Like the hut-circles at West Muntloch and Cairnmon Fell the 'living space' and 'enclosure' are linked and established an intimate experience of place. It is probable that some of the complex arrangement of banks identified during excavation were not contemporary, but helped to define and redefine different spaces and separate activities in different areas in the homestead.

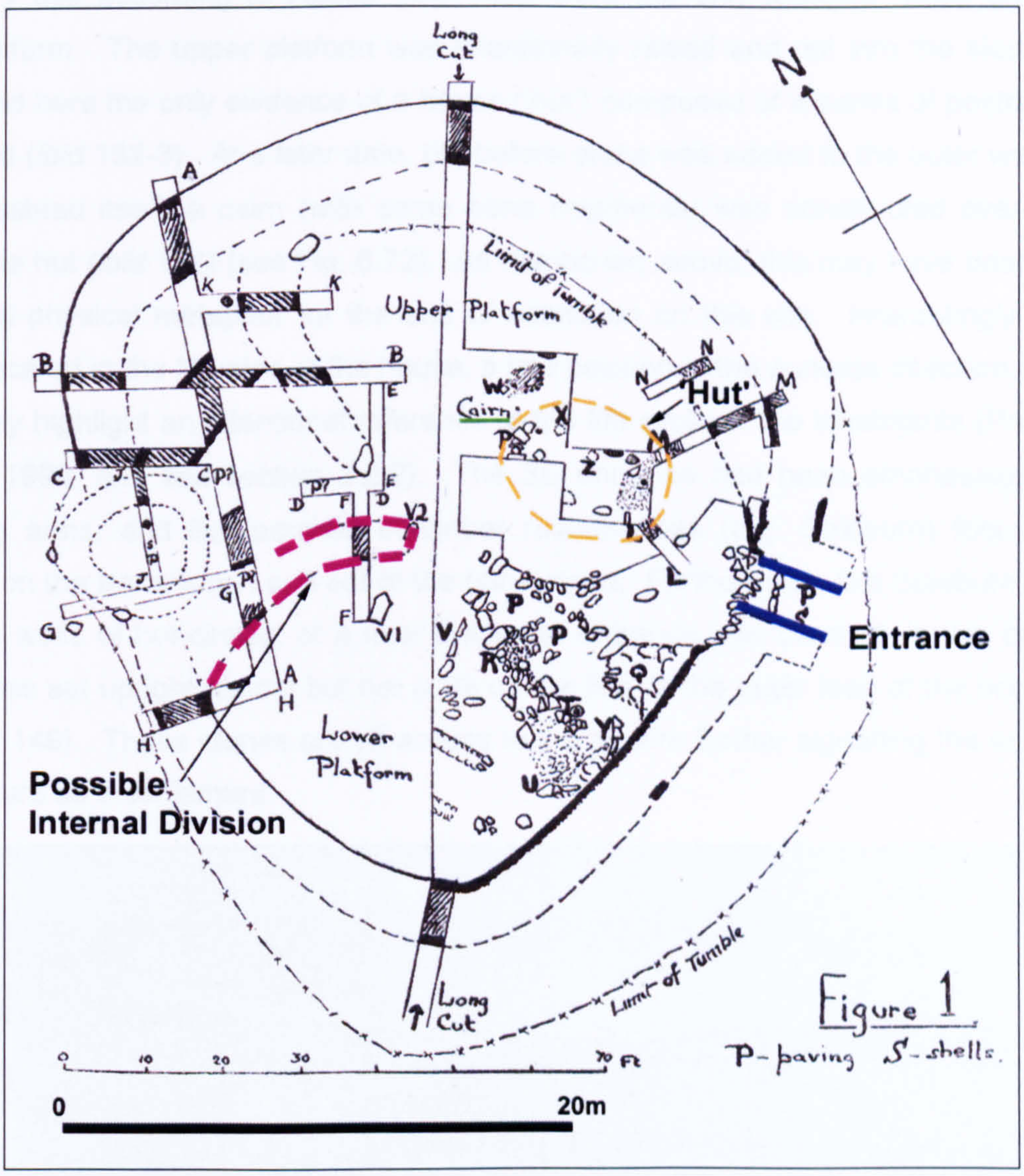


Figure 1
P- paving S- shells.

(Fig. 6.72: Excavation plan of Chippermore 1 (Fiddes 1953); view from the S (author))

The internal divisions correspond with a noticeable step in the level of the floor surface, dividing the homestead into upper and lower platforms, to the NE and SW of the entrance respectively. On these platforms Fiddes (1953) noted variable features, which suggests that each area had a different function (Fig. 6.73). Areas of paving and a crudely constructed wall with Medieval pottery fragments, probable the result of

secondary use according to Fiddes (*ibid* 148), were the only features noted on the lower platform. The upper platform was intentionally raised and cut into the slope of the hill and here the only evidence of a house ('hut') composed of a series of postholes was noted (*ibid* 152-3). At a later date, but before stone was added to the outer wall of the homestead itself, a cairn (with some bone fragments) was constructed over the area of the hut (*ibid* 151) (see Fig. 6.72). As mentioned above, this may have been an intentional physical metaphor for the end of habitation on this site. Interestingly this cairn is located in the NE side of the house, a late position in the sunwise direction, and which may highlight an intentional reference to the life-cycle of the inhabitants (Parker Pearson 1999, and see section 3.2.2). The SE entrance had been emphasised by projecting arms, and like porches of timber roundhouses (e.g. Soleburn) focussed attention on the transition in and out of the homestead. Furthermore, like Soleburn and the baffle walls of hut-circles, at a later stage the entrance was blocked, in this case, 'with stones set upright almost but not quite on the line of the outer face of the original wall' (*ibid* 149). These stones cut-off access to the interior further signalling the end of the structure as a settlement.

(Fig. 6.73: Chippermore 1 showing relationship of upper and lower platforms and extensive coastal views (author))

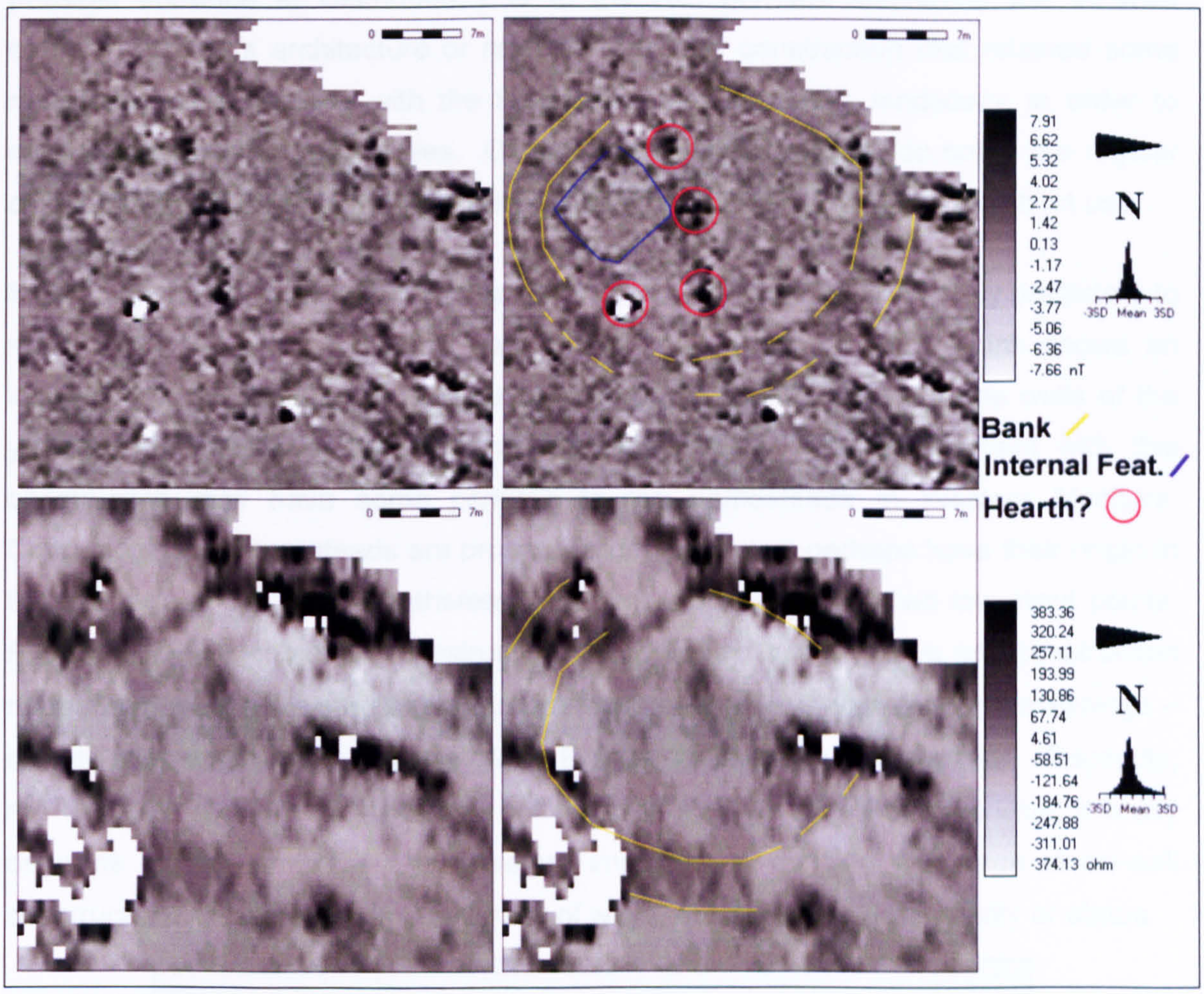
Approximately 10km SE of Airyolland is another distinct cluster of homesteads including Knock, Cairndoon and Carleton. At both Cairndoon 1 and Carleton the grass-covered banks are not as wide or dominated by loose stone as the homesteads to the NW; instead they clearly incorporate rock outcrops within their banks. Although preservation biases certainly affect the current appearances of these features, this group of homesteads may also reflect a particular adaptation to the differences in local landscapes and less amount of scree in the immediate vicinity. Unlike the gradual yet rugged slopes surrounding Mochrum Fell, the glacial landscape surrounding Cairndoon

1 and Carleton is defined by a series of gullies and drumlins all running from NE to SW. Both of these homesteads are situated on the ends of drumlins and the gullies or either side acted like natural ditches, emphasising the experience of each homestead. Depending on the direction of approach, they would have affected how the homesteads were experienced (Fig. 6.74). Many homesteads illustrate similar physical and symbolic connections with the local landscape, but in expressed through different architectural adaptations.

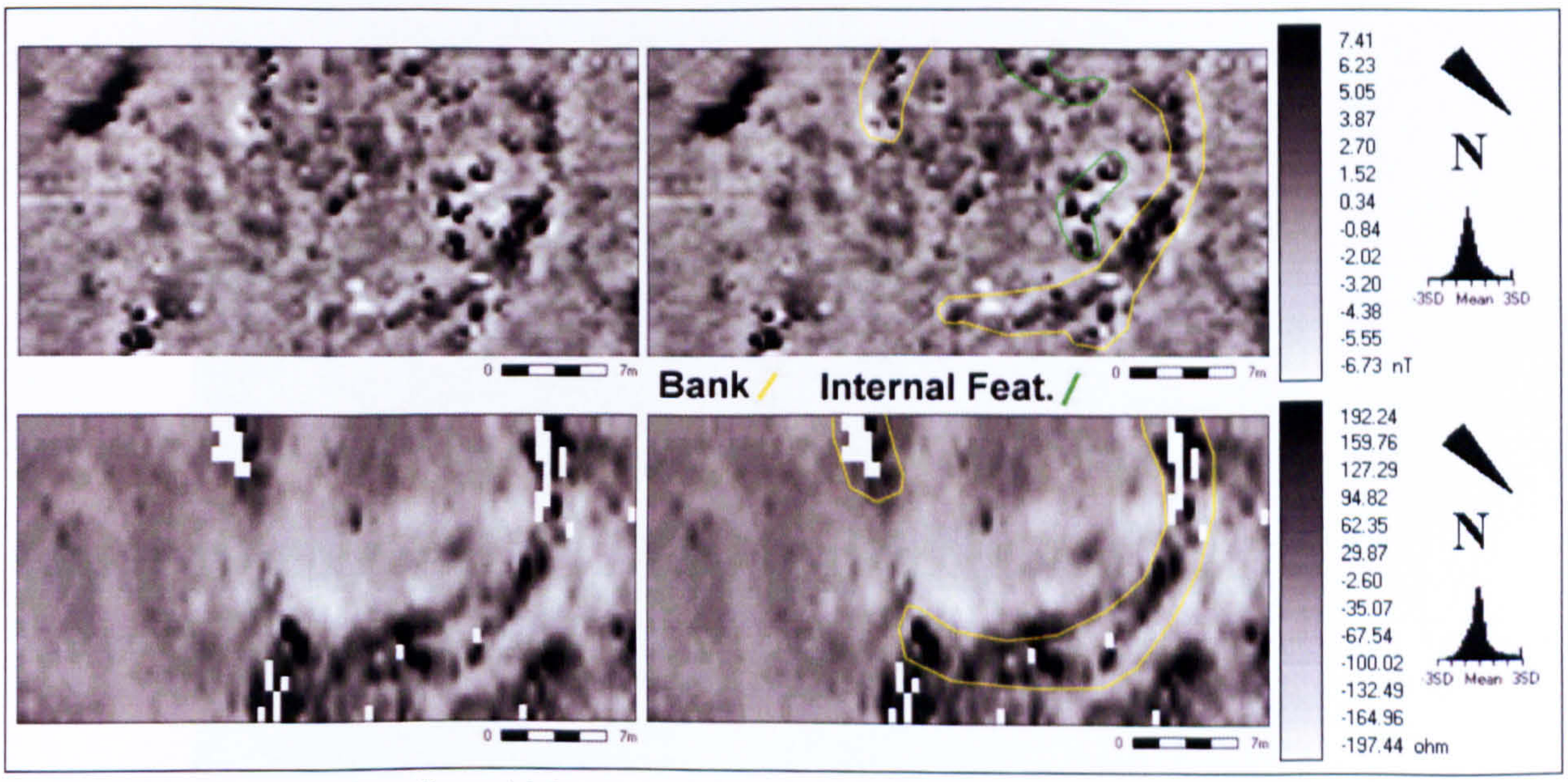
(Fig. 6.74: Picture of Cairndoon 1 from the SW; Carleton from the NW (author))

Homesteads that share similar superficial morphological characteristics or ways of adapting to the local landscape also have differences that set them apart as demonstrated by the results of a geophysical survey I conducted of two homesteads, Cairndoon 1 and Carleton. Both Cairndoon 1 and Carleton are circular and are defined by grass covered stone and earth banks. The gradiometry and resistivity survey results show that the character of the bank at Cairndoon 1, defined by two thin consistent positive magnetic curvilinear readings, is distinct from the more amorphous magnetic readings of the bank at Carleton (yellow in Fig. 6.75 & 76). Within the interior, the gradiometry survey of Carleton showed quite variable readings, but two possible curvilinear divisions (green) may be internal divisions comparable to those noted at Chippermore 1 (Fiddes 1953). By contrast, the interior of Cairndoon 1 contained the outline of a possible rectilinear feature just within the S side of the NW

entrance (blue) and a series of discrete circular anomalies, which may be hearths (red). The variation in geophysical responses demonstrates the potential differences in the construction, internal arrangement, and potential use or reuse of these two homesteads that are masked by superficial surface appearances.



(Fig. 6.75: Magnetic (gradiometric) survey (above) and resistivity survey (below) of Cairndoon 1)



(Fig 6.76: Magnetic (gradiometric) survey (above) and resistivity survey (below) of Carleton)

This evidence highlights the possibility that not all homesteads were contemporary, but representative of a stone-building tradition with a long chronology. Although only a few entrances have been confidently identified, those that are known display variations in entrance direction (SE, NE and W). While the entrance at Carleton is to the E, the possible entrance at Cairndoon 1 is to the NE, perhaps subverting the sunwise direction within its architecture or represents a later construction that retained some morphological similarities with the features in the immediate landscape in order to reaffirm social and ancestral ties. Other homesteads like Knock do not fit the regular circular shape of other homesteads and again may represent of place of distinct use.

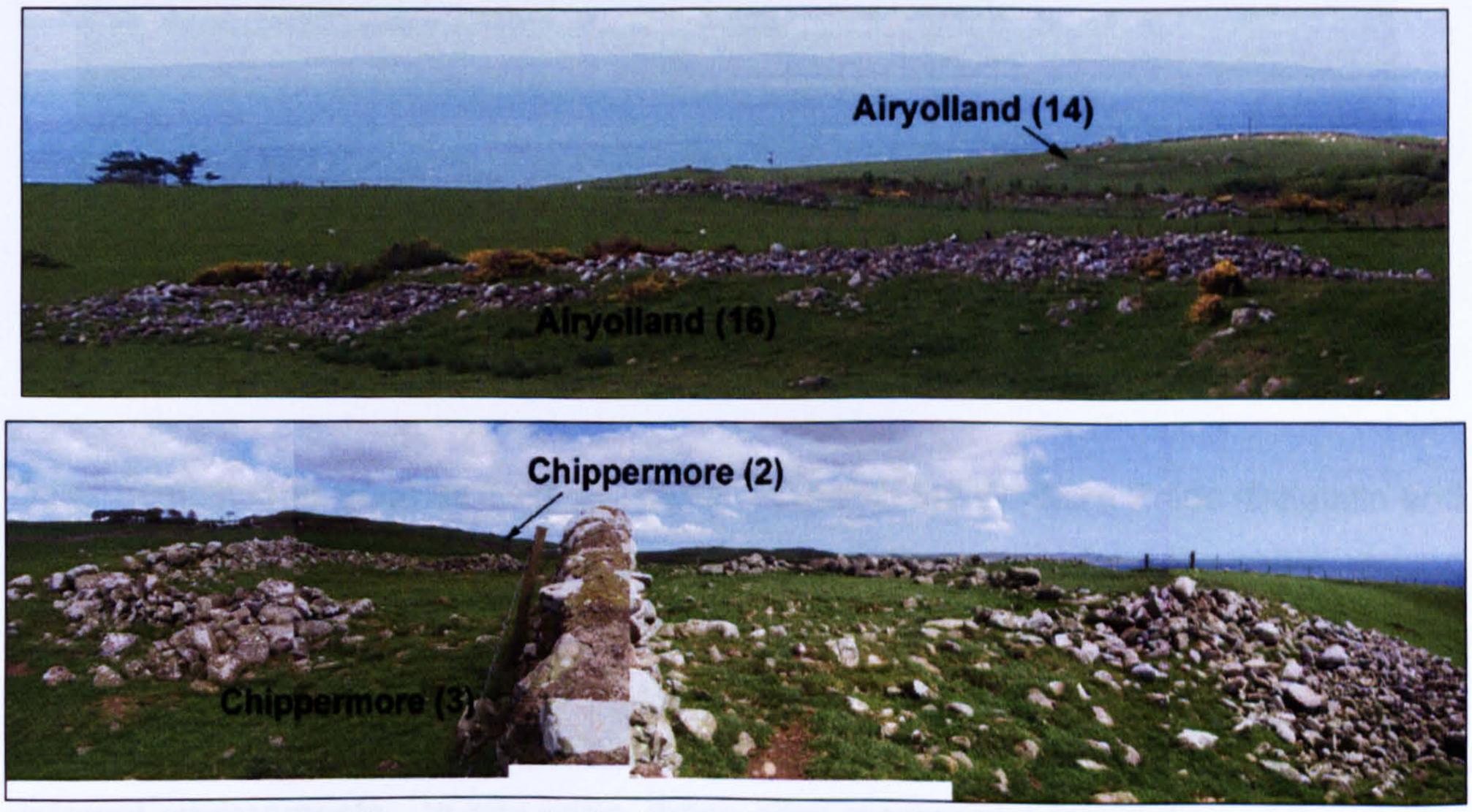
Stone built constructions have a long currency in Wigtownshire, from early prehistory to more modern times. A picture from *c.*1900 in Leswalt, Western Rhins shows an impressive stone house with circular front yard (Fig. 6.77). Although the walls of the yard are not massive, the walls of the house are. The arrangement with this construction may have some parallels to the homesteads in Western Machars. Chronologically, homesteads are probably much older and perhaps have their origin in the Iron Age or earlier. Nonetheless, the comparison illustrates two important points. First, traditions of materials, construction methods, and use of space and construction methods may be translated and appropriated over time, with very different meanings – but still look similar (see Bradley 1997; Bradley & Sheridan forthcoming). Secondly, not all massive stone features are not necessarily high status or *defensive*; it really depends on the context. It is therefore important to consider the large stone-wall constructions of homesteads in a variety of ways, not assuming defensibility or status.

(Fig. 6.77: Picture of stone built 'house' near Leswalt, Wigtownshire *c.* 1900 © SCRAN)

Landscapes

Whether the homesteads were used contemporarily as settlements at any given time or not it can be suggested that the small clusters of homesteads in the Machars reflected a goal for some communities to retain a visual and spatial connection between these features, perhaps highlighting social and kinship ties over generations. Most of the homesteads are dispersed across the mid-slopes of the Machars, facing towards the Irish Sea and reflect a particular phenomenon, one that references both local (other homesteads) and distant (across the sea) places. Surrounding Mochrum Fell small groups, such as Airyolland to Corwall and Garheugh are located within walking distance from another, often 200-550m apart, again similar to the distribution of many hut-circles found in the Eastern Rhins. The density shows that in some cases there may have been a conscious effort to relate to different groups in the wider landscape, perhaps reflecting a mobile tenure of land, one that allows movement as inhabitants pass away and groups grow. Although there may be functional and chronological differences within the clusters of homesteads in the Machars, their distribution reflects a complex biography of the landscape.

In some cases one homestead is intervisible with another, which may emphasis a specific relationship between these features from a wider perspective. For instance, Chippermore 1 overlooks Changue, 350m to the NW (see Fig. 6.70). Similarly homesteads such as, Airyolland 14 & 16, are closely positioned and intervisible, as is Chippermore 2 and 3 (see Fig. 6.78).



(Fig 6.78: Views showing close physical and visual relationship of Airyolland 14 & 16; and Chippermore 2 approximately 300m to the WSW of Chippermore 3 (author))

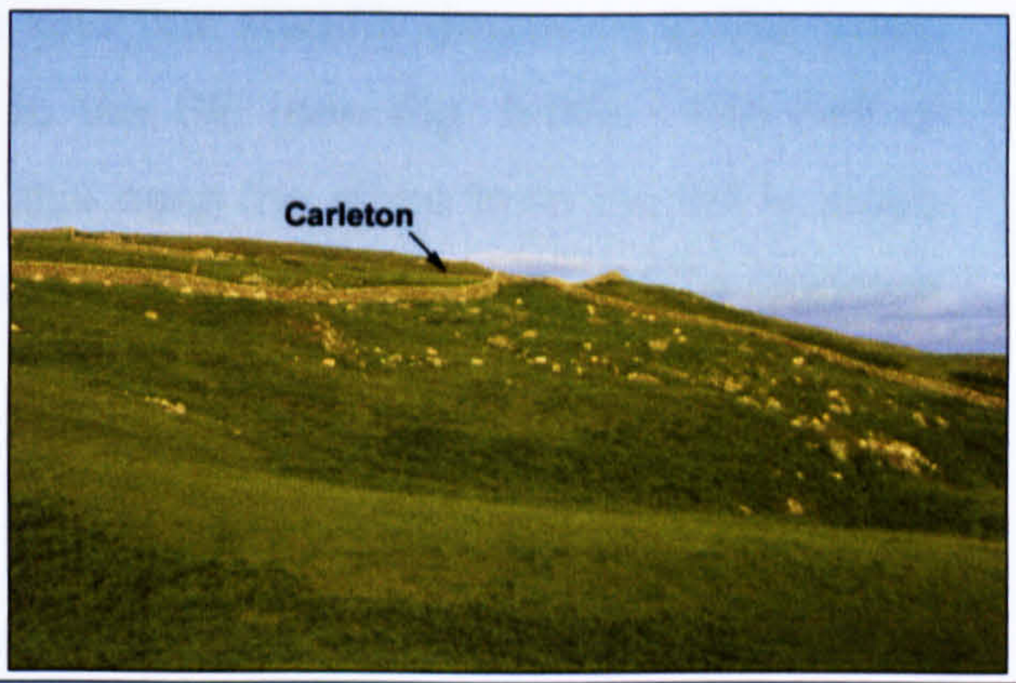
In each case the situations of each homestead may have been intentionally chosen to visually reference another homestead and maintain a connection over an undulating landscape. Whether contemporary or not each homestead would have been part of the experience of the other as people worked in the surrounding fields or moved through the local landscape. These features are part of a local tradition within the landscape of the Machars.

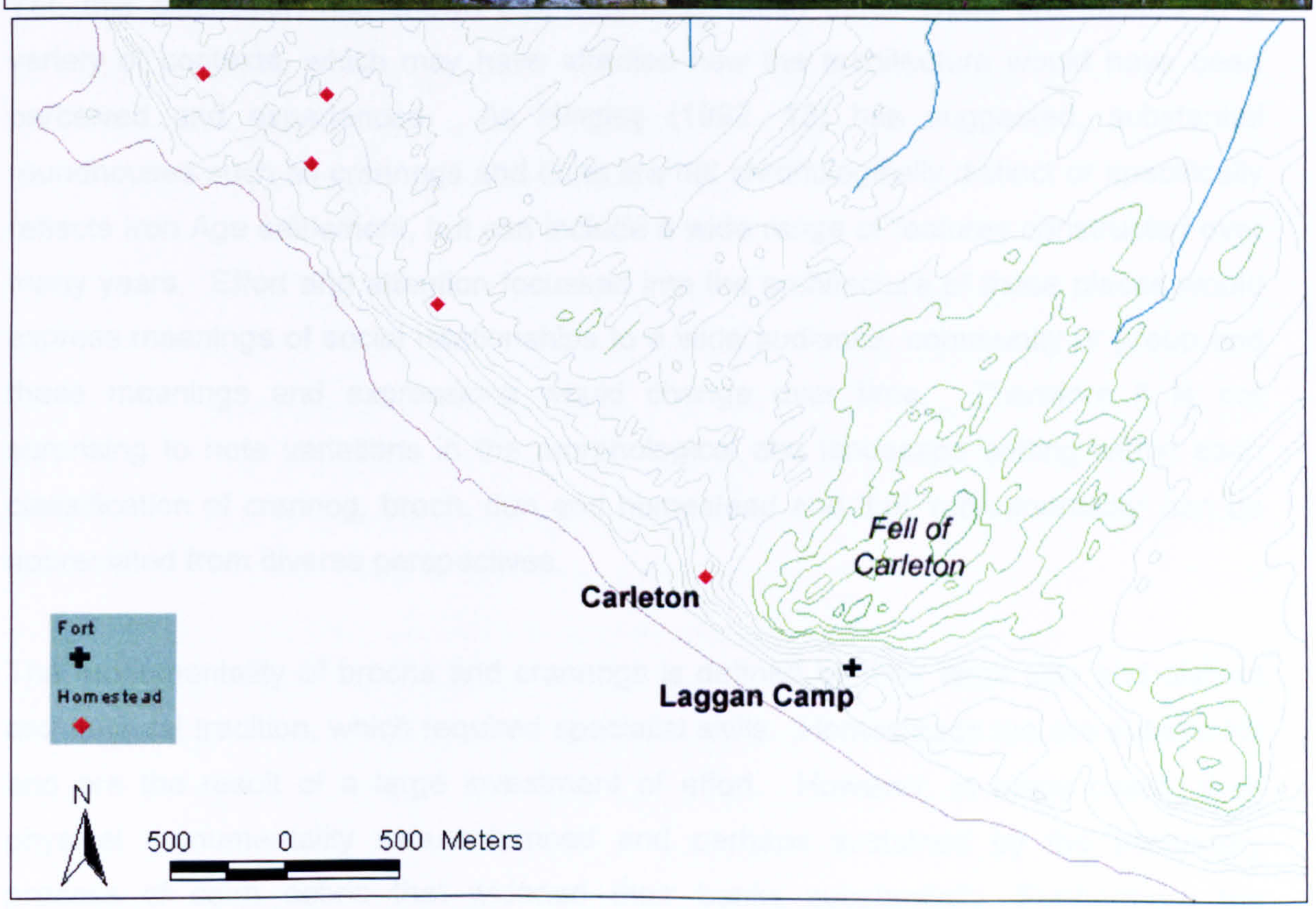
Unlike other homesteads views to the sea are impeded at Ringheel. In this case the views are directed towards the E and to the distinctive hills of the Cairnsmore of Fleet (Fig. 6.79). This homestead is all but ploughed out, only visible as a slight depression on the summit of a small hillock. In contrast to the other homesteads, Ringheel was built into a hillslope, instead its architecture would have be augmented by the contour of the hillock on which it sits, and therefore more comparable to many of the 'forts' within Wigtownshire.

(Fig. 6.79: Ringheel homestead, views to the W and E (author))

Other homesteads, such as Elrig and those located in the Western Rhins (Balgown and Barrack Knowe) are also situated inland, isolated and set away from the coast. Aware of possible preservation biases, these examples perhaps reflect places that had a distinct role in their local landscape. Alternatively these homesteads may be a sign of an unsuccessful establishment of a settlement practice of particular communities into different environments. In any case, these sites represent a translation of the similar

architectural feature in different areas of Wigtownshire and the potential existence of wider tradition of complementary settlement practices.





(Fig. 6.80: Comparing the landscapes of Carleton and Laggan Camp (author); map of Carleton and Laggan Camp in relation to Fell of Carleton)

The situation of the homesteads is not simply coincidence, but is a particular expression of the relationship between the landscape and the architecture of each homestead. Laggan Camp fort is located just 1km SE along the coast from the homestead at Carleton, but occupies a distinct situation with the landscape. The feature at Carleton is located on the edge of a spur that steadily descends to the coast, which is overlooked by the Fell of Carleton to the SE (see Fig. 6.80). The Fell of Carleton also overlooks Laggan Camp, but in this case the slope from the fell is steep and precarious and makes the fort less accessible from this direction. While Carleton intentionally incorporates natural elements into its banks, the banks of the fort physically transform a natural mound along its slopes to emphasise outwardly the presence of this place. In addition, the fort is flanked on either side by small hills, which augment the impressive character of this place. Laggan Camp may be seen as an exaggeration of the physical presence of architecture and has a distinct relationship to the homesteads in the Machars.

6.5.4 Summary: Substantial Roundhouses in Wigtownshire

The size and scale of construction and an assumed monumentality of 'domestic' space unite the types of features discussed above according to archaeological convention. Yet, this discussion has shown that examples within these types are located in a variety of contexts, which may have affected how the architecture would have been perceived and experienced. As Hingley (1992, 13) has suggested, substantial roundhouses such as crannogs and duns are not chronologically distinct or specifically reflects Iron Age settlement, but can include a wide range of features constructed over many years. Effort and attention focussed into the architecture of these places would express meanings of social relationships to a wide audience, community or group and these meanings and expressions would change over time. Therefore it is not surprising to note variations in the morphological and landscape setting within each classification of crannog, broch, dun and homestead and that 'monumentality' can be appreciated from diverse perspectives.

The monumentality of brochs and crannogs is defined by their large size and distinct architectural tradition, which required specialist skills. Homesteads too are substantial and are the result of a large investment of effort. However, in many cases, their physical monumentality was enhanced and perhaps sustained by the secondary process of cairn debris that widened their banks substantially. Furthermore the monumentality of many homesteads, such as those in the Machars is dependent on

their relationship to one another. Old homesteads had probably become important reference points to new constructions and thus monumental landscapes were created. Therefore, although much larger in overall diameter, the clusters of homesteads in the Machars may, on one level, relate to the monumentality and visual preservation of hut-circles in the Eastern Rhins. Regardless of classification, what is important is to consider the features within the wider landscape.

While some crannogs have evidence of settlement and were also incorporated in cycles of life, the form of settlement took many forms. In general, however, crannogs potentially held significant symbolic power. These places may have been used seasonally or associated with distinct practices. Many of the crannogs in Wigtownshire may have been situated along important routes and boundaries relating to specific communities. The deposition of a variety of artefacts at these watery locations brought together a wider community during the construction of these places. Crannogs were not visually dominating from any perspective. However, their importance relies on their location and perhaps as symbols of liminality and boundaries. By way of contrast, the role of the three brochs in Wigtownshire was their visual prominence, which, in each case, was directed to specific communities and groups. It is probable that the brochs and some of the crannogs were not simply houses in which people lived, slept or were self-sufficient. The isolated situation of many of the brochs, such as Stairhaven or the small size of many crannogs, would have made it impossible to have animals or have an associated cultivation plot within the substantial roundhouse. If a settlement, these places would have to rely on the wider community.

There are other classes that can equally be compared to substantial roundhouses in terms of construction, location, investment of materials and monumentalisation, like large timber roundhouses (e.g. Structure B, Fox Plantation), or some of the enclosures and forts to be discussed in the next section. The mechanism for developing community bonds and relationships between people and place during the construction of these features was also at work in the construction of some forts and other large enclosures and therefore represents a wider pattern of social relationships that was repetitively reworked and translated to morphologically distinct buildings. There were different relationships between people and communities embodied within the various phases of the construction, use and reuse of each substantial roundhouse in Wigtownshire and they cannot be simply be discussed as a coherent group and contrasted to supposed 'communal hillforts' (Feachem 1967).

6.6 Enclosed Settlements

Introduction

'Enclosure' is a vague and general term encompassing a wide variety of archaeological features from many time periods (see RCHME 1995 *Thesaurus of Monuments Types* for a range of synonyms). There is no single published definition of enclosure in archaeology; the label can used to describe large features, generally greater than 20m wide (assumed to be too large to have been roofed), but also can refer to sizeable features that could not be classified more specifically; the latter is especially applicable to cropmark sites. Therefore, in one sense, enclosure is a miscellaneous class with no clear interpretive implication of date or function. However, the term 'enclosure' can also be used to imply very specific meanings, such as in an agricultural context. Under the ambiguous and diverse label of 'enclosure', particularly 'circular enclosure', many features noted in the archaeological record, regardless of their context, have been proposed to be Iron Age settlements, and thus confirming Welfare's (1980) observation that the Iron Age is a 'dustbin' for miscellaneous or uncertain types of features.

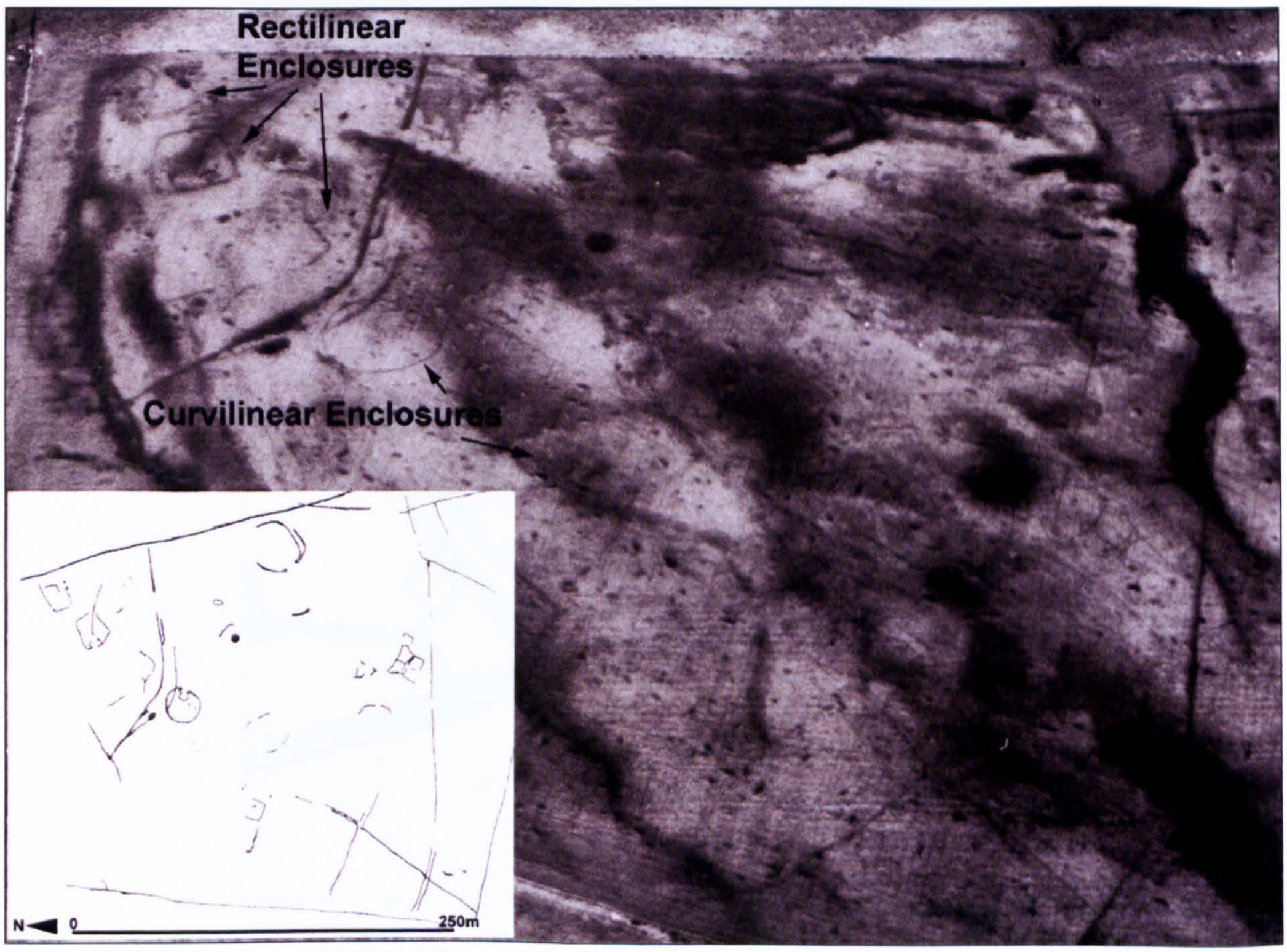
This section will examine the wide range of enclosures and enclosed features in Wigtownshire. In Iron Age archaeology, enclosures have been subdivided on the basis of variable criteria: morphology (e.g. circular or rectilinear), material (e.g. palisaded or ditched), function (e.g. fort or settlement), and level of monumentality (e.g. simple or elaborate). Specific examples of these enclosures will be considered, not only by their morphology but also by considering the use of internal features and space, and their relationship to the wider cultural and natural landscape. Because of the ambiguity of the term enclosure, it is not surprising that as a result of these explorations some enclosures have not been interpreted to reflect Iron Age settlement, but it was important to include some of these examples here to highlight differences in the use of enclosed space throughout prehistory.

6.6.1 Enclosures

Relationships Between Rectilinear & Curvilinear Enclosures

Shape, specifically the difference between curvilinear and rectilinear features, has often been used to distinguish archaeological evidence of the Iron Age and earlier time periods from Romano-British or later periods respectively, especially in reference to sites in southern Scotland and northern England (Maxwell 1971; Burgess 1984, 164; Jobey & Jobey 1988). Yet, sites such as Rispain Camp (Haggerty & Haggerty 1983) and Carronbridge in Eastern Dumfriesshire (Johnston 1994) are examples that

rectilinear enclosures can have earlier Iron Age origins and are not necessarily chronologically distinct from curvilinear features (Cowley 2000, 172-3). This does not discount the significance that differences in morphology can play in interpreting shifts in the later Iron Age settlement pattern (Gregory 2001c, 38). Yet, it is important to stress that interpretations based on simple morphological distinctions alone must be made with caution. Circularity of architecture was an important metaphor within later prehistory, as noted in other sections in this chapter, but this does not preclude the use of contemporary rectilinear features to express other complementary ideas. The identification of roundhouses within rectilinear enclosures at both Carronbridge and Rispain Camp highlight an integrated relationship between curvilinear and rectilinear structures, potentially demonstrating an amalgamation or transition of ideas. Furthermore, at Garthland, Garthland Mains and Several Hill rectilinear and circular features cohabit the same landscape. Although the chronological relationship is uncertain, at Several Hill curvilinear and rectilinear features of similar size and alignment are components of a wider expression of place in the landscape (Fig. 6.81). Relationships between curvilinear and rectilinear constructions are complex and diverse therefore it is important to consider the individual circumstances in each case.

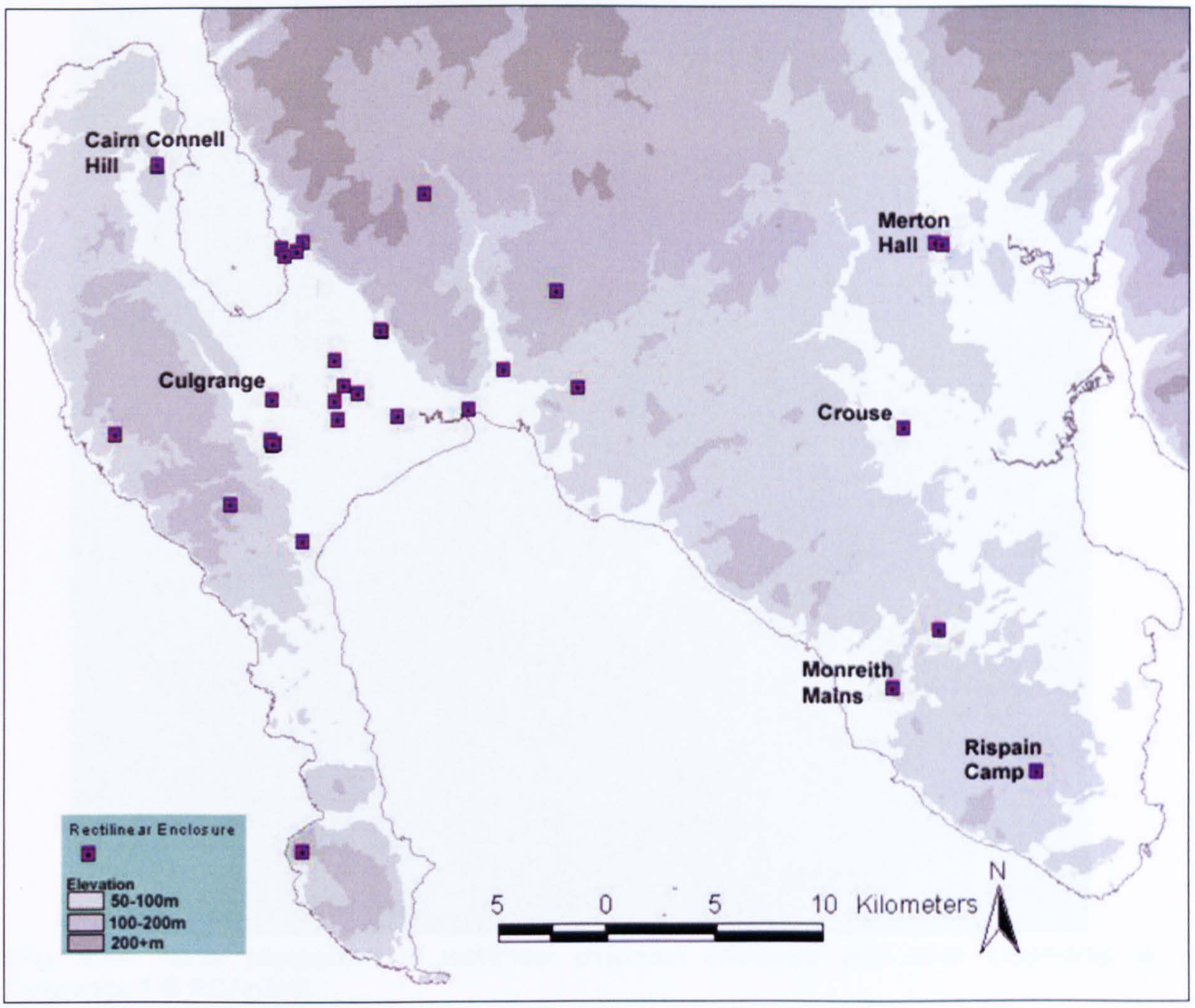


(Fig. 6.81: Aerial photograph of Several Hill © RCAHMS and transcription (Carruthers 2002) showing possible alignment of enclosures)

Rectilinear Enclosures

There are 37 possible rectilinear enclosures (Fig. 6.83), in Wigtownshire of varying shape and context, but not all can confidently be interpreted to have been constructed in the Iron Age (see Fig. 6.82).

(Fig. 6.82: Little Lochans 1 aerial photograph of a rectilinear cropmark enclosure and other linear cropmarks © RCAHMS; 1st edition Ordnance Survey map of Ballyferry © OS. The cropmarks in this case clearly relates to the 19th century buildings and fenced area at Ballyferry. Similar rectilinear cropmark enclosures must be interpreted to be Iron Age with caution.)



(Fig. 6.83: Distribution of possible later prehistoric cropmark and upstanding rectilinear enclosures in Wigtownshire; labelled are sites mentioned in the text)

Within this group of rectilinear enclosures there are notable differences in the size, shape and thickness of the ditches and/or banks. The difference between the massive ditch and bank of Rispain Camp compared to the much smaller narrow ditched cropmark enclosure at Culgrange 1 (Fig. 6.84) would have affected how each of these places were experienced. The narrow ditch at Culgrange 1 probably supported a palisade or wall. This barrier would have defined the relationship between the enclosure and the people that encountered this feature in the landscape, creating a distinct visual and physical presence, especially when compared to the wide, deep, potentially 'open' ditched enclosure at Rispain Camp. Cropmarks of linear and curvilinear features that surround the enclosure at Culgrange 1 suggest that the rectilinear enclosure may have been part of a much larger complex of features, further affecting how it this feature could have be experienced.

(Fig. 6.84: Aerial photograph of rectilinear cropmark enclosure and other cropmarks at Culgrange 1 © RCAHMS)

Despite differences within the general group of rectilinear enclosure noted in Wigtwonshire there are several that are closely similar, in shape and scale, to Rispain Camp, such as Cairn Connell Hill 1 & 2, Monreith Mains, Merton Hall 1, and Crouse, which are all defined by large ditches with rounded corners. Prior to the identification of cropmark examples, Crouse, identified as a 'homestead moat', was thought to be the closest parallel to Rispain Camp in Wigtownshire (RCAHMS 1912, xxvii; Haggerty & Haggerty 1983, 44). However, a comparison of the landscape setting between these two sites highlights a significant difference. Crouse is located in a low river valley that leads to the Tourhouskie stone circle and standing stones to the N and is surrounded by higher ground almost as if it was in an amphitheatre. From Crouse the views would be limited to the features within the valley, framed by the topography. From the perspective of the wider landscape this enclosure was 'hidden' and it could be easily overlooked. By contrast Rispain Camp is situated on the edge of a ridge. The natural contours were incorporated within the architecture of the enclosure, emphasising its place in the landscape, from which more extensive views could be had (Fig. 6.85).

(Fig.6.85: Views looking onto Crouse compared to panoramic view around Rispain Camp (author))

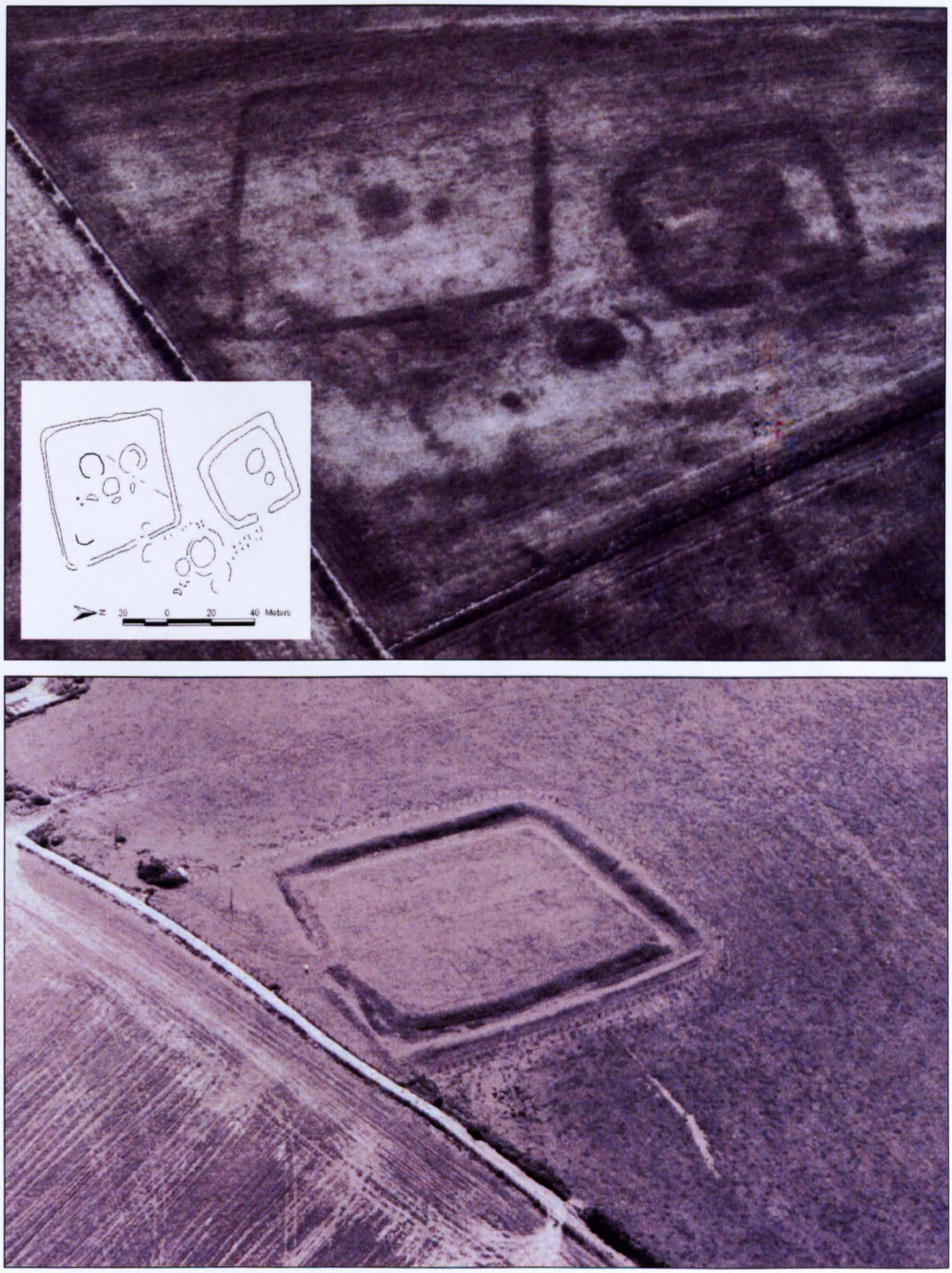
Examining a variety of characteristics, such as internal features, entrance direction, and in particular the landscape setting (see Table 6.2), Rispain Camp may be more comparable to Monreith Mains or Cairn Connell Hill than Crouse. The detail of the cropmark of Cairn Connell Hill shows at least two internal roundhouses within each of the rectilinear enclosures, a further similarity to the enclosure at Rispain Camp. It could be suggested that Rispain Camp represents a rare comparison of an extant earthwork version of the cropmark at Cairn Connell Hill (Fig. 6.86).

NMRS	Name	RCAHMS Type	Shape	AP	Max Length	Max Width	Location	Entrance	Internal Features
NX36SE15	Merton Hall	Enclosure	Rectangular - Square	Yes	32.00	32.00	Level	ENE	Round-house (possible)
NX06NW42	Cairn Connell Hill 1	Settlement	Rectangular	Yes	34.00	32.00	Mid - slope of low ridge/hill	E	Round-houses (2+?)
NX06NW41	Cairn Connell Hill 2	Settlement	Rectangular	Yes	57.00	52.00	Mid - slope of low ridge/hill	E	Round-houses (2+?)
NX34SE26	Monreith Mains	Enclosure	Rectangular - Square	Yes	45.72	45.72	Mid - slope of low ridge/hill	E	?
NX43NW3a	Rispain Camp	Settlement	Rectangular	No	68.00	48.00	Mid - slope of low ridge/hill	E	Round-houses (2+?)
NX35NE7	Crouse	Homestead moat	Rectangular	No	45.00	20.00	Level, overlooked	?	?

(Table 6.2: Rectilinear enclosures of similar shape but some with different locations)

Cairn Connell Hill, like each of the sites, is distinct. Here there is evidence for two similar rectilinear enclosures side-by-side, highlighting a complex process of creating place. We cannot be sure when the enclosures at Cairn Connell Hill were built nor the subsequent sequence of construction. However it is possible to suggest that either the arrangement of the two enclosures may reflect an expansion of settlement over time (Cowley 2000, 173) or that the enclosures were contemporary settlements where separate physical and social spaces were clearly defined. Yet whether contemporary or not the wide ditches of each enclosure (both literally and symbolically) separated one place from the other. There was a deliberate and obvious separation, but at the same time the close physical appearance and proximity of these enclosures, as well as their similar orientation demonstrate a shared responsibility for creating place. The construction of each enclosure, as well as the features within and without these

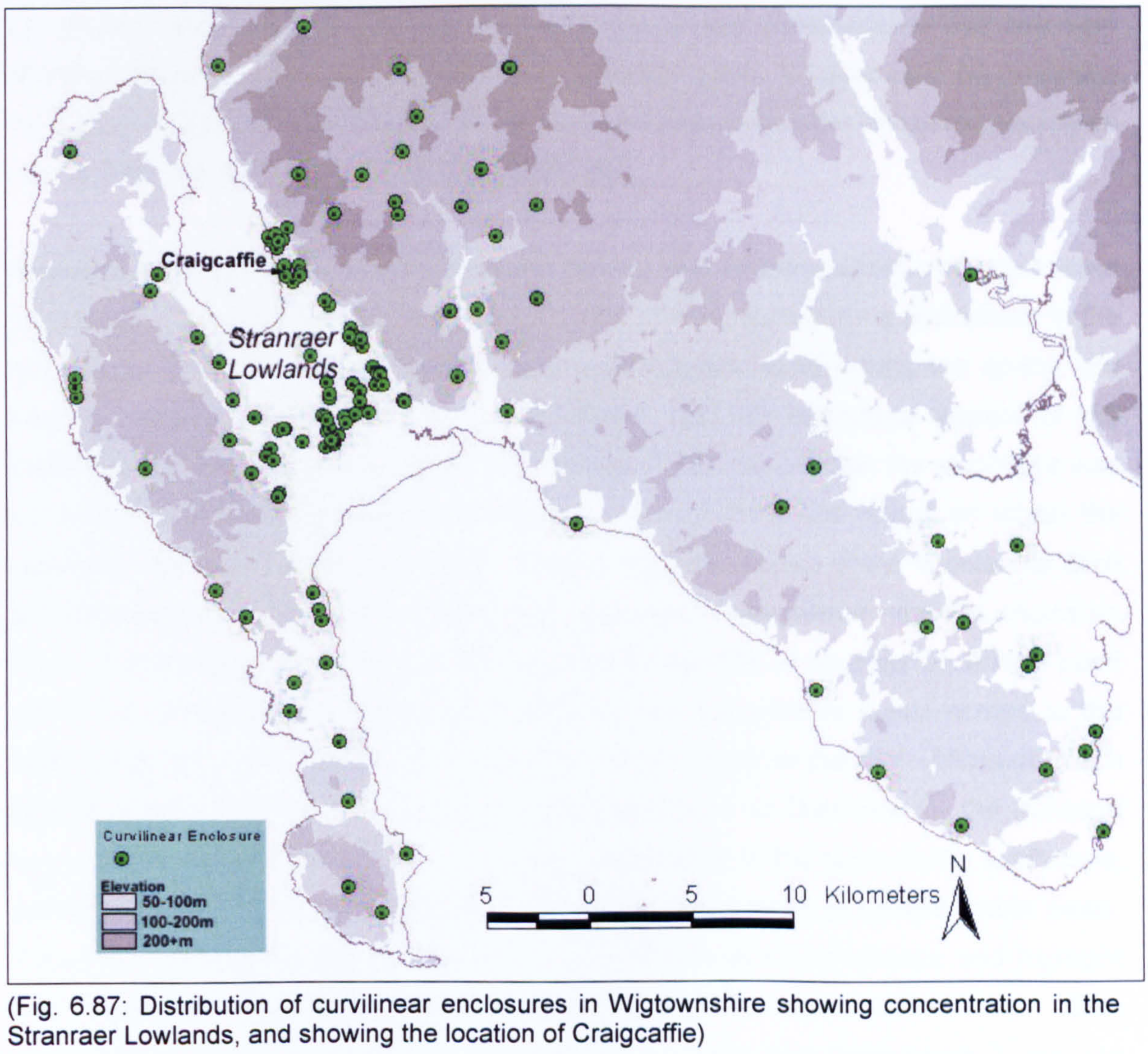
enclosures, each added to the definition of place as seen was in its final phase, intentionally referencing one another.



(Fig.6.86: Aerial photographs of Cairn Connell Hill and Rispain Camp © RCAHMS)

Curvilinear Enclosures

The category 'curvilinear enclosure' includes a wide range of features of varying sizes and forms: features that are circular, oval and, in some cases, those only visible as arcs. Although there are many curvilinear enclosures of stone or earth/stone, which predominantly found in the uplands of Wigtownshire, the majority (over 60%) of curvilinear enclosures are cropmark features concentrated in the Stranraer Lowlands (Fig. 6.87). In this section the main focus will be on enclosed features that have not been described by more specific terms such as 'fort', but because of the ambiguity of this classification wider comparisons across monument types will also be drawn.

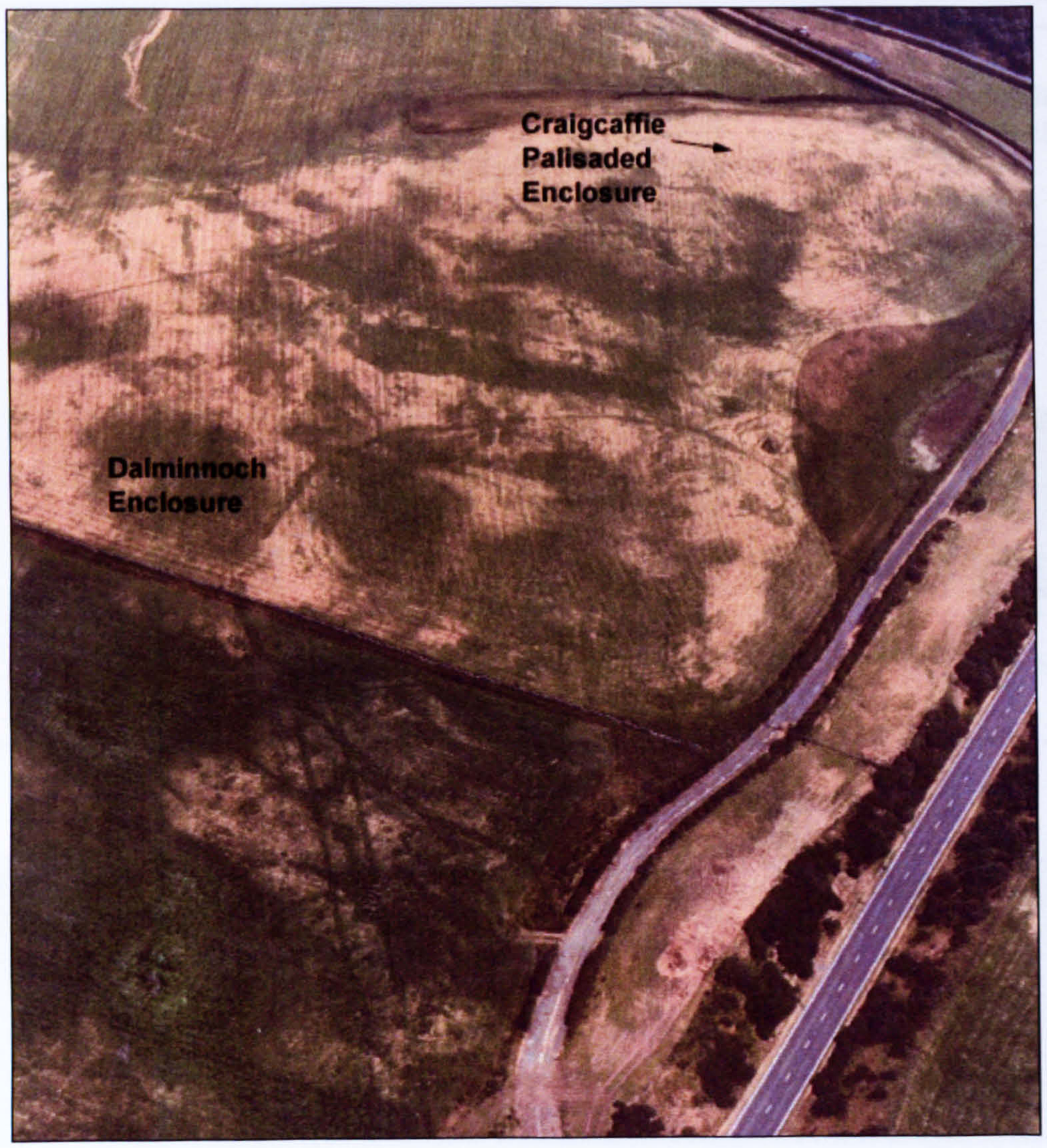


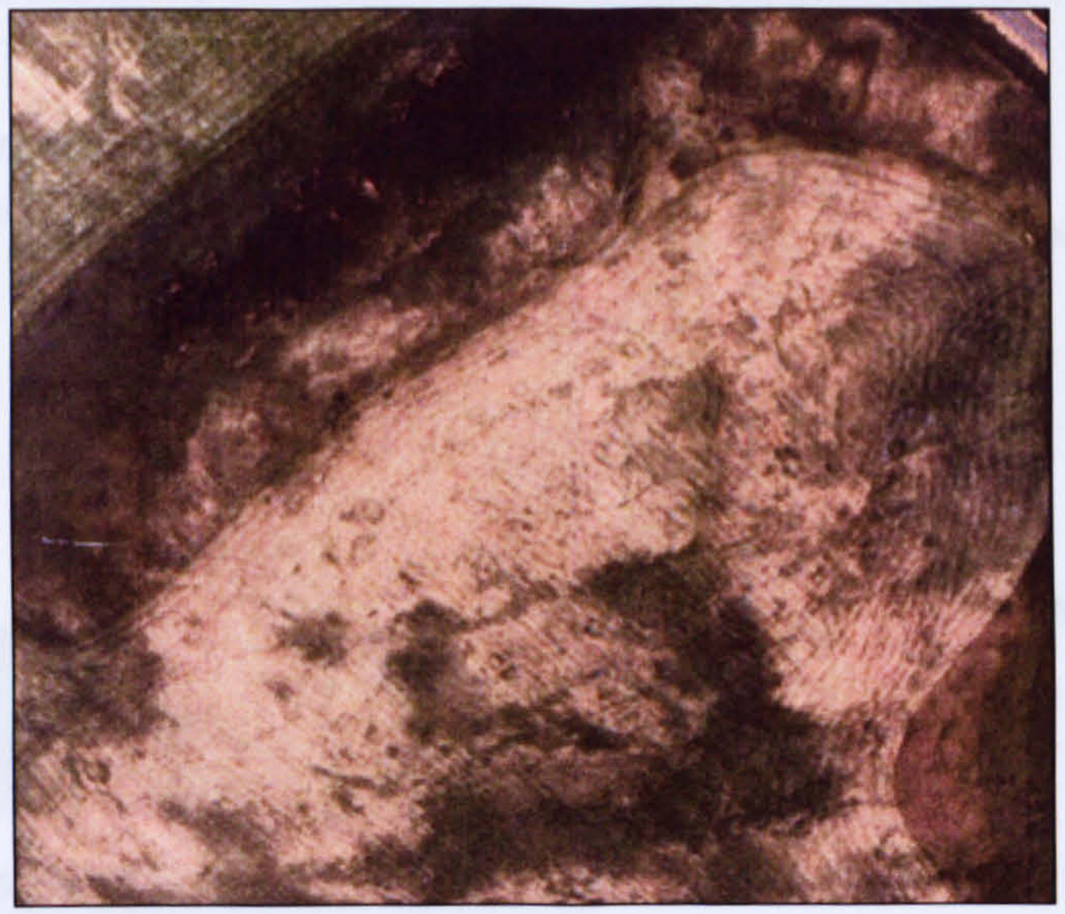
(Fig. 6.87: Distribution of curvilinear enclosures in Wigtownshire showing concentration in the Stranraer Lowlands, and showing the location of Craigcaffie)

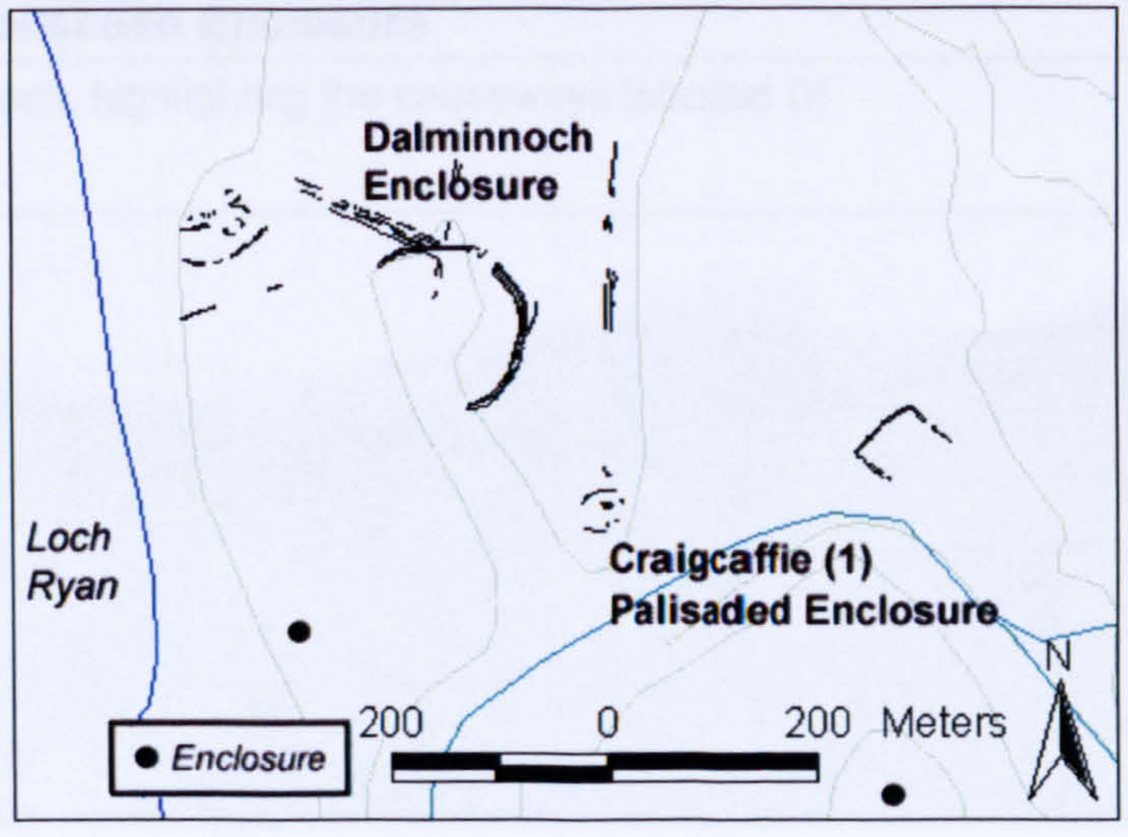
Comparisons of morphology and location: Case study at Craigcaffie

To explore the diverse character among curvilinear cropmark enclosures, the palisaded enclosure at Craigcaffie 1 and the large enclosure at Dalminnoch 1 within 100m of one another will be compared (Fig. 6.88). The most obvious difference between these enclosures is their morphology: Daliminnoch 1 is an oval and strikingly large (165m by 120m) enclosure. The curve of ditch is irregular and has several entrance gaps interrupting the perimeter, channelling movement through several selective points (Fig. 6.89). Internally, there are no noticeable features, only several small indeterminate cropmarks and two overlapping parallel linear cropmarks. By contrast, the enclosure at Craigcaffie 1 is circular, smaller (just 40m in diameter), and defined by a narrow palisaded trench. Cropmarks within the interior indicate a possible central roundhouse. On purely morphological grounds, it is clear that these constructions had two very different functions and were created in very different ways. It could even be proposed that large enclosure is a Neolithic causewayed enclosure and the palisaded enclosure later prehistoric (see Cowley & Brophy 2001, 50).

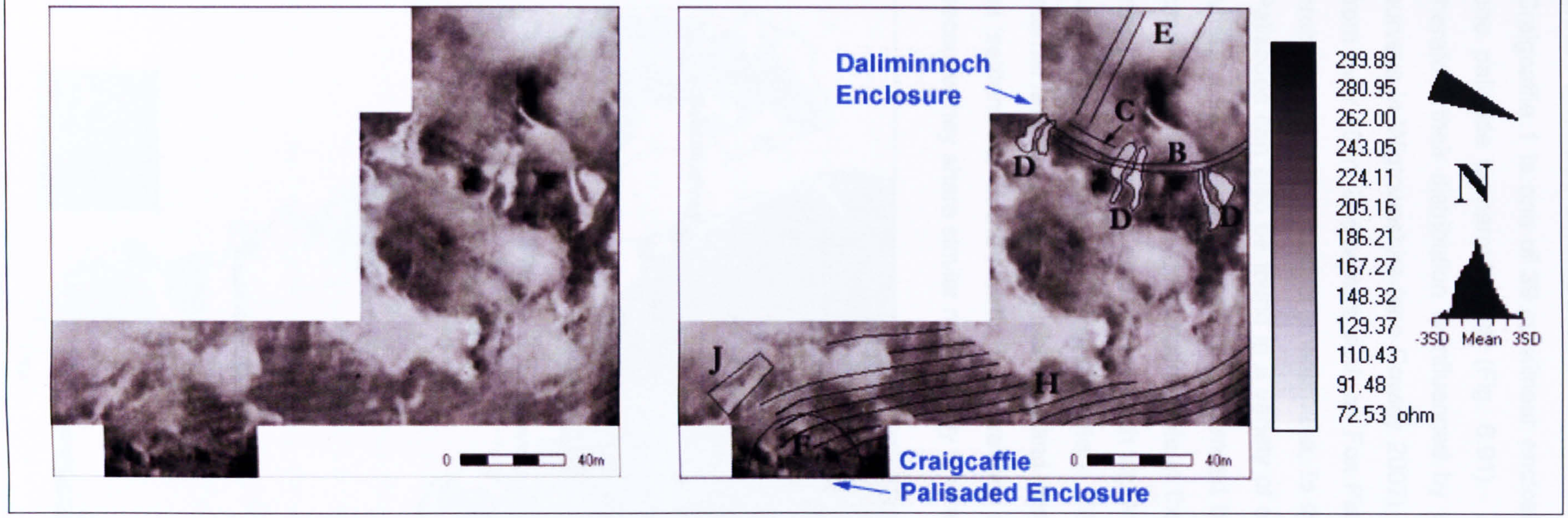
However, we must also consider the topographical and archaeological context of these cropmarks. The large enclosure is low-lying and its ditch surrounds a depression in the landscape. The interior would have been water-logged, even during the spring and summer, and it is probable that a wet interior was an intentional aspect of the experience of this enclosure. Moreover, situated in this low position the enclosure was not visible across the undulating landscape, not even from the hillock on which the palisaded enclosure is set (Fig. 6.90). The full dramatic impact of the substantial ditch and causeways into the interior would only have been experienced near the enclosure itself. Conversely, the palisaded enclosure at Craigcaffie is situated on a high point within the immediate landscape, from where there are general views across to the fields to the W, E and SE and even glimpses of Loch Ryan to the NW. Although much smaller in size when compared to the large enclosure at Dalminnoch, the palisade enclosure at Craigcaffie 1 would have been more visible in the surrounding landscape, and its height would have been further exaggerated by a circle of upright timber posts. These two enclosures exploit different natural aspects of the landscape and highlight their distinctive roles and possible cultural and chronological differences. Both morphological and topographical characteristics suggest that Dalminnoch 1 may be Neolithic in date, while Craigcaffie 1 is later prehistoric, but this has yet to be proven. This example shows that topographic differences as well as morphology reflect significant differences in the experience of place, which is important to consider when exploring the many other 'enclosures' assumed as being later prehistoric in date.



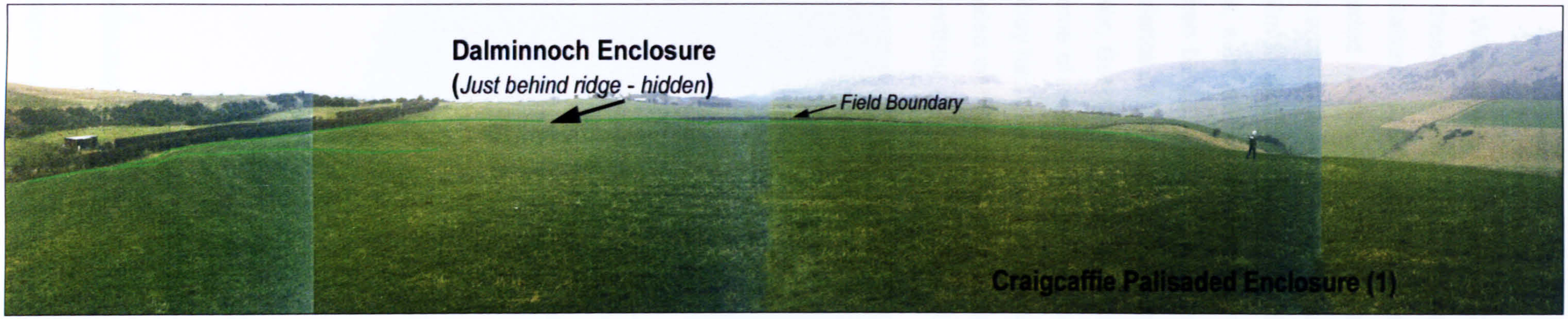




(Fig. 6.88: Aerial photographs and transcriptions of the cropmark enclosures at Dalminnoch and Craigcaffie 1; close-up of the palisaded enclosure © RCAHMS)



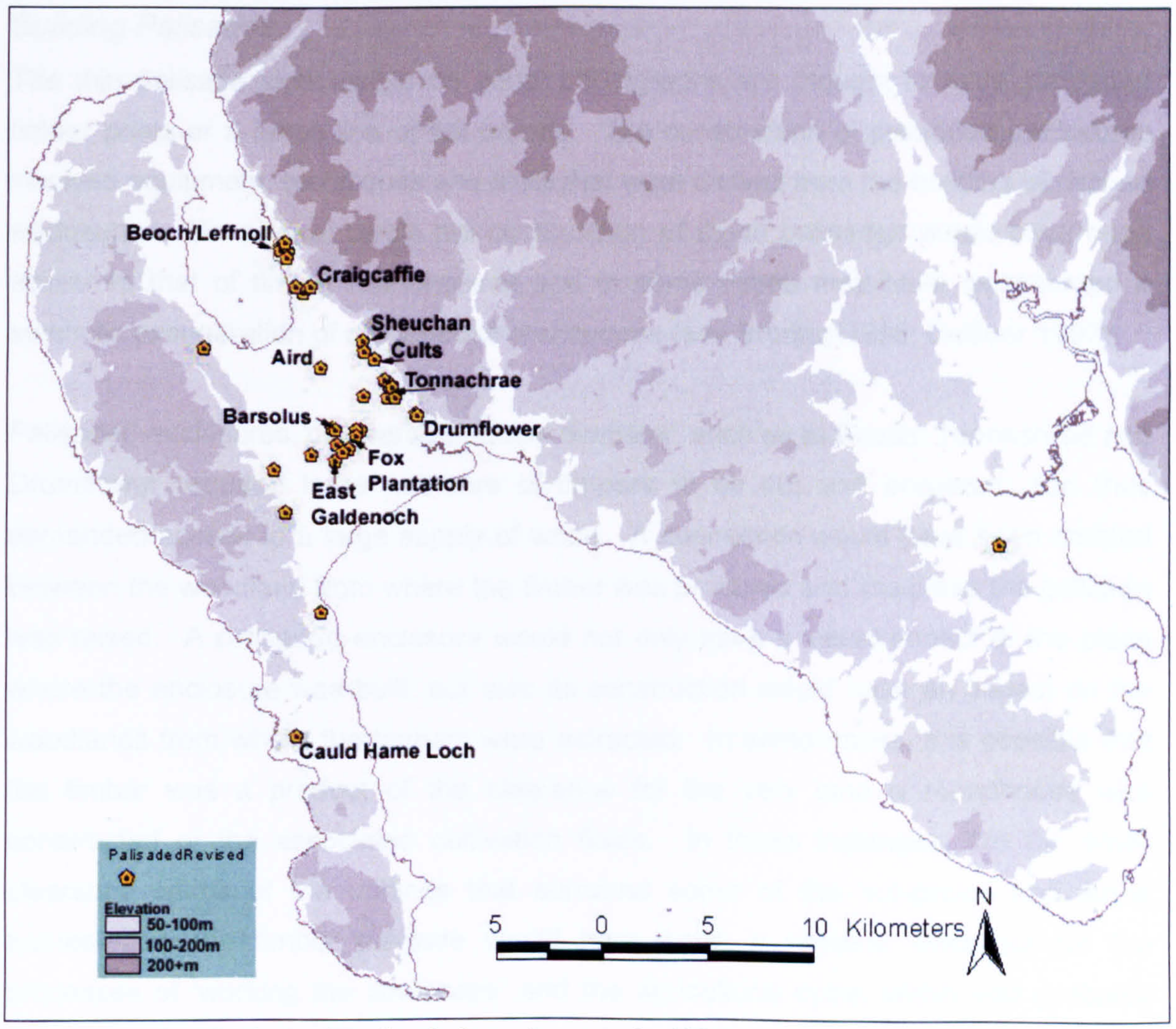
(Fig. 6.89: Magnetic (gradiometry) survey of Craigcaffie and Dalminnoch, highlighting the causeways labelled **D**)



(Fig. 6.90: View from Craigcaffie 1 towards Dalminnoch, the location of enclosure is 'hidden' by the undulations of the landscape (highlighted in green) (author))

6.6.2 Palisaded Enclosures

Craigcaffie 1 is one of 39 curvilinear enclosures in Wigtownshire defined by at least one palisade or narrow ditch (Fig. 6.91). All of these are cropmark features and therefore their distribution is influenced by the limitations of the aerial photographic surveys in Wigtownshire (see Cowley 2002). Palisaded enclosures can range in size from over 100m in diameter such as Fox Plantation and Cauld Hame Loch; sites that probably represent distinct phenomena, to those 20m in diameter (e.g. Several Hill). Palisades can also be found in a variety of contexts, such as the 'fort' at Kirkland Hill where a large oval palisade is surrounded by earthen banks and ditches and in this case the palisade played a distinct role in the experience of this place. However, the majority of palisaded enclosures, such as Drumflower, Beoch and Tonnachrae are of similar shape and size (35m in diameter). Within some of these palisaded enclosures internal features have been identified and therefore they had been classified separately as 'settlements' in the NMRS, but here they are treated within this general discussion because they share similar morphology to examples without recorded internal features.



(Fig. 6.91: Distribution of palisaded enclosures in Wigtownshire; labelled are the sites mentioned in the text)

Internal Features

As previously mentioned, the excavation of the palisaded enclosure at Aird revealed a roundhouse within a curvilinear palisaded enclosure (Cook 2002). Although there are problems identifying small and ephemeral features such as roundhouses by aerial photography, other possible palisaded enclosures with internal roundhouses include East Galdenoch, Barsolus 3, Beoch 1, Tonnachrae 3 and Drumflower 1. Furthermore, like Aird, these enclosures may only have enclosed one central roundhouse; creating a disproportionate relationship between the size of the roundhouse and the space defined by the enclosure (see section 6.4.3). Other palisaded cropmark enclosures of similar size and landscape setting do not have any indications of internal features. While this may reflect differences in preservation and visibility of cropmarks, the construction of a palisaded enclosure offered a separate space for specific activities and may have represented a symbolic as well as a physical separation from other spaces.

Building Palisades

The thin palisade slots visible on aerial photographs are thought to have supported timber posts or a fence line of flat boards. The construction of palisaded enclosures involved equipment, techniques and skills that were distinct from the building of ditched enclosures. On several levels the construction of these palisades would have been similar to that of timber roundhouses and in some cases may have represented a symbolic exaggeration of roundhouse architecture (see Bradley 1996; DeBoer 1997).

Palisaded enclosures, on average 30m in diameter, such as at Beoch, Tonnachrae and Drumflower required large numbers of timbers to be cut and prepared, and thus demanded access to a large supply of wood. A connection would have been created between the woodland from where the timber was procured and the place the palisade was raised. A palisaded enclosure would not only have a visual impact at the place where the enclosure was built, but also its construction would have an impact on the woodlands from where the timbers were extracted. In some cases, it is possible that the timber was a product of the clearance for the very land a roundhouse was constructed or the associated cultivation fields. In these instances, like the small clearance cairns of the uplands that surround some of the hut-circles and stone homesteads, the timber palisade would have been a physical metaphor for the processes of 'working the landscape' and the agricultural cycle, which was probably deeply connected to the life cycle of the Iron Age people in Wigtownshire (see Williams

2003). In Wigtownshire there was long local tradition of timber construction, which is attested by the monumental Neolithic timber construction identified at Dunragit (Thomas 1999, 2001b). Techniques, skills and the appreciation of timber may have developed and transformed over time, and had been expressed in the construction of the palisaded enclosures.

Compared to ditched enclosures, different mechanisms of maintenance would be necessary for palisaded enclosures. Timber features are thought to be less permanent than ditched enclosures, but could have lasted for up to 80 years (see Brück 2000, Gibson 2002). Nonetheless, the organic process of the decay, if the posts were not removed, may have been an important element of the meaning of these architectural features of the expression of personal or group or community identities even after their abandonment.

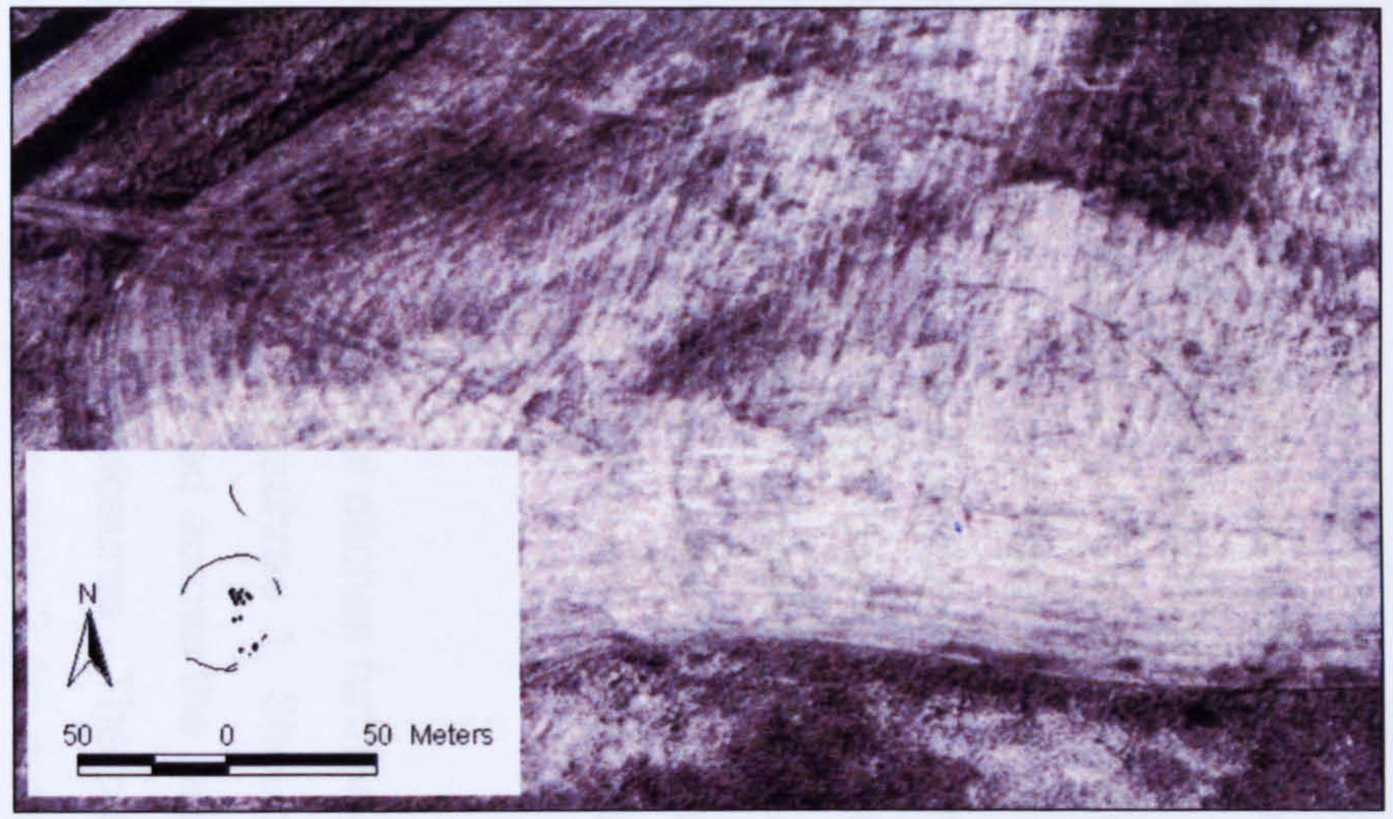
'Seeing the Wood for the Trees'

Compared to ditches, palisaded enclosures would define different experiences when passing in, and from, the interior (Fig. 6.92). Palisades, depending on their height, would have been both visual and physical obstacles, which only could be crossed at specific, controlled points. Ditches also create a physical boundary between the interior and exterior, but in this case crossing and engaging with the ditch would have been a different type of experience. Again, dependent on the height the banks and the width of the ditches, you would have to cross the ditch by a causeway or perhaps in some cases involved descending into the ditch and climb over the bank. Palisades would have offered further distinctive sensory relationships, the timbers could potentially be touched, and any gaps from which light could be filtered could also be peered through. Entrances played an important role in defining and framing the visual impact of the interior, especially in the case where continuous palisades defined the enclosure. These views were sometimes enhanced by the construction of timber-lined avenues, closing in the experience of passing the threshold (e.g. Structure B, Fox Plantation), not possible over ditch causeways unless enhanced by timber (see Gibson 2002).

(Fig. 6.92: Diagram illustrating the physical difference between earthworks and palisades)

Entrances and Access

The excavation at Aird revealed one entrance in the palisaded enclosure. This entrance was located in the SE direction, aligned with the entrance of the internal roundhouse (Cook 2002). Few of the entrances of the other palisaded cropmark enclosures can be confidently identified; however, in some enclosures it is possible to suggest the location of entrances in multiple directions. Beoch 1, 2 & 3 appear to have opposing entrances, while there are three possible entrances at Craigcaffie 1. Considering the topography of Craigcaffie in relation to these entrances only the one, to the NE, is aligned along the ridge and fairly level ground (Fig. 6.93). From the E gap the slope falls steeply to low, marshy ground and from the W gap the ground gradually but steadily descends. Any approaches from the E or W, in this case, would have emphasised the height of the enclosure and would made the construction appear more impressive. There are no indications of avenues or elaborations of the entrances leading into the palisaded enclosures (an exception is Structure B, Fox Plantation see section 6.4.5). For many palisaded enclosures it may have been the visibility of the architecture in its topographic location that was most significant.

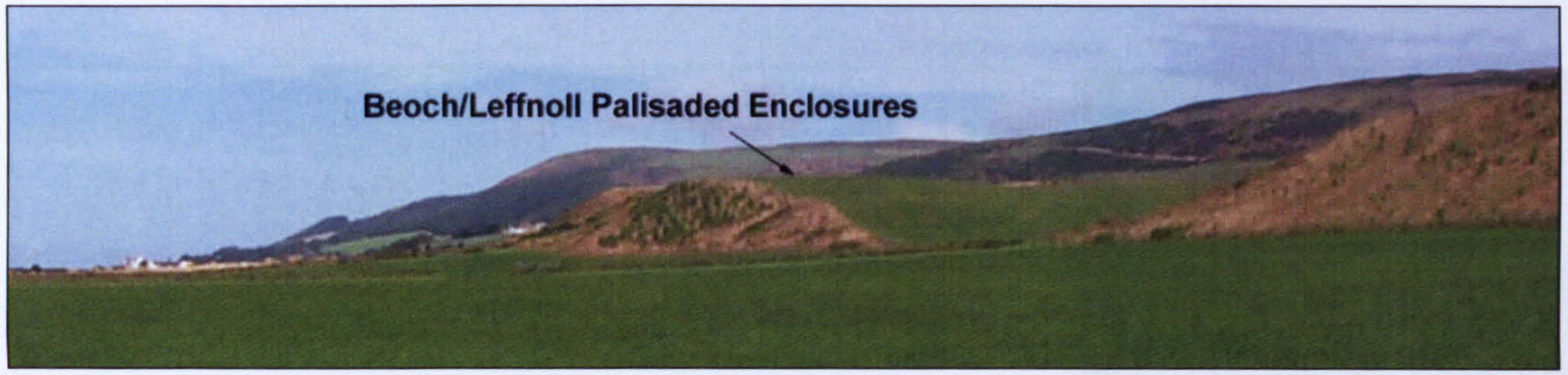


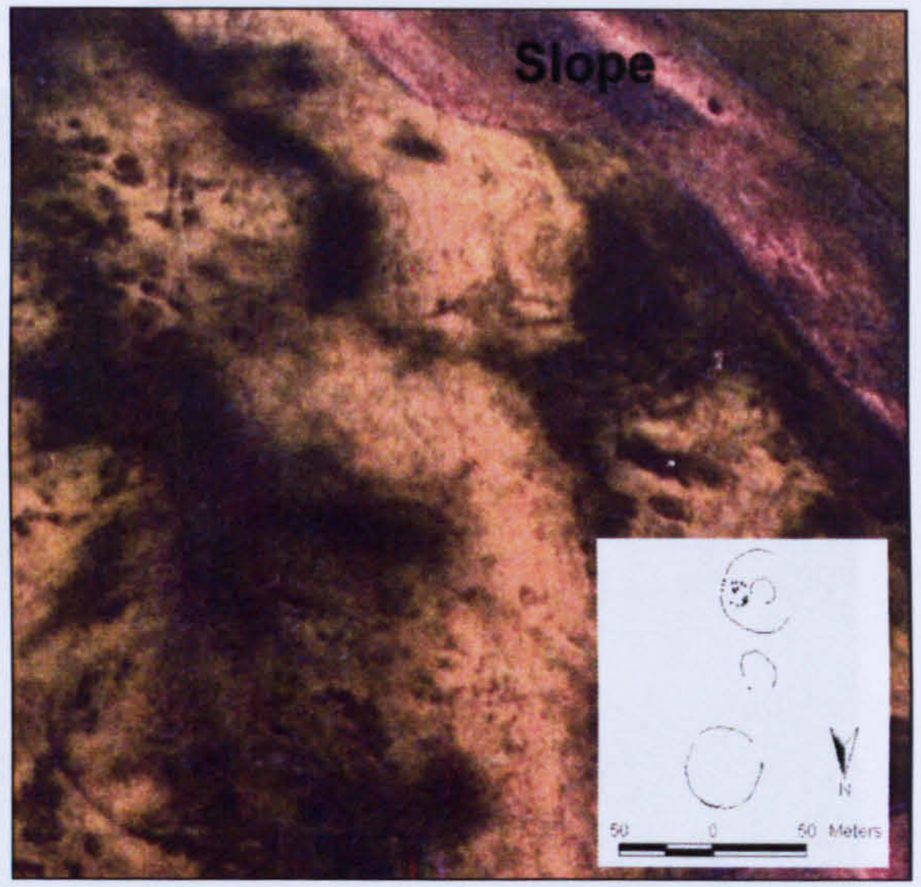
(Fig. 6.93: Aerial photo of the palisaded enclosure at Craigcaffie 1 © RCAHMS; view from one possible entrance to the NE along the ridge, view from another possible entrance directed to the W down the slope (author))

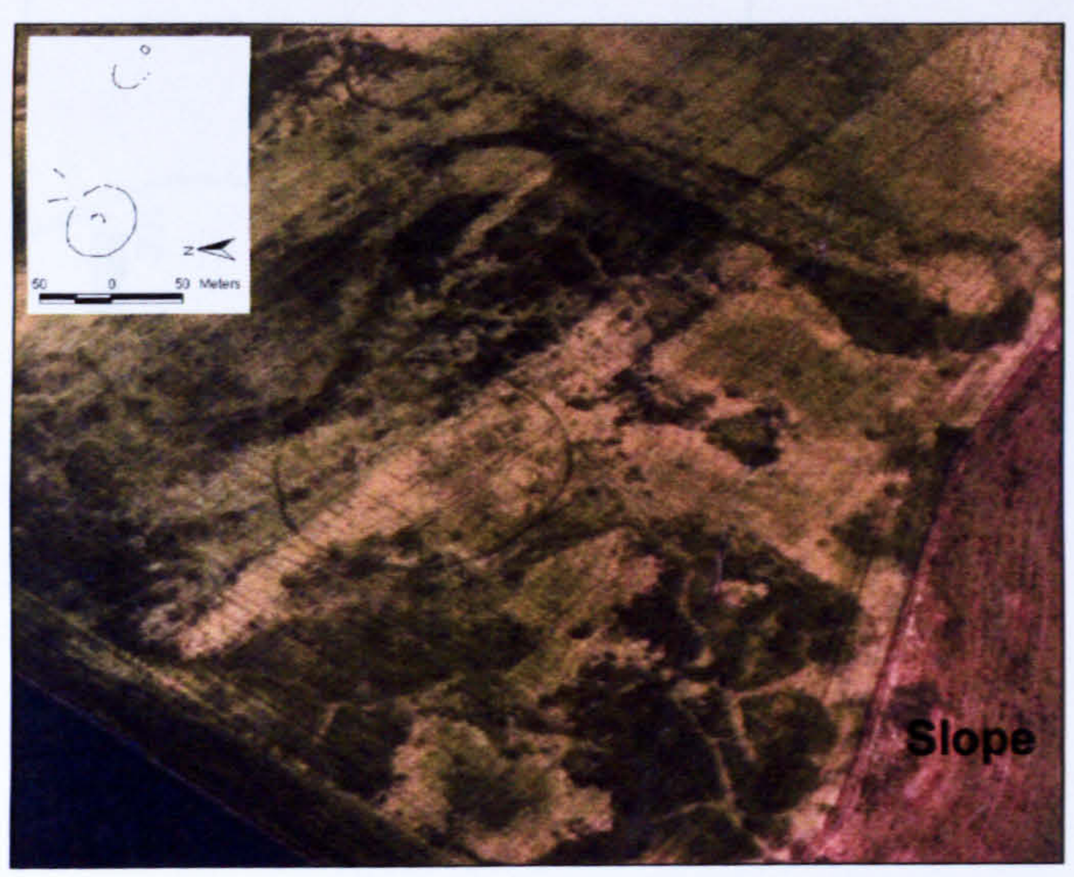
Landscapes of Memory

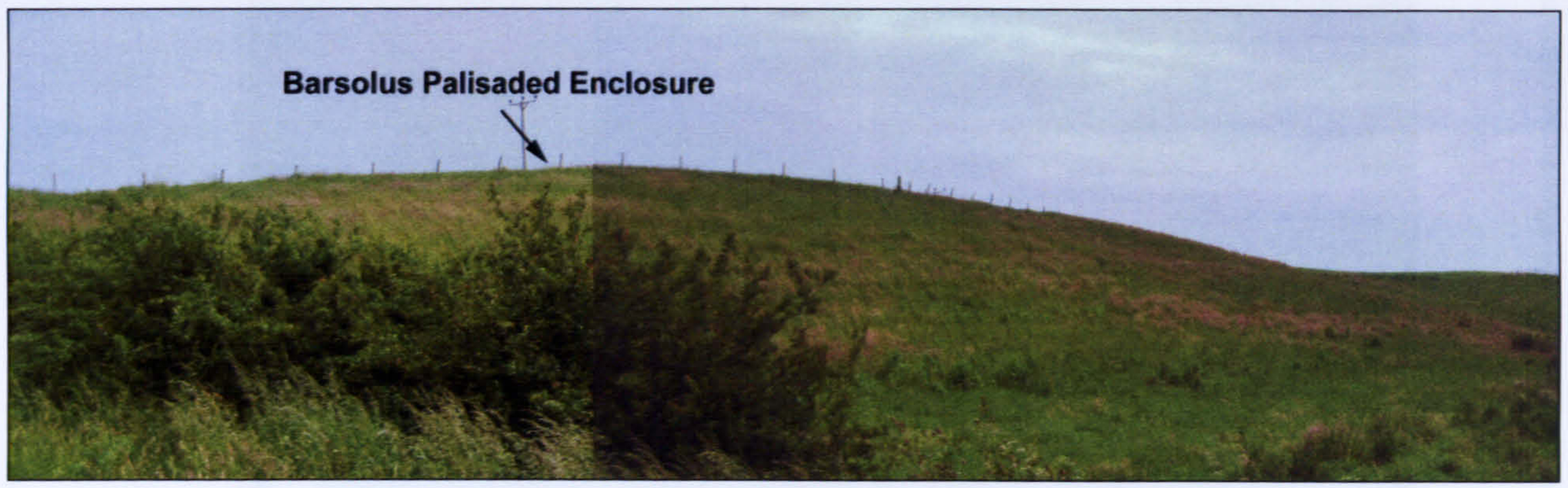
Like Craigcaffie 1, the visibility of many of these palisaded enclosures was enhanced by their location in the landscape. For instance, Tonnachrae, Beoch, Leffnoll, and Barsolus are all situated small hillocks or raised beaches near to a steep break of slope (Fig. 6.94). The steep slope would have accentuated the appearance of the palisades; both literally and symbolically heighten its visibility. From a wider perspective there are noticeable clusters of palisade enclosures along the raised beaches of the Stranraer Lowlands, at Drumflower, Beoch and Tonnachrae. These beaches may have been a transitional zone between the uplands and lowlands and perhaps an important area for interaction or seasonal movement (Pope 2003) (Fig. 6.95). They may have acted as boundaries in the landscape, defining movement or shifts in settlement focus. These clusters, whether the enclosures are contemporary or not, may reflect a socially deliberate attempt to connect different groups or communities. Conspicuously, on the raised beach there is a distinct lack of ditched enclosures. Thin palisade ditches are considered fragile archaeological features and therefore if palisades were identified on the raised beach, other ditched features, if they existed, would also likely be visible (Cowley pers comm). Therefore these areas were dominated by palisaded enclosures. The dominance of a particular architecture would have distinguished these areas, perhaps set aside for specific practices, groups or communities, from others areas within Wigtownshire.

In some cases external ditches further augmented the palisaded enclosures previously mentioned (e.g. Tonnachrae 1, Sheuchan 1, Cults Loch 4, and Leffnoll 1). These examples are dispersed across the raised beaches and situated amongst the clusters of other palisaded enclosures. The palisaded enclosure at Tonnachrae 1 has a wide external ditch, approximately 2-4m outside of the palisade (Fig. 6.96). The ditch would have defined another level of separation, affecting and restricting how the palisade was physically experienced. At Tonnachrae 1 the ditch does not appear to be continuous, but in terms of access only one gap in the ditch to the E corresponds to one of the possible entrances in the palisade, which would be the easiest approach across the level ground. There is no clear indication of the chronological relationship between the ditch and the palisade, but the ditch may have been an attempt to emphasis the role of one structure amongst a group morphologically similar palisaded enclosures. Perhaps the ditches represented a particular social phase that was never reached by the other enclosures or a reflected a distinct activity that took place in these enclosures.

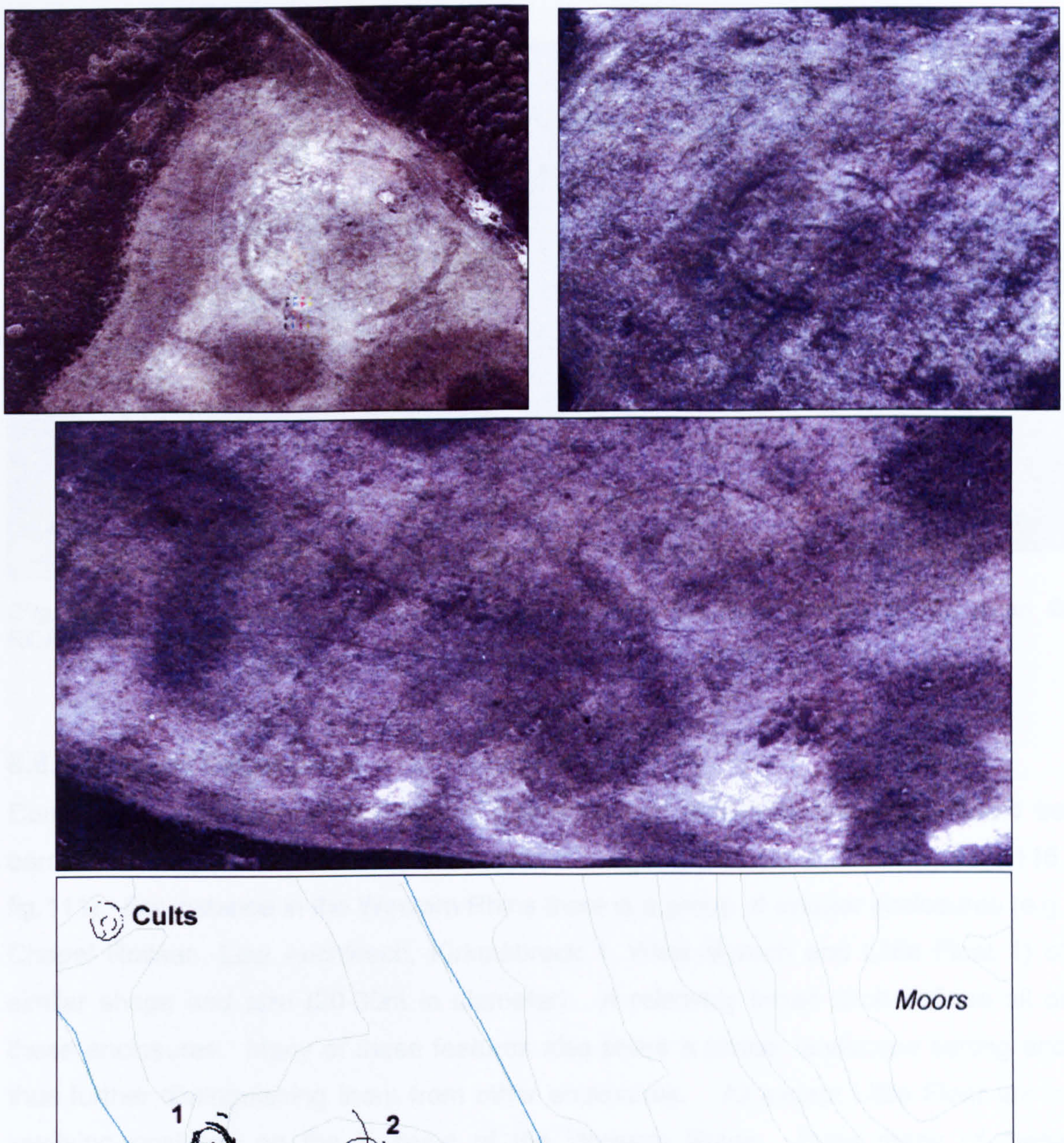




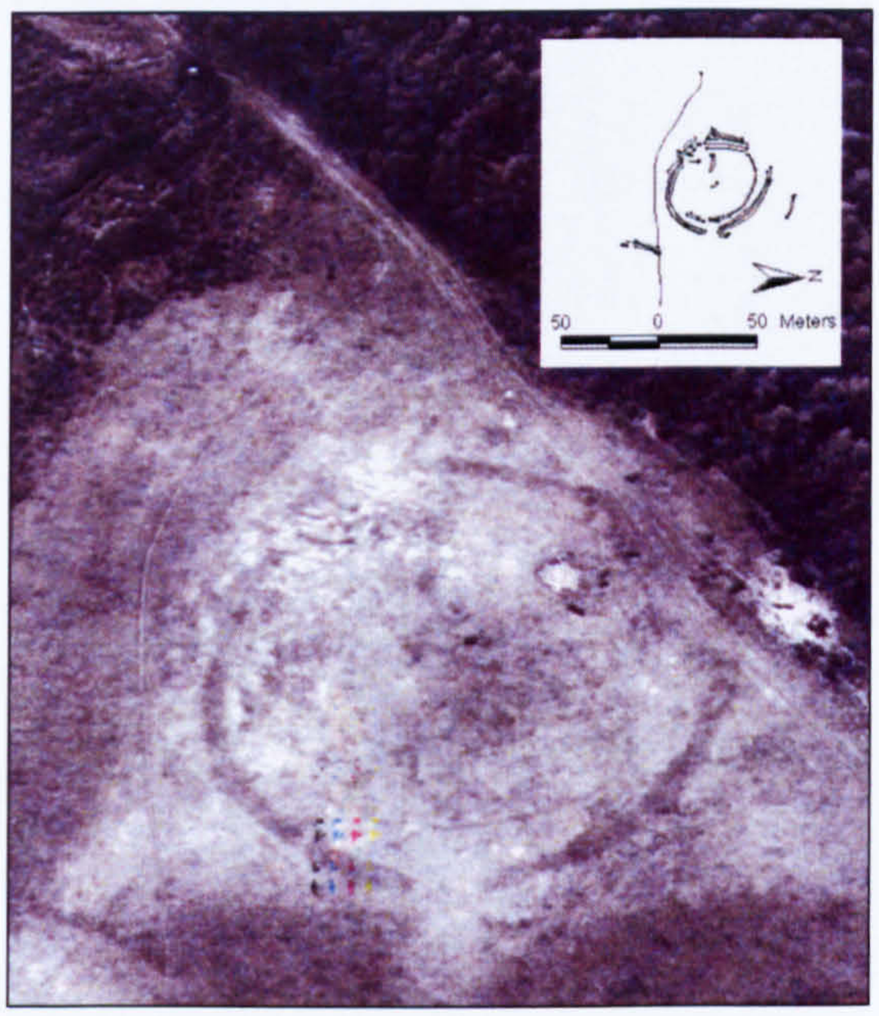


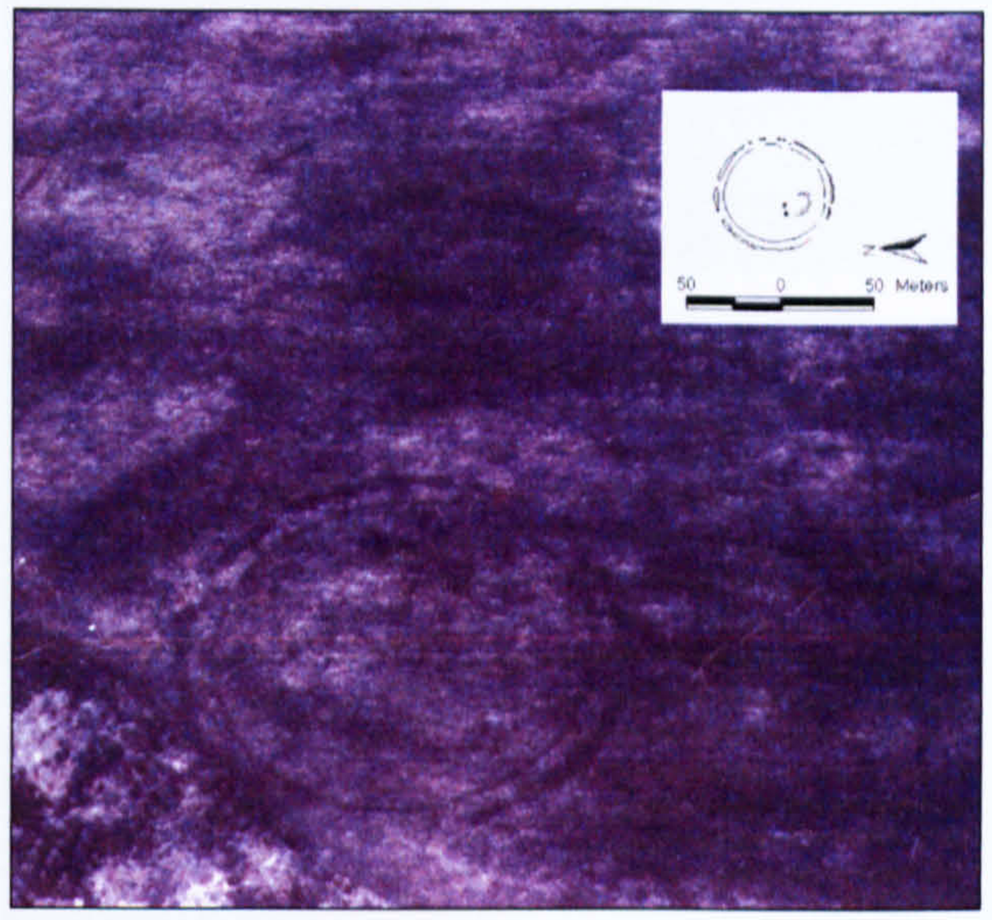


(Fig. 6.94: Steep terraces augment the visibility of palisaded enclosures like Beoch and Barsolus; photos (author), aerial photos © RCAHMS)



(Fig. 6.95: A cluster of palisaded enclosures at Tonnachrae and Cults; aerial photographs of Tonnachrae 1, 5 & 2 & transcriptions © RCAHMS)

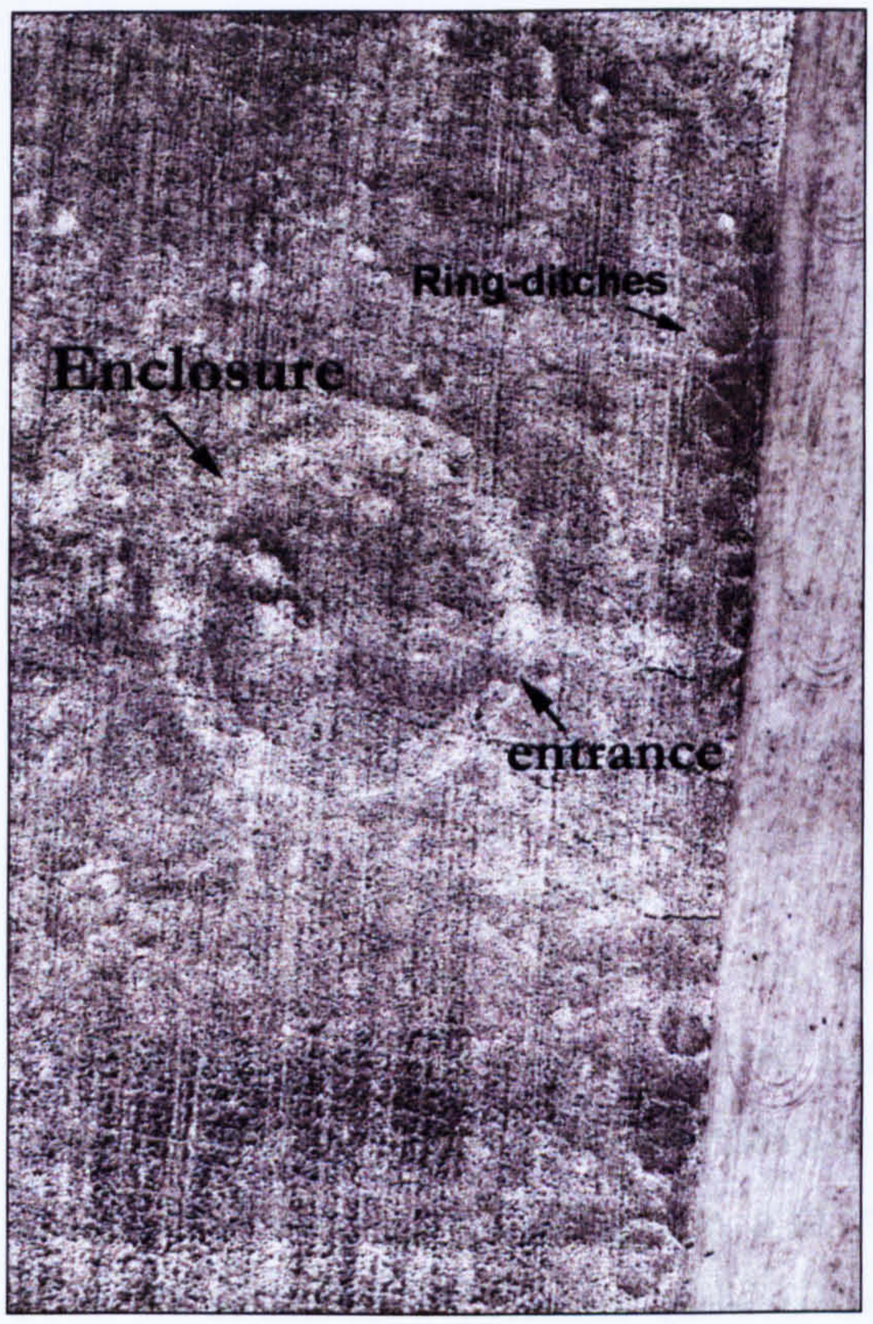


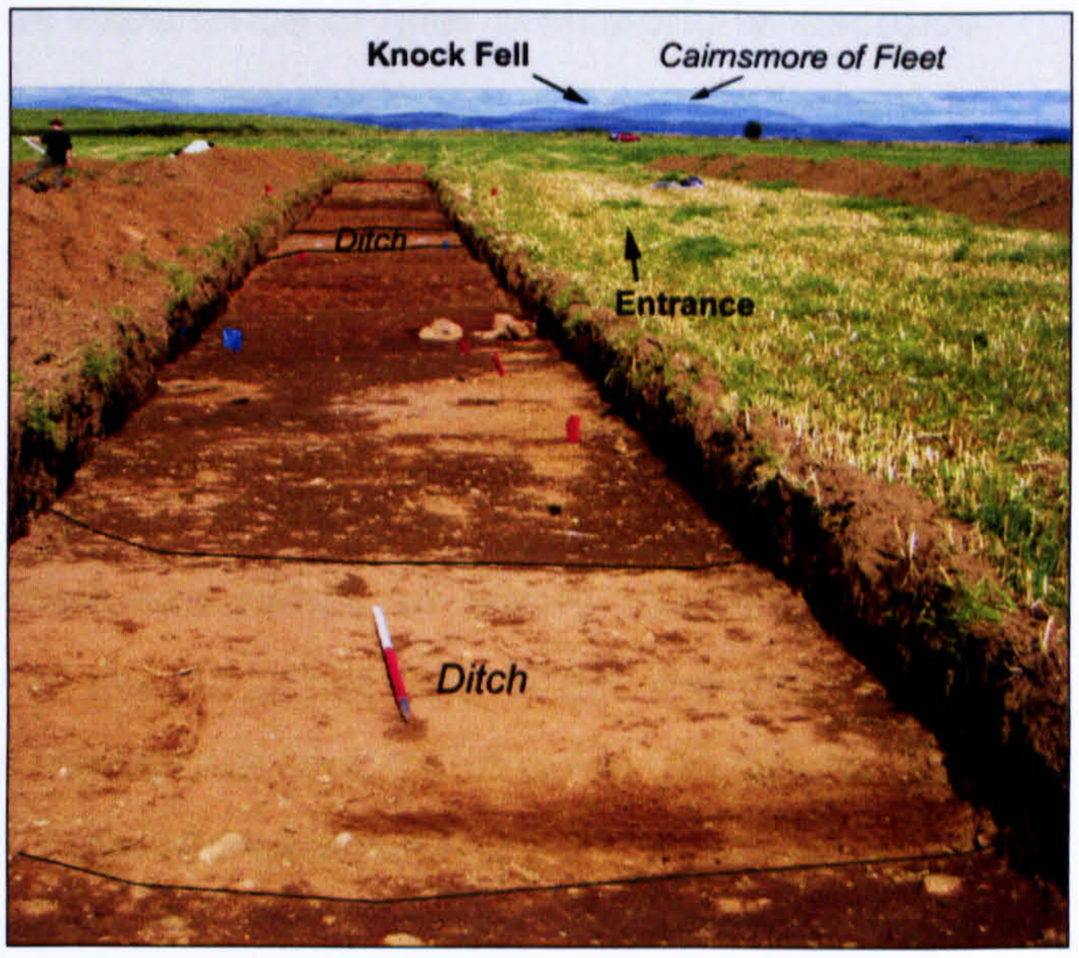


(Fig. 6.96: Palisaded enclosures with an external ditch at Tonnachrae 1 & Sheuchan © RCAHMS)

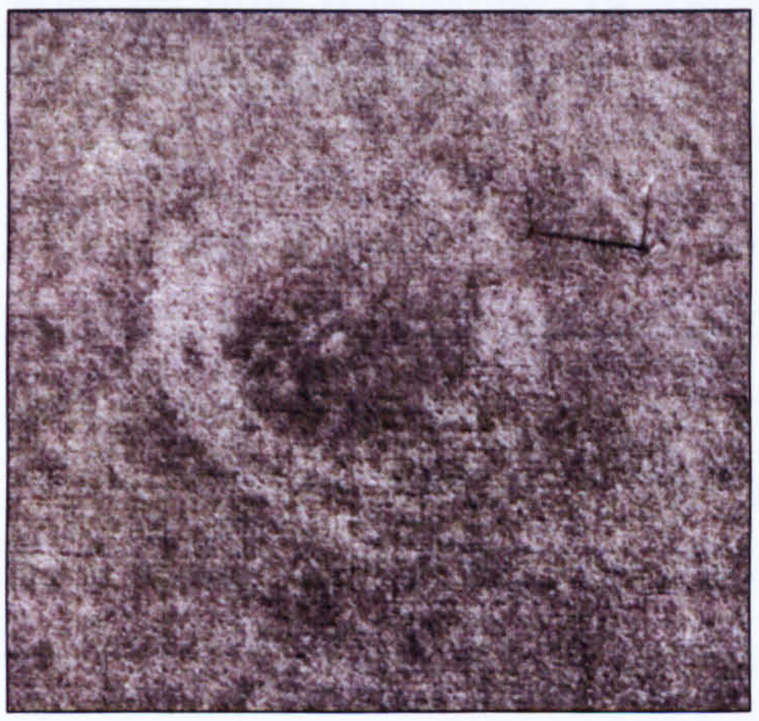
6.6.3 Ditched Enclosures

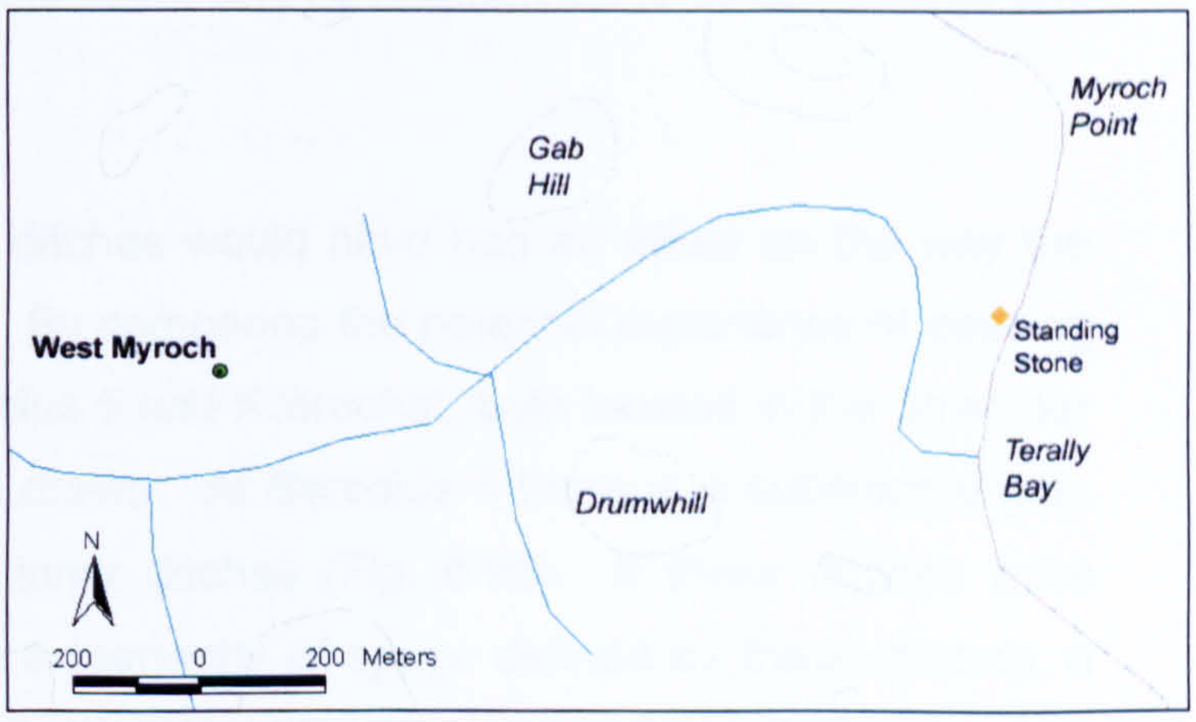
Considering their general morphology, many ditched cropmark enclosures could be barrows of early prehistoric date, rather than Iron Age settlement (RCAHMS 1997, 116, fig.111). For instance in the Western Rhins there is a group of circular enclosures (e.g. Chapel Rossan, Low Auchleach, Kirkmabreck 1, West Myroch and Little Float 1) of similar shape and size (20-30m in diameter). A relatively broad ditch defines all of these enclosures. Many of these features also share a similar landscape setting and thus further distinguishing them from other enclosures. All except Little Float are in low-lying positions on the E coast of the Western Rhins. From many of these enclosures views of the sea and distant places are framed and appear to have been intentionally referenced, such as the Knock Fell and the hills of Cairnsmore of Fleet from Kirkmabreck (Fig. 6.97). The relationship between earth and water is emphasised through the experience of these places (see Richards 1996). West Myroch overlooks a low river valley and has extensive views towards Myroch Point (Terally Bay), framed by two equidistant low hills, Gab Hill and Drumwhill (Fig. 6.98), and from which, on a clear day, views can be had across Luce Bay to the Fell of Barhullion. Regardless of the time period when these features were construction, as a group their similar situation in the wider landscape highlights a particular tradition throughout the Western Rhins that referenced specific natural elements.





(Fig. 6.97: Enclosure and ring-ditches at Kirkmabreck © RCAHMS, 'entrance' of enclosure aligned with Knock Fell, which is flanked by the more distant Cairnsmore of Fleet (close-up) (author))





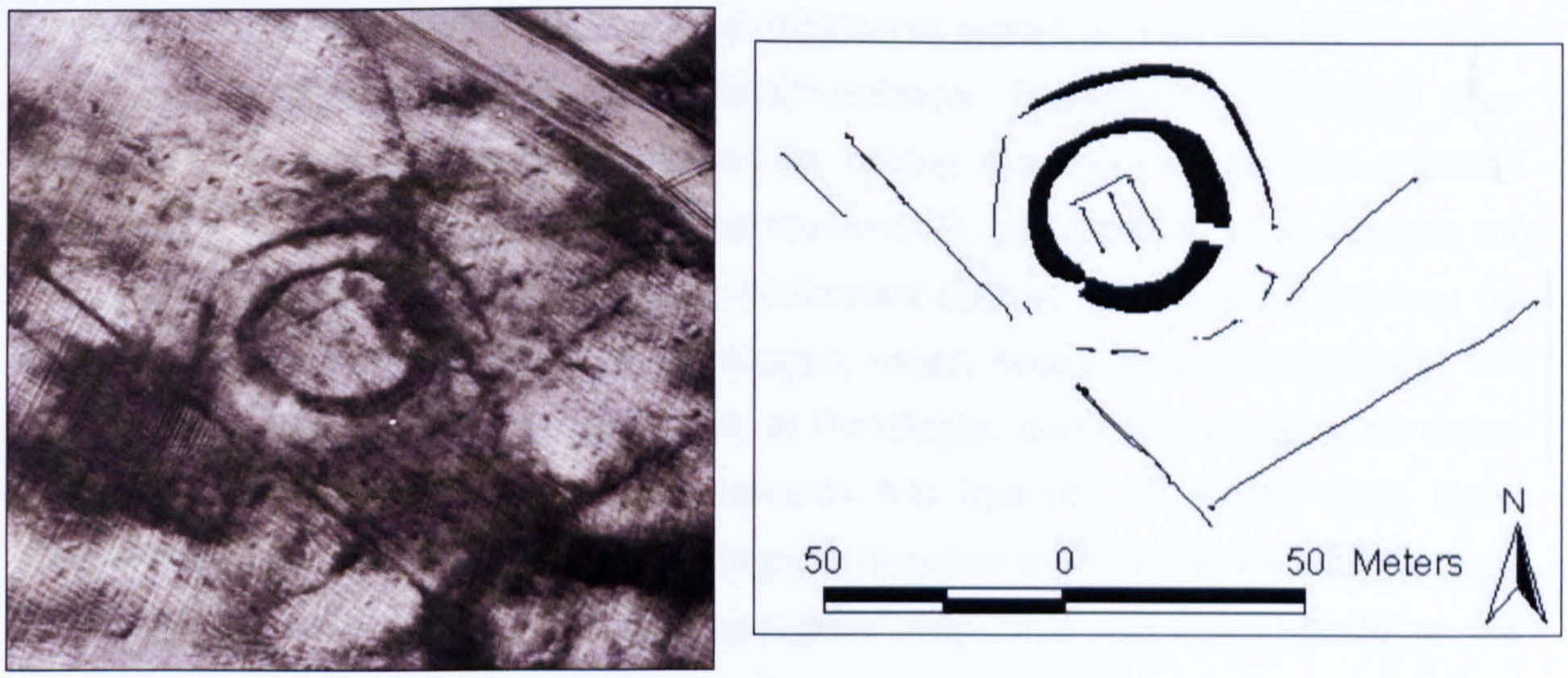
(Fig. 6.98: Aerial photograph of the West Myroch enclosure © RCAHMS, its situation in the surrounding landscape, and view E framed by Gab Hill and Drumwhill (author))

By the comparison of the morphological and topographical characteristics these features to other examples across Scotland they may be interpreted to be the remains of early prehistoric barrows or burial mounds. If these features are earlier prehistoric monuments it is important to consider that these may have potentially influenced the construction of Iron Age settlement and the experience of later prehistoric landscapes (see Bradley 1997; Barrett 1999a). Interestingly, no evidence of later settlement is noted near Kirkmabreck or West Myroch and these places may have been intentionally kept separate from later settlement.

The Significance of Ditches

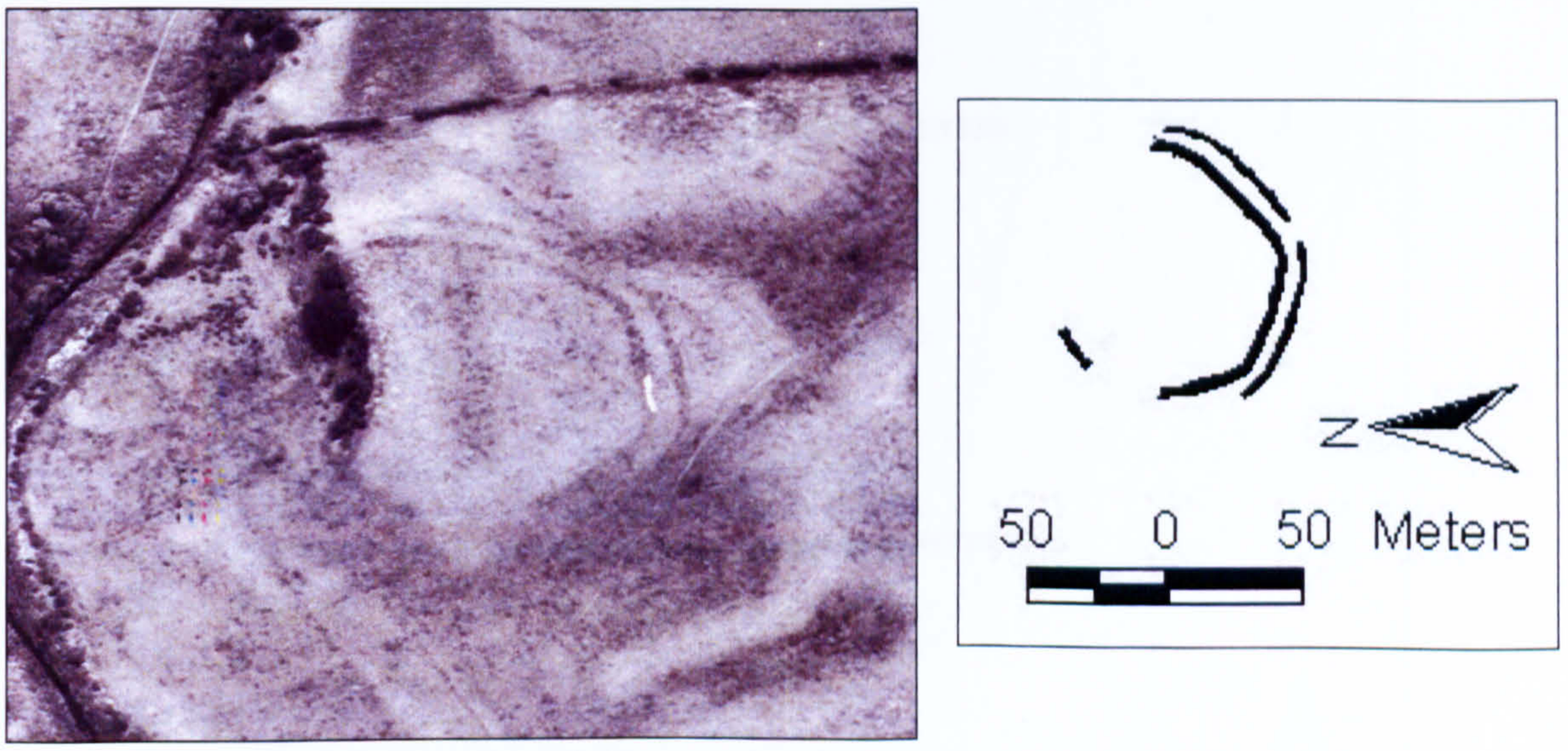
Ditches would have influenced the physical experience of space, defining clearly different spaces, not only on either side of the ditch but also within the ditch itself. Deep or wide ditches can be perceived as transitional spaces between the interior and exterior, as well as vertical space, and may have represented liminality or the unknown, even in settlement contexts (see Chadwick 1999; Brück 2000). Often there were prescribed causeways and routes to easily bridge the ditch, controlling movements and offering a threshold into the enclosed space. The evidence in Wigtownshire suggests ditches could evoke a variety of experiences, depending on where the ditch was located, what was contained within the ditch, and its relationship to other features and the local topography.

The arrangement of the banks and ditches would have had an effect on the way the enclosed spaces were experienced. By comparing the potential experience of passing in and out of the enclosures at Barsolus 5 and Kildrochat, both located in the Stranraer Lowlands, some differences can be drawn. At Barsolus 5 there is a substantial gap, 10m wide, between the outer and inner ditches (Fig. 6.99). If these ditches were contemporary there may have been a hierarchy of space defined by these ditches, a hierarchy that was further emphasised by the different widths of the ditches as one went further into the interior. The outer ditch is up to 3m wide, while the inner ditch is 8m wide. The space between the ditches would also have had a very important role in the experience of this place, with perhaps only certain people allowed passage into the internal space and across the wide internal ditch through the SE entrance. The distance between the ditches would have further emphasised the journey into the enclosure. Furthermore, the possible size of the banks created by these ditches, whether located inside or outside the ditch would have added to the monumental character of the overall architecture of this place.



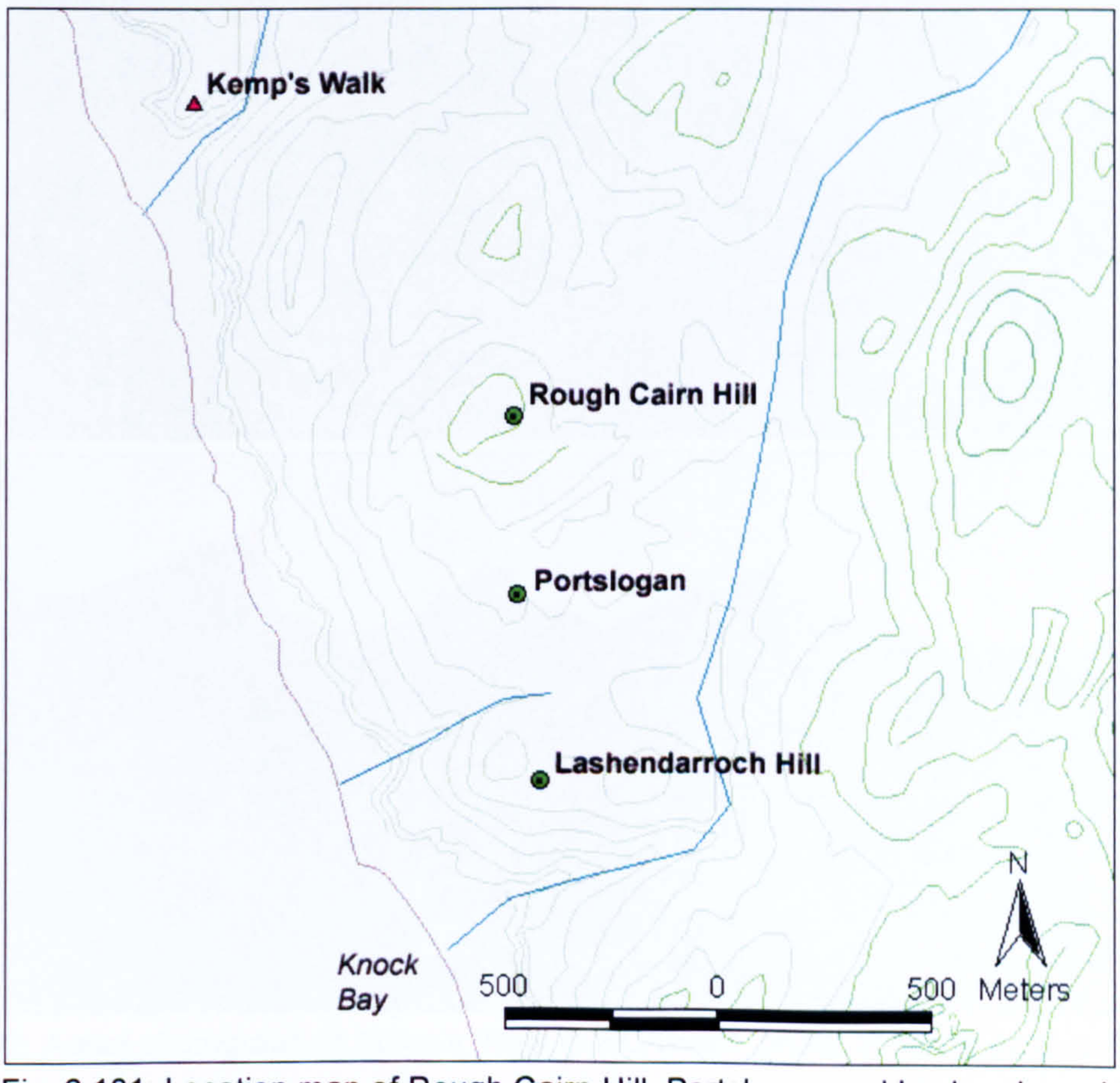
(Fig. 6.99: Aerial photograph and transcription of Barsolus 5 © RCAHMS)

At Kildrochat the ditches were also substantial (the inner ditch is some 3.7m wide the outer ditch is 1.8m wide), but these are more closely spaced (4.5m apart) than Barsolus 5 (Fig. 6.100). The narrower space between the ditches would have focussed the experience on the ditches (and possible banks) rather than the space in between these features. At Kildrochat these ditches appear to have worked in unison to emphasise the internal space of the enclosure, which is over 80m wide accessed from an extremely wide entrance to the NE. In contrast, the inner area enclosed at Barsolus 5 (30m in diameter) appears to be out of proportion with the scale of the earthwork, and in particular the size of the inner ditch. At Barsolus 5 the main emphasis of these features may not have been simply on what was enclosed, but on the experience of cutting of the massive ditches and the journey involved in accessing the interior.



(Fig. 6.100: Aerial photograph and transcription of Kildrochat © RCAHMS)

In most cases it is assumed that Iron Age enclosures were built with the ditch external to the bank, as this was the most practical for defence. Therefore the existence of an internal ditch has often been interpreted as having symbolic rather than practical significance (for instance, Neolithic henge monuments (see Bradley 1998, chapter 8)) and not considered in a later prehistoric settlement context. However, there may be exceptions to this pattern such as Portslogan, which needs to be considered. An internal ditch characterises the enclosure at Portslogan and therefore both its visual and physical properties are directed towards the interior. It would have been comparatively easy to access the advantageous position of the bank and obtain clear views into the interior. Although the 'spectators' may have had easy access to the bank, the ditch still separated them from the interior. This enclosure is equidistant to two other enclosures of similar shape and size, Lashendarroch and Rough Cairn Hill (Fig. 6.101). All have been plough-damaged, but both Lashendarroch and Portslogan are still just visible. All of these three enclosures are of similar size, (21.5m by 18.5m, 30m by 22m, and 28m by 25m respectively) and have their long axis oriented E-W. None of these sites are considered defensive. However, if contemporary the variation in the order of the ditch and bank must have impacted how Portslogan was experienced in contrast to Lashendarroch and Rough Cairn Hill, perhaps reflecting a differential function or significance.



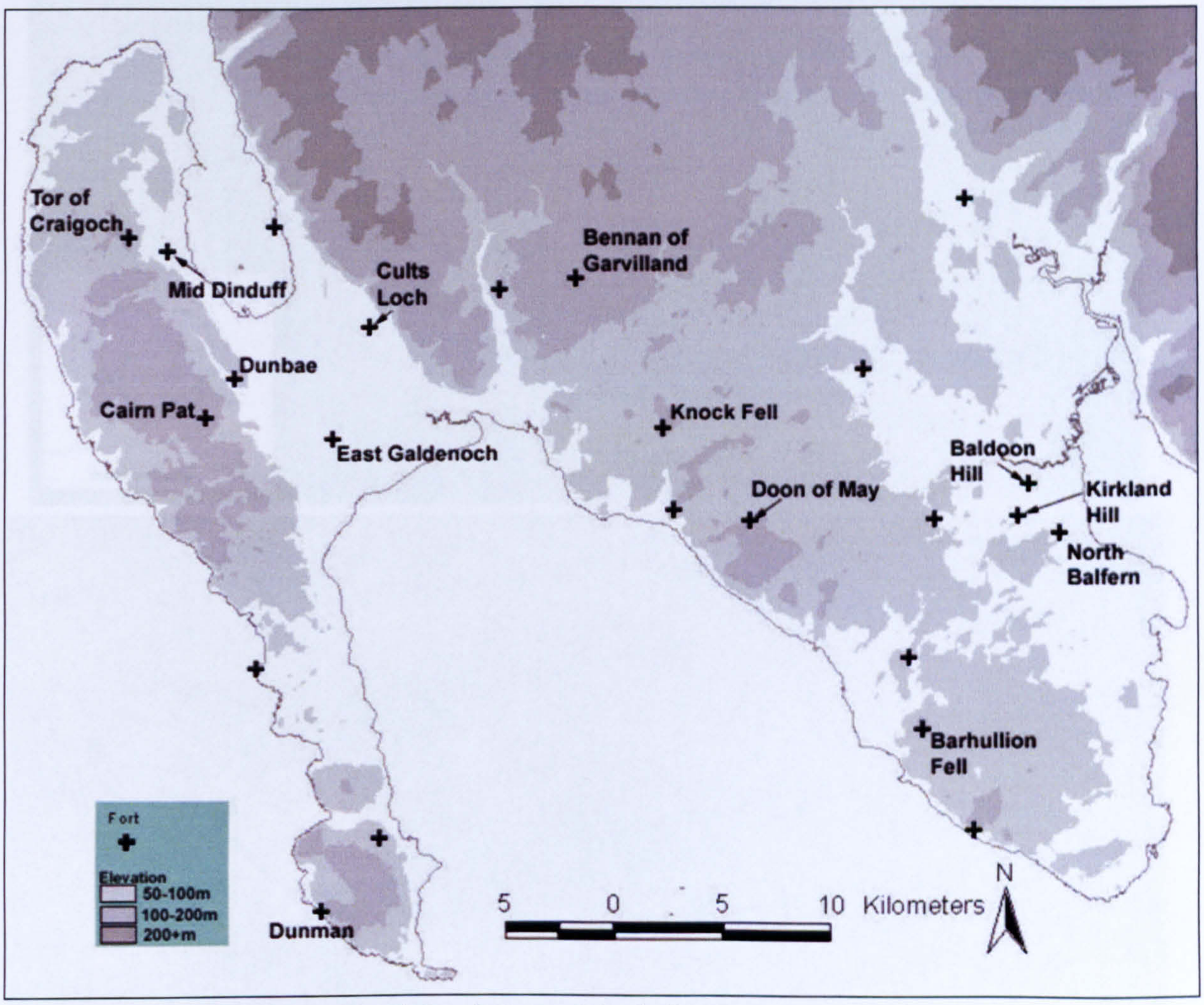
(Fig. 6.101: Location map of Rough Cairn Hill, Portslogan and Lashendarroch)

Each of these enclosures may have had distinct roles, but still referenced each other. Lashendarroch is overlooked from the N and W with easy access and views towards Knock Bay. Rough Cairn Hill is also located on a higher contour on a sheltered position (just E of the summit) and has views to the E and the S, overlooking both of the other enclosures to the S, a similar landscape position as the hut-circle at Cairnmon Fell 1 and West Muntloch. Portslogan is located in between these enclosures in a more exposed position on a gradual slope, and is visible from Rough Cairn Hill. None of these constructions are prominently positioned nor are they defensively located. These enclosures are situated in specific relationships to local elements in the landscape and in contrast to the conspicuous construction and location of the triple banked promontory fort of Kemp's Walk, N along the coast (Fig. 6.102). Does this define a difference between enclosures and forts?

(Fig. 6.102: Aerial photograph of Kemp's Walk © RCAHMS, photo of banks from gully to the E (author))

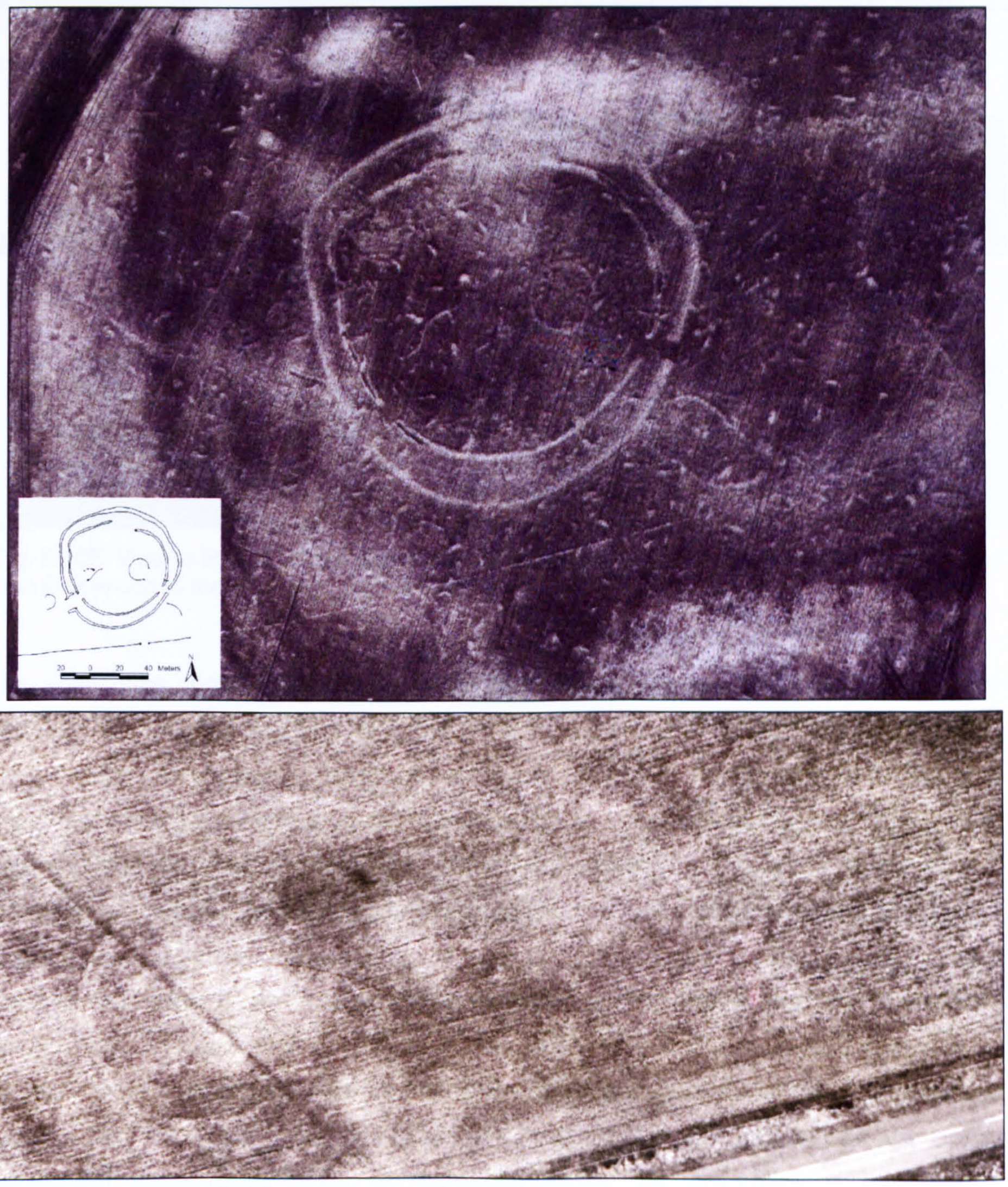
6.6.4 Forts

Forts are distributed across Wigtownshire and are essentially a subcategory of enclosure, which have been classified and interpreted separately based on their assumed 'defensive' character, whether architectural or topographical (Fig. 6.103) (see Cowley 2002). There are many variations within this type and all of these cannot just be assumed to have been defensive sites. All of the forts in Wigtownshire are relatively small compared to the large forts (so-called 'tribal centres') like Traprain Law or Eildon Hill in the south-east of Scotland (Hill 1987; Rideout 1992; Erdrich *et al* 2000). Nonetheless, there are some of substantial size, such as Cairn Pat (118m by 102m) and Dunman (100m by 78m). Others, however, like the promontory fort at High Auchneel, are much smaller, only enclosing an area of 0.02 hectares, an area smaller than many palisaded enclosures. These variations could reflect a wide range of functions and meanings as will be discussed below. Furthermore, forts also share characteristics with other enclosures that are often ignored, but need to be considered.

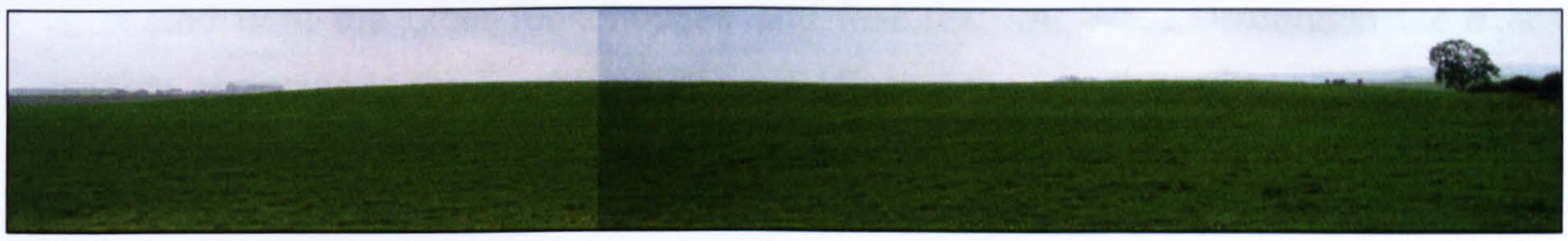


(Fig. 6.103: Distribution map of the forts, not including promontory forts, in Wigtownshire, labelled are the sites mentioned in the text)

Although the enclosure at West Galdenoch 1 (23m in diameter) is substantially smaller than the fort at East Galdenoch (70m by 55m), which is located less than 1km to the NW, they share a generally similar morphology (Fig. 6.104). Two palisade ditches define both of these features and in each there is evidence of a roundhouse. Furthermore, East Galdenoch fort is not located in a particularly 'defendable' location, but in a similar landscape as that at West Galdenoch. The palisades at East Galdenoch would have enclosed a slight knoll, but did not completely follow its contour. This knoll would have augmented the architecture of the palisade, similar to other palisaded enclosures discussed above (Fig. 6.105).



(Fig. 6.104: Aerial photographs of East (above) and West Galdenoch (below) © RCAHMS)



W

N

E

(Fig. 6.105: View to the low hillock East Galdenoch surrounds to the S, Views from the centre of East Galdenoch to the W, N and E (author))

The shear size and effort required to construct the large palisade at East Galdenoch certainly would have made it different in many respects to West Galdenoch, but it cannot simply be assumed that this difference is due to defensive needs. For instance, they may reflect differences in the social standing of the inhabitants or the specific practices that occurred at each place, although this does not preclude a defensive role for either enclosure. Both enclosures are associated with different types of features. East Galdenoch shows evidence for both an internal and external roundhouse. There are two entrances to the fort at East Galdenoch one to the E and one to the SW. Interestingly, the entrance to the E of the enclosure has an external roundhouse situated nearby and that outside the SW entrance there is also another possible external feature. These may have acted as control points to the interior of the fort. The substantial roundhouse (14m in diameter) within the enclosure is intentionally

separated from the other roundhouses and features. At West Galdenoch there is another enclosure to the E, which may have affected the way the larger enclosure and any internal roundhouses were accessed and experienced.

6.6.5 Forts and Topography

Prominence/Visibility

Many forts are defined by their topographic setting. There is no denying the prominent location of many hillforts, but this cannot be simply implied to be an act of defence. The situation of each place within the wider landscape has an influence on its potential symbolic and physical impact on memory and perception. Hills, especially those associated with specific practices or ones that are geologically or physically distinct from their surrounding landscape would have been visually prominent reference points or landmarks and their meaning would have been negotiated and renegotiated in a variety of ways throughout prehistory and history (see Bradley 2000; Driscoll 2004, 76-81). The topography within Wigtownshire is not particularly hilly, when compared to places like the Scottish Highlands; nonetheless, there are distinct local hills that were important in prehistory. In fact, this general 'uniformity' of the height of the landscape may have made slight differences in the character of hills in this area even more significant.

As previously mentioned, distant prominent hills, such as Knock Fell and Barhullion Fell were probably intentionally referenced in the construction of the barrows at Kirkmabreck and West Myroch. The construction of an enclosure or a fort on the summit or ridge of such symbolically potent places may have signalled particular messages, such as community identity, within the immediate area, but with a visual resonance in the wider landscape. Examining the visibility of Cairn Pat, one of the largest forts in Wigtownshire, Carruthers (2002, 115) demonstrated that this site was most visually striking from the low-lying lands to the E (Stranraer Lowlands) rather than from the higher undulating lands to the W. Therefore the site would have had the most visual impact on the inhabitants of the Stranraer Lowlands (ibid) such as those in the 'fort' at East Galdenoch (Fig. 6.106). Once the banks of the fort were constructed, whether these banks were actually visible from the Lowlands or not, the symbolic importance of the place could be simply relayed in reference to the well-known hill as part of the hill's biography. From a distance, however, Cairn Pat becomes more difficult to distinguish from the general undulating landscape of Western Rhins. Conversely, Knock Fell, East of Glenluce, is a more distinct and visible from a distance

in most directions (Fig. 6.107). From the more undulating ground to the SE, Knock Fell blends into the general undulating landscape that defines the glacially carved Machars. However, Knock Fell is clearly visible, across Luce Bay and from the Western Rhins. Knock Fell is also noticeable, from the higher ground above Glenluce to the N and from some distance directly to the E. Knock Fell is only 175m (OD) high, but it dominates the surrounding low moss.

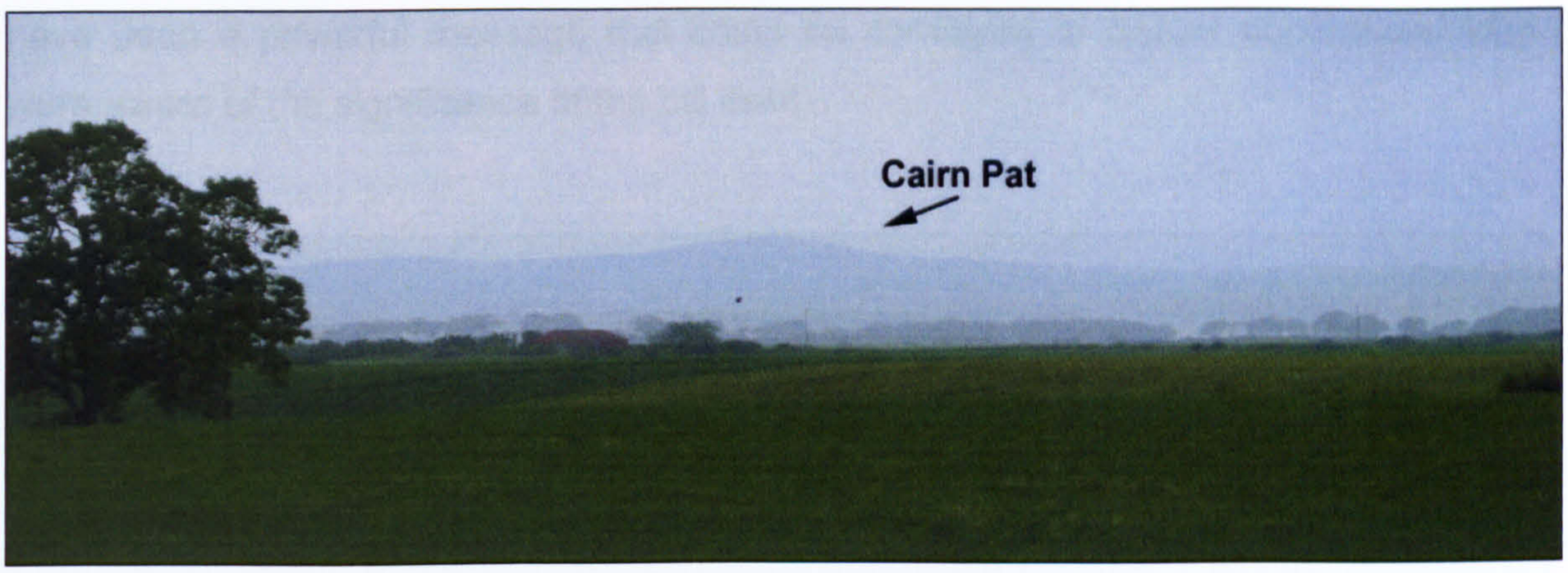
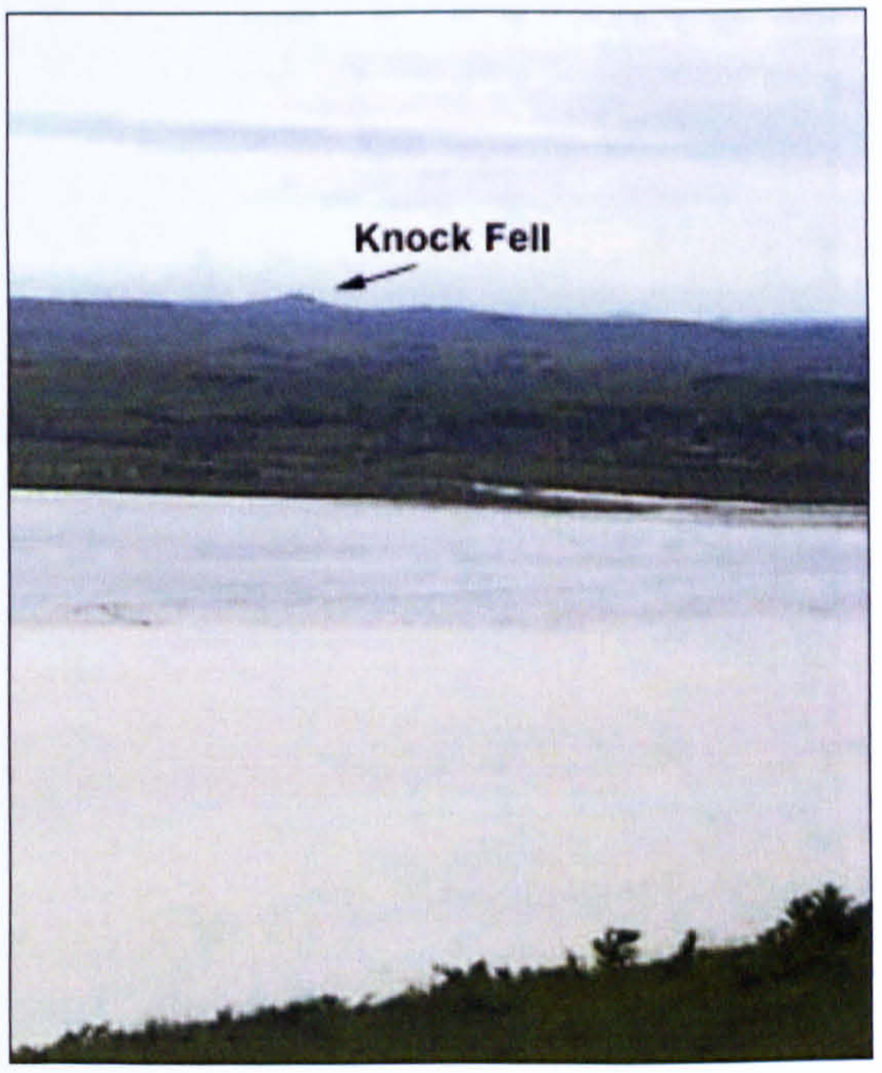


Fig. 6.106: Views to Cairn Pat from East Galdenoch to the E (author))



(Fig. 6.107: Views to Knock Fell from Whitecairn; Glenluce to the N and from Carsluith; Kirkcudbrightshire to the E (author))

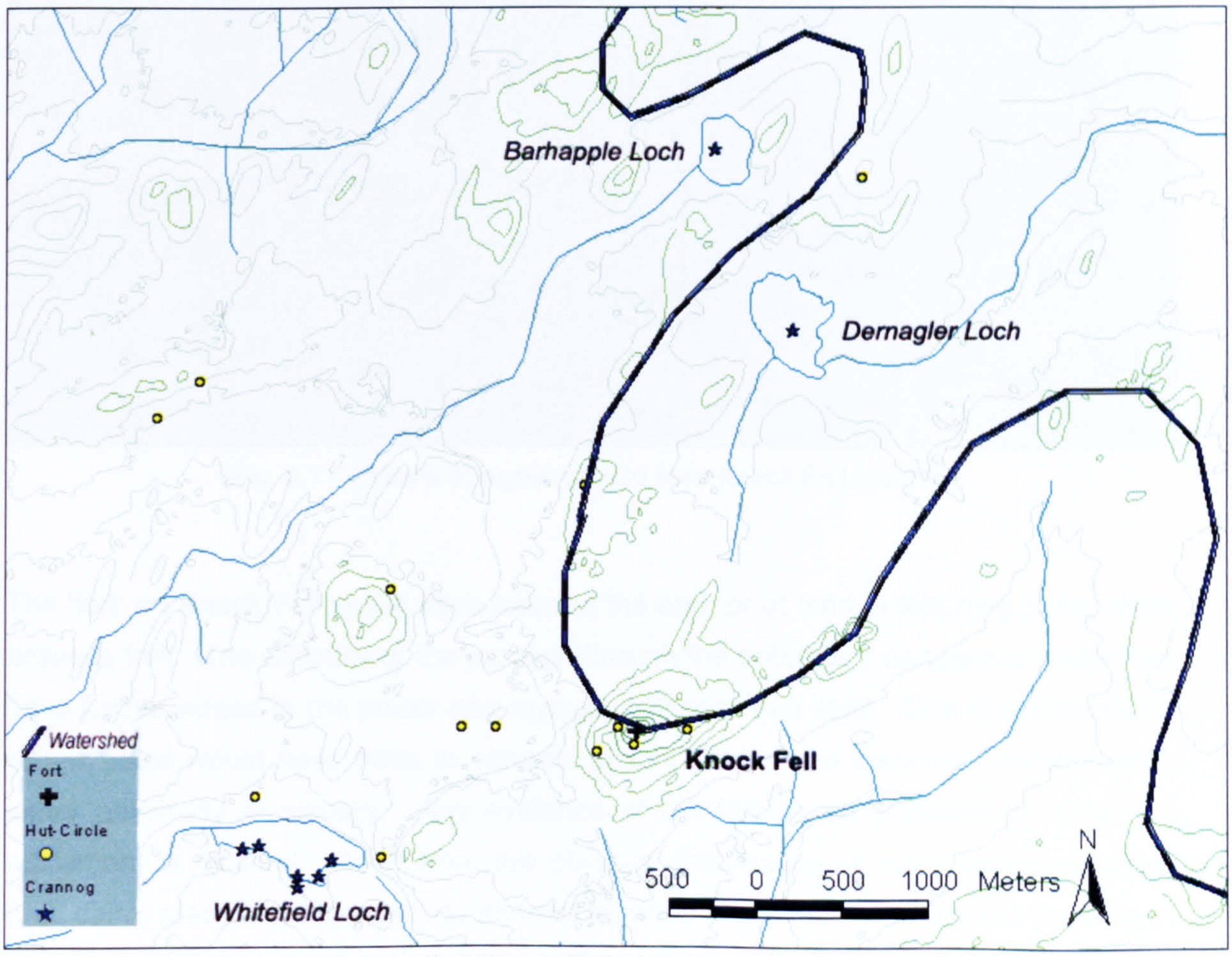
The remains of an extensive stony bank define the outer extent of the fort on Knock Fell (160m by 80m) with stone spreads from 2.5m up to 10m wide on the E and W sides. This bank runs along and below the contour of the conical-shaped summit. 20m

outside of the main enclosure on the W side are the remains of a further bank (2m wide) situated on a lower shoulder of the hill. These substantial banks were not easily viewed from the summit, but instead were directed outwards and would have transformed how the hill was appreciated from the surrounding lowlands (especially those on the lower contours), and therefore affecting the external experience of this place (Fig. 6.108). These stony banks would have only been visible in the local landscape, but like Cairn Pat the knowledge of such a fort or enclosure on the hill may have been a powerful message that could be conveyed to distant populations who were aware of the significance of the hill itself.

(Fig. 6.108: View of stony back of Knock Fell from the outside looking W and from the inside looking E (author))

Connecting Places

Although now drained, in prehistory the deep wet peat mosses immediately surrounding Knock Fell would have been dangerous and therefore created a landscape of inhospitality and mystery, but perhaps the moss was also an important area for resources. Currently no archaeological features are visible in the immediate area; however, hut-circles had been noted on the lower slopes of Knock Fell in antiquity (Wilson 1899; RCAHMS 1912) and there are also several crannogs in the adjacent lochs (Whitefield Loch, Barhapple, Dernagler). Access between places in the vicinity of Knock Fell, including the many crannogs, was likely defined by the safer and easier routes offered by the higher ground of which Knock Fell was central, acting like an island in an otherwise wet landscape (Fig. 6.109). Also it was from Knock Fell that these potential routes could be observed, both to the SE and the N (Fig. 6.110). Thus, Knock Fell was not only an important visual monument to be viewed from other places in the immediate area, but from which movement in the surrounding land could be observed and even controlled.



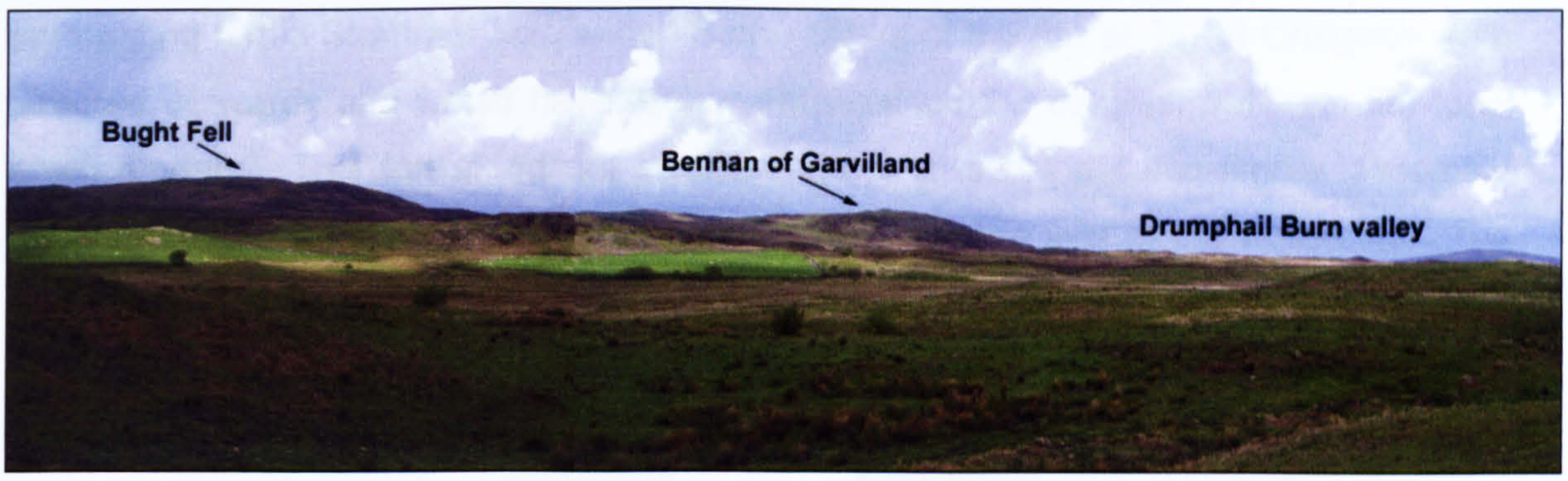
(Fig. 6.109: Map of area surrounding Knock Fell showing line of watershed, perhaps a route connecting people and places in the surrounding landscape)

(Fig. 6.110: Views of higher ground from Knock Fell (author))

The 'fort' on Knock Fell would have been at the end, or at least a stopping point, of an arduous trek. The difficulty of the journey through the potentially dangerous moss may have further added to the power and mystery of Knock Fell itself. One of the functions of this place would have been to connect distant places and dispersed communities, either physically or visually. Any evidence of the fort as an enclosed or defended settlement is minimal. Apart from the obvious disturbance of more recent activities (e.g. cairn, mast, and trig point) no internal features in the interior of the fort have been identified, in fact, a large rock outcrop defines most of the interior. Therefore at best this was a seasonally occupied site, rather than a permanent settlement or fort.

Similar to the fort at Knock Fell in size, shape and material, Bennan of Garvilland is located further N along the same watershed line of the Baldenoch River, and has views over a flat moss associated with the Drumphail Burn valley (Fig. 6.111 & 112). From a wider perspective, this fort is less distinct than Knock Fell. Nonetheless it is one of only two in the Eastern Rhins, in an important position along a significant boundary. Comparatively, unlike the less distinct hills further W and N in the Eastern Rhins, the height of this fort is emphasised by the wide low-lying valley to the E and therefore from here it looks more prominent than it is. This place also acts as a transitional point between the uplands and the lowlands.

(Fig. 6.111: Plan of Bennan of Garvilland (RCAHMS 1912))



(Fig. 6.112: Bennan of Garvilland and surrounding landscape (author))

Incorporating Nature

Like Knock Fell, the interior of Bennan of Garvilland (see Fig. 6.111) is dominated by a substantial rock outcrop. The potentially important role of these natural features has often been overlooked. The rocky summits may have been a reason for the enclosure of these places, where the stone banks specifically referenced the natural stone protrusions. Knock Fell and Bennan of Garvilland are not the only examples of this phenomenon in Wigtownshire; other forts such as Dunman and Tor of Craigoch enclose large areas of rocky outcrops (Fig. 6.113). Outcrops within promontory forts such as Clanghie Bay and Mare Rock 1 render these sites as 'uninhabitable' (CANMORE). At Clanghie Bay an area 56m in overall length is enclosed by a series of banks, but the 'habitable' area is only described as a small 9m wide band 9m within the floor of a shallow gully (*ibid*). The outcrops would have affected the types of activities that could have taken place within the interior of these enclosed areas. For instance the rock outcrops at Dunman fort are interspersed among grassy terraces and potentially acted as boundaries between individual activity areas or structures or may have even facilitated particular activities.

It has been demonstrated that in the areas dominated by stone outcrops, such as the Machars, the outcrops were often intentionally incorporated into the fabric of the architecture of buildings, such as in the case of the 'homesteads'. The act of enclosing outcrops may have been significant in itself, perhaps emphasising the integration of the human-made constructions within the natural environment (see Tilley 1996). The outcrops would have represented the vital properties of the local geology as a resource for construction and minerals. The stone of the enclosing banks of the 'forts' would have visually and materially emphasised the locations of important outcrops. In the Western Rhins, the geology is glacial and predominantly defined by low rolling hills. Yet, a distinct rocky prominence is Tor of Craigoch, which overlooks the starkly

contrasting fertile Stranraer Lowlands. Stone banks of the fort at Tor of Craigoch were directed outwards and would have further emphasised the contrast between the local environments. This fort stood out in direct contrast to the organic timber palisaded enclosures located on the raised beaches on the opposite end of the Lowlands. The stone outcrops on the summit of Tor of Craigoch, some marked by 'natural' cup-marks, may have been an important source of material or had particular symbolic significance.

(Fig. 6.113: Stone outcrops on the summit of Tor of Craigoch (author))

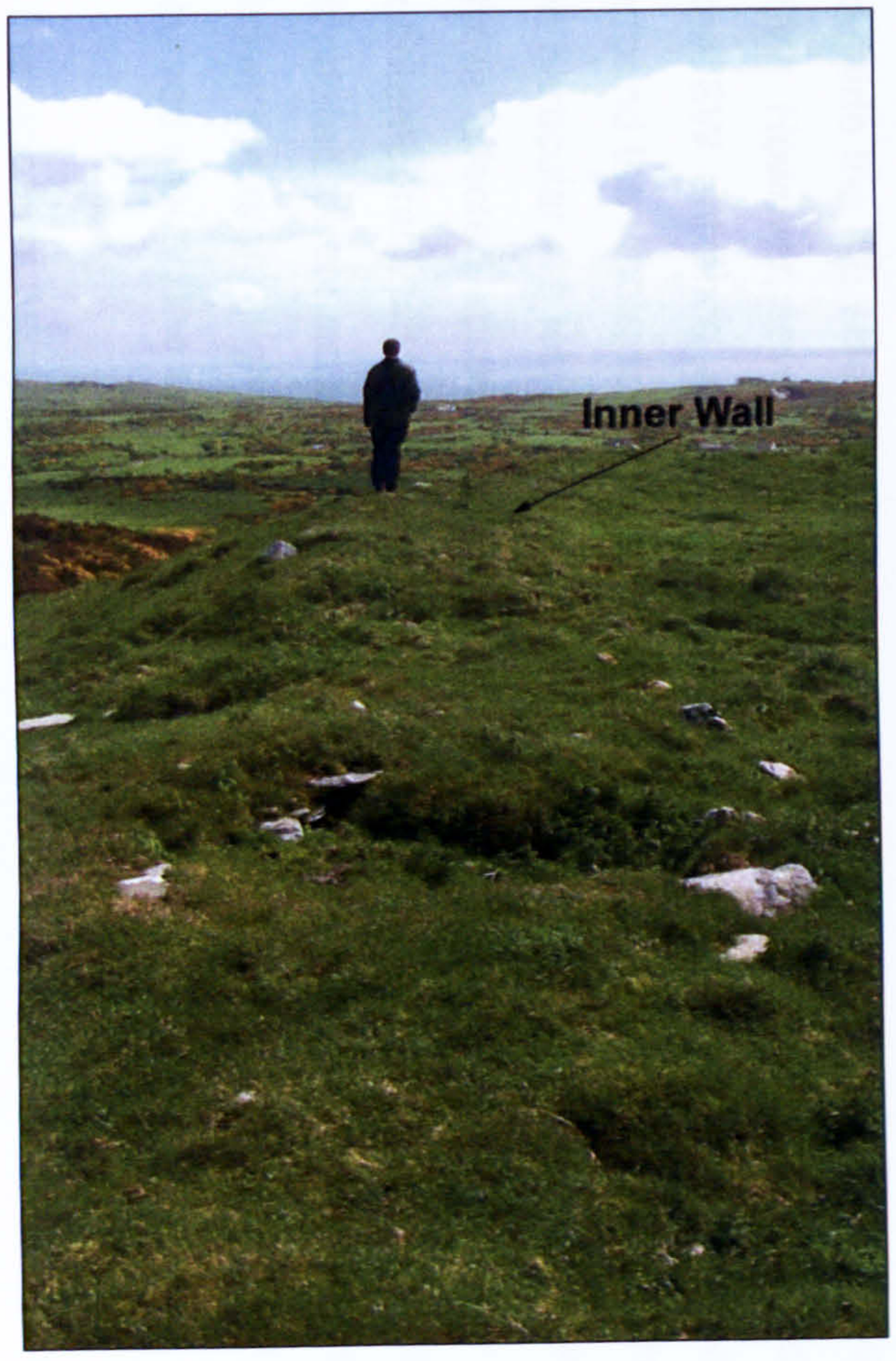
(Fig. 6.114: Naturally 'cup-marked' stone in the interior of Tor of Craigoch (author))

Renegotiating Patterns: Fell of Barhullion

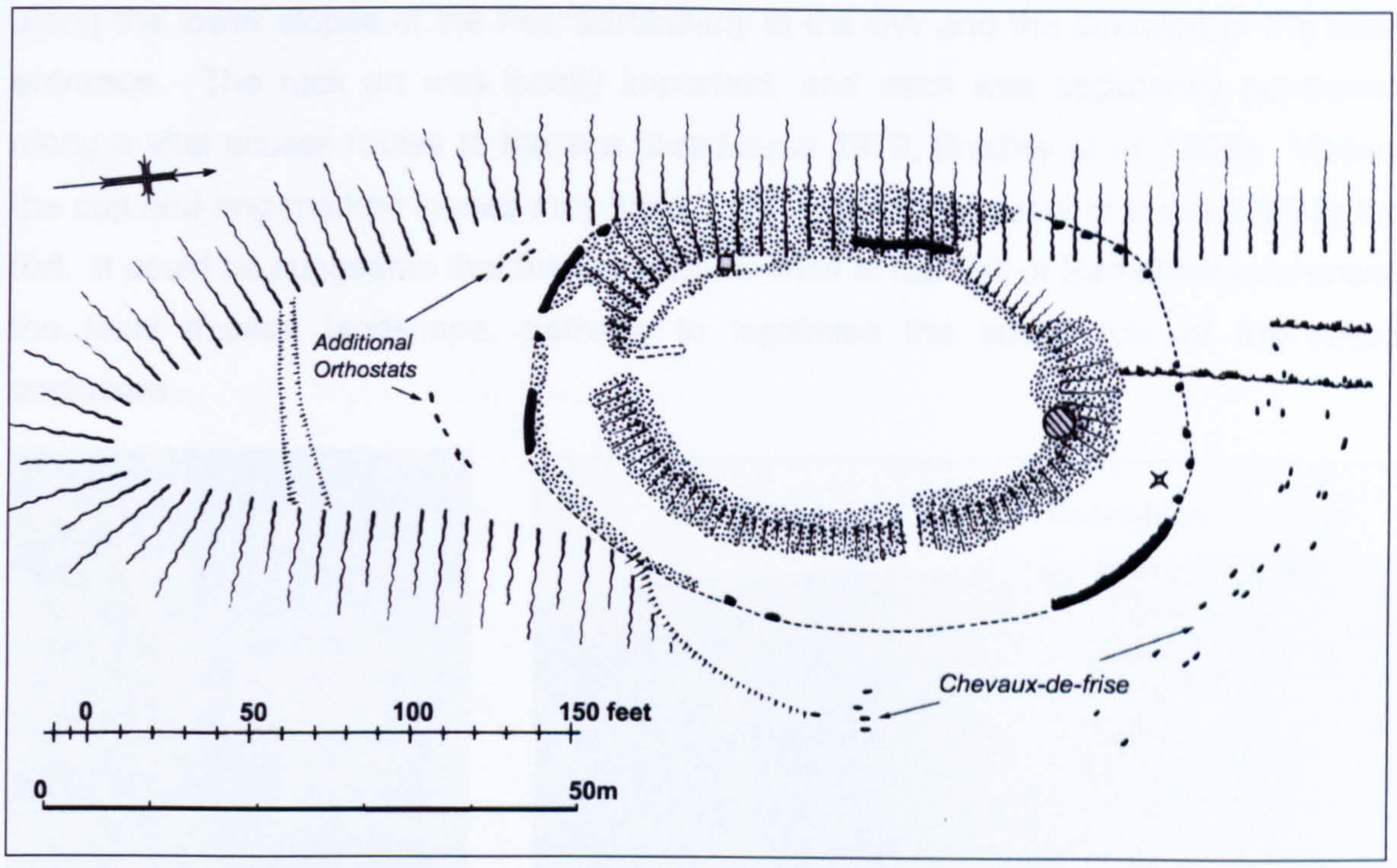
The following discussion will re-evaluate some of the themes explored above in relation to the fort on the Fell of Barhullion. The Fell of Barhullion is located near the W coast of the Machars with views towards the Irish Sea and even to the Isle of Man. The hill itself is substantial and is visible from many directions, even from the fort of Doon of Carsluith in Kirkcudbrightshire to the E. However, the local undulating landscape and the steep slopes to the shore mean that this hill is less visible from places near the coast (e.g. the homesteads) or from a distance in the N. The fort on the Fell of Barhullion is on the SW, occupying the full width of the summit ridge (Fig. 6.115).

(Fig. 6.115: View of Fell of Barhullion from Fell of Carleton to the SW (author))

This fort is smaller than Cairn Pat or Knock Fell. The remains of an outer bank were partially obscured by the later construction of a 3m stone wall enclosing an even smaller area (CANMORE; RCAHMS 1912) (see Fig. 6.117). Reducing the size of the fort in a later phase would have impacted on the activities that would have taken place within the interior. Furthermore this restructuring would have changed the way the fort was physically and visually experienced. The earlier phase of enclosure on Fell of Barhullion was directed outward as the outer stone wall ran along and below the contour of the summit and the greatest visual impact of this bank was from the W, where the hill slopes steeply (Fig. 6.116). However, in the later phase the focus of the architecture changed and was directed toward the space on the top of the hill and the stone wall encircling the summit. This fort may represent a shift in the attitude to space and the redefinition of a place.



(Fig. 6.116: Views of inner wall (appreciated from the summit) and outer wall (directed to the outside) of the fort at Fell of Barhullion (author))

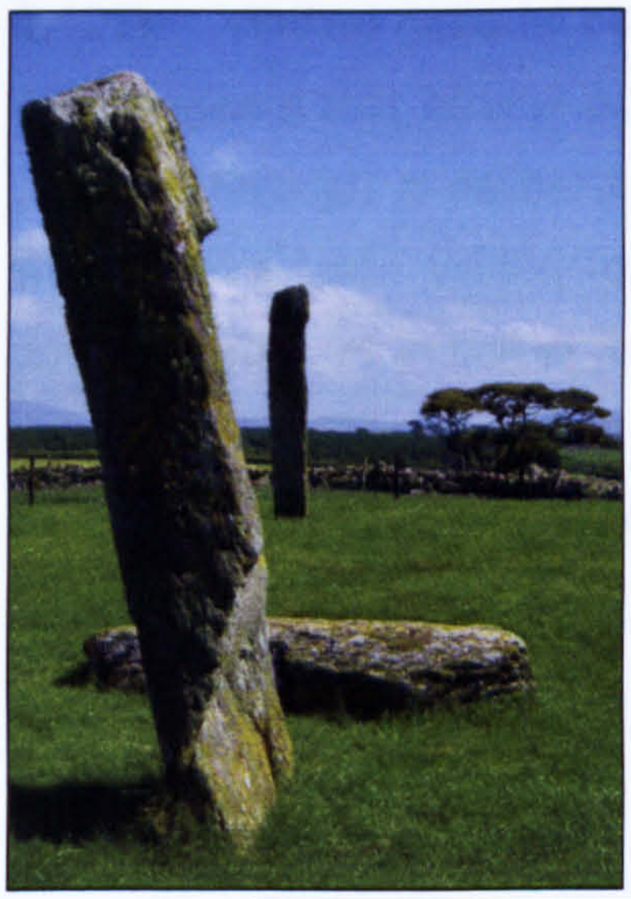


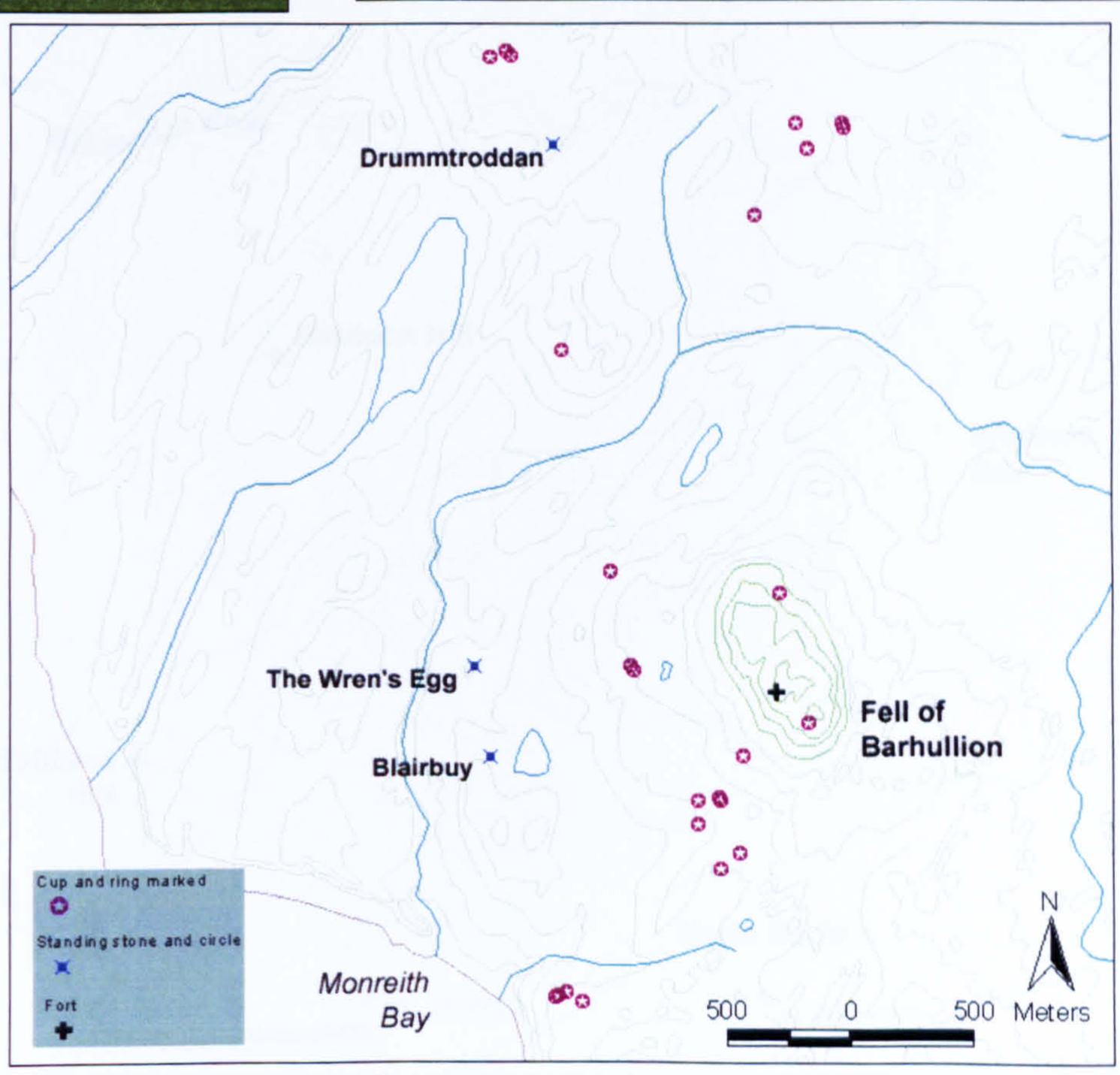
(Fig. 6.117: Plan of the fort on the Fell of Barhullion © RCAHMS)

Fell of Barhullion is unique in SW Scotland because it has a '*chevaux-de-frise*', which is often interpreted to be a defensive architectural addition (Cunliffe 2001). Features identified as *chevaux-de-frise* have been recorded in a variety of relationships with hill-forts in Britain, Ireland and Iberia, but despite the lack of dating evidence are considered to date to the Bronze or Iron Age (Harbison 1971; Cunliffe 2001; Black 2003). The *chevaux-de-frise* on the Fell of Barhullion is located approximately 12.5m outside the NE side of the outer bank, away from the main identifiable entrance to the SW. However, several other orthostats had been noted to the SE and on either side of the SW entrance and may indicate that in the past the *chevaux-de-frise* extended around the whole summit (see Fig. 6.117). It is apparent that the orthostats to the SW in particular are located on a lower contour below the enclosure and would not actually have affected access to the fort; instead, they appear to emphasis the entrance. If contemporary with the fort the ditch 25m to the SW of this entrance would have hindered direct access from this direction. The orthostats surrounding the fort may have therefore highlighted a particular route to and from the entrance to the SW that curved around the summit of the hill.

The stones of the *chevaux-de-frise* could also be considered as part of a local tradition of stone monuments that surround the Fell of Barhullion. To the N and W of the Fell of Barhullion there are several notable standing stones (Drumtroddan, The Wren's Egg's, and Blairbuy) (Fig. 6.118). The Fell of Barhullion also sits within a concentration of cup

and ring-marked stones, where there are twelve cup and ring-marked stones located along the lower slopes of the Fell, particularly in the SW and the direction of the main entrance. The rock art was locally important, and each was apparently positioned along a vital access routes to the sea (see Morris 1979, Bradley *et al.* 1993). Visiting the cup and ring-marked stones may have been important aspects of the journey to the fort. It could be suggested that the *chevaux-de-frise* at the Fell of Barhullion referenced the local ancient landscape, perhaps to legitimise the social role of the hilltop enclosure.

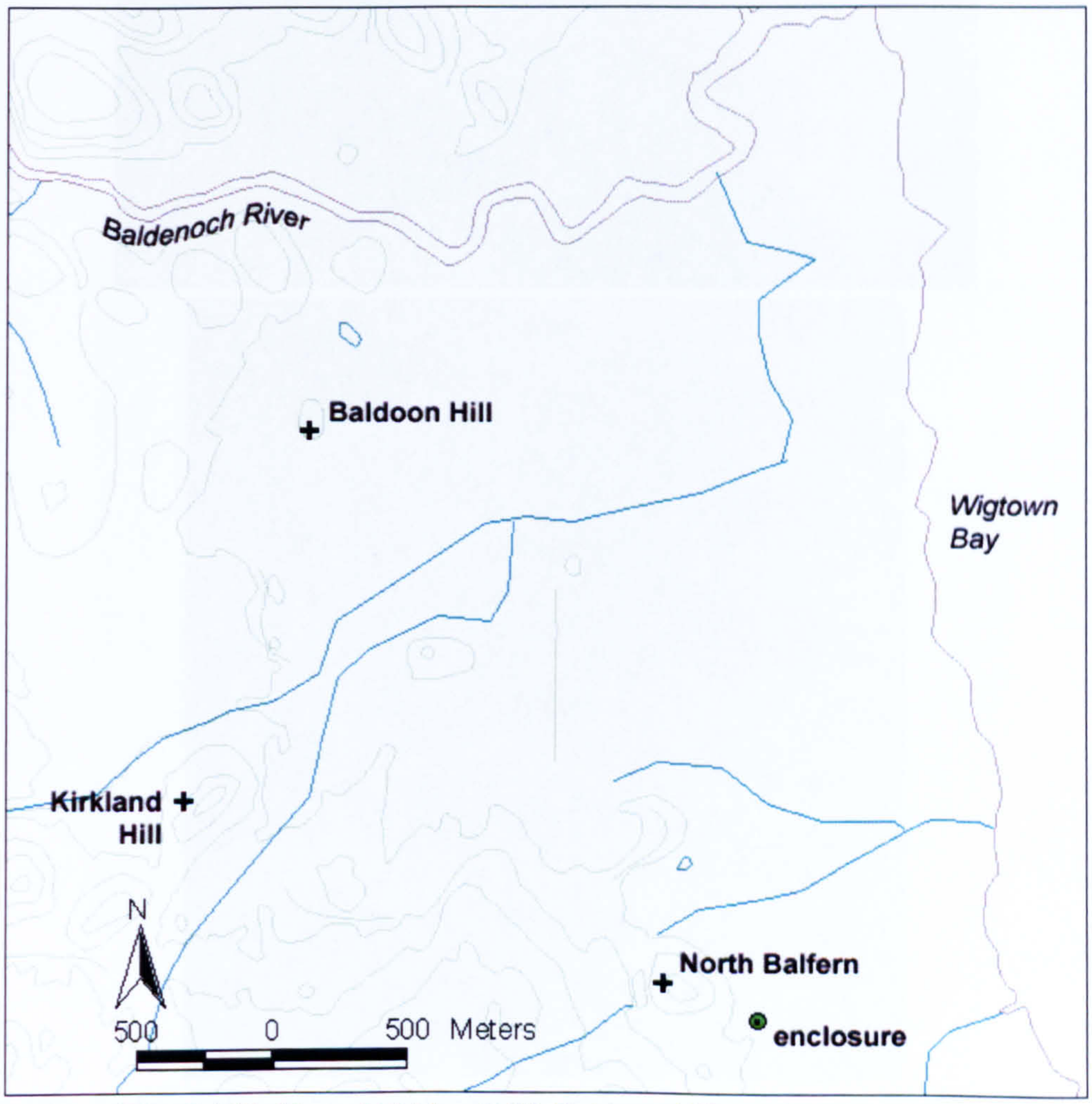




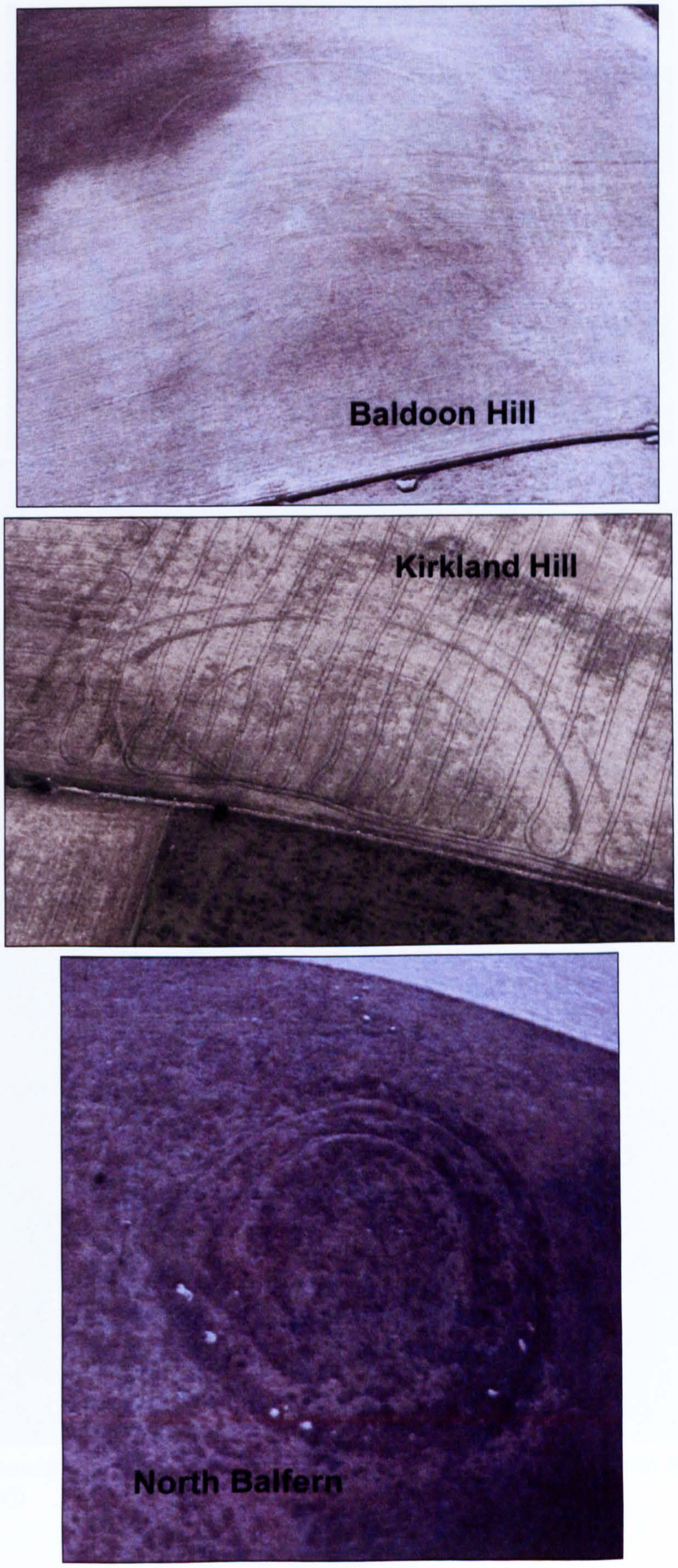
(Fig. 6.118: Drumtroddan Standing Stones in relation to Fell of Barhullion (author); map of standing stone and rock art surrounding the fort)

Inter-visible and Inter-related forts

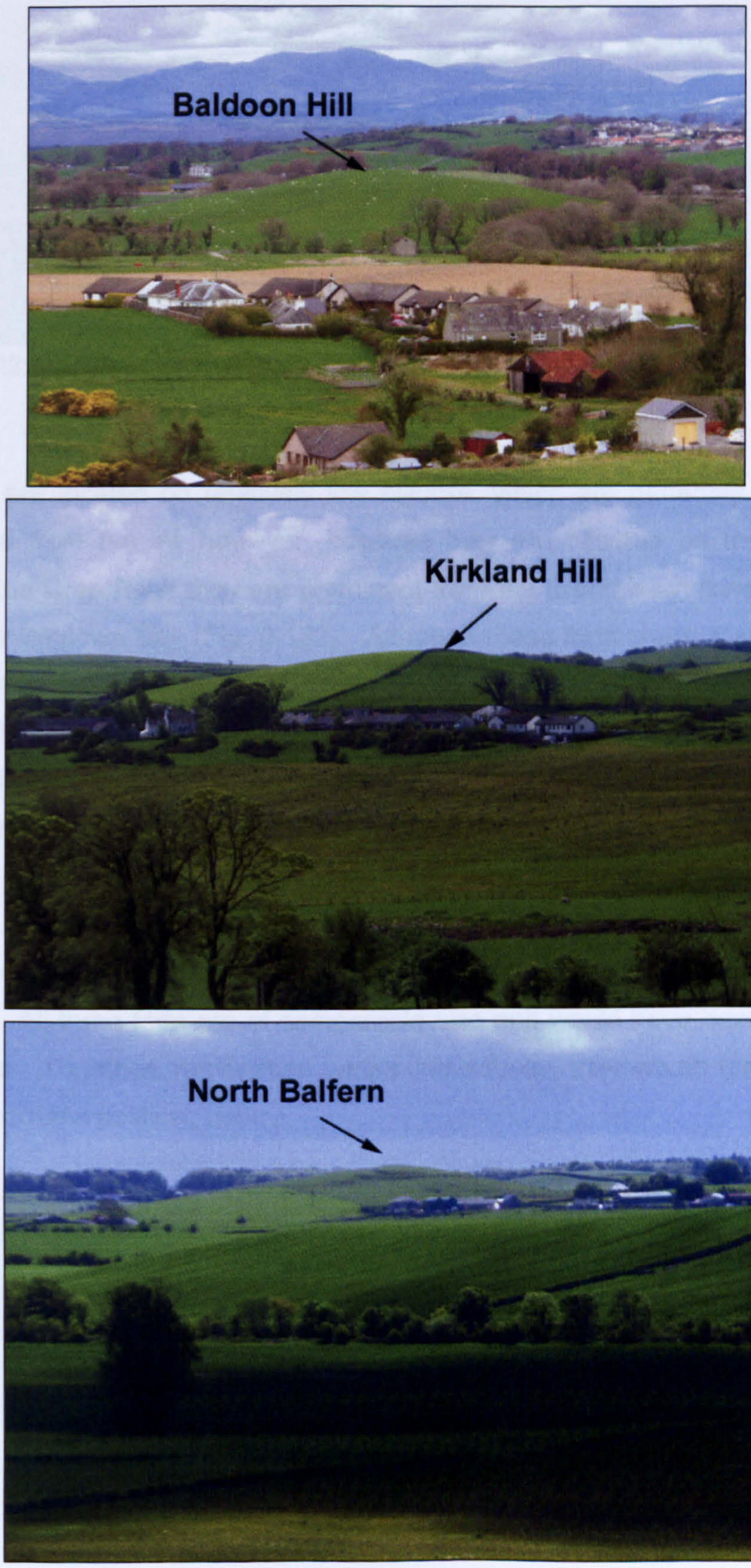
On the E coast of the Machars three forts, Kirkland Hill, Baldoon Hill and North Balfern, are located within 2.5 km of one another. All three are located on low hillocks, between 45 and 50m above sea level (Fig. 6.119). Kirkland Hill and Baldoon Hill are situated so close together that each would have been visible from the other (Fig. 6.120 & 121). Although North Balfern is further away, its massive ditches and banks are still just visible from Baldoon Hill and Kirkland Hill. In fact the ditches appear to have been intentionally 'tilted' to the NW, in the direction of Kirkland Hill and Baldoon Hill (Fig. 6.122). Vitrified material noted near the banks of North Balfern (RCAHMS 1912, 44-45) suggests that at one point in the history of this place it was even more visible, perhaps through a deliberate spectacle of fire. Each fort, at least their earthworks, would have been visible for centuries. Therefore even if these features were not contemporary, or in use at the same time, each would have played an important role in the experience and memory of the landscape. Moreover, the ability to see the actual architectural elements from each other may have important in terms of communication or the referencing past generations or particular activities.



(Fig. 6.119: Map of Kirkland Hill, Baldoon Hill and North Balfern)



(Fig. 6.120: Aerial photographs of Baldoon Hill, Kirkland Hill, and North Balfern © RCAHMS)

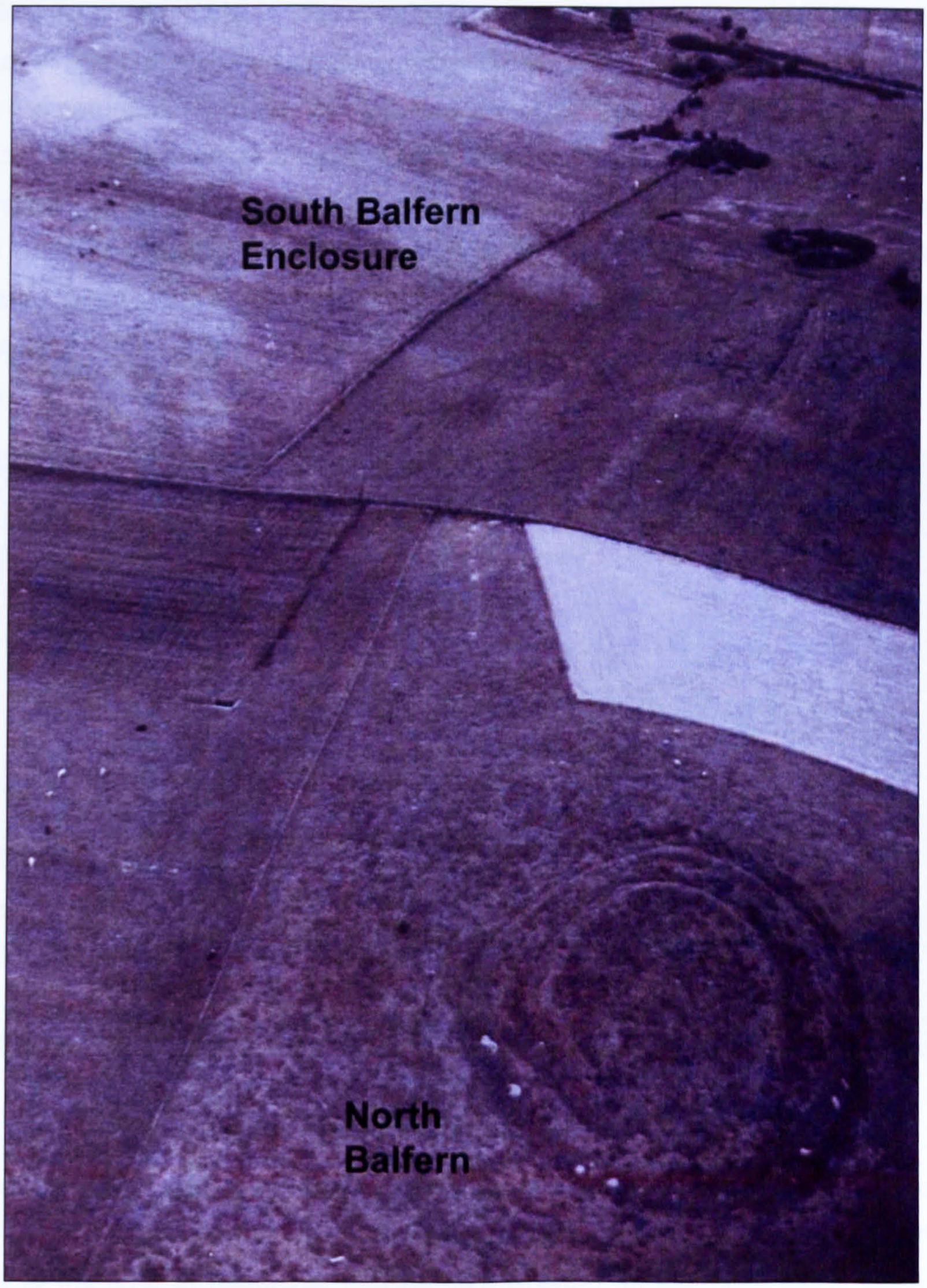


(Fig. 6.121: Views of Baldoon from Kirkland; Kirkland from Baldoon; and North Balfern from Baldoon (author))

(Fig. 6.122: Ditches of North Balfern 'tilted' towards the NE and the other forts (author))

These forts are located on relatively low hillocks, which are generally unremarkable when viewed from the W; however, because they are situated on the edge of the mudflats of the Cree River they are prominent from the E and each have considerable views across Wigtown Bay (Fig. 6.123). Although these forts share a similar location, they each have specific and distinct characteristics and may represent a sequence of settlement shift. The fort at North Balfern is defined by two ditches and banks and has a stone wall crowning a steep scarp (RCAHMS 1912, 44-45). The incorporation of stone into the construction of this fort would have given this place a different appearance compared to the ditch and palisaded construction at Kirkland Hill and Baldoon Hill. Each fort may have had a specific, but interconnected function within the landscape, relating to one another, and other enclosed sites within the immediate area (Fig. 6.124). All three forts are of comparable size and would have been monumental constructions. Together, rather than simply individually, they would have acted as a social, and perhaps political, centre.

(Fig. 6.123: Views across Wigtown Bay out to the mudflats of the Cree and Cairnsmore of Fleet (author))



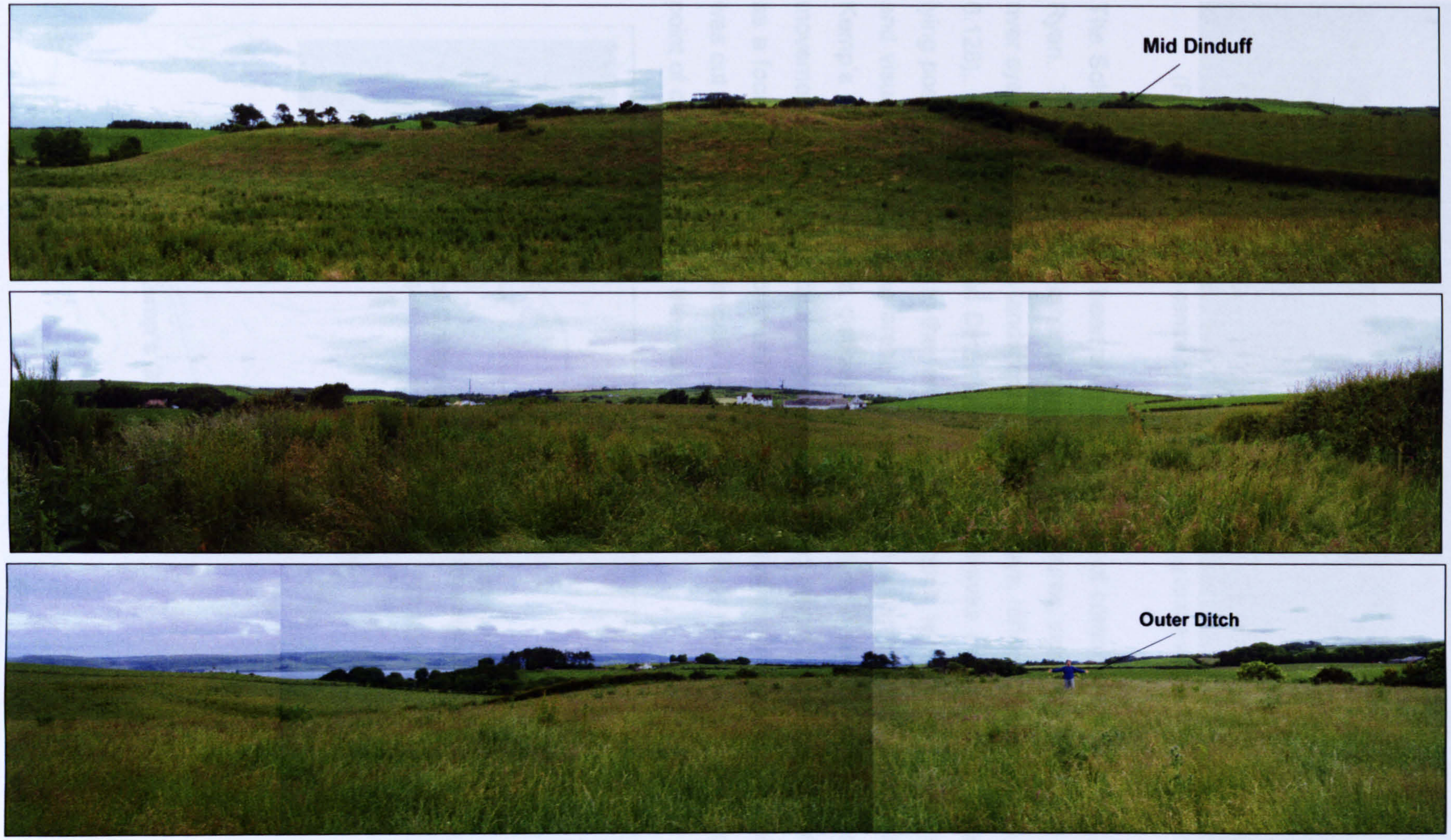
(Fig. 6.124: Aerial photograph of South Balfern enclosure in relation to North Balfern © RCAHMS, B. Jones)

Experiencing Multiple Banks and Ditches: Mid Dinduff & Kenmuir Graves

Like many of the enclosures in the Stranraer Lowlands the cropmark cliff-edge fort of Mid Dinduff is situated on a low ridge. Mid Dinduff is one of only three cliff-edge forts, identified as a cropmark, in Wigtownshire. It is enclosed by a series of four ditches; each of which probably had accompanying banks (Fig. 6.125). These ditches do not follow the natural contours of the ridge and therefore were experienced quite differently from contour forts such as Laggan Camp or North Balfern. At Mid Dinduff the banks and ditches would have the greatest impact as one passed across these features and would have only been fully appreciated from the top of the ridge or from inside the enclosure (Fig. 6.126). Like other enclosed places, such as Barsolus 5 and Kenmuir Graves, the meaning and function may have related to the journey in and out of the centre.

(Fig. 6.125: Aerial photograph and transcription of Mid Dinduff © RCAHMS)

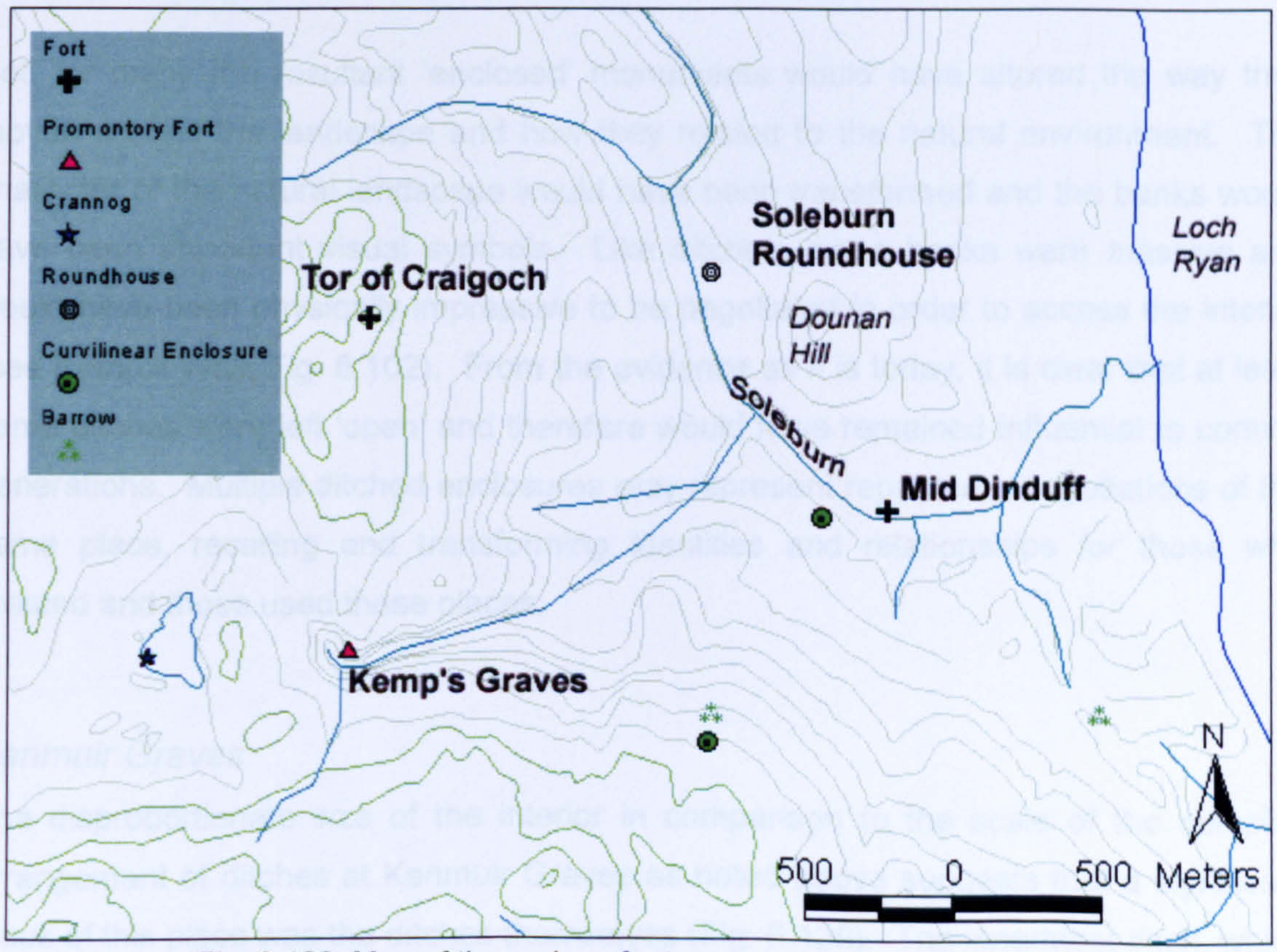
Mid Dinduff is located on the edge of the banks of the Sole Burn, which flows into Loch Ryan. The steep slope to the burn has been used to define one edge of the fort (similar to the forts at Kildrochat and Kemp's Graves), in this case the S edge. The position of the earthworks on the top of the ridge meant that the views to or from the interior would have been limited from the N, E and W sides. Yet, since the fort is open-ended all the views would have been directed S to the banks across the river (Fig. 6.127). This open-ended architecture also meant that any internal activities could have been viewed from the S. The enclosure may have been intentionally designed to exploit this view. The architecture of this fort perhaps drew on the symbolism of the watercourse, a feature that both connects and a divides people and activities.



(Fig. 6.126: View looking S of ridge where Mid Dinduff is located; views from the centre of the fort looking W & N; view looking E along the ridge to the fort (author))

(Fig. 6.127: From the centre of Mid Dinduff looking to the slopes to the S (author))

The Sole Burn may have been an important route of communication to and from Loch Ryan. The forts, like the other archaeological features, scattered along the Sole Burn river system exploited this landscape in multiple ways, reflecting their distinct roles (Fig. 6.128). Forts such as Mid Dinduff and Kemp's Graves are situated in relatively low-lying positions in contrast to the fort at Tor of Craigoch, which looms above the skyline and visually dominates the area. The views from within the forts at Mid Dinduff and Kemp's Grave overlooked distinct bends of the river system, key points to observe movement. The multiple ditches of Mid Dinduff may reflect the importance of this place as a focus for bringing communities together time after time, each time another ditch was cut or recut (like Broxmouth (Hill 1982c)), and thus reaffirming its significance as a point of communication in the wider landscape.



(Fig. 6.128: Map of the various features surrounding Mid Dinduff)

Interestingly, of the many cropmark enclosures that have been identified in the Stranraer Lowlands none of these appear to have had more than two ditches. The few cropmark enclosures with three or more ditches that have been noted are located along the boundary between the lowlands and higher ground of the Western Rhins (e.g. Dunbae Glen & Mid Dinduff). The location of these forts, like some of the multi-ditched coastal promontory forts (e.g. Kenmuir Graves), at distinctive points of topographic change would have echoed their architectural character and the action of cutting the ditches, each element reinforcing the symbolism of transition and liminality.

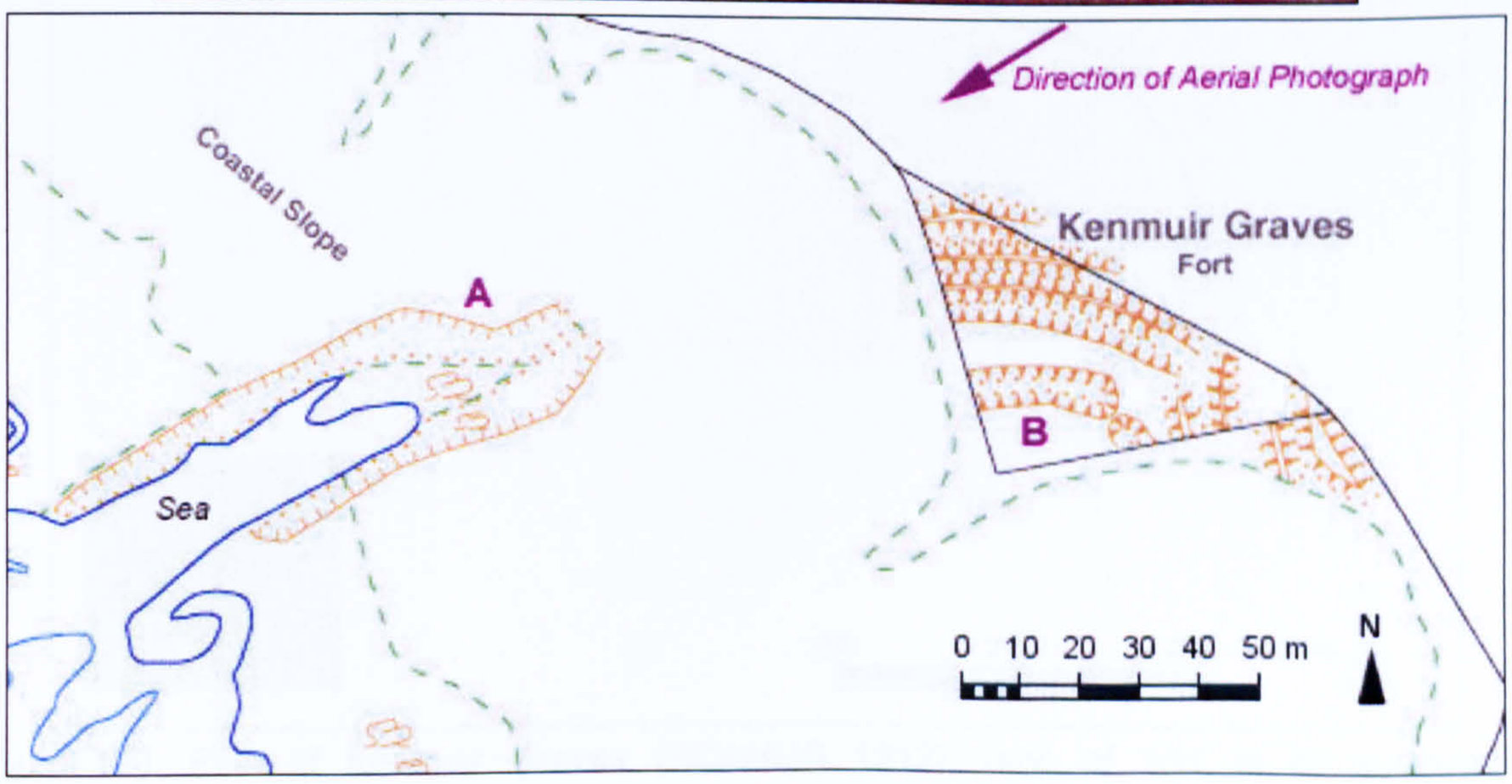
Most enclosures with more than one ditch have often been classified as 'forts', where defence is assumed to be the dominant function of these places. However, alternative interpretive approaches have argued that one of the main roles of ditches was manifested through their construction, the creation and reaffirmation of complex social relationships (Bowden & McOmish 1987; Chadwick 1999). Every time a ditch was dug specific meanings were produced and negotiated. For some people digging ditches was an important part of the experience of place. In cases such as Barsolus and Kenmuir Graves the attention appears to have focussed on the construction of the ditches and the banks – the interior is disproportionate to the size of the earthworks. The earthwork themselves were monumental constructions, built by a community and therefore was symbolic of their collective identity.

Yet, for many the resultant 'enclosed' monuments would have altered the way they moved around the landscape and how they related to the natural environment. The character of the natural landscape would have been transformed and the banks would have been important visual symbols. Like ditches, some banks were massive and would have been physically impressive to be negotiated in order to access the interior (see Kemp's Walk Fig. 6.102). From the evidence as it is today, it is clear that at least some ditches were left 'open' and therefore would have remained influential to coming generations. Multiple ditched enclosures may represent repeated renegotiations of the same place, recalling and transforming identities and relationships for those who created and those used these places.

Kenmuir Graves

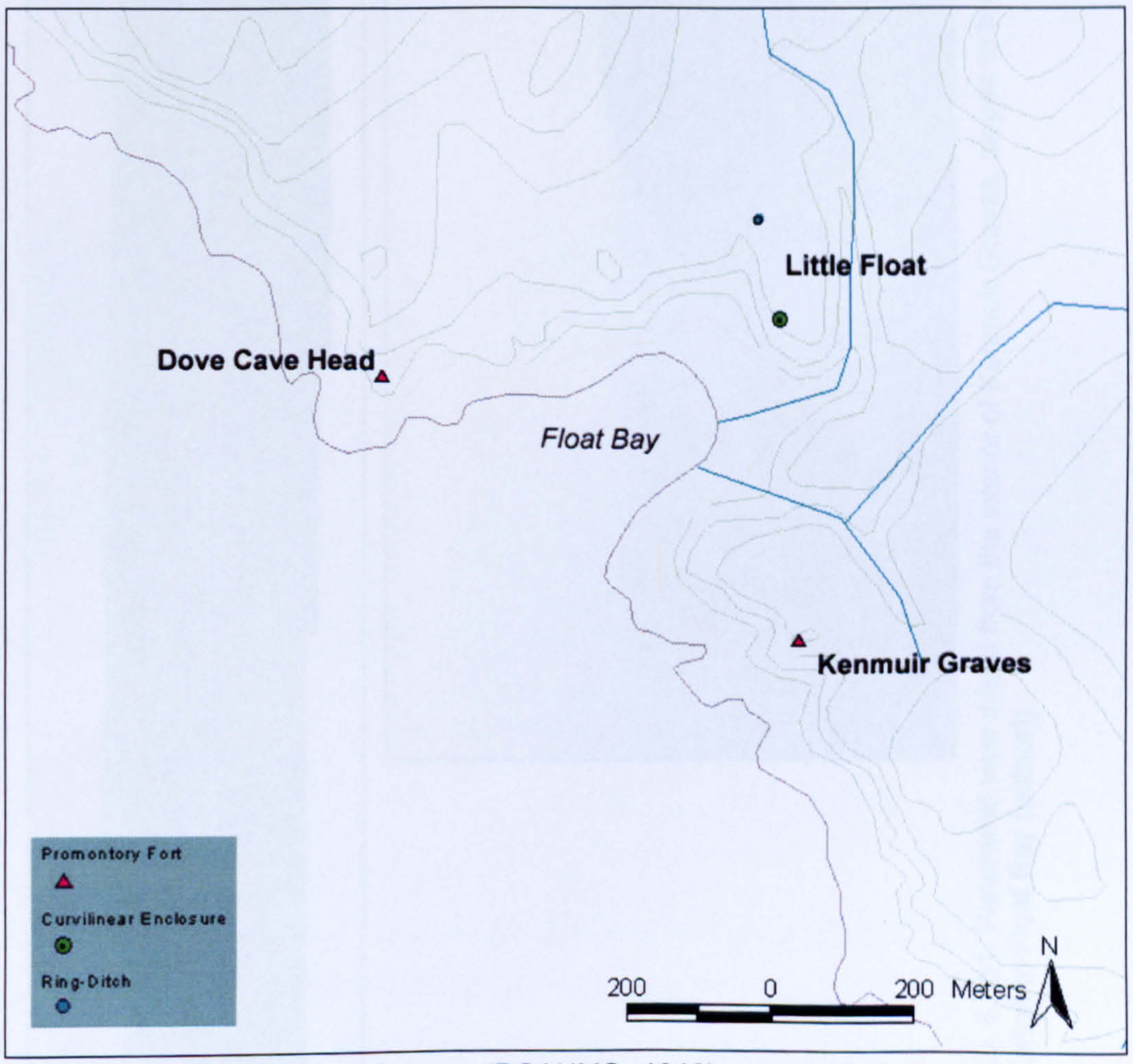
The disproportionate size of the interior in comparison to the scale of the complex arrangement of ditches at Kenmuir Graves as noted above suggests that a significant focus of this place was the ditches themselves (Fig. 6.129). The innermost ditch, which is 5.5m wide with an external bank, is suggested to be from a different phase of

construction than the series of three outer banks and ditches (RCHAMS 1985). Regardless of the specific chronology, at one time in this place's history the inner ditch would have stood out in comparison to the other ditches and perhaps had a particular non-defensive function. The arrangement of an inner ditch with an external bank is not common, but has been noted on other sites in Wigtownshire, such as Portslogan discussed above.



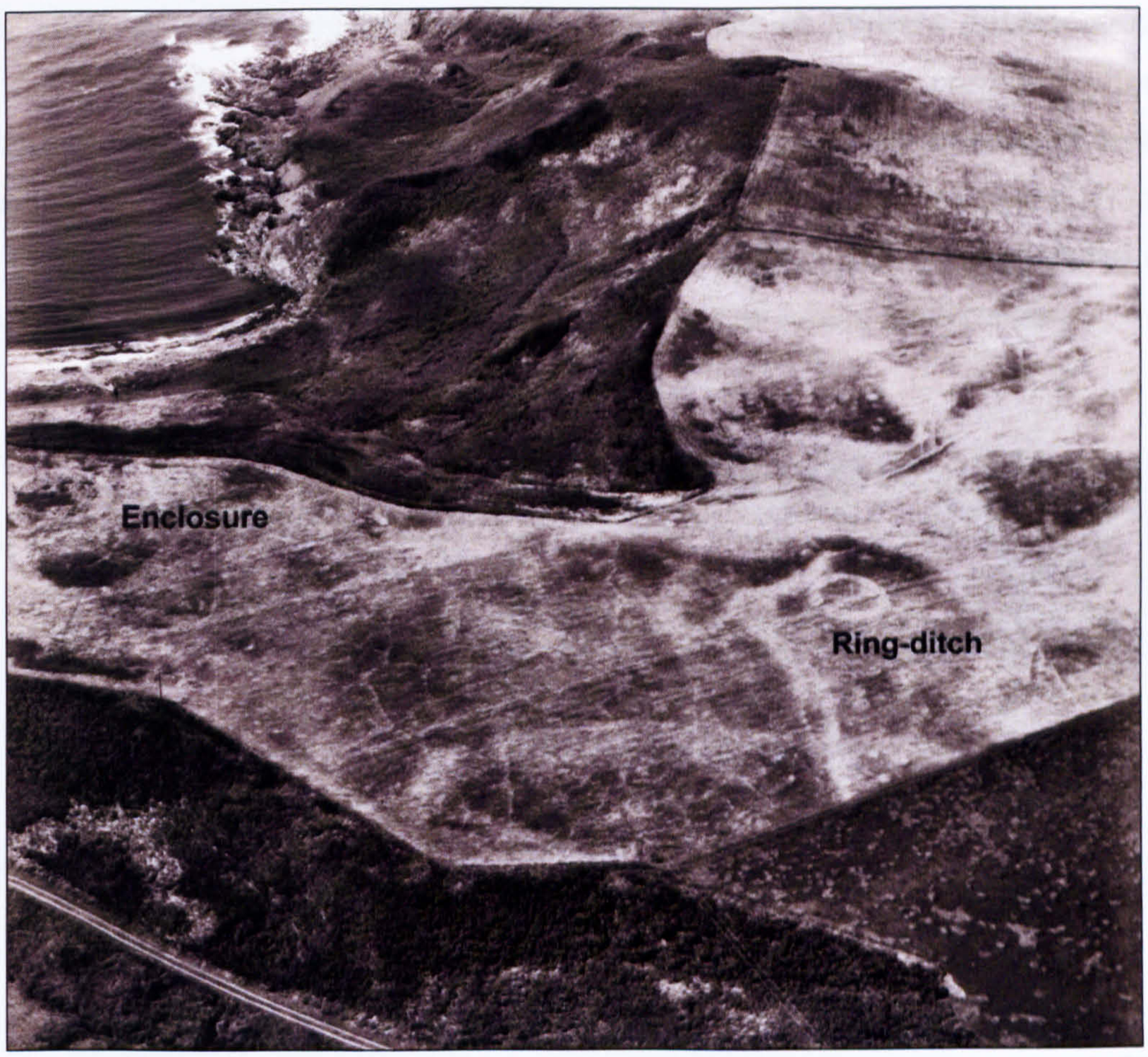
(Fig. 6.129: Aerial photograph of Kenmuir Graves © RCAHMS; map of fort © Digimap (A and B correspond to the same area on the map and picture))

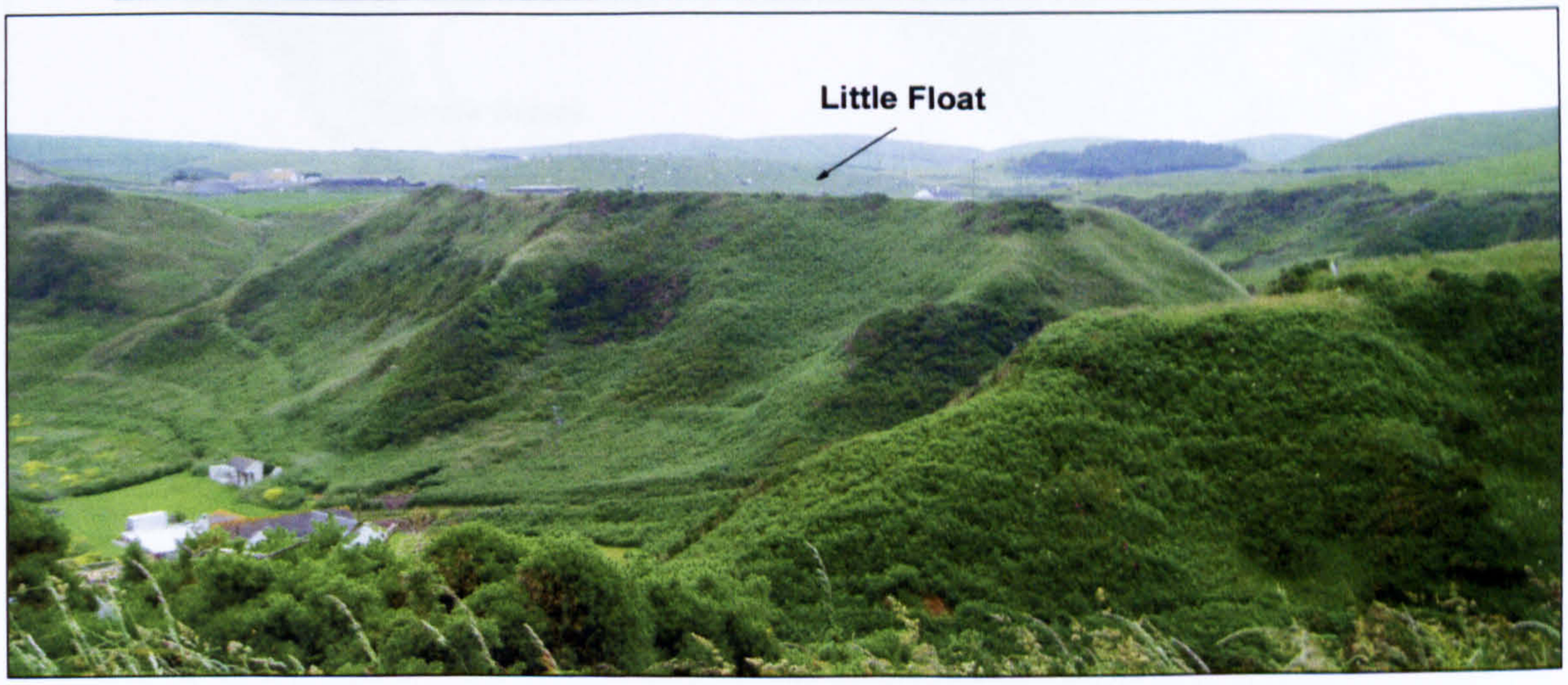
It is important to consider the fort's role in the complex landscape in which it was situated (Fig. 6.130). To the N of Kenmuir Graves there is another promontory fort, Dove Cave Head; these are not intervisible, and each occupies a distinct location in the landscape. Unlike the Dove Cave Head promontory fort, Kenmuir Graves does not overlook Float Bay; yet, from the fort's interior there are extensive views out to the Irish Sea (Fig. 6.131). Contrary to the opinion that the majority of promontory forts do not have easy access to the sea (Toolis 2003b, 65), it is possible to descend the slope to the narrow, slightly sheltered inlets on either side of Kenmuir Graves. From here people could fish or even moor a small boat. Dove Cave Head, sitting over a cave in a sheltered bay may have provided more opportunity for marine access. Moreover, these forts were located on either side of the sandy bay with possible barrows (an enclosure and ring-ditch) positioned on the flat, isolated plateau at Little Float (Fig. 6.132). Each of these places had different views and relationships to the sea, perhaps deliberately kept visually apart, but may have acted together integrating the experience of land and sea, during particular occasions or gatherings.



(Fig. 6.130: Plan of Kenmuir Graves (RCAHMS 1912); map of 'fort' in its surrounding landscape)

(Fig. 6.131: Panoramic view inland from the interior of Kenmuir Graves, slopes to the S give access to the sea (author); View of Dove Cave Head in relation to Float Bay (author))



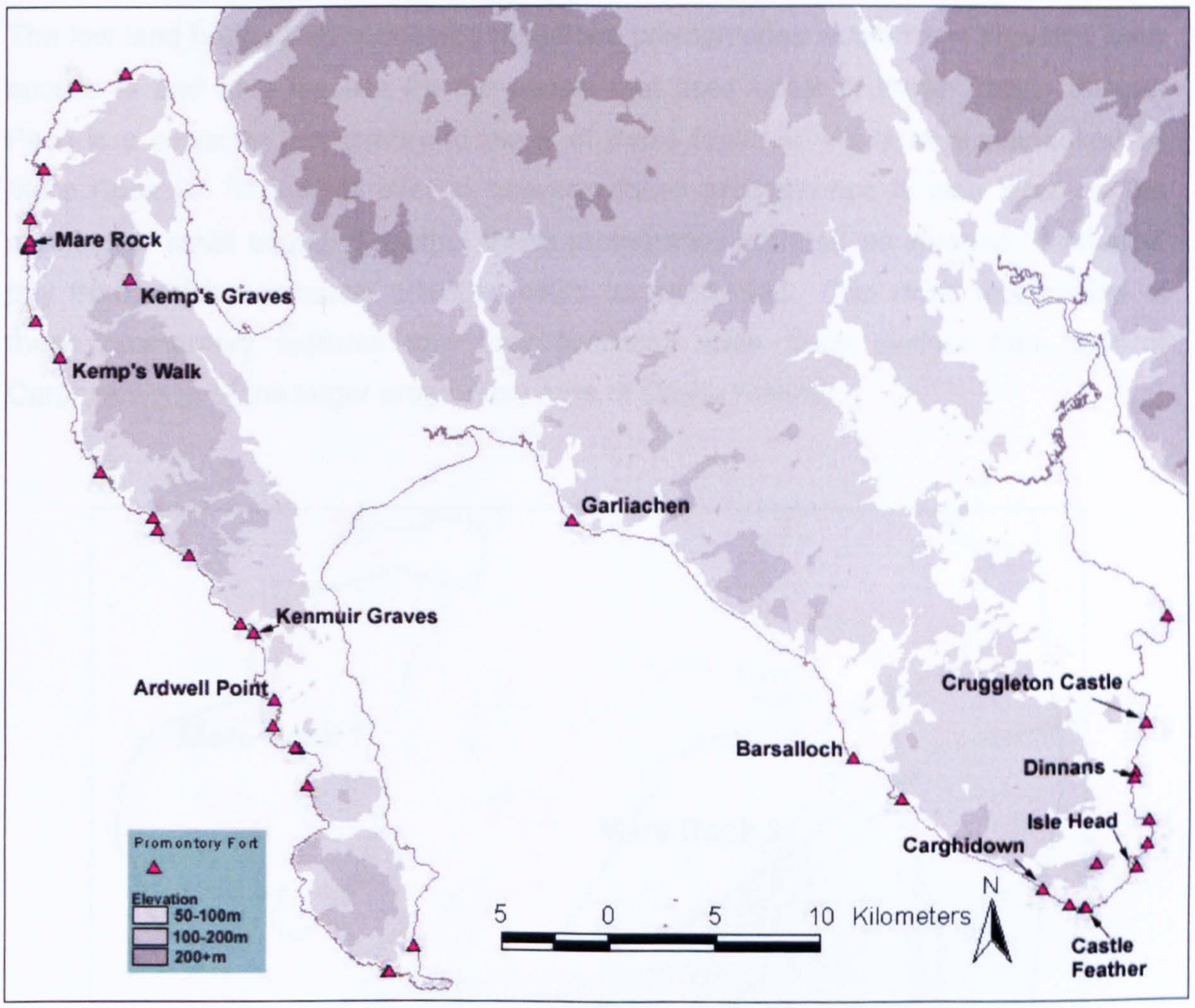


(Fig. 6.132: Aerial photograph of Little Float © RCAHMS; Little Float plateau prominently overlooking the entrance of Float Bay (author))

6.6.6 Coastal Promontory Forts

Kenmuir Graves and Dove Cove Head are just two examples of the 37 promontory forts in Wigtownshire, which is a exceptional number when compared to the rest of Scotland. Most of these forts are distributed along the W coast of the Rhins and around the S coast of the Machars (Fig. 6.133). Promontory forts are traditionally separated as a subclass of fort because of their specific coastal or cliff-edge position

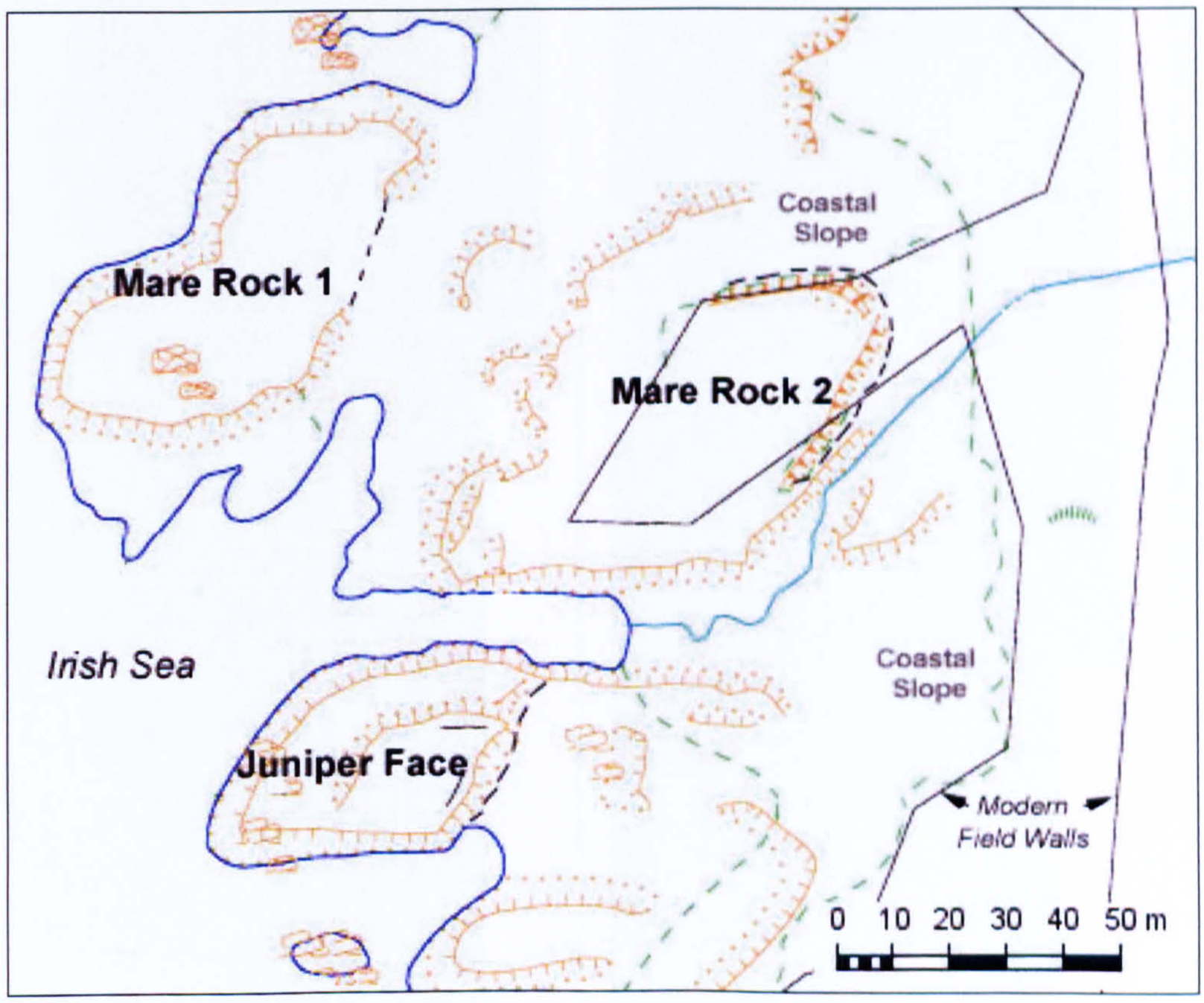
(Lamb 1980, 6). Such locations are rarely disturbed by modern development and many are still visible as earthworks. Carruthers (2002, 96) argues promontory forts on the coast provided a specific experience of land and sea, evoking a sense of liminality. It is certain that the surrounding ocean would have shaped the experience of each of these places. The smell, sound and taste of the sea and the feel of the sea wind would have marked these places differently from the hill-forts or inland settlements.



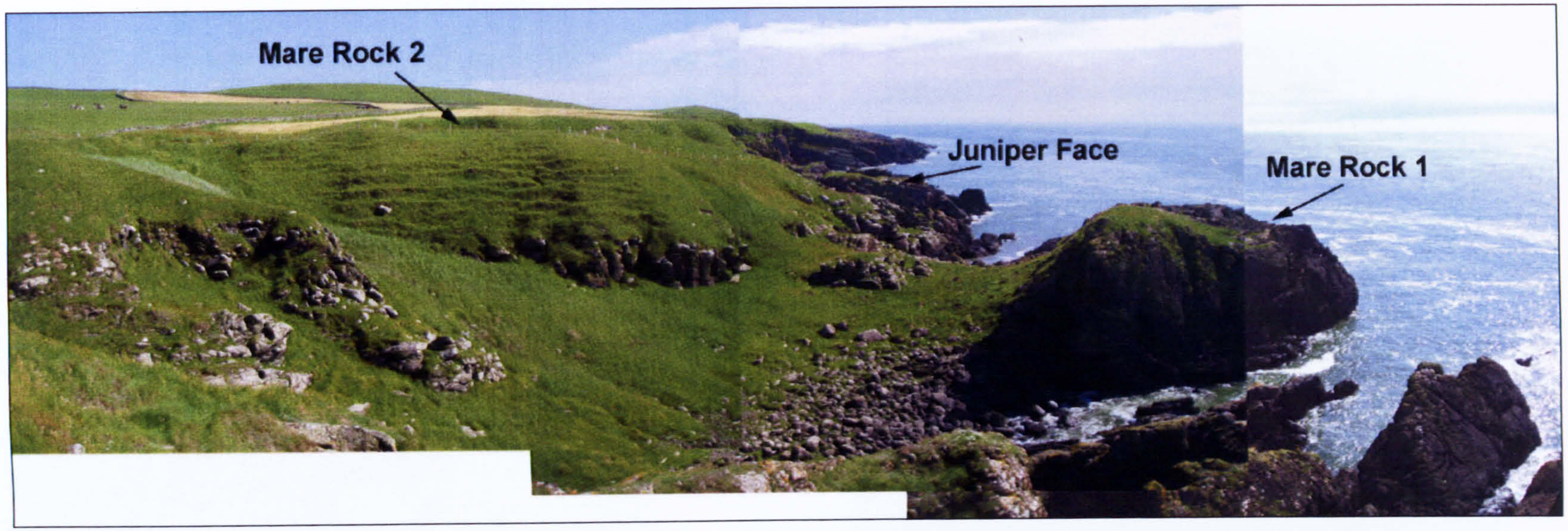
(Fig. 6.133: Distribution map of the promontory forts in Wigtownshire, labelled are the sites mentioned in the text)

An unusually close relationship between separately identified promontory forts can be observed at Mare Rock 1, Mare Rock 2 and Juniper Face. The experiences of these three forts appear to have been intertwined (Fig. 6.134). The recorded habitable area, in relation to the area enclosed of Mare Rock 1 and Juniper Face (19m by 14m) is small in relation of other forts, such as East Galdenoch (CANMORE). The 'habitable' area of Juniper Face is confined to one area, while the 'habitable' patches are distributed within the interior of Mare Rock 1, suggesting that these places had quite

different uses. In fact any activities that took place on Mare Rock 1 would have been very exposed. In high storms the promontory would have essentially become a wave-swept island (Fig. 6.135 -137). In contrast to Mare Rock 1 there would have been more shelter for settlement on the summit of this Mare Rock 2. To access Mare Rock 1 by land one would have to cross Mare Rock 2. The experiences of each of these were physically and visually connected. In actual fact Mare Rock 1 is more like an extension to Mare Rock 2 than a separate feature in itself. Mare Rock 2 is set back from the shore and from its higher position the interior of Mare Rock 1 can be viewed. The low land bridge that connected these two promontories would have provided easy access to and from the sea for the people that used either of these 'forts'. Juniper Face is a separate promontory to the S of these features, but is also overlooked by Mare Rock 2. The small inlet in between these promontories is also ideal for the mooring of small boats. Together these promontories formed an inverted 'C-shaped' bay from which sea-based activities could be conducted. The close relationship of these promontory features and their functions were likely distinct from that of Carghidown or of the larger promontory forts of Castle Feather.



(Fig. 6.134: Map of Mare Rock and Juniper Face (after © Digimap))



(Fig. 6.135: View of Mare Rock 1& 2 from the N and Mare 2 & Juniper face from Mare Rock 1 (author))

(Fig. 6.136: Stony interior of Mare Rock 1 from Mare Rock 2 (author))

(Fig. 6.137: Place to moor boats next to Juniper Face (author))

As noted, the relationship between promontory forts and the landscape is varied. Many are not as close to one another as the Mare Rock sites, but are intervisible. Furthermore, some are in apparently intentional 'hidden' locations from inland, such as Doon Castle or Carghidown (Toolis 2003b), while others like Barsalloch are 'hidden' from the sea. Still others such as Isle Head and Castle Feather are prominent, large and elaborate, to be seen from many angles (Fig. 6.138).

(Fig. 6.138: Castle Feather promontory fort (author))

While many promontory forts, like Kenmuir Graves, slope towards the sea with limited views back inland, the promontory fort at Barsalloch is positioned on a cliff edge that slopes away from the sea. The interior of Barsalloch is directed towards the land and is visible for some distance from the valley to the E; however, the beach beneath the fort is hardly visible (Fig. 6.139). This situation is similar to the enclosed inland settlement at Rispain Camp. Although Rispain Camp is not on a promontory, it is located on the slope of a ridge and therefore the main impact of the enclosure is directed towards one direction, the E. This similarity shows a conscious use of natural features to augment specific architectural constructions. Despite this, caution should be heeded in assuming that these two places were used in the same way. Barsalloch is unexcavated, but the slope of the interior suggests that similar roundhouses, without levelled platforms, would have been impractical here and further suggests that the interior may have been used in an alternative way.

(Fig. 6.139: View to Barsalloch from the lands to the E; view from the beach to the W; view of the low valley; view from Barsalloch looking W (author))

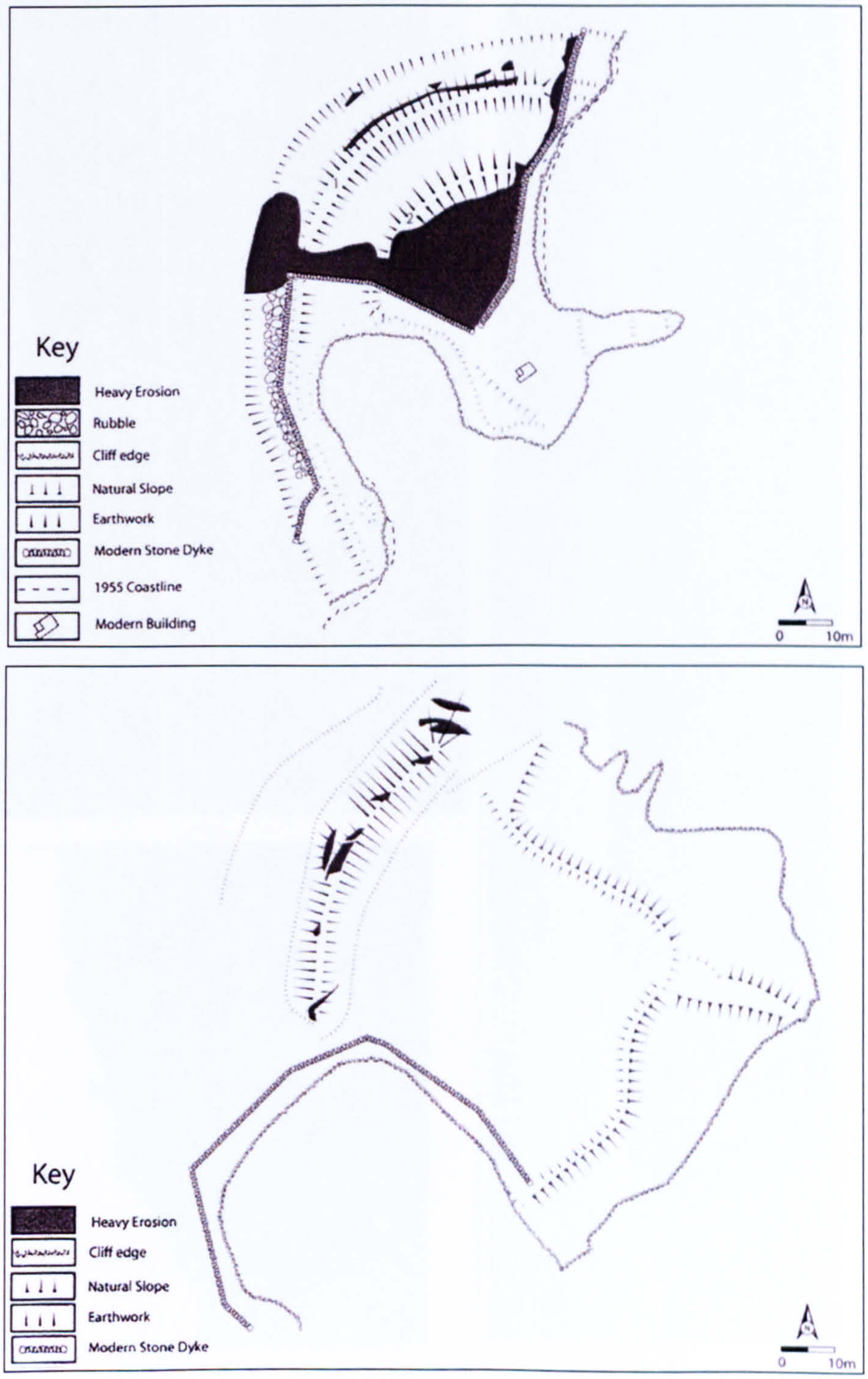
Dinnans

The promontory fort and 'settlement' at Dinnans (1 and 2) have a specific relationship with the landscape and to one another. As at Mare Rock, each of these places has some elements in common and, yet they are distinct. Dinnans 1 measures 78m by 65m and has been classified as a 'settlement' because it does not occupy a strong defensive position; yet, its multiple banks and ditches are nonetheless impressive (Fig. 6.140) (CANMORE). 300m to the S of this site, Dinnans 2 encloses an area 42m by 41m with two equally massive banks and ditches. Interestingly, although subsequent agricultural activity has levelled the interior of both of these enclosures, three possible timber roundhouses had been identified at Dinnans 2 (*ibid*). These were noted to have been tucked just inside the bank and were clearly not a part of the central space. This arrangement is very different from other enclosures such as Aird, East Galdenoch or Rispain Camp.

The promontory at Dinnans 2, like Mare Rock, extends further into the sea, which is connected to the main enclosed area by a narrow land bridge. From here there are more extensive views of the coastline. Dinnans 1 is clearly visible from this point, which may suggest that this promontory acted as an important visual connector between the two places (Fig. 6.141). Together these features represent a local system where each enclosure had its own function and role. Perhaps, like the relationship noted at O'er Rig & Castle Over in Eastern Dumfriesshire (RCAHMS 1997) one enclosure was the focus for settlement and the construction of houses, while the other defined a separate activity, but related, area. In any case, the massive undertaking of the construction of the banks and ditches of Dinnans 1 and 2 would have involved the resources and labour of many people from across the wider landscape. It can therefore be suggested that these monumental features represented a community's identity.

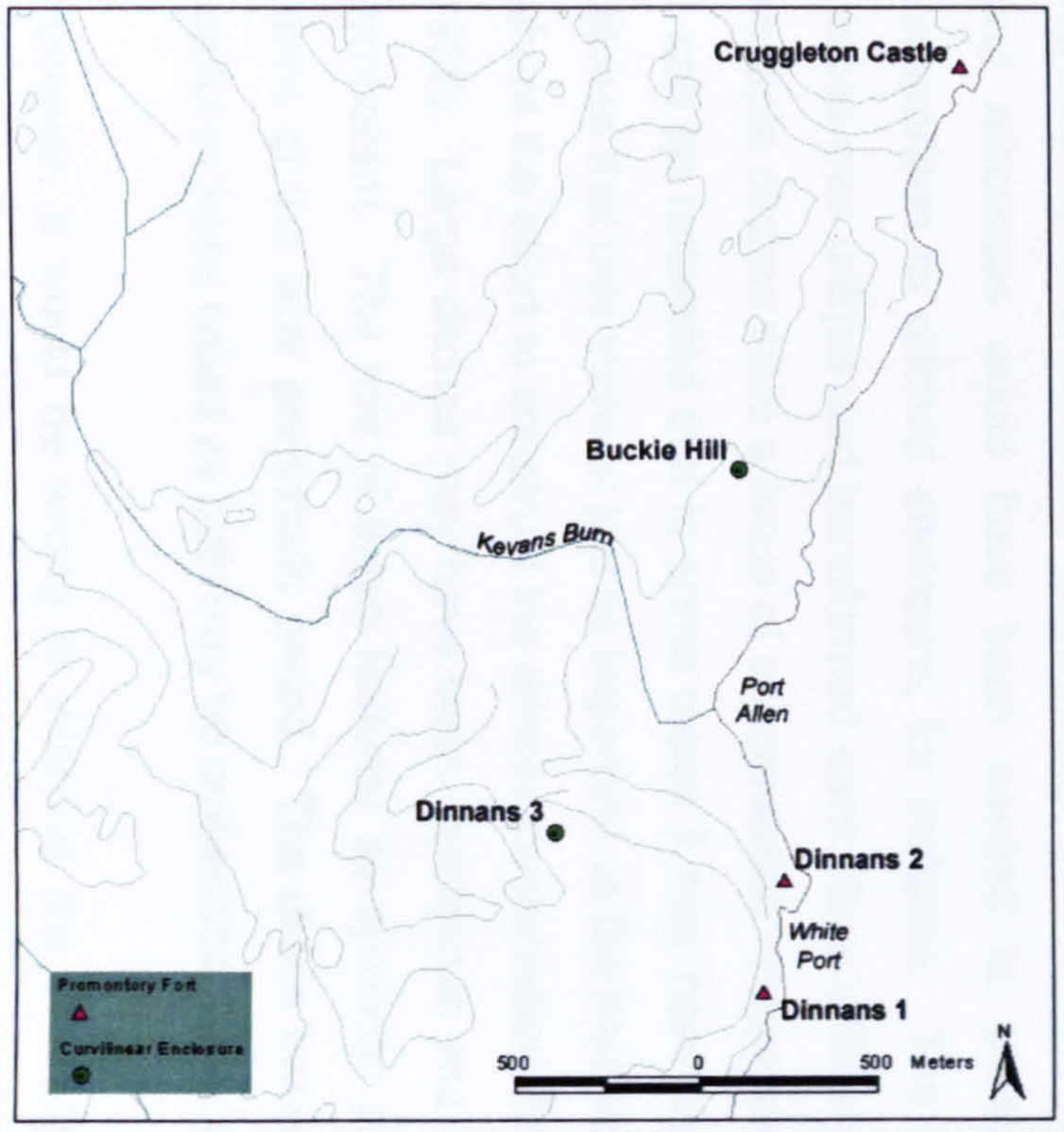
The internal of the views of both Dinnans 1 and 2 are directed to the sea and the coastline. In both cases, their banks coupled with the gently rising ground would have blocked any visual connection to the land to the W. Instead is was the features such the univallate enclosures at Dinnans 3 and Buckie Hill (which share both morphological and topographic characteristics) that defined the experiences and activities inland. The univallate enclosure of Dinnans 3 (approximately 20m in diameter) would have been less impressive compared to the stone and earth banks and large ditches of promontory forts at Dinnans 1 and 2. Dinnans 3 is positioned on a slight knoll, with views inland and to Wigtown Bay, the enclosure utilised the local contours of a small

knoll to augment the experience of the enclosure (Fig. 6.142). The location of these enclosures reflects a different relationship to the landscape when compared to the promontory enclosures. The monumental earthworks and the activities within the promontory forts related specifically to the sea or referenced distant places across the sea. The smaller inland enclosures would have been visible from all directions within the immediate landscape and perhaps monumentalised (on a smaller scale) shifts in local inland settlement of specific communities, similar to the homesteads on the W coast of the Machars.



(Fig. 6.140: Plans of Dinnans 1 & 2 (Toolis 2003a))

(Fig. 6.141: Clockwise: close-up view of Dinnans 1 from 2; Dinnans 2; Dinnans 1; View from promontory of Dinnans 2 (author))



(Fig. 6.142: Map of area around Dinnans; aerial photographs of Dinnans 3 and Buckie Hill © RCAHMS; view of relationship in the land (author))

6.6.6 Summary: Enclosures and Forts in Wigtownshire

The term 'enclosure' is ambiguous and can have a variety of meanings and include various subtypes. Banks, ditches, palisades and even natural features such as promontories and deep gullies can define boundaries and separate places. As well as the literal separation of place enclosures also can have many layers of meanings and metaphors reflecting various phases of construction, use, and relationship to the wider landscape.

The importance of the landscape in relation to enclosures has been emphasised. Some enclosures were intentionally located on natural high points, and were symbols or reference points for people moving through the landscape. Therefore, although enclosures physically separate places and people, these features can also be visually connective, relating messages to distant and local people. Yet other enclosures were 'hidden' by the natural topography and therefore would have been particular local expressions of place. In these cases the enclosure may only have been constructed for an exclusive group. However, regardless of the subsequent uses of many of the enclosures in Wigtownshire the significance of these places may have been realised and affirmed through their creation and maintenance, each time ditches were cut, banks built and palisades erected.

The differences in the materials used and their arrangement to one another significantly influenced how these places were experienced. Different techniques, skills and resources would have been needed to construct palisaded enclosures in comparison to ditched enclosure, for instance. The process of constructing these places was unique and transformed each place differently. Enclosures with large and multiple ditches were a focus of concentrated or repeated effort of construction. Again it can be reiterated that in some cases it may have been the process of digging the ditches that was more or just as important as the area enclosed, especially in the cases where the effort to construct the ditches overshadow the size of the interior (Chadwick 1999). Large ditches may have been mysterious and dangerous and have particular symbolism. The role of these features as symbolic places should be considered in terms of the later prehistoric period. The divide between ritual and domestic is not useful in these cases as both may be embedded within the experience of place.

However, it would be wrong to interpret the diversity of the enclosed features in Wigtownshire as a product of social instability. Rather, it highlights the co-existence of multiple practices in Wigtownshire during the Iron Age. Although morphologically

different, certain traditions or connections are apparent and the various communities have expressed themselves in distinct ways, adapting to their own landscape. It is also possible in some cases that not all enclosures were contemporary with the 'settlement' or 'dwelling' it enclosed, but intentionally mimicked or emphasised settlement forms to highlight a phase of remembrance once the roundhouses were abandoned. The multiple roles of enclosures and their potentially complex relationship to 'unenclosed' features need to be considered in more depth.

6.7 Conclusions

The discussions in this chapter have highlighted the diversity of the archaeological record in Wigtownshire. Even though few sites have been excavated there is still great potential for investigating the complex relationship between surveyed features. The observations noted in this chapter have highlighted a range of ways the potential Iron Age settlement evidence from Wigtownshire can be viewed and experienced. The evidence demonstrates that specific landscape features of Wigtownshire were consciously manipulated and incorporated with later prehistoric settlement. The results of this exploration show that connections can be established between sites of different morphology and typology in terms of their relationship to the wider landscape. Moreover, it has been shown that by exploring morphological anomalies within types significant aspects of the use of space can be revealed.

Places can have multiple meanings and experiences and which should not be ignored. In the next chapter, Chapter 7, my engagement with the archaeological record and themes drawn from the archaeological evidence from will be discussed in further detail, highlighting the correlation between the wide range of archaeological evidence in Wigtownshire. In order to collate my observations, as part of a larger hermeneutic spiral, my descriptions are organised through a 'classification of experience'. From here alternative interpretations of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire can be proposed.

Chapter 7: Rethinking Iron Age Settlement in Wigtownshire

7.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to discuss my experiences of the archaeological landscapes of Wigtownshire in relation to how we classify and interpret the archaeological evidence. Essentially the Iron Age in SW Scotland has previously been interpreted through comparison with iconic sites found elsewhere rather than on the basis of its own evidence and variable context. The detailed discussion of the archaeology from Wigtownshire in Chapter 6 has illustrated the importance of examining the detail of places within their landscape. In this chapter more general and wider ranging interpretive implications concerning the possible uses of space and the impact of architecture on the movement and visibility in the Iron Age will be explored.

Three main integrated themes have emerged from my experiences of the archaeological material in Wigtownshire outlined in Chapter 6: *physicality*, *visuality* and *materiality*. These themes will form the basis of a 'classification of experience' in which the archaeological evidence from Wigtownshire will be further interpreted. This is *classification,* not *typology*. Because the themes identified and the specific observations made are only one way of making sense of the archaeology in Wigtownshire, this proposed classification of experience is not to be used for simple quantitative analysis, but as a 'tool to think' (Cutting 2003, 18). As part of the hermeneutic process, it can be seen that how a feature is classified or described affects how it is used in forming future interpretations. Moreover, interpretations can be made at different levels. For instance, once defined as a 'house' any further interpretations of this archaeological feature (within a specific hermeneutic spiral) would refer to this evidence as representative of a 'house', but on various levels: literally, practically, symbolically and metaphorically. To continue the interpretive process of this thesis further comparisons will be highlighted and important factors in a consideration of the Iron Age of Wigtownshire will be discussed.

7.2 Classification of Experience

7.2.1 Experience

As highlighted in Chapter 4, experience is not an abstract concept, nor is it solely a phenomenon of the body, but as recent studies in cognitive psychology have shown, it

is also an integral part in forming cognition (Pecher & Zwaan 2005). As the body and mind are interconnected, physical experiences shape memory and influence how we anticipate new experiences.

Classifications based on morphological comparisons of 2-dimensional ground plans are abstract experiences in terms of human experience of place. Differences established by any classification are a product of the values we impose when deciding how to classify. Therefore the patterns established by traditional classifications are only one way of examining the data, which ignores human experience in favour of abstracted observations and often falsely described as objective. Classification is a subjective and flexible tool and is dependent on the questions that are asked of the evidence. Thus there are opportunities to explore different avenues of interpretation depending on the criteria and attributes used when comparing data.

Patterns of experience drawn from the evidence in Wigtownshire illustrate the potential for comparing morphologically different archaeological material. As people move through and inhabit the landscape it is not only characteristics such the as shape and size of features that may be meaningful, but also how these features are situated within their surrounding landscape and how they interact with the body and mind (Smith & Samuelson 1997). Furthermore, when encountering new places, knowing how to act or access places, and the spaces in between, is intimately related to previous experiences and expectations derived from those experiences (Tilley 1994, 27). In my fieldwork I wanted to consider what Tilley termed 'places as contexts for human experience, constructed in movement, memory, encounter, and association' (*ibid*, 15). The inter-related themes of physicality, visuality, and materiality, which emerged from my experiences, offer alternative ways to traditional typologies to explore the significance and meaning of the use of space and the relationship between different places in the wider landscape of Iron Age Wigtownshire.

7.2.2 A Classification

The following classification is a process of ordering and combining my experiences with the information gained from previous surveys and excavations. This classification is temporary and is an expression of my relationship with the archaeology and used to present alternative and valid ways to consider the Iron Age. As discussed in my methodology (see Chapter 1), my experiences were influenced by my specific social,

cultural and geographical circumstance, ultimately placing me in the biography of the history of archaeological research in Wigtownshire, highlighted in Chapter 5.

It is important to stress that the categories of this classification of physicality, visuality and materiality, as well as subcategories within these, emerged from my research in Wigtownshire and were not pre-defined. Using these themes, derived from the evidence directly, further interpretations of the Iron Age in this area are proposed. For convenience each of these three themes will be discussed separately, but this division is artificially created and it should be emphasised that the themes are interconnected and together describe the whole experience. Visuality is part of the bodily, physical perception and experience, which changed as I approached and moved around a place. Moreover the material components of architecture and natural features impacted on the way a place was experienced through all the senses. This classification highlights the character of each archaeological feature, but its landscape and context also contributed significantly to the experiences of these features. The results give way to alternative and equally valid ways to interpret Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire, which, I would argue, are no more subjective than more traditional empirical approaches that rely on pre-defined categories of data and models.

Some of the observations used in this classification are restricted to those sites with a high level of information. The following section outlines general observations that relate to each theme (and how they may be considered within the discussion of the Wigtownshire evidence presented). It should be reiterated that below is not a typology, but a list of observations in order to compare different features.

Physicality

In accordance with Scott (2002, 56), the term *physicality* (as opposed to *body*) used here emphasises the fluid, interconnected, dynamic relationship between things (including human bodies), places and landscapes. The experience of places involves the interaction of the senses, but this concept draws particularly on the experiences of touch and movement and include:

1. <u>The physical experience and negotiation of places</u>: Elements of construction are evaluated in relation to the body. The presence or absence of banks, ditches or palisades are acknowledged and their character assessed by the width and depth or height of ditches or banks or walls. How these features further affect movement, such as the effort it takes to cross these boundaries -

contrasting the experience of moving across a wide ditch as opposed to a narrow one or through a palisade- are explored. Also important here is how one could physically approach and relate to these architectural elements. Places are not restricted by culturally constructed elements alone, but also by the use and manipulation of nature and the wider landscape. Natural features such as rivers, hills, valleys and cliffs are all incorporated into the experience of place and can in some cases share similarities with the constructed features and therefore it is important to take them into account. In many cases, these natural features are boundaries defining different spaces, which can be traversed in very specific ways.

2. Connecting places and spaces: On a wider scale the route ways across landscapes that connect places are also significant in physically defining the experience of these places. Although there may be many possible routes across a landscape, some may be safer than others or would have had a different impact on the body. Furthermore the experience of places may have been dependent on the direction of the approach. Spatial relationships between nearest known features are considered; this does not rely on an absolute fixed distance, but reflects the importance of the illusion of distance and approachability, as well as visibility, between sites. Routes in the landscape may have been socially prescribed and based on specific traditions.

3. Places and spaces of transition: Entrances and/or routes defined by one or more causeways, avenues or porches influence the movement between spaces and therefore are key points of transition. More than one entrance could dramatically open the relationship between the inner and outer spaces, promoting more opportunities for movement and perhaps requiring more complex systems of control. A consideration of how entrances, relative to other components of the architecture, affect experience, such as the difference between enclosed porches and 'open' causeways, is examined. Entranceways can represent a variety of meanings depending on the relationship between the inner and outer space, which is potentially defined by multiple, interconnected levels. Therefore within constructed places the body may need to negotiate these various 'levels' of space. The arrangements of built features in relation to 'open' spaces as well as natural elements also inform experience. The direction and alignment of entrances may not only be explicable by function and

necessity but are also underpinned by culturally determined ideology of spatial organisation.

Visuality

Visuality is a notion employed here to express the variety of visual relationships of place, not only its visibility from other places, but also views from within the structure and how these views may be influenced by the construction, maintenance and use of architecture and natural features. Isolating visual characteristics from other senses is difficult, if not impossible, as they are all inextricably linked. Yet, because of my social and cultural framework visual experiences are easier to express. Visual characteristics of architecture have often been particularly stressed as significant to a place's monumentality (e.g. substantial roundhouses and their visual prominence), but places have other meanings that also need to be considered. A wide variety of visual messages were communicated by the choice of location and through the construction of places in Wigtownshire: referencing distant places, people and time, asserting control and forming social relationships. It is important to discuss this variety of meanings.

1. Prominence of place: Places are assessed whether they are visually augmented or hidden, and from which direction, through the use of both cultural and natural elements of the landscape. Features such as banks, ditches, rivers, hill summits, and terraces may have been used to augment place as a whole or only certain elements; conversely, in different arrangements ditches and banks, hills and valleys may also 'hide' places. A place's visual potential depends both on distance, direction and location from which it can be viewed (e.g. the intervisibility between it or in the wider landscape). There is a limit to human vision and architectural elements of places may not be visible from a distance; nonetheless in some cases it may be socially significant for constructions to have been built on visually prominent locations. We cannot necessarily assume hidden or prominent positions were for defensive reasons.

2. Routes and landscapes: Regardless of the visual prominence of one place over another, its appearance and therefore visibility as one approaches and moves across the landscape may change. What is the visual impact of places as we approach them? Some places may be visual guides or landmarks for people moving through the landscape. What is the role of the 'open' spaces between places and would they have been so 'open'? Space is the situational context

for place and that it also derives meaning from particular places (Relph 1976, 8).

3. Views in and out of place: Once at a place how do the aspects of the local situation, both natural and cultural, impact on vision? The topography or the width, depth or height of ditches, banks, walls or palisades (whether enclosed or not) can affect how specific elements of a settlement can be viewed. Drawing on the variations between visual aspects from within and without defined spaces illustrates that in some cases to see is not the same as being seen. It is important to be aware of the possible chronological relationships between architectural (as well as natural) elements and therefore consider how a place visually changed over time.

Materiality

Materiality refers to the significance of the physical character of elements that define architectural features, those that constitute its construction, use, elaboration, abandonment and reuse. The character of the material used, its form, arrangement and incorporation in the natural setting impact on bodily experience. Furthermore, materials constrain the shape and size of a structure, embody its history (e.g. if it is new, or re-used, or worn through age and weathering), inform relationships within the surrounding landscape (e.g. if the material is local or imported), and signify special points or events or phases (e.g. structured deposits in ditches or postholes).

1. Material meaning: The materials used to create places, whether timber, stone, or earth, in various arrangements, can influence the experience of place. The redefinition of place through the excavation of ditches and the construction of banks compared with the importation of materials from other areas are examined. Furthermore, over time some materials decay relatively rapidly while others are more permanent fixtures in the landscape impacting on the experience of local landscapes of many coming generations. The use of certain materials and their arrangement may also have communicated specific messages concerning the function and phase of use or disuse of each building. A consideration of the visibility and tangibility of certain places through their material character are explored.

2. Deposited materials: The importance of the results of the few excavations and the detail of the deposition of artefacts will be discussed. Settlement does not

simply depend on the superficial morphological assessment of place, but also the indications of the use of space. The structured deposition of materials at key points with architectural features can reflect an embedded relationship between people and place relating to memory, identity and belief. The character and importance of place to the meaning of materials are explored, challenging the traditional approach, which identifies inherent value of material culture (such as Roman metalwork) without regard to context.

3. Natural integration: Natural features in the landscape have been explored in the other themes, but here natural elements incorporated into places such as rock outcrops, cliffs, rivers, hills and lochs are considered in terms of their material benefit and possible social significance (see Bradley 2000). Questions concerning the use of space, and assumptions of the usefulness of these components are explored. This category also combines issues of materiality outside of the traditionally defined limits of 'settlement' or specific buildings, but also includes features from a wider landscape perspective (e.g. fields, cairns and routes).

7.3 The Iron Age of Wigtownshire

7.3.1 Physicality

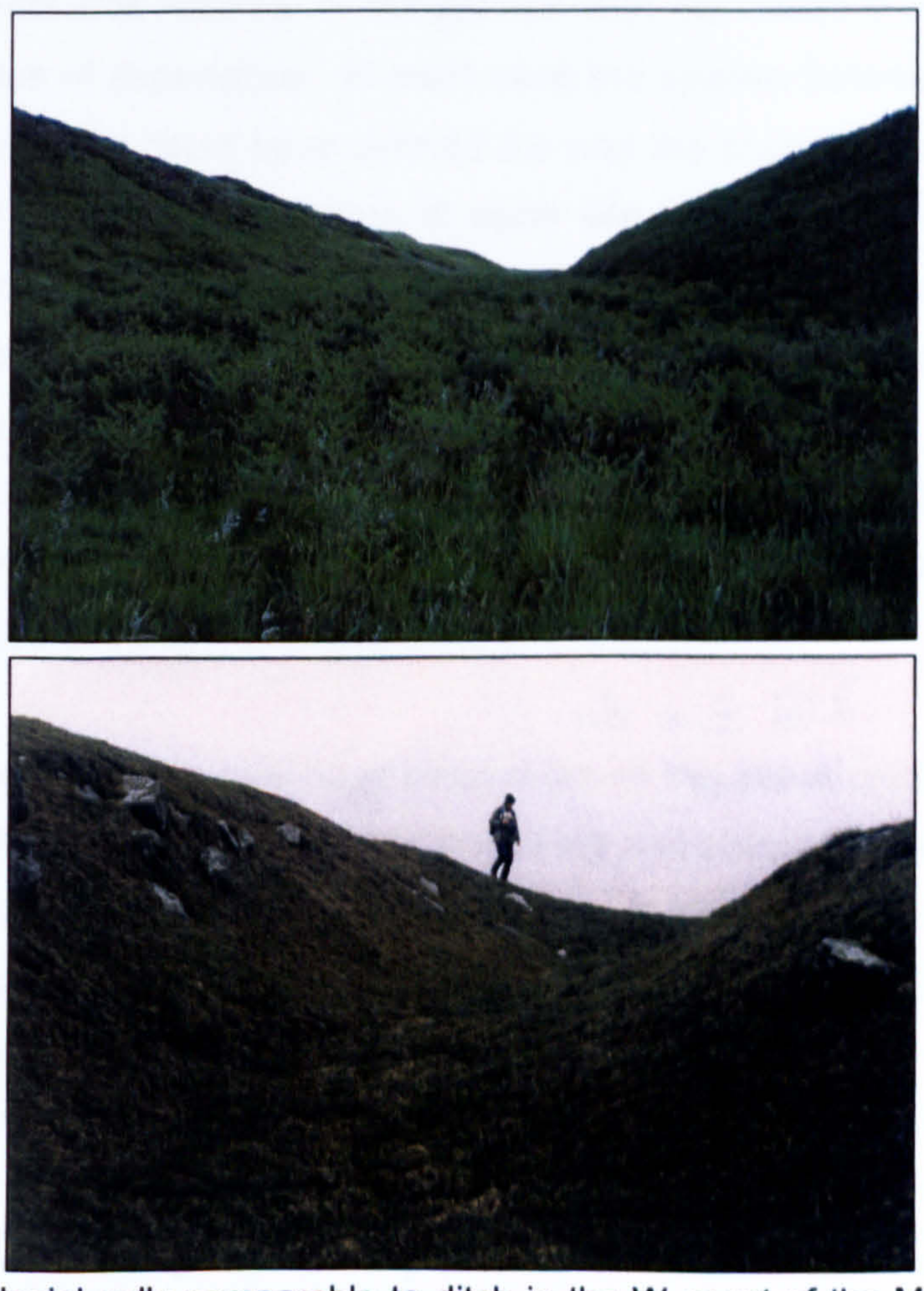
The Physical Experience and Negotiation of Places

In Wigtownshire differences in the morphology and arrangement of banks and ditches, walls or palisades, as well as their location in the landscape all influence the physical experience of place. Places can be defined by a wide variety of architectural and natural elements and materials. Enclosures such as Rispain Camp physically separated and characterised the internal and external spaces and therefore established closer relationships between the roundhouses within the ditch in comparison with the external world. Enclosed spaces can be contrasted with unenclosed roundhouses such as at Dunragit where the landscape between these features appears to have been unhindered by ditches. Here the relationship between the roundhouses is less clearly defined and perhaps reflects the different relationship of these features to the landscape.

All enclosures do not relate to the body in the same way. In general, the physical experience of palisades can be differentiated from banks and ditches. While the exterior of the palisade can be experienced through touch and vision, generally the

observer was directed towards the entrance, through which the interior of the palisade would also be experienced. At places such as Tonnachrae and Beoch, the combination of an internal palisade and an external ditch hindered the possible close physical experience of the palisade. These places, which may have been in a group of contemporary palisaded enclosures, were unusually demarcated and so were perhaps particularly significant.

The evidence in Wigtownshire has highlighted that natural elements in the landscape, such as gullies or cliff edges, could also be used to define places on various levels. Natural gullies on either sides of the homesteads at Cairndoon 1 and Carleton acted like ditches affecting the visual and physical experience of these places depending on the movement of the observer to the monument. People moving across the landscape would have to have negotiated the river valleys and glacial gullies that cut across the landscape (Fig. 7.1). The creation of ditches and banks may, in some cases, be an intentional reflection of these natural elements (see section 7.3.3). Water too acted like a boundary, demarcating spaces in the landscape and guiding experience of the lochs in relation to the crannogs and dry land (see Fredengren 2002).



(Fig. 7.1: Natural glacial gully comparable to ditch in the W coast of the Machars; the ditch at Back Bay promontory fort in the Machars (author))

From a wider perspective river valleys could also be used as an 'enclosure' defining the relationship between places in the landscape. Both the roundhouse at Soleburn and the fort at Mid Dinduff, which may have been contemporary, were enclosed by the bend of the Sole Burn. The river guided movement and perhaps emphasised a particular relationship between these features in contrast to those features located on the other side of the river. Although hut-circles in the uplands often appear unenclosed, their relationships to each other were defined on a wider scale by groups of small cairns, field banks, natural breaks and contours in the landscape, such as at Meikle Tongue. Similar to the roundhouses enclosed by large ditches, in these cases significant physical relationships between 'unenclosed' architectural features were established.

Spaces between monuments or architectural elements can also define the experience of a place. In the case of Barsolus 5, the wide space in between two possibly contemporary ditches emphasised the hierarchy of space as one moved into the interior of the enclosure. Here the ditches are an integral part of the journey into the interior. This experience can be contrasted with that of Kildrochat where the space between the ditches was minimal in comparison with the massive internal area, which was the main focus of experience. In each case the spaces between internal features and the outer enclosure could have defined the way the place was used. At both Aird and Glenwhilly 1 the enclosed space at each site was large in comparison to the central house it enclosed. In these cases, the house and any activities surrounding the house was emphasised through this physical relationship between the architectural elements. In contrast the enclosure at Glenwhilly 2, which was of similar size to Glenwhilly 1, did not surround the hut-circle, but instead the hut-circle was incorporated it into its perimeter, creating a distinct arrangement of architectural features which would have effected the physical experience of this place.

In some cases the emphasis may have been more on the act of creating the enclosure, the cutting of ditches, forming banks, and preparing and erecting palisades, exemplified by the complex arrangement of banks and ditches at Kenmuir Graves. Not only were these ditches impractical for defence (in contrast to other multiple ditched enclosures such as the Isle of Whithorn or Castle Feather), but also the scale of construction of the banks and ditches was disproportionate to the internal space. Communal labour brought together for the construction of these places may have facilitated community cohesion and maintained group identity (Chadwick 1999). Enclosures with multiple banks, like Mid Dinduff, developed through repeated acts of cutting ditches and may

have held special significance as a gathering place for the local community. It is important to appreciate the context of each of these sites and also the importance of their construction to the creation and maintenance of social relationships between people, places and resources over time. At other sites, such as Tor of Craigoch, the purpose of the enclosure on the top of a hill may have been to draw attention to, or restrict access to, natural outcrops.

Connecting Places and Spaces

In general, the distribution of hut-circles in the uplands and enclosures in the lowlands could be described as dispersed. This perhaps reflects a shifting focus of settlement. The current evidence from both field survey and aerial photography suggests that few places in Wigtownshire were actively re-used or continually occupied. It can therefore be proposed that over time groups of people (including those living within enclosures) moved across the landscape, which suggests, in some instances, that there was a flexible notion of land tenure. The high density of hut-circles along specific contours, especially in areas such as Several Moor and Cairnerzean, indicates that while people moved across these landscapes, whether accessing fields or natural resources on a daily basis or on longer journeys, they would have encountered the remains of old hut-circles and field systems. These features physically affected how the wider landscape was negotiated and experienced. Each construction of a new hut would have been an important addition to the landscape, one that would become embedded with memories. These pathways documented the past and would have been reinterpreted by every generation. Yet, it is important to note that some areas within the landscape may not have been appropriate for settlement and therefore they were set aside for other purposes. Settlement in places such as the areas around the chambered cairns at Mid Gleniron and the Auld Wife's Graves and around the ring-ditches at Kirkmabreck and West Myroch may have been intentionally avoided. These monuments may have held specific significance, perhaps as places of danger or of reverence, for the people of the Iron Age.

Topographic features, such as the steep riverbank cliff at Mid Dinduff, or the sea promontories at Dinnans, Kemp's Walk and Mare Rock 1 affected how a place would have been experienced from the landward side, restricting access from particular directions. Similarly the broch at Stairhaven was either accessed from the rocky shore by climbing a steep sea stack or by descending an equally steep and narrow land bridge. Such a restricted location meant that activities such as agriculture or keeping

animals would have to be conducted away from the broch. The difficulty of entering these places and their location at points of dramatic topographic change stressed their liminality from both a literal and metaphorical perspective.

The architecture of the three brochs recorded in Wigtownshire would have been physically dominating in their landscape. The broch at Teroy dominated the immediate low-lying landscape to the W. Furthermore, this place was physically set apart from the activities in the lowlands and any access to the broch from this area would have been a challenge because of the steep slopes to the W and S, deep ravines to the N and a large ditch to the E. The inaccessibility of this place compared to other enclosures in the lowlands was an integral characteristic of this place.

Places and Spaces of Transition

Entrances guide movement into and out of structurally defined places. The morphology, number and arrangement of entrances may vary in relation to their context. Nonetheless these points of architecture are designed to define, and at times, to emphasise the transition between culturally ascribed landscapes and places. And from here different levels of social, ideological, and political relationships are negotiated (see Foster 1989a, 1989b; Cutting 2003).

For many types of settlement in Wigtownshire the entrance situates the initial impression of internal space, which everyone allowed in, would experience. Multiple entrances at sites such as at Rispain Camp or Ardwell Point broch potentially reflected a more 'open' relationship between culturally defined spaces, allowing more options for movement. At Ardwell Point the broch was part of a larger enclosed space that included a wide terrace. An entrance of the broch onto this terrace may reflect a particular close relationship between the activities that were carried out here and inside the broch.

The transition between spaces would have been emphasised by the morphology and character of the entranceway itself. Wide ditches such as at Barsolus 5 would have highlighted the ambiguous and perhaps dangerous nature of this place. At Crammag Head, Carghidown and Clanghie Point the causeways are situated along the edge of the sea cliffs and thus augmented the precarious nature of the movement into and out of the interior. Similarly, lochs were special and perhaps mysterious places. Causeways, such as the one at Barhapple Loch, emphasised the connection between the wider landscape and a small island, guiding access over a liminal watery space.

Interestingly at Barhapple Loch, although the crannog is located closest to the W edge of the loch, the causeway leads to the E. The shear length of the causeway accentuated the journey to and from the crannog, like avenues on dryland sites. Although there is little evidence in the later prehistoric period for large timber avenues comparable to that of the Neolithic ceremonial enclosure at Dunragit (Thomas 1999, 2001b), evidence from roundhouses such as the porches at Dunragit or Fox Plantation (Structures A & F) or the possible avenue at Structure B demonstrate that the elaborated entrances were important to the experiences of these place. Access into the interior of Structure B was further defined by the close proximity of the inner and outer palisade, creating a maze-like passage. The confined spaces demarcated by timber porches may have parallels with some of the entrances of the stone built substantial roundhouses such as Teroy, Crammag Head and Chippermore 1 which were defined by thick walls. Passing through enclosed entranceways, whether of timber or stone, would have felt very different from crossing an 'open' ditch by a causeway. Although crossing between spaces reflected a similar general metaphor of transition, the distinct experiences at each threshold and the physical character of these spaces -whether elaborate or not- may have conveyed specific social meanings.

For many settlements, including substantial roundhouses, access to the internal space was through a series of banks or ditches or other features that were obstacles to the shortest and most direct route into these places. At Crammag Head although the entrance to the dun was aligned with the outer bank, the inner ditch blocked direct access into the structure. If contemporary, the ditch physically guided the direction at which the dun, in relation to the enclosed space, could be experienced. Similarly direct access into the interior of hut-circles in some instances was obscured by the construction of 'baffle' walls. Like the internal screen noted at Soleburn the direction of approach and experience of the interior of these structures was directed and controlled by these architectural elements. In some cases, it could be suggested that they were later additions intended to subvert the 'usual' or 'traditional' experience of the settlement, or were designed to both literally and metaphorically close these places.

A large proportion of hut-circle and roundhouse entrances in Wigtownshire, despite their location and context, are directed to the E-SE-S, which cannot be explained by practical reasons alone. This characteristic is also noted for some homesteads and crannogs, and may reveal a wider tradition relating to the importance of this direction, perhaps in relation to the sun or as a metaphor of the cycles of life (see Parker Pearson 1999, Williams 2003). These cycles may be physically experienced and

reinforced through the circular architecture of many of types of sites including roundhouses, hut-circles, and enclosures, a characteristic of Iron Age settlement throughout Britain. This physical manifestation of life-cycles would have been in contrast to the construction of rectilinear buildings. Exceptions to the E-SE-S direction of entrances, such as the hut-circles at Barncorkrie Moor may represent other over-riding concerns. In the case of Barncorkrie Moor the entrances of the three hut-circles faced each other and it could be suggested that here the direct accessible relationship between these features was stressed rather than any other concern. Other 'houses' that do not conform to the general E-SE-S pattern of entrance direction had been physically incorporated within other architectural features such as enclosures. At West Muntloch and Cairnmon Fell the 'enclosure' that sprang from the bank of the hut-circle had become the main threshold between the inner and outer spaces. Therefore, while the entrances of the hut-circles were to the W, the enclosure entrance was directed to the S, maintaining the 'traditional' direction.

The distinction between enclosed and unenclosed features is an archaeological convention that is over-used, which may mask possible similarities between these types of features. At Rispain Camp (assuming the ditch is contemporary with the roundhouses it encloses) the entrance of the enclosure was the primary threshold in relation to the surrounding landscape. The causeway leading to the interior of Rispain Camp could be compared with the porches of unenclosed roundhouses, such as at Soleburn. At both of these points specific relationships and movement are negotiated. None of the multiple entrances of the roundhouses at Rispain Camp have porches and were potentially more open to movement between the structures. At Cairn Connell Hill the complex arrangement of the architecture highlighted the different levels at which both the unenclosed and enclosed features related to one another. In this example the unenclosed features were situated neatly in front of both enclosures approximately equidistant from their entrances, suggesting that there was a conscious effort to form this place into a cohesive unit where one feature could not be experienced without the other.

The entrances to enclosures affect how the interiors were experienced. The location of entrances and gaps at various points in the enclosures at Dalhabboch, Diddles Hill influenced how two separate hut-circles were experienced and how any activities that took place in one related to the other. Unusually for Wigtownshire, these two hut-circles were surrounded by enclosures that shared a wall between them. Therefore the enclosure both connects and separates these 'houses'. Although the hut-circles are

near each other in space, the entrances of each enclosure are in opposite directions and therefore presenting different physical and visual experiences. In some cases like Carghidown, Tonnachrae or Aird the enclosure may not have been contemporary with the features that were inside, but instead the role of the enclosure was to define specific experiences that only related to a later phase in life of a settlement. Therefore, when a settlement was inhabited, the daily experience of the inhabitants of the place would have been unhindered by such boundaries, but only once out of 'use' was it 'closed' off from easy access. Therefore, in some cases it could be suggested that enclosures acted in a similar way to the baffle walls of upland hut-circles or the porches of unenclosed roundhouses.

7.3.2 Visuality

Prominence of Place

High places are not necessarily visually prominent; they need to be considered within the context of the surrounding landscape. Although Cairn Pat is one of the highest hills in Wigtownshire, it is only visually distinct when viewed from the Stranraer Lowlands. As Carruthers (2002) suggests, the construction of a fort at Cairn Pat would probably have had the most resonance with, and perhaps was intentionally directed to those living on the Lowlands rather than those in the W of the Rhins. Knock Fell, which is not as high as Cairn Pat, is however more prominent and has a distinctive character because of the stark contrast it provides to the low-lying moss that immediately surrounds it. Knock Fell was probably a reference point for diverse groups of people in time and space as it could be viewed from many distant places, including Kirkmabreck in the Western Rhins or Doon of Carsluith in Kirkcudbrightshire. From a more local perspective the appropriation of such a place by defining it with thick walls, which were intentionally directed outwards so as to be visually appreciated from the surrounding landscape, would have further enhanced its significance as a prominent place.

On a smaller scale the hillocks located along of the coast of the eastern Machars where the undulating land meets the low mudflats of the Cree such as Kirkland Hill, Baldoon Hill and North Balfern are conspicuous from the E and therefore outstanding within the local context. The prominence of these hillocks worked in tandem with the massive earthworks to enhance these places within the immediate landscape. From each hillfort the architectural features of the other two would have been visible. This deliberate intervisibility was emphasised by the tilt of the banks at North Balfern towards the other forts. Together these forts physically dominated this landscape,

which perhaps would not have been so significant or visually striking, if each had been an isolated feature.

Similarly the cluster of palisaded enclosures such as Tonnachrae, Beoch, Craigcaffie and Aird, located in the undulating landscapes of the Stranrear Lowlands, were conspicuous expressions of architecture within this local landscape. Many of these palisaded enclosures were visually augmented by their location on the edge of plateaus near a steep slope. Yet even amongst these palisaded enclosures some were located at higher points than others, as demonstrated at Tonnachrae. Within a group of five palisaded enclosures, the only one with an external ditch was situated on the highest point in the immediate landscape. This physical arrangement of these monuments may have reflected the social relationships between one another. Palisaded enclosures had other visual properties. In some cases the largest palisaded enclosures may have both physically and visually enhanced the architecture of the roundhouses they enclosed, highlighting an important symbolic connection between these architectural features.

In some cases, visual augmentation through the construction of enclosures may have corresponded to a particular phase in the life of a settlement. Although it is difficult to establish the specific chronological relationship between enclosures and the features they 'enclose', it is possible to consider that palisades were later additions, physically and visually signalling the end of the use of a roundhouse as a place of residence, but also presenting it as a monument in the wider landscape, a place to remember. In the same way, the deposition of large quantities of stone along the banks of some homesteads (e.g. Changue) or over some crannogs (e.g. Dorman's Island) was a visual signal of the end of the settlements phase of use. These places were transformed as places for the living to monuments of commemoration.

Some of the most elaborate earthworks in Wigtownshire characterise the promontory forts dispersed along the coast. However, as alluded to in previous sections, their visibility in the wider landscape varied greatly and therefore their potential audiences were markedly different. For instance, the interior as well as the banks and ditches of Barsalloch would not have been visible from the seaward direction, but instead, were visible for some distance along an inland valley. At Carghidown the earthwork was also predominantly 'hidden' from the seaward perspective, but in this case the landward view was also greatly restricted. Due to the dramatically sloping ground to the W of Carghidown the 'fort' would have only been visible from a short distance

away. In each case, their setting within the natural environment would have effected how the earthworks were experienced. The other promontory forts in Wigtownshire were in variable, hidden or augmented, locations; the monumental banks and ditches would have had differing visual character within the surrounding landscape. This may have reflected the diverse relationship of each promontory fort to the local landscape. Some promontory forts may have been hidden and exclusive, while others were 'built to be seen' and, therefore, would have been appreciated by a wider community.

Like many of the sites in Wigtownshire that have been discussed above, the visual nature of the brochs was best seen from only certain directions. The potential audiences for these monumental constructions were dependent on the location of these brochs in the landscape. Stairhaven and Ardwell Point are both 'hidden' from the landward perspective and probably had most visual effect when viewed from the sea. Teroy, however, was situated on a high point overlooking the lands below and had a distinct physical presence over the people in the surrounding area, a presence that could have been characterised by power and control.

Comparing the visibility of features on the basis of morphology or architectural monumentality alone may be misleading. Not only can the size of features visually affect how people perceive a place and integrate it into their consciousness, but their position in the landscape can as well. In contrast to other palisaded enclosures, Craigcaffie 2 was situated in a low-lying concealed position. Craigcaffie 2 perhaps represented an alternative 'expression of place' despite sharing morphological characteristics with other features in the surrounding area. As stressed above, the visibility of a monument can be manipulated by its position in the landscape. The comparison of two very different enclosures located within 100m of each other illustrates this point clearly. Distinct in shape and size from other features within the area of the farm at Craigcaffie, the massive enclosure at Dalminnoch (possibly early prehistoric) was situated in a low-lying position. The many entrances would have provided multiple access points into the waterlogged interior. Yet the interior and the ditch could have only been observed from close proximity. The relationship between the earthworks and the subtle undulations in the landscape may have been intentionally manipulated to evoke particular emotions and meanings. By contrast a much smaller enclosure at Craigcaffie 1, defined by a relatively thin palisade, would have been visible from greater distances. Importantly, the physical movement of people towards either of these enclosures would have been governed by its visual

properties. The enclosure at Craigcaffie 1, if later prehistoric in date, perhaps reflects a shift in the use and demarcation of place in this specific landscape over time.

Routes and Landscapes

Tilley (1994) has argued that there was a 'correct' socially prescribed direction to walk along the Neolithic Dorset cursus, a direction that 'worked' for him both visually and bodily, and he has made similar arguments for the movement within prehistoric landscapes. Some of the palisaded enclosures, particularly those on high terraces, may have been appreciated differently from one other depending on the direction of approach. The palisade at Craigcaffie 1 would have been visible in many directions from a distance, such as the bivallate enclosure at Craigcaffie 6, 650m to the SE. However, on approach the palisade would have been most visually striking from both the E and W sides, where the observer would have to look-up to the enclosure. When walking towards it from the N, one would have been at eye-level with the enclosure for a time before reaching the palisade.

As mentioned above, although each hillfort in the E of the Machars: Kirkland Hill, Baldoon Hill and North Balfern, had their own visual prominence, together (if contemporary) their visual character would have conveyed a much larger visual message, which would have been most visible from Wigtown Bay to the E. Here, like the brochs of Stairhaven and Ardwell Point, the intended audience were those who approached from the sea. Together the hillforts were a united symbol of power and/or community identity directed towards sea-faring travellers.

Although none of the hut-circles in the uplands of the Eastern Rhins were monumental in size or construction in themselves, as part of a larger group of hut-circles that stretched across the landscape they would have been important visual cues to the history and memory of past inhabitants. The visual and physical persistence of the stone constructions of the uplands -the hut-circles and the cairns- enabled a lasting expression of settlement to be created. This process of commemoration and development of a visually characteristic landscape (one that corresponds to the lives, activities and deaths of particular communities) can be similarly proposed for the homesteads on the W coast of the Machars.

Timber is less permanent than stone; yet for several generations it is probable that palisaded enclosures were lasting and prominent symbols in the landscape. And like the examples mentioned above, the groups of palisaded enclosures that were built

along the raised beaches between the uplands and the lowlands of the Eastern Rhins together would have expressed a particular message of commemoration or community. The differences in the morphology and material of each of the examples mentioned above may highlight differences in adaptation to specific environments or reflect the identity of different groups or activities over time and space. Yet these examples also reflect a common pattern in the way monuments were related and appreciated as daily activities were carried out and as people moved within their local areas. This pattern may represent a wider tradition that was adopted by various communities across Wigtownshire. In some cases, placing a homestead, roundhouse or a hut-circle within visual distance from another may have been the result of settlement shift, but also may have been an intentional symbolic act which established a connection between places, perhaps legitimating the presence of a particular group within the local landscape.

Places in prominent positions such as the Fell of Barhullion, Mochrum Fell, Cairn Pat, Tor of Craigoch or Knock Fell were probably landmarks for various communities and important points of reference for people as they moved through the landscape (see Tilley 1996). The visibility of prominent places in many respects contrasts with that of the more 'hidden' places, such as Carghidown and Cairnmon Fell, which would have only have been known of and appreciated by a small local community (guided there, or come upon it by chance). Visuality is integrated with movement and therefore the routes between places would have affected how each site was viewed. For instance, it is likely that concerns of safety crossing the mosses and wetlands surrounding many lochs, such as Barhapple and Dernalger, influenced how people encountered these places. High, dry ridges were convenient paths across the landscape and as people moved along these ridges they would have come across the remains of hut-circles. The stone built hut-circles, whether contemporary or not to the travellers, would have been visual symbols of a way of living; they would have represented particular social and/or functional identities. The ridges from Barhapple Loch curved around Knock Fell and this prominent enclosed hill would have been a dominant visual image that connected more distant communities. The character of the landscape and the places within it, such as at Knock Fell, were part of an *aide memoire* intended to control or influence the movement and experience of the landscape.

Views In and Out of Place

From the vantage point of Knock Fell movement of people in the surrounding area could be observed, which would have enhanced its role as a place of control and security. Visual advantages over routes and significant meeting places could also be

achieved from places such as Stairhaven broch. The broch overlooks the confluence of two important river systems that flow into Luce Bay. Luce Bay was probably a place where contacts for trade between different groups would have been made. This bay was of considerable significance over many millennia, as attested by the diverse collection of artefacts found in the dunes. Access to this bay and movement inland could have been observed from Stairhaven broch. Its architecture was also visible from Luce Bay, reinforcing this place as a symbol of power and identity.

Because of their coastal location, promontory forts are often assumed to be observation points. As Cavers (forthcoming) has suggested some of these 'forts', located on coastal escarpments were intentionally directed westwards toward the sea and thus visually and physically connected these places with more distant places and communities (i.e. Ireland, Isle of Man and Argyll). Yet not all promontory forts had the same function or relationship to the sea. Located within 600m from each other, Kenmuir Graves and Dove Cave Head are not intervisible but instead represent distinct expressions of place, each with different visual relationships to the surrounding seascapes and landscapes. Kenmuir Graves looks out to the open sea and the broch at Ardwell Point and may have been constructed as a monument to more distant places and people. Dove Cave Head, however, although has views out to sea it is nestled within a local bay and has a more direct relationship to the movement and access inland.

Both architectural and topographic features can affect the views from and into spaces in a variety of ways and can be manipulated to convey distinct meanings. The entrance of the enclosing palisade at Aird would have framed the central roundhouse, making this roundhouse the paramount focus of experience of this place, at least during one phase of its use. By contrast, the internal roundhouse at East Galdenoch was positioned just off-centre and not directly framed by any of the entrances. The focus of the experience of this place was not exclusively on the internal roundhouse, but equally on the whole enclosed space. Similarly the gateway at Rispain Camp guided the experiential relationship between the exterior and interior of the enclosure, however, none of the roundhouses were in direct alignment with this entrance. Therefore, like East Galdenoch, the focus was on the whole internal space, not one roundhouse in particular, thus emphasising the interconnected relationship of these roundhouses. The entrance of the internal roundhouse at Fox Plantation (Structure B) was not in direct alignment with the suggested avenue that led into the interior of the surrounding palisaded enclosure. This arrangement of architectural features created a

visual break between the external and internal spaces. The visuality of spaces as one was allowed to move within the architecture of place would have conveyed particular social relationships and attitudes to privacy or exclusivity, thus adding to the controlled experience of space. Everyday architecture could express similar cultural ideas as that of monuments and in some cases common architectural features from the domestic sphere may have been incorporated within places exclusively set aside for remembrance and ritual.

As mentioned previously, entrances were key points of transition and therefore the view from entrances may have been important for creating links to other places or in having a visual benefit. Unlike hut-circles noted elsewhere (Bender *et al.* 1997) many of the doorways of the hut-circles in Wigtownshire were not directed towards visually prominent natural features. There is a noticeable pattern in the uplands of the Eastern Rhins where the doorways were aligned in a general E-SE-S direction. These entrances were not directed towards other hut-circles in the vicinity, nor did they take advantage of extensive views. The direction of the entrances of these hut-circles likely reflects a social or ideological purpose. Similar patterns were observed at some of the lowland roundhouses in Wigtownshire. In some instances any potential views, both in and out of the interior was cut off by the arrangement of an architectural extension, such as baffle walls or timber screens. In such instances the symbolically loaded direction of the hut-circle or roundhouse entrance was ideologically separated from the external world highlighting an important statement or shift in the meaning of these places.

The visuality of places can be quite complex. At Mid Dinduff the banks and ditches would have hampered the views into the interior of this cliff edge fort from the N and E. Since the interior is fairly level, views outwards from the fort would have similarly been obstructed to the N and E. Yet from the S and SW views into and out of the interior would have been unhindered by high banks and therefore any activities that took place in the interior could have been easily observed from these directions. The visual relationship would have highlighted a particular connection between the fort and the river as well as the sloping ground opposite. As mentioned above in relation to the brochs of Wigtownshire, this example also highlights the importance of the direction in which monuments are observed and who the intended audience may have been. The potential visibility of the interior of Mid Dinduff and other promontory forts like Kemp's Graves or the enclosure at Kildrochat contrasts with the 'closed' visual experience of other enclosures which would have been completely surrounded by high banks, like

that at Barsolus 5, or in low-lying positions like Dalminnoch or Carghidown, or those concealed by palisades.

It also must be kept in mind that to see is not the same as being seen. The enclosed hut-circle at Cairnmon Fell abuts the side of overlooking craggy hillock, but itself is in a good visual position. This hut-circle has views to the sea and looks down on to another hillock and potentially the fields and land that was exploited by the people who inhabited this place. It is near to the edge of a steep cliff overlooking a sandy bay, which would have provided access to the sea, but is not close enough to be visible from the bay. Although this is a 'hidden' landscape, it has good views. This example demonstrates the complex balance of control that can be expressed through the placement of buildings within the landscape. Yet in all the cases mentioned above it is important to keep in mind that the vegetation of the later prehistoric period, which probably was much different than it is today, may have obstructed views and described alternative relationships between places and their landscape. Further studies on the palaeoevironment of Wigtownshire are required for future interpretations to be made.

7.3.3 Materiality

Material Meaning

The archaeological evidence in Wigtownshire demonstrates that a wide variety of materials were used to construct settlements, each requiring different skills, techniques, tools, access to resources and the need for repair. In many cases the materials used may have been procured locally and were an important reflection of the incorporation of the natural environment into the architecture of everyday houses or special monuments. In the uplands the stone from lands cleared for agriculture and/or pasture was built into the walls of the hut-circles and the cairns that surrounded these lands, defining areas of interconnected activities within the wider landscape (see Johnston 2000; Williams 2003). Similarly in the lowlands, timber cleared from the land on which roundhouses and palisaded enclosures were built, perhaps for agricultural purposes, may have been incorporated into their construction. In the various environments of Wigtownshire, architectural features were embedded within the practices of life, through the process of the agriculture and/or pastoral cycles, as well as other seasonal activities and, thus creating settlements.

Timber was likely a vital source of fuel and raw material used to create a range of artefacts and structures. In contrast to ditches and banks the timbers of palisaded

enclosures may have been intentionally chosen to visually and physically emphasise the internal roundhouses they enclosed, as seen at Aird. In other words, the palisade could have metaphorically represented an 'exploded' house. The construction of timber palisades employed some of the same skills and techniques used to create the roundhouse and therefore through the very practice of construction these features were connected. As suggested above, the palisade may have been a later addition, physically signalling a shift in the phase of the life-cycle of the roundhouse and its inhabitants. In the uplands clearance cairns that defined fields or areas of activity surrounding hut-circles may have been intentionally constructed to mimic the shape of larger and earlier burial cairns of the same environment. Like the palisades these features may have been created to legitimise the settlement and connect them to the 'ancestors' or a past landscape.

Stone orthostats may have been perceived and erected in a similar way. The *cheveux-de-frise* at Barhullion fort is an uncharacteristic feature for this area, and for southern Scotland in general. Although it may relate to a wider Atlantic tradition and often interpreted as being for defensive purposes and obstructing the approach to the fort, on another and perhaps equally important level the *cheveux-de-frise* at Barhullion could be a reference to the local standing stone tradition of Wigtownshire. There are groups of standing stones in the southern Machars and features like Drumtroddon and Blairbuy, which surround the Fell of Barhullion and would have influenced the people living there. Therefore the *cheveux-de-frise* associated with the fort of Barhullion may have had held important local meaning and have been a symbol of legitimacy. The fort was constructed on a prominent hill, imbued with layers of symbolism and meaning (evidenced in the numerous cup-and-ring-marked stones around its lower slopes) and therefore likely to be a place of symbolic power. Similarly, the incorporation of a cup-and-ring marked stone within the banks of the enclosure of Eggerness may reflect connections with a bygone or re-appropriated past that defined the landscapes of the Machars.

The materials used at different phases of a settlement's life and the changing character of the inhabitants may have been deeply intertwined. Certain materials may have been imbued with particular meanings. Stone capping on some crannogs and homesteads may have resonances with earlier burial cairns and highlight the 'death' of a dwelling place, which transformed these places of into monuments of commemoration. The character, size and shape of the materials and how they were combined at any site expressed certain messages. At Soleburn, for instance, compared with the less

substantial character of the timber used for the walls and the roof of the roundhouse, the large oak timber posts at the entrance would have emphasised the importance of this area as a transition point for the whole house. These posts may have been a later addition or represents a remodelling of the house, one that reflected the 'hardening' of the house in tandem with the aging of the inhabitants.

Materials like timber or turf may have been more commonly used construction materials, but since they are less permanent than stone or massive earthwork features these are more difficult to trace. Yet it is important to consider that the permanency of the materials used to build some of the structures may have been consciously chosen to symbolically reflect the temporality of the life of the inhabitants. Some examples show that there were deliberate attempts to destroy or 'forget' certain architectural features. The ditch at Carghidown promontory fort was only 'open' for a short-term before it was intentionally back-filled and visually obliterated from the landscape and therefore from memory. Again, this action may have physically marked the transition of this place into another phase of use. In some cases, like one of the roundhouses at Rispain Camp, it may be suggested that structures were intentionally burnt down or destroyed when the inhabitants died or left the settlement.

The effort of constructing ditches and transforming the physical and material character of a landscape was probably a communal process, which further stressed the connection of people to the landscape. The space taken up by the series of five banks and ditches at Kenmuir Graves in relation to its internal area of only 35m by 19m signals the importance of the process of creating this enclosure, which may have been just as important as the appearance and use of the 'finished' enclosure. In some cases, the construction of banks and ditches of promontory forts may have been an act of bonding a specific community, reinforcing ties to more distant places. This may also be true of the process of constructing 'exotic' (Cowley 2000) architecture of brochs and duns in Wigtownshire, which are more dominant in the Western Isles or Northern Scotland (also see Cavers forthcoming). Where were the skills needed for the construction of these unique features learned?

Deposited Materials

The symbolic character of individual materials, such as artefacts, can vary depending on their location of deposition. Like the oak timbers found at the entrance of Soleburn, deposits of Beaker pottery in the foundation of these posts in the Later Bronze Age further stressed the importance of the entrance as the intersection of numerous

metaphors for the cycle of life. This deposit included a combination of 'ancient' material and those artefacts central to the agricultural process: an ard and quern fragments. Like a similar deposit in an internal post-hole at Fox Plantation (Structure B) the practice may have also reflected the 'continuation' or legitimisation of settlement in a landscape that had been the focus of activity in early prehistory.

The use and arrangement of materials within the fabric of houses would have signalled particular beliefs or activities of the inhabitants from a wider perspective. The part timber post and part continuous slot construction of the roundhouses at Cruggleton Castle and Carghidown could reflect a specific construction phase or function of these places. At Carghidown, and perhaps elsewhere, different elements of the architecture such as floor deposits were used as metaphors concerning the cycle of life. Every successive phase of the floor at Carghidown became more substantial until the final phase where the large stone slabs of the previous floor were broken and re-used as packing, along with a saddle quern, to support large timber posts for a super-structure that was never finished (Toolis 2004). These floor deposits may represent specific phases relevant to the lives of the inhabitants and the use of the roundhouse (see Boivin 2000). Each of the different roundhouses in Wigtownshire may have been guided by similar traditions and ideologies, but expressed through different architectural features. It should be noted that preservation biases, particularly in reference to floor deposits, have limited how we can compare roundhouses constructed of different materials.

For some of the enclosed settlements such as Rispain Camp, the outer ditch may have been designed as a metaphor of transition, comparable on one level to the entrances of 'unenclosed' roundhouses already discussed. Within the ditch at Rispain Camp deposits of human skulls within the boundary ditch reinforces the meaning of this features as a liminal zone. Not only was crossing the ditch a horizontal transition between inner and outer spaces, but vertically the ditch may have also been a metaphor for the transition of life and death. The context of each deposit is important to their meaning. At Chippermore 1, after the internal hut (located to the NE of the homestead entrance) was abandoned a cairn concealing a burial was placed over it. This cairn both literally and symbolically combined the death of the inhabitants with the abandonment of the house. More excavations in Wigtownshire would likely reveal further complex spatial relationships between portable material culture and architectural features.

There are multiple possible interpretations for the deposition of the artefacts found in association with crannogs. The significance of the metalwork related to Dowalton Loch is bound by the practices of their deposition, similar practices that were repeated over several generations. It is often assumed that the value of artefacts is directly connected to the social status (or value) of the inhabitants of the crannogs (Hunter 1994; Cavers forthcoming), but what is this value? The deposition of metalwork, particularly of bowls or cauldrons like the Awhirk cauldron or the patera from Dowalton, may have had an alternative significance that was dependent on their shape or function rather than the perceived value of the material itself or the assumed status of the inhabitants of the crannogs. As mentioned, lochs could have been appreciated in the same way ditches were and therefore the focus of transition. The water surrounding the crannogs, however, represented a distinct reinterpretation of this metaphor.

In many cases, the association between the artefacts found in lochs and crannogs is uncertain. This is not to deny these crannogs and artefacts shared a common ritually potent position in the landscape. What is clear, however, is that the variety of material recovered from the lochs in Wigtownshire as well as the nature of construction of the crannogs in these lochs reflects the differential uses of these places over generations. The variety of organic material that had built up on Dorman's Island, either continually or over many seasons, highlighted a central agricultural or pastoral focus of this place. This contrasts with the evidence found on Rough Loch crannog. Rough Loch crannog (both the island and the superstructure) was constructed out of stone. The artefacts identified here, vitreous beads and a crucible fragment, suggests a specialised use of this place. Specialised activities, such as metalwork, may have been physically set apart from the rest of the settlement. The monumental character of these buildings may have reflected the social importance of these activities within the local community.

Natural Integration

The examples explored above highlight the variable ways people have engaged with and are influenced by their natural environment. People also transformed this environment in very deliberate and conscious ways. Different natural elements were manipulated and exploited as symbolic resources within the architecture of daily lives.

Rock outcrops were distinctly incorporated within some of the monuments of Wigtownshire. The interiors of the forts at Cairn Pat, Knock Fell, Tor of Craigoch, Bennan of Garvilland and Mare Rock 1 were dominated by outcropping bedrock. These outcrops were not convenient places for the establishment of permanent

settlement. Yet instead of dismissing these massive outcrops as unimportant, it may have been their very presence that led to the monumental enclosure of these places. The outcrops may have been important natural symbols, perhaps reflecting a particular resource. Furthermore, in many of the cases noted above the outcrops corresponded to high exposed positions in the landscape. These places, therefore, were natural vantage points from which to observe the surrounding land and/or sea. Activities within the local landscapes of Wigtownshire revolved around, and referenced, many of these prominent features. The large-scale enclosures constructed around these outcrops demonstrated control over these symbolically potent natural elements. The aesthetics of the enclosures, whether through the effort of creating rock cut ditches or constructing substantial stone walls, like timber palisades to roundhouses would have further referenced the outcrops they enclosed.

The resources provided by the natural environment were exploited in many ways throughout the lives of the people that inhabited Iron Age Wigtownshire. The materials used for the construction of settlements indicated particular connections and social relationships with the landscape. A close relationship is established between a structure and the source of its creation. Types of timber or stone used to build the houses and structures may have only been available from restricted locations, whether in Wigtownshire or elsewhere. Therefore not only could the shape and style of architecture reference specific -perhaps even distant- places, but so too could the materials that were used for the construction of these places. As mentioned previously, the shape of clearance cairns in the uplands of Wigtownshire may have imitated the earlier and larger burial cairns that dotted this landscape. Likewise, the stone used to build the clearance cairns may have been imbued with particular referential significance. It is likely that the stone used in these cairns derived from the surrounding lands. These lands were cleared for the cultivation of crops or maintenance of pasture around settlements. The stone of the cairns was also materially connected to the daily activities of each settlement, physically and visually evoking ideas of the processes of life, death and rebirth. Variations in settlement morphology in the uplands and elsewhere in Wigtownshire reflected specific adaptations to the local environment, highlighting their subtle differences as a result of ever-changing social practices and identities.

Rivers and other natural features were integrated into the experience of settlements in Wigtownshire. As discussed previously, the structured deposition of metalwork and other artefacts in some bogs, lochs and rivers were characteristic of Bronze and Iron

Ages ritualised practice and highlights the symbolic potency of these places in the landscape (Bradley 1990). From a general perspective of Wigtownshire, crannogs are not equally distributed amongst all the available lochs, but instead many (Dowalton, Whitefield and Barhapple) are located along the watershed of the Bladenoch. As opposed to the visually prominent watersheds of the Water of Luce and the Cree River the watershed of the Bladenoch was not clearly demarcated by topographic features such as deep valleys or high hills. Instead it may have been the construction crannogs along the Bladenoch watershed which signalled important points of water flow and movement, information that would have been very important for local agricultural and pastoral activities.

In cases such as the fort at Mid Dinduff, the roundhouses at Soleburn and at East Galdenoch and the palisaded enclosures at Tonnachrae, the course of a river defined the character and experience of these places. Rivers and river valleys may have, on one hand, separated places, but on the other hand they were also route ways that connected distant groups, enabling people to share their resource-base. Thus it could be suggested that places within the catchment of a river-system, regardless of their diverse morphological character, were linked together. Similarly, the deep ravines in the uplands of Wigtownshire may have been intentionally used to define the settlements of people of a shared social identity.

7.4 Interpreting Iron Age Settlement Landscapes of Wigtownshire

7.4.1 Chronology and Archaeological Discourse

It is important to stress that some of the features I have analysed do not date to the Iron Age. The roundhouses at Aird and Soleburn have been shown to be Later Bronze Age in date, and it is likely that many of the hut-circles and other features discussed are also pre-Iron Age constructions. Yet, because they share morphological traits assumed to be significant to traditional approaches in Iron Age studies, it was important to compare these features with other possible Iron Age structures. Through an exploration and comparison of the archaeological evidence it is clear that certain traditions, manifested in a variety of ways, continued from early prehistory into the Iron Age. Furthermore, as Barrett (1999a) has noted, Iron Age peoples were influenced by the temporally complex landscapes, containing the monuments of many previous generations, in which they engaged with. Different perceptions of the landscape over time would have been essential for the maintenance of identities of subsequent generations, as will be discussed in more detail below. The concept 'Iron Age' is

limiting, and does not adequately capture the multiple temporalities that co-existed at any given time.

There are, in some cases, discernible changes in the relationships of certain architecture features with the landscape over time. Barrows, such as Kirkmbreck, or enclosures, such as Dalminnoch, represent distinct ways in which the surrounding landscape was both visually and physically integrated within architecture. These examples may pre-date Iron Age, and therefore on one level, reflect chronological shifts in the attitudes to landscape and settlement. Changes in social and cultural attitudes continued to influence how people, architecture and landscape related, affecting the morphology of settlement throughout the later prehistoric period. Despite differences in morphology of *types* of archaeological monuments, it has been shown in some cases similar underlying ideologies or traditions may have influenced their construction and their relationship to the landscape. These traditions would have been re-negotiated and re-expressed by every generation. From the evidence highlighted in Chapter 6 and in the beginning of this chapter it is clear that time, practices and people are deeply enmeshed in the settlement of the landscape and this can only be appreciated from multiple scales and a variety of perspectives. Picking out specific themes and describing them in a linear text belies the complexity of their relationships. Yet the following discussion attempts to highlight key themes of settlement across the landscapes of Wigtownshire and ultimately to complete my critical review of traditional interpretations of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire.

7.4.2 Time

The interplay of multiple levels of temporality within settlement in Wigtownshire is apparent. The archaeological landscape is characterised by settlements in various phases of use and disuse. In many cases what we see today is a result of, and embedded in, temporally complex practices, ones that certainly reference notions of time different from the archaeologists who view them (see Lucas 2005). The appreciation of different co-existing notions of time was essential to the experience of place.

From the evidence it has been shown that the settlements of Wigtownshire were very much a part of the various cycles of human life, to those living in the settlement and to those in the surrounding landscapes. Individual houses and structures lived, died and were remembered. The character of the materials used and their arrangement within

the architecture of a house or building would have signalled different phases in its biography, phases that likely emulated those of the inhabitants of these places. As the head of a household, or the entire household, matured and aged so too would the house. The death of an inhabitant or the abandonment of a place would have been important transitions to be expressed through the changes in the architecture of the house. In some cases this meant the construction of a monument, some taking the form of an enclosure or a cairn, which would have closed-off or surrounded or transformed the living house into a place of commemoration. It can be suggested that this practice, visible in the various types of archaeology, was a widely held tradition and/or ideology, one that connected different groups and communities.

Important life phases were not only confined within the limits of the house. Life depended on resources and practices outside the house, such as agriculture or pastoralism, which were affected by the seasons. Seasonal cycles of labour were intertwined with day-to-day activities and both of these temporalities were embedded within the social organisation and experience of houses. In some instances the movement of the sun on a daily and/or seasonal basis influenced the orientation of the entrance of the house (see Parker Pearson 1999). This is especially notable of Later Bronze Age houses; yet for some communities this pattern likely continued into the Iron Age. While in a number of cases this sunwise orientation was maintained through the architecture of the houses themselves, in other cases additional architectural elements –features that represented the initial threshold between inner and outer spaces such as enclosures- appropriated this role. Translations of certain symbolic and practical functions from the house to enclosures or other architectural features may reflect changes in social organisation, but also demonstrates that some traditions were retained. Moreover, despite morphological differences which archaeologists would consider as significant, comparable traditions across monument types can be proposed.

Time-depth can also be apparent in the use of multiple boundaries to define sites. As people moved across the landscape they had to engage with past constructions. From a wider landscape perspective settlements and monuments of earlier generations probably influenced and dictated the placement and situation of new settlements. Similar to the example of individual buildings discussed above, the commemoration and memory of previous communities and ancestors in the wider landscape was also important. Movement was a key aspect of the settlement of Wigtownshire, whether this was seasonally, or for certain occasions, or over generations. These movements

meant that the experience of the particular landscapes and various monuments were influential at specific times in the year or during different phases of the lives of the Iron Age peoples. An appreciation of multiple temporal cycles that formed both personal and collective identities was essential to the physical creation of settlement in the Iron Age.

7.4.3 Practice

Iron Age houses and enclosures have often been assumed to have a primary 'domestic' function (see Chapter 2 and 5). Yet, as proposed above, the architecture of Iron Age structures in Wigtownshire and their position in the landscape would have had a range of meanings. Many of the places that were the setting for everyday activities also incorporated ritualised and ceremonial practices. Current archaeological typologies only emphasise the interpretation of singular phases or uses of the archaeological evidence and therefore cannot account for multiple uses of a feature or short and long-term processes of change. The physical, visual and material character of Iron Age settlements influenced and was influenced by daily activities, but these places were also the monuments and symbols of more omnipresent social practices, those that defined relationships and ideologies. Both the imitation of architectural traditions and the remodelling of these traditions in light of contemporary trends were vital to the personal and collective identities of the communities in Wigtownshire. Similarly the placement of structures in the landscape may have been an important unifying practice for disparate communities, separated by time and/or space. It is suggested that the physical, visual and material character of later prehistoric settlement was deeply influenced by the concept of life-cycles and it could be further suggested that this concept was instrumental to the structure of all later prehistoric social practices. It is important to consider that in the Iron Age that there was not a clear distinction between ritual and utilitarian architecture. Features of ritual foci may have had similar morphology to 'everyday' houses or settlement. The ritual significance of everyday practices, such as growing crops, tending animals, processing and cooking food, could have been appreciated in a variety of ways depending on the context of these activities.

The physical impracticalities of the landscape setting of some of the structures in Wigtownshire for the performance of many of the daily activities necessary for self-sufficiency has led to the suggestion that each of these structures were part of a much larger settlement system –one that is difficult to identify- or that these places did not

represent 'domestic' settlement at all. Not all the sites explored in this research were permanent dwelling places. Although certain architectural elements were morphologically similar to 'everyday' settlements, different places probably had unique roles in any given contemporary landscape. Some structures were inaccessible and intentionally separated from the routines of daily practices. However, whether by their architecture or their prominent location in the landscape, such as the broch Teroy and the fort Knock Fell, these features were visually striking and therefore influential to wider communities. These places were monuments and testaments to community identity. Considering the diverse activities that centred on these places, such as the process of their construction or the views appreciated from within their 'finished' interior, allows for multiple interpretations of a site to co-exist, portraying its complex biography. For instance, through the construction of banks and ditches bonds between local groups would have been formed, and yet in some cases extensive views were intentionally harnessed to facilitate that visual connections could be made to distant places and people. Together these diverse practices reinforced metaphors of liminality and transition, which was significant for creation and maintenance of personal and communal identities.

Awareness of the environment was important to Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire. Wigtownshire is characterised by a range of environments and the people in the Iron Age exploited these in varied ways. Natural features were important symbolic resources and in many instances the surrounding landscape was intentionally incorporated into Iron Age architecture. The archaeological evidence showed that people were knowledgeable about the natural materials available around them. The manner in which these materials were used suggested that specialised skills were required for house construction. Furthermore, the evidence also demonstrated that a diverse array of practices was carried out at different 'settlement' sites. Some people many have focussed on processes of agriculture or pastoralism, others a combination of agriculture and pastoralism, while still others focussed on craftwork and industries. Self-sufficiency of settlements may have been possible, but this was not the situation for all. It is proposed that in Iron Age Wigtownshire interactions between groups, for the trade and exchange of goods and services, was vital for the maintenance and renegotiation of social relationships in the wider landscape. This may have been particularly true for those communities in Wigtownshire that had a more flexible or mobile attitude to land tenure. Perhaps this is demonstrated through sharing ideas and skills to construct similar buildings and settlement units.

7.4.4 People

The Iron Age landscape was occupied by a variety of groups carrying out many different practices. Some communities were inter-related, sharing common ancestry and traditions. Yet through the activities of life people may have been part of more than one group and/or community at any given time. Some communities may have only come together to undertake specific activities (such as mining or seasonally dependent activities) or only during certain phases of their life (through processes such as 'marriage'). Nonetheless, within these various groups, and even on a personal level, identities were asserted through architecture. The movement of people in and around landscapes, evident in Iron Age Wigtownshire, both challenged and reinforced identities and may have been one mechanism in which underlying traditions were maintained over wide geographical areas throughout the Iron Age.

As mentioned, although settlements in Wigtownshire were, in some aspects, morphologically different, some shared similarities in their relationship to the natural environment. On the one hand, differences in morphology can be explained by particular adaptations to different environments by certain groups. On the other hand, other observable, more generalised similarities also demonstrated that these communities were part of a wider social group with shared traditions, linking people throughout Wigtownshire. A widely repeated architectural pattern in small-scale features such as the direction of entrance of hut-circles and some of the roundhouses demonstrate one way in which beliefs and social practices were reasserted. This sort of pattern may also help us to subvert the boundaries between archaeological categories such as these. Connections to the past, resonating through the architecture of settlement, were essential for the identity and legitimisation of social groups.

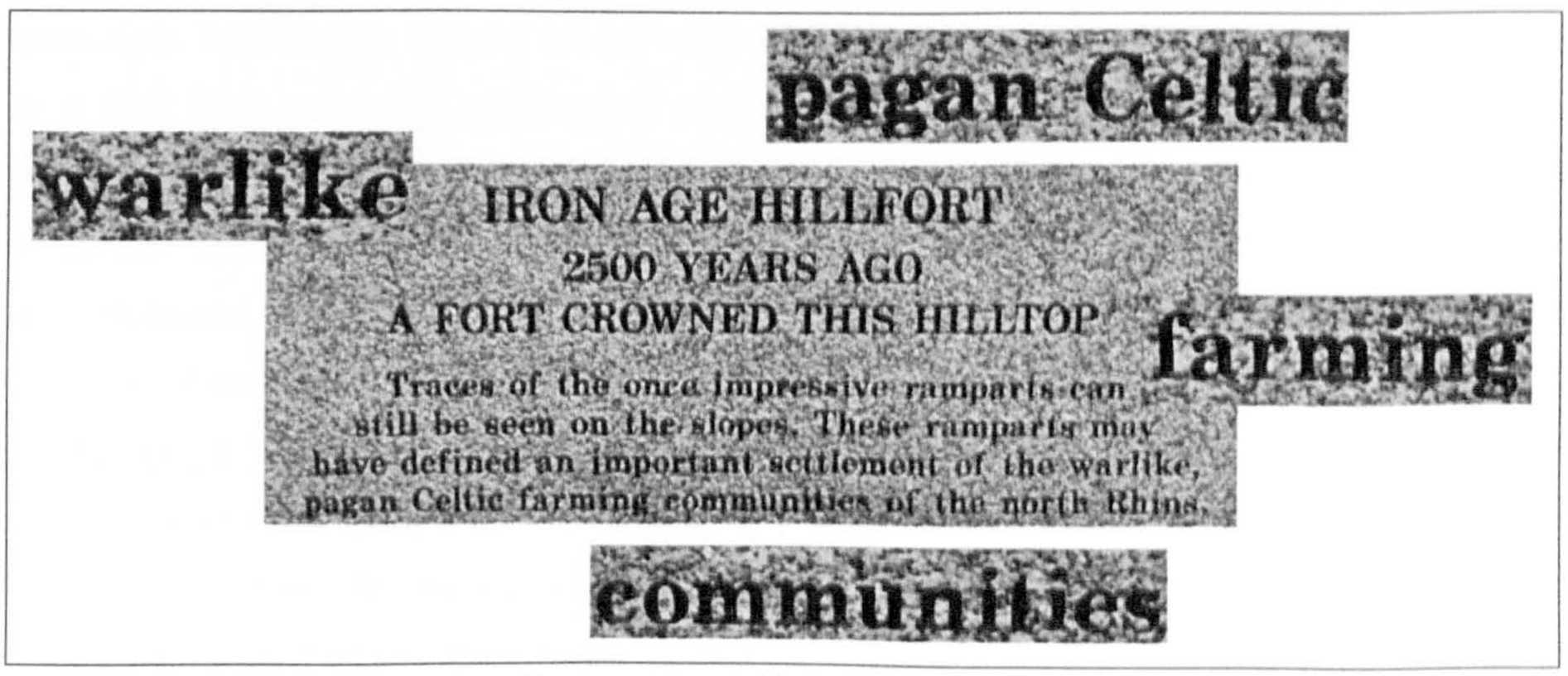
The architecture of settlement shaped experiences and expressed messages of social relationships over time. Some places were intentionally built to last and were used as a point of reference for the construction of new houses, legitimising the link between groups of people with specific landscapes, as the settlement focus shifted across space. Prominent places and visually striking architecture were focal points that literally and symbolically connected disparate groups, some of who would have been part of their creation. From the sea, any travellers into Wigtownshire would have encountered distinct substantial expressions of place, which conveyed messages of the (mixed) character of the habitants of this area in Scotland.

Although comparable to smaller individual houses, enclosures and substantial architecture reinforced identities on a larger scale. Access to houses and enclosed spaces at various levels was often controlled. Entrances represented key points of transition between social spaces, people, and landscapes. Enclosing a house or houses by banks, ditches, walls or palisaded created another level of transition to negotiate and other levels of social relationships between spaces and architecture. Similarly, natural features within the landscape were often manipulated in order to add another layer of meaning and level of transition to 'unenclosed' structures. Therefore in some cases 'unenclosed' features shared similarities with enclosed settlement; instead of human-made banks the natural landscape was used to define the boundaries of and control access to 'unenclosed' places. Power and the control of access at different levels were again about establishing and maintained relationships. In some instances in Wigtownshire access was particularly challenging. Even if the feature was visually prominent this 'difficulty' in its access highlighted the place's exclusivity and privilege of the few that knew how to or were allowed to access each of these places.

7.4.5 Evaluating Traditional Interpretations of Iron Age Wigtownshire

This study has shed light on how we interpret the 'Iron Age' of Wigtownshire, questioning some very basic assumptions. I will now consider where this leaves traditional interpretations of later prehistoric life. In many respects the archaeological evidence from Wigtownshire does not support one single narrative of Iron Age settlement. This is not to downplay the detail or potential of the archaeological record in Wigtownshire, but instead is intended to demonstrate the possibilities for archaeological interpretation, which could lead to a variety of narratives, depending on the questions that are asked and what scale the evidence is explored at. Therefore the results of this research do not discount traditional interpretations of Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire as a reflection of warfaring, hierarchically organised tribes. However, what it does highlight is that these interpretations rest on selective assumptions about the Iron Age and that by perpetuating these images, other equally viable, and in some respects more convincing, interpretations concerning settlements in Wigtownshire are neglected. Many of the traditional interpretations of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire rely on generalisations, but these generalisations do not reflect the specific archaeological evidence of this area.

Public interpretation notices and boards displayed at various types of archaeological sites in Wigtownshire, such as Rispain Camp, Barsalloch and Tor of Craigoch, reinforce the traditional stereotype of a singular Celtic Iron Age society. The information is designed to situate the specific site within popular notions of the Iron Age in Scotland and Britain in general. At the unexcavated fort at Tor of Craigoch a sign describes the fort as 'an important settlement of the warlike pagan Celtic farming communities' (Fig. 7.2). However, as shown in Chapter 6 the fort Tor of Craigoch was probably not a permanent settlement, if it could be defined as a 'settlement' at all; nor could it have had the same role as Rispain Camp, which is described on its information board in a similar way. The interior of the fort is characterised by large areas of outcropping stone that may have been a resource with significant connotations for the wider community and this importance was monumentalised both physically and visually through the construction of banks and ditches. The earthworks further defined access and affected how this place would have been appreciated and cannot simply be interpreted for defence. I do not deny that conflict was a part of the life of Iron Age people or that warfare did not take place. In fact, small-scale conflicts may have been important aspects of social organisation and the reassertion of collective identities. Yet I would suggest that conflict and small-scale warfare was part of life throughout prehistory and not a unique characteristic of the Iron Age (see Carman & Harding 1999). Moreover, the enclosing banks of an Iron Age feature cannot simply be equated with a defensive function; they were potentially imbued with a variety of meanings. It is essential to explore the assumptions that underlie the generalising discourse of Iron Age archaeology and consider how these assumptions affect the interpretation of the specific sites in Wigtownshire and any other area.



(Fig. 7.2: A collage based on the local tourist information board at Tor of Craigoch (author))

Social Hierarchy

In contrast to south-eastern areas of Scotland, there are few very large hillforts in Wigtownshire and therefore a lack of 'central' places. Traditionally, the social organisation of Wigtownshire has been interpreted, by some, as a confederation of septs (Scott 1976, 37; Wilson 2001, 76; Cavers forthcoming). However, as social organisations these septs or groups have not been clearly defined. Instead archaeological evidence such as enclosed settlements and substantial roundhouses are implied to be high status and prestigious settlements, the centres of smaller territories, as Cavers (forthcoming) suggests. Within Wigtownshire there are enclosed settlements and hillforts, such as Knock Fell, that were visible over extensive areas of Wigtownshire and may have connected dispersed communities. This place was not merely a settlement, but an expression of power and control. However, it cannot be simply implied that steep social hierarchies defined the communities in Wigtownshire. Recently there has been a growing dissatisfaction of the blanket interpretation throughout Iron Age Britain of steep hierarchical chiefdoms or warrior led elite dominating subservient groups (e.g. Cripps 2005; Hill 2005). Regardless of how we choose to describe social organisation, the evidence has shown that there are a wide variety of features in Wigtownshire and that even features within the same *type* can occupy diverse roles in the landscape. Additionally, the different environments that were exploited suggest that multiple social relationships co-existed and perhaps it can be suggested that complementary social organisations also existed.

The power of 'monumentality' has been discussed in relation to social organisation throughout prehistory (cf. Bradley 1993; Tilley 1994) and it too played an important role in the Iron Age landscape of Wigtownshire. Monuments can be both inclusive and exclusive, reaffirming bonds, social roles and memories. The traditional interpretation of a shift from separate ceremonial centres to the domestic realm in the Iron Age is misleading. Prominent enclosures and substantial architectural features were important symbolic foci. Yet the interpretation of alternative expressions of symbolic and ritualised practices in later prehistory may be complicated or underrepresented by the use of common, functional elements as metaphors to reassert beliefs and social relationships. As described above, in Wigtownshire various forms of architecture and the placement of settlement in landscape may have been used to convey similar metaphors of life. Ritualised practice was integrated within experience and movement. Individual settlements may have provided potent symbols of social identity and temporality, which was reinforced or counteracted as one 'processed' across the landscape, experiencing different places. The evidence of ritual and ceremony was

embedded within the multiple layers of Iron Age settlement, from landscapes of hut-circles and field-systems to enclosures to individual roundhouses. The experience of each place highlighted culturally organised structures of movement and symbols of transition, in its construction use, reuse and abandonment.

Celtic Wigtownshire?

Rarely has the term 'Celtic' been used in recent academic publications on the Iron Age of Wigtownshire. However, there are still occasional allusions to social organisations of 'Celtic' tribes and the transmission of materials from distant but cultural connected places. Metal objects with La Tène design in areas of Galloway, such as the Torrs chamfrein encourage the idea of far ranging relationships (see Harding 2002), but Celtic identities are difficult to interpret on the archaeological evidence alone. Archaeologists have tended to use differences in the form and pattern of settlement across southern Scotland to confirm the veracity of Ptolemy's map of the settlement of tribes and, therefore, suggest that those west of the River Nith were the Novantae, distinct from the tribes further W (Feachem 1965; Cowley 2000; Cavers forthcoming). In Wigtownshire there is evidence for numerous communities, with a multitude of identities; that all or any of these could be defined as the Novantae is questionable. The archaeological evidence from Wigtownshire suggests great variation in form, with morphological parallels from a variety of areas, such as Atlantic, Central and Eastern Scotland, northern England, Wales, and Ireland.

Different layers of identity were intertwined on the local level in complex ways. Tilley (2004, 217) points out that social identity is always experienced and enacted in local contexts. Material forms were sensuous metaphors of identity, instruments in which to think through and create connections. In the diverse and dynamic landscapes of Wigtownshire architecture did define different relationships and communities and there was likely to be a need to create places to revisit. The experiences evoked by the form, material and arrangement of different places reinforced similarities and differences, which setup social and personal identities. Referencing places through views or experiencing them along paths and routes while moving through landscapes also were used to again express belonging and also reinforce social identity – even in everyday activities.

7.5 Conclusions

The limitations of standard typologies, designed for very specific purposes of archaeological management, do not explore the full complexity of the archaeological evidence. Therefore features classified as hut-circles are all treated in the same way and, as a group, are contrasted with other 'types' such as enclosures. Differences between features within a type as well as similarities across types are overlooked. As shown there are a variety of ways to explore and describe the archaeological evidence, which are dependent on the questions asked and the observations taken. The approaches adopted here have considered the importance of experience, which has been undervalued in Iron Age studies in general, but particularly in reference to areas such as Wigtownshire, where there are few excavated sites. Comparing the physicality, visuality and materiality of a range of types of sites demonstrates different patterns in Iron Age settlement. These patterns highlight the limited applicability of traditional interpretations of the Iron Age to Wigtownshire. Thus demonstrating that there are alternative ways of thinking about later prehistoric settlement practices.

This study has shown that archaeological evidence, even in its unexcavated state, has the potential to be examined and interpreted in much more flexible ways. Moreover, this research provides a platform for further detailed programmes of investigations, specifically focussing on tackling and questioning the complexity of the archaeological record. The results from Wigtownshire cannot be simply or uncritically extrapolated to other areas. Although there are morphological similarities to and differences between traditional types of features in other areas of Scotland, England, Ireland or the Isle of Man, which potentially reflects close connections between these areas, there is a need to explore the specific details of the evidence in their own right, particularly in reference to the contextual situation of each feature.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1 Conclusions

8.1.1 The Issues

This thesis presents the outcome of my research, which was to explore how the Iron Age settlement evidence of Wigtownshire can be interpreted. The results have highlighted the complexity of the archaeological evidence in this geographical area and shown that there are multiple ways that Iron Age evidence can be interpreted, depending on the approach of the researcher and the questions asked. I have attempted to demonstrate the complex inter-relationship between different classification systems and that it is important to be aware of the alternative 'interpretations' that are often overlooked within the 'well-established' archaeological discourses.

Analysis of the history of archaeological interpretation within British Iron Age studies highlights the persistence of certain images and ideas of how people lived and interacted at that time. For instance, Hill (1989, 1993) has examined the problem of perpetuating assumptions gained from the use of medieval literature or the simple projection of modern perceptions of the meaning and definition of domestic settlement into prehistory. Existing interpretations of the Iron Age often project a romantic and contradictory image of an idyllic (yet warfaring) rural lifestyle among tribes that were ultimately unified by their 'Celtic' identity. Furthermore, because of the disparate archaeological discourses relating to different time periods, features thought to be from one period are made to fit within the specific ideal of that time period. Neolithic enclosures are often viewed as symbols of community, inclusion and unification; Iron Age enclosures are more often interpreted as places of exclusion and defence. Over ten years have passed since Hill's critique of Iron Age studies and still there has been little attempt to explore the impact that persistent and well-established images of the Iron Age have had on the way the archaeological evidence has been *classified*. This affects new research, which is often dependent on these classifications, and therefore still influences how we think about the Iron Age today.

The study area of this thesis, Wigtownshire, is representative of many areas throughout Britain where the Iron Age evidence has received little attention, one of the so-called 'black-holes' of the Iron Age (see Haselgrove *et al.* 2001). The interpretation of this landscape has been made to fit within the established ideas of the Iron Age as it is dependent on generalised classifications and narratives that are derived from other

areas. In many cases the traditional interpretations of the Iron Age are reliant on the information gleaned from a limited set of empirical observations, such as shape and size, taken from particular viewpoints, while ignoring other important characteristics such as the landscape setting and context of these features. The Iron Age in such areas is often written through analogy, not evidence. Recording one's contemporary experience of the archaeological evidence one can provide alternative interpretations that are specific to an area, while retaining elements of Iron Age discourse. A combination of wider ideas and locally derived interpretations seems the best way forward.

This thesis is not an attempt to discount traditional interpretations or discredit the significance of their contribution to archaeological studies. Instead it is proposed that by engaging with the complexity of the archaeological evidence and recording a wide range of observations (not just those adopted by, say, RCAHMS field-surveyors) we can present further, equally valid, interpretations of the past. Asking different questions of the archaeological evidence and approaching the archaeological material from a different viewpoint can lead to alternative interpretations, demonstrating that the well-established images of the Iron Age are not the only valid possibilities. The results of this thesis stress that a wider, more flexible, arena for debate and discussion of the archaeological evidence is possible.

8.1.2 Lessons Learned from Wigtownshire

Wigtownshire represented an ideal case study in which to investigate interpretations of Iron Age settlement. Few excavations have taken place in the area, but there has been abundant field survey, which has produced evidence of potential Iron Age settlement. This has meant that creative and flexible interpretations were possible. However, previous approaches to the study of settlement in this area still maintained a generalised image of defended individual farmsteads of kin groups of different status within a hierarchy of a warfaring tribe (or groups of tribes) identified as the Novantae (see Feachem 1965).

My re-evaluation of the archaeological evidence in Wigtownshire is part of the history of research in this area and my own engagement with this material is influenced and affected by the previous typologically-based approaches, often thought to be 'objective'. It was assumed that similarities and differences extracted by this approach reflected 'real' differences in the past. However, there are many alternative

perspectives of archaeological sites that have so far been ignored, thus offering the opportunity to develop alternative interpretations. By critically evaluating traditional reductionist classifications of the archaeological evidence in this area, and by recording how I engaged with these sites and their landscape, my interpretations of the Iron Age in Wigtownshire began to move in different directions.

The results of my approach (outlined in Chapters 1 and 6) demonstrated that the evidence could be compared on multiple levels within and outwith the confines of standardised classifications. On the one hand, site-types of very different morphology can share similarities in their general landscape context and their architecture can evoke very similar experiences. On the other hand, sites of similar superficial morphology may be situated within very different contexts in relation to the wider landscape setting. Therefore my more holistic exploration of the data from Wigtownshire has emphasised the intricacy of the archaeological record and reinforces the point that, as archaeologists, we are dealing with complex landscapes. Furthermore, the diversity of archaeological features across a landscape may represent snapshots of places at different stages of use, while the rules that govern each stage can be influenced by numerous variables.

There are many ways to breakdown the archaeological evidence of Iron Age settlement in Wigtownshire. For me, three themes emerged - physicality, visuality and materiality - that formed the basis of a 'classification of experience' of the material in this area. This classification is dependent on my experiential observations and presents an alternative to traditional classifications, offering a different way to compare the archaeological evidence, from which further interpretations of Iron Age settlement can be made.

The question this research posed was: how could the Iron Age in Wigtownshire be interpreted? Considering the complexity of the archaeological evidence, no single narrative could be proposed, but instead, a more general appreciation of the possible relationships between settlement, people and their activities over time was presented. The conclusions of this study do not specifically reject the traditional interpretations of the Iron Age. Yet for Wigtownshire it was shown that these interpretations are not necessarily the most convincing, and more importantly the results have stressed that there are alternative perspectives through which we can explore the way Iron Age people interacted with their environment and how they settled the landscape. Although there are shifts in the morphology of certain types of archaeological features, these

may still retain patterns of spatial organisation that are similar to earlier features. Often the identification and interpretation of the archaeological evidence is simplified, ignoring complex relationships such as the one between 'domestic' and 'ritualised' practices, which may be present in the Iron Age evidence in Wigtownshire. It should be stressed that different, sometimes competing, interpretations of the archaeological evidence can co-exist in modern archaeological discourse because each researcher will ask different questions of the archaeological evidence and approach it from his or her specific perspective. Ultimately, this study provides an avenue for proposing new questions of the archaeological material in Wigtownshire and from which more flexible and creative programmes of study of the Iron Age settlement evidence of Wigtownshire can be designed.

8.1.3 Re-defining Settlement

More general issues associated with the definition of settlement in archaeology also emerged through this research. 'Settlement' evidence has long been used to define the character of Iron Age archaeology (e.g. Ralston 1996; Armit 1997; Hingley 1998) and therefore an exploration of the definition of 'settlement' and how we identify it in the archaeological record was essential to this thesis.

'Settlement' has been defined and used in archaeology in numerous ways, popularised as an archaeological concept within the theoretical framework of New Archaeology. Yet, the archaeological view, advocated by the Processualists, that there is a simple cause and effect relationship between human behaviour and the architecture of settlement, has been shown to be too simplistic (c.f. Tringham 1991, 1994; Richards & Parker Pearson 1994; Brück & Goodman 1999; Gerritsen 2003). Recent anthropological research has demonstrated the multifaceted and reciprocal relationships between people, architecture and settlement in the wider landscape (c.f. Seamon 1993; Benjamin & Stea 1995; Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995; Canuto & Yaeger 2000). Houses and settlements are imbued with social metaphors and are integral to the identities of communities. In some instances, the very structure of the house and its spatial organisation can reflect social organisations and therefore change in tandem with culturally recognised cycles of life and activities.

These examples have shown that houses are not simply places designed for everyday living, but are expressions of ritualised practices. The dichotomy between domestic and ritual cannot be assumed (see Bradley 2005). How we interpret and identify 'ritual'

and 'domestic' in the archaeological evidence is dependent on our assumptions about how these complex processes manifest themselves materially (see Brück 1999a, 1999c; Hill 1995). Because the archaeological evidence of the Iron Age is characterised by 'settlement', it is this that is often presented, rather than the ritualised, ceremonial monuments of earlier prehistory. The ritualised elements of 'settlement' architecture and practice are, by and large, marginalised and explained as the result of secondary processes in favour of primary practical functions.

Recent shifts in archaeological theory have highlighted the role of landscape and place in archaeology (see Barrett *et al* 1991; Bender 1992; Bradley 1993; Küchler 1993; Tilley 1994; Ashmore & Knapp 1999; Thomas 2001). These notions have similarly stressed the complexity of the landscape and the reciprocal relationship between people and the landscapes they inhabit. People influence landscapes, just as landscapes influence people. Furthermore, landscape perspectives have emphasised the importance of considering this dynamic relationship between peoples and places (see Ingold 1993; Barrett 1999b). The archaeological evidence of 'settlement' is not passive but is dynamically integrated in the process of 'dwelling' or 'inhabitation'. The concept of 'place' has been a way for archaeologists to shed the baggage laden on specific types of archaeological evidence, such as settlement, by previous theoretical approaches.

Although there is a desire to re-invigorate 'settlement archaeology' (Brück & Goodman 1999a), I would argue that more needs to be done to raise the awareness of the stereotypes still associated with the term 'settlement'. However, 'place' cannot simply be used as an alternative, as it too has its own interpretative associations. No matter which terms are used to define the archaeological evidence, be it 'settlement' or 'place', the issue raised by this thesis shows that greater emphasis should be placed on engaging with the complex and dynamic relationship between people and architecture in prehistory through the practice of archaeology, which involves being aware of how we interpret the archaeological evidence. This realisation of the potential complexity and social meaning of settlement architecture is significant to the critical reassessment of traditional perspectives of Iron Age settlement.

8.1.4 The Role of Classification in the Interpretive Process

This thesis has emphasised that archaeological classification is an essential element to a wider interpretative process. Classification allows for the organisation and

comparison of a variety of archaeological materials and this can be done in a variety of ways. Although any given classification is finite and fixed, ultimately it is a flexible process, which is dependent on the questions asked of the archaeological evidence. Yet, in archaeology the repeated and uncritical use of specific *typologies* has restricted the way classification is applied in archaeology.

Archaeological monument typologies used in traditional descriptions of Iron Age settlement were designed to collate, manage and accommodate the archaeological evidence from a wide perspective, and are often uncritically assumed to be the best way to describe the evidence. In other words, similarities between sites identified within a type, such as 'fort', are more significant than differences. The repeated use of these types, often based on superficial morphological criteria, has been shown to ignore important relationships, such as the landscape setting, which may produce equally insightful comparisons to inform further interpretations of the past (see Gosden & Lock forthcoming). Observations based on the experiences of the landscape has been criticised for its subjectivity (e.g. Fleming 1999), but other classifications are also subjective. In many cases, consistency in the measurement of observations associated with traditional types is confused with objectivity. The selection of attributes to be observed and the method of recording these observations in any classification or typology are inherently subjective, as it is an interpretive process.

Ironically, the changing nature of the identification of archaeological evidence and research agendas of common 'types' used in Iron Age studies and for the archaeology in Wigtownshire such as 'forts' and 'enclosures', is often used in various ways and therefore their meanings are confused and ambiguous, the result of an amalgamation of various classifications. Nonetheless, these traditional types ignore the context of the evidence and therefore the potential dynamic between people and place is lost. In this thesis, human experience of the archaeological evidence in a landscape setting was emphasised as the main criteria when comparing different archaeological features. By recording my various sensory experiences as I moved through the landscape I was able to consider how architecture and the spaces created by this architecture were used within the wider landscape. By this approach I could compare morphologically similar and different features within their context and question traditional assumptions about the relationships between archaeological monuments. In this thesis traditional typologies are appreciated for their usefulness from a general archaeological management perspective, but also it was important to subvert these limited classifications and relate the evidence through my own methods and observations.

The validity and subjectivity of recording contemporary experiences has been questioned (see Brück 2005). However, the validity of any process is dependent on its goal. In this thesis the recording of my experiences was designed to offer an alternative insight into the complexity of the relationships between places (as the study of anthropology offers insights into the variability and complexity of contemporary human societies). Yet, I do not suggest that these experiences can simply be interpreted as being the same as that of prehistoric people. I treated my experiential observations as additional information to be used to explore the vast possibilities of the way space, monuments, and people inter-relate. It is true that every person experiences the landscape differently and therefore the application of this approach will provide continually changing questions and perceptions into places and landscapes. However experiences will always be limited by the social context of the 'experiencer', and the physicality of the thing being experienced, both of which are to some extent grounded, finite contexts for interpretations.

In fact it is precisely because we are always socially embedded (Thomas 2004, 216-7), that *any* observations we make are subjective at some level, whether expressed through well-established typologies or through other approaches. It is therefore important to be reflexive of this process and to be aware of how we as modern archaeologists interact with and interpret the complex archaeological record. Whether it is recording our sensory experiences with a monument or measuring its dimensions, we should take responsibility for how we describe the archaeological evidence, which then informs our interpretations. Our perceptions are always part of the interpretive process and therefore whether defining the past through measured two-dimensional drawings or through experiences in the landscape, these are both parts of the process of interpretation. Interpretation is always ongoing and ever changing. Our experiences and expectations influence the initial choice of methods for approaching the archaeological data and how we interpret the archaeological data through description and classification. These initial interpretations are fed back into the interpretive process. From these further interpretations are made and these continue to influence new research projects. This can be described as a hermeneutic spiral (Hodder 1999).

8.1.5 Further Interpretations?

This thesis provides a stepping-stone from which further research programmes on various themes and at different scales can be developed. Specifically targeted

programmes of excavation, designed to investigate the potentially complex relationships between the various archaeological sites in Wigtownshire would add significant depth to the archaeological record in this area. For instance, future projects could be designed to relate morphological distinct places with their landscapes and to consider how the archaeological evidence affects experience on multiple levels.

It would also be important to explore the landscape settings and the relationships between monuments beyond Wigtownshire. It is not proposed that my results can be translated directly to other areas, but that similar fieldwork methodologies, which explore the specific landscape setting in other areas, may shed light on how we view features classified by the same 'types' in Wigtownshire and beyond. Wigtownshire was chosen as a neatly defined research area, but on morphological grounds alone it is clear that there are potential relationships that need to be explored with more distant places, such as from a wider Atlantic or Irish Sea perspective (Cavers forthcoming). Also other programs of research may choose to examine and compare the context of similar Iron Age morphological features across Scotland, such as the circular palisaded enclosures, which are noticeably similar in Fife, Angus, Stirlingshire and Angus.

As shown in this thesis, the results of different scales of research affect and feed into each other, the results of small-scale excavations can lead to the proposal of wider patterns and vice versa. It is important to be aware of this dynamic relationship and, as a consequence, that we need to constantly re-evaluate the generalised ideas of prehistory, ideas which have largely been uncritically accepted. Through the examination of site-specific experiences these issues can be tackled and, ultimately, can inform further questions (see Tringham 1994).

The 'settlement' evidence of the Iron Age is multi-layered and was integrated with the various aspects of the lives of Iron Age communities. Therefore it is important to explore the many avenues of interpretation. Moreover, it is important to recognise that the 'Iron Age' cannot simply be extracted from the wider landscape. Earlier features and practices influenced what happened in the Iron Age and it is certain that some traditions continued into 'Iron Age'. Places and ideas were appropriated, transformed or renegotiated over time. Even over the many hundreds of years that define the 'Iron Age' or the later prehistoric period, certain ideas were manipulated and expressed through variable adaptations to architectural elements and *types* of sites such as the classic roundhouse. In these cases contextual information can add another interpretive layer.

There are vast numbers of sites identified through a range of archaeological survey techniques throughout Britain, but like Wigtownshire, this information has only been appreciated through their standardised classification labels. These sites can be defined by more than superficial morphological characteristics, specifically through their situation in the landscape. How each site may affect human experience is also a very important characteristic to record. Combining and contrasting different types of methodologies can offer more flexible interpretations of the past. Furthermore, by asking different questions of the archaeological evidence and recording alternative observations encourages a more creative archaeological dialogue.

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Appendix 1: List of Sites in the Database

Name	Revised Type	Grid Reference	NMRS #	AP Crop-mark
Aird	enclosure: palisaded; round-house	NX 0975 6005	NX06SE26	Yes
Aird Cottage	barrow: square (possible)	NX 088 607	NX06SE93	No
Airyhemming	enclosure (possible) (stone) (nv)	NX 17 59	NX15NE6	No
Airyhemming	hut-circle	NX 1660 5902	NX15NE55	No
Airyolland 14	homestead	NX 3078 4775	NX34NW14	No
Airyolland 16	homestead (possible)	NX 3119 4792	NX34NW16	No
Airyolland	homestead (possible) (nv)	NX 308 475	NX34NW34	No
Annat Hill	enclosure (stone)	NX 3849 4646	NX34NE9	No
Ardrie Burn	post-holes (possible)	NW 970 692	NW96NE35	No
Ardwell	linear cropmark	NX 107 457	NX14NW23	Yes
Ardwell Mill	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 0988 4832	NX04NE28	Yes
Ardwell Mill	enclosure: palisaded	NX 0982 4861	NX04NE29	Yes
Artfield Fell	hut-circle	NX 2263 6702	NX26NW20	No
Auchie Glen	enclosure (possible)	NX 132 329	NX13SW57	Yes
Auchinveen	field-system	NX 1245 6589	NX16NW58	No
Auchinveen	hut-circle	NX 1284 6651	NX16NW57	No
Auchinveen	hut-circle	NX 1285 6684	NX16NW56	No
Auchmantle	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1396 6397	NX16SW68	No
Auchneel	field-system	NX 043 602	NX06SW28	No
Auchneel	pits; post-holes	NX 046 602	NX06SW29	No
Awhirk	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 049 533	NX05SW9	No
Awies	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1084 6961	NX16NW66a	No
Awies	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1105 6958	NX16NW65	No
Awies	hut-circle (possible)	NX 1100 6924	NX16NW67	No
Awies	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1084 6975	NX16NW66b	No
Back Bay	fort: promontory	NX 3696 3932	NX33NE2	No
Back Of The Wall	enclosure (possible) ; linear cropmarks	NX 185 584	NX15NE77	Yes
Baldoon Hill	fort ; round-houses (possible)	NX 423 532	NX45SW37	Yes
Balgown	homestead	NW 9999 6941	NW96NE30	No
Balker Moor	hut-circle	NX 1248 6360	NX16SW90	No
Ballochalee Bridge	enclosure; linear cropmarks	NX 0921 5060	NX05SE22	Yes
Ballochalee Bridge	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 0914 5071	NX05SE23	Yes
Balmurrie	hut-circle	NX 2162 6788	NX26NW30	No
Balmurrie 1	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 2084 6726	NX26NW37.02	No
Balmurrie	field-system (stone)	NX 208 673	NX26NW37.03	No
Balmurrie	hut-circle	NX 2079 6725	NX26NW37.01	No
Balmurrie	hut-circle	NX 2142 6739	NX26NW29	No
Balmurrie Fell	field-system	NX 214 662	NX26NW43	No
Balmurrie Fell	hut-circle	NX 2121 6760	NX26NW5.02	No
Balmurrie Fell	hut-circle	NX 2123 6763	NX26NW5.01	No
Balnab	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 1251 6070	NX16SW23c	Yes
Balnab	ring-ditch; linear cropmarks (possible)	NX 1295 6016	NX16SW21b	Yes
Balnab	enclosure	NX 1284 6028	NX16SW22b	Yes
Balnab	enclosure	NX 1282 6031	NX16SW22c	Yes

Name	Revised Type	Grid Reference	NMRS #	AP Crop-mark
Balnab	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 1251 6070	NX16SW23b	Yes
Balnab	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 1251 6070	NX16SW23d	Yes
Balnab	ring-ditch; linear cropmarks [barrow (possible)]	NX 1295 6016	NX16SW21a	Yes
Balnab	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 1251 6070	NX16SW23a	Yes
Balnab	enclosure	NX 1290 6022	NX16SW22a	Yes
Bareagle Nursery	linear cropmarks	NX 141 574	NX15NW64	Yes
Bareagle Wood	enclosure (possible) (stone)	NX 1534 5974	NX15NE94	No
Barhapple Loch	crannog	NX 2595 5915	NX25NE2	No
Barlockhart Loch	crannog	NX 2047 5631	NX25NW7	No
Barlure	enclosure (stone)	NX 1720 6719	NX16NE80	No
Barnbarroch Park	enclosure	NX 4028 5100	NX45SW30	Yes
Barncorkrie Moor 9	hut-circle	NX 0932 3623	NX03NE4d	No
Barncorkrie Moor 10	hut-circle	NX 0923 3622	NX03NE4b	No
Barncorkrie Moor 11	hut-circle	NX 0925 3623	NX03NE4a	No
Barncorkrie Moor	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 0922 3625	NX03NE4c	No
Barnkirk Hill	fort	NX 3942 6640	NX36NE5	Yes
Barnsallie	crannog (nv)	NX 225 551	NX25NW28	No
Barnsallie Fell	hut-circle (possible) (nv); field-system	NX 233 554	NX25NW31	No
Barnsallie Fell	field-system (stone)	NX 230 555	NX25NW13	No
Barnshangan	enclosure (stone)	NX 1889 6569	NX16NE27	No
Barrack Knowe, High Clachanmore	homestead (possible)	NX 0890 4643	NX04NE8	No
Barsalloch	fort: promontory	NX 3472 4121	NX34SW1	No
Barsolus 1	enclosure: palisaded	NX 1058 5644	NX15NW19.01	Yes
Barsolus 2	enclosure	NX 1054 5643	NX15NW19.02	Yes
Barsolus 3	enclosure: palisaded	NX 1037 5717	NX15NW86	Yes
Barsolus 4	enclosure: palisaded; cropmarks	NX 1048 5715	NX15NW87	Yes
Barsolus 5	enclosure; linear cropmarks	NX 1070 5652	NX15NW41	Yes
Barsolus 6	enclosure	NX 1053 5695	NX15NW88	Yes
Beach Cottage	linear cropmarks; field-system	NX 0854 6238	NX06SE104	Yes
Bennan Of Garvilland	fort (stone)	NX 215 627	NX26SW3	No
Beoch 1	enclosure	NX 0864 6620	NX06NE67	Yes
Beoch 2	enclosure (possible)	NX 0845 6562	NX06NE68	Yes
Beoch 3	enclosure: palisaded; round-house; pit-circle (possible); cropmarks	NX 079 656	NX06NE65	Yes
Beoch	enclosure: palisaded	NX 079 657	NX06NE64	Yes
Beoch	enclosure: palisaded	NX 0824 6552	NX06NE61	Yes
Beoch	enclosure: palisaded	NX 0816 6520	NX06NE71	Yes
Beoch Burn	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 1098 6694	NX16NW62a	No
Beoch Burn	hut-circle	NX 1045 6694	NX16NW63	No
Beoch Burn	hut-circle	NX 1098 6694	NX16NW62	No
Beoch Burn	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1112 6777	NX16NW16.01	No
Big Plantation	linear cropmarks	NX 080 598	NX05NE44	Yes
Black Loch E	crannog (possible)	NX 30 54	NX35SW23	No
Black Loch W	crannog; causeway	NX 001 635	NX06SW16	No

Name	Revised Type	Grid Reference	NMRS #	AP Crop-mark
Black Loch of Myrton	crannog (nv)	NX 3612 4280	NX34SE9	No
Black Loch, Castle Kennedy	crannog	NX 1139 6118	NX16SW7	No
Braid Hill	post-holes (possible)	NX 258 598	NX25NE12	No
Bramble Island, Lochnaw Loch	crannog	NW 9950 6323	NW96SE23	No
Brockloch Hill	hut-circle (possible) (nv)	NX 216 696	NX26NW8	No
Buckie Hill	enclosure	NX 478 417	NX44SE11	Yes
Bught Fell	enclosure (stone) (field-system)	NX 2103 6203	NX26SW15b	No
Bught Fell	enclosure (stone) (field-system)	NX 2103 6203	NX26SW15a	No
Bught Fell	hut-circle	NX 2110 6160	NX26SW13	No
Burrow Head	fort: promontory	NX 4559 3412	NX43SE3	No
Burrow Head	earthwork (historic)	NX 4591 3419	NX43SE2	No
Burrow Head	fort: promontory	NX 4553 3415	NX43SE1	No
Cairn Connell Hill 1	enclosure	NX 0250 6798	NX06NW42a	Yes
Cairn Connell Hill 2	enclosure; round-houses	NX 0249 6790	NX06NW41a	Yes
Cairn Connell Hill 3	round-house	NX 0254 6795	NX06NW43a	Yes
Cairn Connell Hill	round-house	NX 0254 6795	NX06NW43b	Yes
Cairn Connell Hill	round-house	NX 0250 6798	NX06NW42b	Yes
Cairn Connell Hill	round-house	NX 0249 6790	NX06NW41c	Yes
Cairn Connell Hill	round-house	NX 0249 6790	NX06NW41b	Yes
Cairn Connell Hill	souterrain (possible)	NX 0254 6795	NX06NW43c	Yes
Cairn Pat	fort (stone)	NX 0442 5632	NX05NW1	No
Cairndoon 1	homestead	NX 3743 3938	NX33NE5	No
Cairndoon 2	homestead	NX 3797 3878	NX33NE8	No
Cairnerzean	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1390 6663	NX16NW12	No
Cairnerzean	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1396 6746	NX16NW70a	No
Cairnerzean	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1396 6746	NX16NW70b	No
Cairnerzean	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 1396 6746	NX16NW70c	No
Cairnerzean	hut-circle (possible)	NX 1318 6717	NX16NW75	No
Cairnerzean	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1416 6638	NX16NW77	No
Cairnerzean Fell 1	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1391 6771	NX16NW72	No
Cairnerzean Fell 2	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1330 6690	NX16NW74	No
Cairnerzean Fell 3	hut-circle (enclosed); field-system	NX 1408 6686	NX16NW8	No
Cairnerzean Fell	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 1408 6686	NX16NW8a	No
Cairnerzean, Auchinveen	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1200 6751	NX16NW81	No
Cairngarroch	enclosure	NX 1437 3580	NX13NW25	Yes
Cairnhead Mote	fort: promontory	NX 4861 3825	NX43NE4	No
Cairnmon Fell 1	hut-circle (enclosed)	NX 0482 4883	NX04NW1d	No
Cairnmon Fell 2	hut-circle	NX 0474 4865	NX04NW1a	No
Cairnmon Fell 3	hut-circle (enclosed) ; field-system	NX 0514 4862	NX04NE41b	No
Cairnmon Fell	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 0514 4862	NX04NE41a	No
Cairnmon Fell	enclosure* (stone) (h)	NX 0482 4882	NX04NW1b	No
Cairnmon Fell	field-system (stone)	NX 049 488	NX04NW1c	No
Camrie	hut-circle	NX 1950 6090	NX16SE32	No
Camrie Fell	enclosure (stone)	NX 1920 6066	NX16SE93	No
Cardryne	enclosure (possible)	NX 1137 3173	NX13SW47	No
Carghidown	fort: promontory	NX 4356 3507	NX43NW8a	No
Carghidown 1	round-house	NX 4356 3507	NX43NW8b	No

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Carghidown 2	round-house	NX 4356 3507	NX43NW8c	No
Carleton	homestead	NX 3912 3762	NX33NE7	No
Carrickcamrie	fort: promontory	NX 1298 3109	NX13SW12	No
Carscreugh Fell	hut-circle; field-system	NX 2305 6150	NX26SW5	No
Caspin	fort: promontory	NX 0052 7325	NX07SW2	No
Castle Feather	fort: promontory	NX 4482 3423	NX43SW1	No
Castle Loch	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 2800 5300	NX25SE18	No
Castle Loch, Mochrum	crannog (possible)	NX 2928 5410	NX25SE 7	No
Cauld Hame Loch	enclosure: palisaded	NX 087 427	NX04SE25	Yes
Changue	homestead	NX 2992 4809	NX24NE12	No
Challoch	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 3856 6761	NX36NE19	Yes
Challoch	barrow; long cist cemetery	NX 020 633	NX06SW26a	Yes
Challoch	barrow; long cist cemetery	NX 020 633	NX06SW26	Yes
Challoch	enclosure; cropmarks	NX 020 632	NX06SW25	Yes
Challoch	barrow; long cist cemetery	NX 020 633	NX06SW26b	Yes
Challoch, Leswalt	enclosure (possible)	NX 0237 6397	NX06SW6	Yes
Chapel Rossan	enclosure	NX 1047 4515	NX14NW6	Yes
Chippermore 1	homestead	NX 2966 4831	NX24NE11	No
Chippermore 2	homestead	NX 2948 4834	NX24NE10	Yes
Chippermore 3	homestead	NX 2909 4826	NX24NE9	No
Chippermore 4	homestead	NX 2839 4858	NX24NE3	No
Chippermore Heugh	homestead (possible) (nv)	NX 2880 4817	NX24NE5	No
Chlenry	motte	NX 1280 6192	NX16SW94	No
Chlenry	hut-circle	NX 1357 6084	NX16SW49	No
Chlenry Cottages	enclosure; round-house (possible)	NX 1227 6089	NX16SW80	Yes
Clanghie Bay	fort: promontory	NX 0875 4156	NX04SE19	No
Clanghie Point	fort: promontory	NX 0855 4158	NX04SE20	No
Clasherne	hut-circle	NX 2017 6199	NX26SW7	No
Clayshant	settlement (ep)	NX 110 526	NX15SW12	Yes
Coburn Burn	hut-circle	NX 1396 6296	NX16SW97	No
Coigny Clump	enclosure	NX 105 627	NX16SW87	Yes
Colfin	hut-circles (possible)	NX 05 55	NX05NE23	No
Core Hill	fort	NX 1243 3686	NX13NW6.00	No
Corwall	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 2875 4908	NX24NE13	No
Corwall	homestead	NX 2908 4943	NX24NE7	No
Corwall	hut-circle	NX 2937 4955	NX24NE8	No
Corwall to Airyolland	homestead (possible) (nv)	NX 288 493	NX24NE15	No
Court Hill, High Skeog	enclosure (stone)	NX 4543 3978	NX43NE11	No
Craig	hut-circle (nv); field-system	NX 168 610	NX16SE44	No
Craigbirnoch	hut-circle; field-system	NX 179 696	NX16NE94	No
Craigbirnoch	enclosure (stone)	NX 1694 6908	NX16NE92	No
Craigcaffie	enclosure (possible)	NX 0925 6437	NX06SE100a	Yes
Craigcaffie	enclosure (possible)	NX 0925 6437	NX06SE100b	Yes
Craigcaffie	enclosure (possible)	NX 0925 6437	NX06SE100c	Yes
Craigcaffie	enclosure	NX 0894 6395	NX06SE27	Yes
Craigcaffie 1	enclosure: palisaded; round-house (possible)	NX 086 639	NX06SE89	Yes
Craigcaffie 2	enclosure: palisaded	NX 093 639	NX06SE92a	Yes

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Craigcaffie 3	round-house	NX 093 639	NX06SE92d	Yes
Craigcaffie 4	round-house	NX 093 639	NX06SE92b	Yes
Craigcaffie 5	round-house	NX 093 639	NX06SE92c	Yes
Craigcaffie 6	enclosure	NX 093 640	NX06SE91	Yes
Craigcaffie	linear cropmarks (modern field boundary), linear cropmarks (possible)	NX 086 640	NX06SE88	Yes
Craigencrosh	hut-circle; field-system	NX 2104 6645	NX26NW23	No
Craigengale	field-system (possible)	NX 1501 6622	NX16NE81	No
Craigenholly	souterrain (possible)	NX 1870 5886	NX15NE74b	Yes
Craigenholly	round-house (possible)	NX 1870 5886	NX15NE74a	Yes
Craigenveoch Fell	hut-circles (possible) (nv)	NX 2408 5660	NX25NW15	No
Craigfell	hut-circle (nv)	NX 171 615	NX16SE39	No
Craignarget Hill	hut-circles (possible) (nv)	NX 26 52	NX25SE30	No
Craigoch, High Milton	dun (possible), tower-house	NX 0121 6682	NX06NW 5	No
Crailloch Mote	enclosure	NX 3268 5261	NX35SW9b	No
Crammag Head	dun	NX 0891 3404	NX03SE1	No
Creachmore	barrow (possible)	NX 033 633	NX06SW27	Yes
Crouse	enclosure	NX 3685 5570	NX35NE7	No
Cruggleton Castle	fort: promontory; roundhouse	NX 4842 4281	NX44SE4	No
Cruise Back Fell	fort (possible) (stone)	NX 1794 6219	NX16SE6	No
Cruise Back Fell	enclosure	NX 1794 6219	NX16SE6b	No
Cruise Back Fell	enclosure	NX 1794 6219	NX16SE6a	No
Culgrange 1	enclosure; linear cropmarks; cropmarks	NX 0780 5707	NX05NE8	Yes
Culgrange	enclosure; round-house (possible)	NX 0847 5656	NX05NE6	Yes
Culgrange	enclosure	NX 0851 5655	NX05NE27	Yes
Cullurpattie	enclosure (possible)	NX 107 625	NX16SW86b	Yes
Cullurpattie	linear cropmarks	NX 107 625	NX16SW86a	Yes
Cullurpattie	enclosure	NX 107 625	NX16SW85	Yes
Cults	enclosure: palisaded; cropmarks	NX 1284 5950	NX15NW118	Yes
Cults Loch 1	crannog	NX 1206 6047	NX16SW14	No
Cults Loch 2	crannog (possible)	NX 1190 6062	NoNumber9	No
Cults Loch 3	crannog (possible), timber posts	NX 1203 6058	NoNumber10	No
Cults Loch 4	enclosure: palisaded (inner)	NX 1230 6050	NX16SW24	Yes
Cults Loch	linear cropmarks	NX 127 603	NX16SW88	Yes
Cults Loch	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 121 605	NX16SW82	Yes
Cults Loch	fort	NX 1193 6052	NX16SW18	Yes
Cut Island, River Cree	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 383 701	NX37SE7	No
Dalhabboch, Awies	hut-circle	NX 1119 6872	NX16NW19	No
Dalhabboch, Diddles Hill N	hut-circle (enclosed double)	NX 1232 6884	NX16NW88b	No
Dalhabboch, Diddles Hill S	hut-circle (enclosed)	NX 1233 6877	NX16NW88a	No
Dalhabboch, Diddles Hill	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1239 6924	NX16NW90	No
Dalhabboch, Diddles Hill	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 1232 6884	NX16NW88c	No
Dalhabboch, Drumacissock	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1165 6841	NX16NW64	No
Dalminnoch 1	enclosure; cropmarks; linear cropmarks; pit-alignment (possible)	NX 0850 6407	NX06SE28	Yes

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Dalminnoch	enclosure (modern); pits	NX 082 641	NX06SE90	Yes
Dalminnoch	enclosure (possible)	NX 085 644	NX06SE81	Yes
Deil's Dyke	earthwork	NX 1000 6619	NX16NW20	No
Deil's Dyke, Hill Of Ochiltree	earthwork	NX 325 739	NX37SW8	No
Dernaglar Loch	crannog (nv) (no)	NX 264 581	NX25NE6	No
Dinduff	post-holes (possible)	NX 028 641	NX06SW31	No
Dinnans 1	fort: promontory	NX 4792 4057	NX44SE2	No
Dinnans 2	fort: promontory	NX 4786 4026	NX44SE3.00	No
Dinnans 3	enclosure	NX 473 407	NX44SE12	Yes
Dirnean Fell	hut-circle (possible) (nv); field-system	NX 252 572	NX25NE4	No
Doon Castle, Ardwell Point	broch	NX 0670 4468	NX04SE1	No
Doon Hill	fort (stone)	NX 3473 5852	NX35NW1	No
Doon Hill, Ardwell Point	fort (possible) (nv)	NX 067 447	NX04SE9	No
Doon Hill, Capenoch Croft	fort (stone)	NX 3803 5153	NX35SE3	No
Doon Hill, Kildonnan	enclosure (stone)	NX 0593 5230	NX05SE3	No
Doon Hill, Kildonnan	(possible) (stone) (nv) (no)	NX 0586 5227	NX05SE2	No
Doon of May	fort (stone)	NX 2950 5151	NX25SE13	No
Doonhill (Dowalton)	enclosure	NX 4144 4704	NX44NW7	No
Dorman's Island, Whitefield Loch	crannog; causeway	NX 2375 5502	NX25NW21	No
Dounan Moor	enclosure (stone) (nv)	NX 3427 5458	NX35SW1	No
Dounan Nose, Dally	fort: promontory	NW 9673 6874	NW96NE1	No
Dove Cave Head	fort: promontory	NX 0598 4731	NX04NE13	No
Dowalton Loch	crannog	NX 4061 4681	NX44NW2	No
Dowalton Loch	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 4093 4688	NX44NW6	No
Dowalton Loch	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 4025 4645	NX44NW10	No
Dowalton Loch	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 3979 4668	NX34NE16	No
Dowalton Loch	crannogs (possible) (nv)	NX 408 468	NX44NW22	No
Dowalton Loch	crannog	NX 4076 4694	NX44NW3	No
Dranigower	hut-circle (possible)	NX 1924 6472	NX16SE54c	No
Dranigower	hut-circle	NX 1931 6468	NX16SE54b	No
Dranigower	hut-circle	NX 1931 6468	NX16SE54a	No
Drannandow Farm	structures (nv)	NX 388 702	NX37SE9	No
Droughduil	barrow: square (possible); cropmarks	NX 152 570	NX15NE93	Yes
Drumcarnachan	hut-circle	NX 2680 5899	NX25NE3	No
Drumflower	pit defined; pit-alignments	NX 1427 5777	NX15NW26	Yes
Drumflower	linear cropmark	NX 1410 5780	NX15NW73	Yes
Drumflower	barrows; pits; pit-alignment	NX 1438 5767	NX15NW74	Yes
Drumflower	linear cropmark	NX 137 587	NX15NW106	Yes
Drumflower 1	enclosure: palisaded; round-house (possible) single	NX 1433 5786	NX15NW25.01	Yes
Drumflower	enclosure: palisaded	NX 1439 5782	NX15NW25.02	Yes
Drumflower - Dunragit	roman road; quarry-pits	NX 1425 5772	NX15NW75.01	Yes
Drummoral	fort: promontory	NX 4615 3625	NX43NE1	No
Drummuckloch 1	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0842 6732	NX06NE47a	No

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Drummuckloch 2	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0826 6728	NX06NE47b	No
Drummuckloch 3	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0839 6728	NX06NE47c	No
Drummuckloch	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 0841 6749	NX06NE48	No
Drummuckloch, Several Burn	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0905 6754	NX06NE50a	No
Drummuckloch, Several Burn	hut-circle	NX 0962 6774	NX06NE52	No
Drummuckloch, Several Burn	hut-circle	NX 0895 6749	NX06NE49	No
Drummuckloch, Several Burn	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0905 6754	NX06NE50b	No
Drummucklock, Several Burn	hut-circle	NX 0927 6763	NX06NE51	No
Drumpail	hut-circle	NX 2214 6412	NX26SW1	No
Drumpail Burn	hut-circle; field-system	NX 224 661	NX26NW60	No
Drumtroddan Hill	fort (possible) (nv)	NX 3677 4521	NX34NE7	No
Dunaldboys	fort: promontory; motte	NX 0210 5179	NX05SW13	No
Dunbae	enclosure (possible)	NX 0594 5799	NX05NE37	Yes
Dunbae Glen	fort	NX 0574 5815	NX05NE36	Yes
Duniehinnie, Mull of Logan	fort: promontory	NX 0755 4257	NX04SE3	No
Dunman	fort (stone)	NX 0978 3350	NX03SE2	No
Dunorroch, West Cairngaan	fort: promontory	NX 1306 3107	NX13SW13	No
Dunragit 1	round-house (post circle)	NX 1497 5742	NoNumber1	No
Dunragit 2	round-house (post circle)	NX 1503 5746	Nonumber2	No
Dunragit	linear cropmarks	NX 148 570	NX15NW105	Yes
Dunragit	ring-ditch; pits [barrow (possible)]	NX 1511 5727	NX15NE69.03	Yes
Dunragit	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 1488 5738	NX15NW76.03b	No
Dunragit	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 1488 5733	NX15NW76.03c	No
Dunragit	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 1482 5740	NX15NW76.03a	Yes
Dunragit	ring-ditches; pits; cropmarks [barrow (possible)]	NX 150 574	NX15NE69.05	Yes
Dunragit	ring-ditches (possible) [barrow (possible)]	NX 1519 5730	NX15NE69.04	Yes
Dunragit	roman road; quarry-pits	NX 1500 5748	NX15NE70.01	Yes
Dunragit	pit-alignments	NX 1497 5745	NX15NW76.04	Yes
Dunragit	linear cropmark	NX 1486 5752	NX15NW76.05	Yes
Dunragit Moor	hut-circles (possible) (nv)	NX 149 592	NX15NW8	No
Dunragit Moor	enclosure (possible) (nv)	NX 1501 5865	NX15NE1	No
Dunragit Moor	hut-circle (possible) (nv)	NX 15 59	NX15NE19	No
Dunskey	enclosure (possible)	NX 0060 5546	NX05NW2	Yes
Dunskey Golf Course	fort: promontory (possible)	NW 9944 5444	NW95SE6	No
Dunskirloch	fort: promontory	NW 9823 7273	NW97SE1	No
East Galdenoch 1	fort; round-house	NX 1023 5532	NX15NW20	Yes

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East Galdenoch 2	round-house	NX10185 55302	NoNumber7	Yes
East Galdenoch	enclosure; linear cropmarks	NX 1052 5561	NX15NW18	Yes
East Galdenoch	enclosure: palisaded	NX 1046 5563	NX15NW17	Yes
Eggerness	enclosure	NX 487 472	NX44NE60	No
Eggerness Castle	fort: promontory	NX 4947 4776	NX44NE5	No
Eldrig Fell	enclosure (stone)	NX 253 690	NX26NE10	No
Elrig	homestead	NX 3243 4813	NX34NW19	No
Elrig Loch	crannog	NX 3254 4932	NX34NW17	No
Elrig Loch	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 325 492	NX34NW22	No
Elrig Loch	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 3220 4893	NX34NW18	No
Elrig Loch	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 323 493	NX34NW23	No
Eyes Of Craigbirnoch	hut-circle	NX 1635 7005	NX17SE22	No
Eynhallow	linear cropmarks	NX 1120 5925	NX15NW116	Yes
Fell Hill	hut-circles (possible) (nv); field-system	NX 280 651	NX26NE4	No
Fell of Barhullion	fort (stone); chevaux de frise	NX 3745 4188	NX34SE15	No
Fort Hill, Drumbreddan	enclosure (possible)	NX 0892 4413	NX04SE4	Yes
Fort Point, Larbrax Moor	fort: promontory	NW 9639 6157	NW96SE2	No
Fox Plantation A	round-house	NX 11340 57105	NoNumber3	No
Fox Plantation B	round-house	NX 11495 57100	NoNumber4	No
Fox Plantation F	round-house	NX 11580 57090	NoNumber5	Yes
Fox Plantation I	round-house	NX 12145 57010	NoNumber6	No
Fox Plantation 1	enclosure: palisaded; round-house (possible)	NX 1150 5709	NX15NW81.01	Yes
Fox Plantation 2	enclosure (possible)	NX 1150 5710	NX15NW81.02	No
Fox Plantation 3	enclosure; cropmarks	NX 1143 5709	NX15NW81.03	Yes
Fox Plantation 4	pit-alignment (possible)	NX 1150 5710	NX15NW81.04	Yes
Fox Plantation 5	enclosure (palisaded)	NX 1170 5709	NX15NW21	Yes
Fox Plantation	enclosure	NX 1069 5698	NX15NW15	Yes
Fox Plantation	enclosure	NX 1173 5733	NX15NW16	Yes
Garheugh	homestead	NX 2759 5065	NX25SE8	No
Garliachen, Laigh Sinniness	fort: promontory	NX 2157 5219	NX25SW10	No
Garrochtrie	enclosure	NX 1155 3834	NX13NW31	Yes
Garthland	enclosure (possible)	NX 0778 5556	NX05NE10	Yes
Garthland	enclosure	NX 0789 5507	NX05NE9.01	Yes
Garthland	enclosure	NX 0792 5498	NX05SE21	Yes
Garthland	enclosure; linear cropmarks	NX 0798 5508	NX05NE9	Yes
Garthland	enclosure	NX 0779 5501	NX05NE11.01	Yes
Garthland Mains	linear cropmarks	NX 077 550	NX05NE11	Yes
Garthland Mains	enclosure: palisaded (possible)	NX 0760 5519	NX05NE40	Yes
Garthland Mains	linear cropmark	NX 075 551	NX05NE11a	Yes
Garthland Mains	linear feature	NX 0787 5545	NX05NE31	No
Garthland Mains	linear cropmark	NX 076 552	NX05NE11b	Yes
Garthland Mains	enclosure	NX 0776 5521	NX05NE41.02	Yes

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Garthland Mains 1	enclosure	NX 0773 5519	NX05NE41.01	Yes
Garvilland	hut-circles (possible) (nv)	NX 215 617	NX26SW26	No
Garvilland Loch	hut-circle (possible)	NX 2196 6145	NX26SW33	No
Garvilland Loch	enclosure (possible)	NX 2197 6137	NX26SW32	No
Genoch	enclosure	NX 1358 5627	NX15NW23	Yes
Genoch Mains	cropmarks; geological cropmarks	NX 141 569	NX15NW77	Yes
Glasserton Hill	enclosure	NX 4132 3709	NX43NW2	No
Gled Knowes	hut-circle	NX 2054 6935	NX26NW17.02	No
Gled Knowes	field-system (h)	NX 205 693	NX26NW17.03	No
Gled Knowes	hut-circle (nv); field-system	NX 210 691	NX26NW18	No
Gled Knowes	hut-circle (possible) (nv) (no)	NX 211 694	NX26NW19	No
Gled Knowes	hut-circle	NX 2052 6942	NX26NW17.01	No
Gleniron	structure; stone axe	NX 18 61	NX16SE43	No
Glenkitten Fell	hut-circle	NX 1891 7208	NX17SE71	No
Glenlochar - Gatehouse Of Fleet - Loch Ryan	roman road	NX 1500 5748	NX15NE70.00	Yes
Glenlochar - Gatehouse Of Fleet - Loch Ryan	roman road	NX 140 578	NX15NW75.00	Yes
Glenluce	roman temporary camp	NX 1985 5665	NX15NE72	Yes
Glenluce	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 1956 5628	NX15NE73	Yes
Glenluce	roman road; quarry-pits	NX 195 564	NX15NE70.02	Yes
Glenterrow	hut-circle (possible)	NX 1425 6221	NX16SW50	No
Glenwhan Moor	hut-circle	NX 1503 6001	NX16SE46b	No
Glenwhan Moor	hut-circle (possible)	NX 1503 6001	NX16SE46a	No
Glenwhan Moor	hut-circle	NX 1503 6001	NX16SE46	No
Glenwhilly 1	hut-circle (enclosed)	NX 1593 7222	NX17SE31a	No
Glenwhilly 2	hut-circle (enclosed); field-system	NX 1643 7242	NX17SE34	No
Glenwhilly	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 1593 7222	NX17SE31b	No
Glenwhilly	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1586 7316	NX17SE32b	No
Glenwhilly	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1616 7241	NX17SE33	No
Glenwhilly	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1570 7300	NX17SE32a	No
Grennan, Grennan Point	fort: promontory	NX 0760 4377	NX04SE2	No
Hardcroft	field-system (stone) (h)	NX 1878 6461	NX16SE11	No
Hardcroft	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 1955 6444	NX16SE113	No
Hardcroft	hut-circle	NX 1871 6454	NX16SE30	No
High Airies	hut-circle (possible)	NX 267 671	NX26NE11	No
High Airyolland	hut-circle	NX 1577 6149	NX16SE108	No
High Airyolland	hut-circle	NX 1549 6232	NX16SE115	No
High Auchneel	fort: promontory	NW 9609 6537	NW96NE8	No
High Croach, Fairy Knowes 1	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0890 6906	NX06NE41a	No
High Croach, Fairy Knowes 2	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0884 6904	NX06NE41b	No
High Croach, Fairy Knowes	hut-circle	NX 0899 6876	NX06NE43	No

Name	Revised Type	Grid Reference	NMRS #	AP Crop-mark
High Croach, Fairy Knowes	hut-circle	NX 0861 6909	NX06NE40	No
High Croach, Fairy Knowes	hut-circle	NX 0881 6889	NX06NE42	No
High Croach, The Gables	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0833 6826	NX06NE37	No
High Croach, Fairy Knowes	enclosure (stone) (h) (nv)	NX 0925 6889	NX06NE44	No
High Eldrig	hut-circle (possible)	NX 2474 6901	NX26NW73	No
High Mark	platform	NX 1309 7120	NX17SW39	No
High Mark	hut-circle	NX 1281 7131	NX17SW37	No
High Moor	hut-circle; field-system	NX 2948 5024	NX25SE36	No
Hill Plantation	enclosure: palisaded (possible)	NX 0813 5322	NX05SE35	Yes
Inner Wood Hill	enclosure (possible) (stone) (nv) (no)	NX 397 468	NX34NE19	No
Innermessan	enclosure (possible)	NX 0891 6363	NX06SE101c	Yes
Innermessan	enclosure : roman temporary camp (possible)	NX 0835 6376	NX06SE98	Yes
Innermessan	enclosure: palisaded (possible); round-house (possible)	NX 0891 6363	NX06SE101a	Yes
Innermessan	linear cropmarks; cropmarks	NX 0891 6363	NX06SE101d	Yes
Innermessan	round-house (possible)	NX 0891 6363	NX06SE101b	Yes
Isle Farm	cropmarks	NX 477 377	NX43NE40	Yes
Isle Head	fort: promontory	NX 4803 3605	NX43NE8	No
Isle Of Whithorn	enclosure	NX 4813 3683	NX43NE14	Yes
Juniper Face	fort: promontory	NW 9601 6500	NW96NE27	No
Kemp's Graves, Glenhead Of Aldouran	fort: promontory	NX 0078 6352	NX06SW3	No
'Kemp's Walk', Meikle Larbrax	fort: promontory	NW 9754 5983	NW95NE1	No
Kenmuir	soilmarks	NX 067 468	NX04NE38	Yes
Kenmuir Graves, Island Buoy	fort: promontory	NX 0661 4691	NX04NE5	No
Kilbreen	enclosure	NX 0687 5439	NX05SE 11	Yes
Kildrochat	enclosure	NX 0820 5650	NX05NE2	Yes
Kilfeddar 1	hut-circle (enclosed); field-system	NX 1639 6860	NX16NE86b	No
Kilfeddar 2	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1648 6881	NX16NE86a	No
Kilfeddar 3	hut-circle	NX 1652 6866	NX16NE86c	No
Kilfeddar	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 1639 6860	NX16NE86d	No
Kilfeddar	hut-circle	NX 1589 6932	NX16NE88	No
Kilfeddar	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1610 6938	NX16NE89	No
Kilfeddar, Burn Of Altibrair	enclosure (stone)	NX 1430 6999	NX16NW91	No
Kilfeddar, Burn Of Altibrair	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 1407 6958	NX16NW94	No
Kilfeddar, Glen Of Altaggart	hut-circle	NX 1449 6919	NX16NW92	No
Kilhern	enclosure (possible) (stone)	NX 1981 6400	NX16SE42	No
Kilhern	settlement (ep)	NX 1991 6425	NX16SE144	No
Kilhern	hut-circle	NX 204 640	NX26SW29	No
Kilhern Loch	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 206 645	NX26SW39	No
Kilhilt	enclosure (possible)	NX 058 560	NX05NE29	No
Killantringan Bay	dun	NW 9836 5719	NW95NE22	No

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Killentrae Bridge	homestead (possible) (nv)	NX 3327 4525	NX34NW7	No
Killumpha	(possible) (stone) (nv) (no)	NX 1125 4074	NX14SW7	No
Kirkland Hill	fort (inner palisade)	NX 418 517	NX45SW40	Yes
Kirklaughline	fort: promontory	NX 0356 5058	NX05SW6	No
Kirkmabreck	ring-ditch [barrow]	NX 1017 4778	NX14NW8a	Yes
Kirkmabreck	ring-ditch [barrow]	NX 1017 4778	NX14NW8b	Yes
Kirkmabreck	ring-ditch [barrow]	NX 1017 4778	NX14NW8c	Yes
Kirkmabreck	ring-ditch [barrow]	NX 1017 4778	NX14NW8d	Yes
Kirkmabreck	ring-ditch [barrow]	NX 1017 4778	NX14NW8e	Yes
Kirkmabreck	enclosure	NX 1017 4775	NX14NW9	Yes
Kirkmabreck	ring-ditch [barrow]	NX 1017 4778	NX14NW8i	Yes
Kirkmabreck	ring-ditch [barrow]	NX 1017 4778	NX14NW8f	Yes
Kirkmabreck	ring-ditch [barrow]	NX 1017 4778	NX14NW8h	Yes
Kirkmabreck	ring-ditch [barrow]	NX 1017 4778	NX14NW8g	Yes
Kirminnoch	enclosure	NX 1221 5840	NX15NW24c	Yes
Kirminnoch	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 1230 5840	NX15NW24b	Yes
Kirminnoch	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 1217 5841	NX15NW24a	Yes
Kirminnoch	enclosure (possible)	NX 1217 5792	NX15NW42	Yes
Knock 1	homestead	NX 3749 3967	NX33NE9	No
Knock 2	Homestead	NX 3733 3970	NX33NE12	No
Knock 3	Homestead	NX 3696 3975	NX33NE10	No
Knock Fell	hut-circle (possible) (nv)	NX 255 557	NX25NE14	No
Knock Fell	hut-circle (possible) (nv) (no)	NX 2580 5578	NX25NE10	No
Knock Fell	hut-circle (possible) (nv)	NX 254 558	NX25NE13	No
Knock Fell	hut-circle (possible) (nv)	NX 2528 5566	NX25NE7	No
Knock Fell	fort (stone)	NX 2550 5577	NX25NE9	No
Knockhornan	enclosure	NX 0172 5460	NX05SW22	Yes
Knockibae	hut-circle	NX 1779 6670	NX16NE119	No
Knockiebae	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1779 6768	NX16NE126	No
Knockiebae	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1765 6677	NX16NE122	No
Knockiebae, Hill Mabreedia	hut-circle	NX 1835 6563	NX16NE25	No
Knockiebae, Slewcarnochan	hut-circle	NX 1810 6690	NX16NE121	No
Knockneen	ring-ditch (possible) [round-house (possible)]	NW 9900 7053	NW97SE18c	Yes
Knockneen	[round-house (possible)]	NW 9883 7048	NW97SE18a	Yes
Knockneen	ring-ditch (possible) [round-house (possible)]	NW 9893 7053	NW97SE18b	Yes
Laggan Camp	fort	NX 3976 3725	NX33NE3	No
Larbrax Moor	hut-circle	NW 9787 6149	NW96SE21	No
Larbrax Moor	hut-circle	NW 9809 6138	NW96SE20	No
Larbrax Moor	hut-circle	NW 9730 6098	NW96SE22a	No
Larbrax Moor	hut-circle (possible)	NW 9728 6098	NW96SE22b	No
Larbrax Moor	hut-circle (possible)	NW 9730 6096	NW96SE22c	No
Larig Fell	enclosure (stone); field-system	NX 2088 6272	NX26SW10	No
Larig Fell	enclosure (possible) (stone) ; field-system	NX 208 627	NX26SW10a	No
Larig Fell	hut-circles (possible) (nv)	NX 206 625	NX26SW24	No
Larig Fell	hut-circle (nv)	NX 209 630	NX26SW23	No
Lashendarroch Hill, Knock	enclosure	NW 9843 5809	NW95NE2	No

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Leffnoll 1	enclosure: palisaded (possible)	NX 0807 6596	NX06NE8	Yes
Leffnoll	enclosure (possible)	NX 082 656	NX06NE94	Yes
Leffnoll	enclosure (possible)	NX 0771 6577	NX06NE70	Yes
Leffnoll Point	fort (possible) (nv)	NX 076 651	NX06NE18	No
Little Cults	enclosure: palisaded	NX 1182 5876	NX15NW22	Yes
Little Float 1	enclosure	NX 0658 4740	NX04NE27	Yes
Little Float	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 0655 4755	NX04NE26	Yes
Little Laight	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0638 7125	NX07SE44	No
Little Larg, Auchie	hut-circle; field-system	NX 144 649	NX16SW66	No
Little Larg, Awies	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1632 6571	NX16NE82a	No
Little Larg, Awies	hut-circle	NX 1540 6583	NX16NE83	No
Little Larg, Awies	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1522 6571	NX16NE82b	No
Little Larg, Craigengale	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1487 6601	NX16NW96	No
Little Larg, Craigengale	field-system (stone)	NX 1498 6658	NX16NW98	No
Little Larg, Craigengale	enclosure (stone)	NX 1489 6659	NX16NW99	No
Little Larg, Craigengale	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1488 6636	NX16NW97	No
Little Lochans 1	enclosure/historic building	NX 072 580	NX05NE43	Yes
Little Lochans	barrow	NX 0701 5737	NX05NE42a	Yes
Little Lochans	barrow	NX 0701 5737	NX05NE42b	Yes
Little Lochans	barrow: square (possible), pits	NX 0701 5737	NX05NE42	Yes
Little Lochans	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 0701 5737	NX05NE42.01	Yes
Little Lochans	ring-ditch; pits [barrow (possible)]	NX 0751 5746	NX05NE38	Yes
Little Lochans	ring-ditch platform [barrow (possible)]	NX 0701 5737	NX05NE42.02	Yes
Little Lochans	ring-ditch platform [barrow (possible)]	NX 0701 5737	NX05NE42.03	Yes
Loch Heron	crannog	NX 2717 6482	NX26SE2	No
Loch Ochiltree	crannog (possible)	NX 3178 7431	NX37SW11	No
Loch Ochiltree	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 3160 7415	NX37SW3	No
Loch Of Sinniness, Laigh Sinniness	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 2235 5220	NX25SW13	No
Loch Robin	hut-circles (possible) (nv)	NX 245 558	NX25NW17	No
Loch Robin	hut-circles (possible) (nv)	NX 247 558	NX25NW19	No
Loch Wayoch	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 3030 5620	NX35NW4	No
Lochans	enclosure	NX 0700 5712	NX05NE20	Yes
Lochinch Castle	enclosure (possible)	NX 101 615	NX16SW81	No
Lochnaw	crannog	NW 99 63	NW96SE40	No
Long Island	crannog (possible)	NX 3003 5268	NX35SW 13	No
Long Planting	cropmarks	NX 117 584	NX15NW43	Yes
Low Airyolland	enclosure (stone)	NX 1664 6211	NX16SE50	No
Low Auchleach	enclosure (possible)	NX 1027 4724	NX14NW7	Yes
Low Curghie	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 1299 3755	NX13NW32	Yes
Machermore	hut-circle (possible) (nv)	NX 2404 5504	NX25NW41	No
Mains Of Caldons	enclosure	NX 0820 5336	NX05SE34	Yes
Mare Rock 1	fort: promontory	NW 9599 6510	NW96NE26	No
Mare Rock 2	fort: promontory	NW 9607 6507	NW96NE29	No

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Mark	enclosure ; cropmarks	NX 111 577	NX15NW90	Yes
Mark Loch	linear cropmarks	NX 1083 5868	NX15NW115	Yes
Markdhu	hut-circle	NX 1897 7473	NX17SE49c	No
Markdhu	hut-circle	NX 1890 7470	NX17SE49b	No
Markdhu	(possible) (nv)	NX 1911 7437	NX17SE51	No
Markdhu	hut-circle (enclosed)	NX 1889 7476	NX17SE49a	No
Markdhu	field-system	NX 1890 7477	NX17SE49d	No
Markdhu	hut-circle (possible)	NX 1851 7376	NX17SE56a	No
Markdhu	hut-circle	NX 1852 7367	NX17SE56b	No
Markdhu	field-system	NX 185 736	NX17SE56d	No
Markdhu	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1861 7494	NX17SE48	No
Markdhu	hut-circle (possible)	NX 1863 7366	NX17SE56c	No
Markdhu	hut-circle	NX 1859 7375	NX17SE56e	No
Markdhu, Minniebay	hut-circle	NX 1895 7414	NX17SE53	No
Marklach	hut-circle (possible)	NX 1750 7266	NX17SE44	No
Marklach, High Murdonochee	enclosure (possible) (stone); field-system	NX 1710 7480	NX17SE42	No
Marklach, Mid Hill	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1658 7420	NX17SE41	No
Meikle Laight	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0735 7089	NX07SE48	No
Meikle Laight	hut-circle; field-system	NX 0754 7049	NX07SE49	No
Meikle Laight	platform; field-system	NX 0690 7023	NX07SE46	No
Meikle Laight, Cairn Park	hut-circle (possible)	NX 0811 7014	NX07SE50	No
Meikle Tongue 1	hut-circle; field-system	NX 121 645	NX16SW57	No
Meikle Tongue 2	hut-circle	NX 1215 6364	NX16SW58	No
Meikle Tongue 3	hut-circle	NX 1231 6379	NX16SW59	No
Meikle Tongue 4	hut-circle	NX 1238 6385	NX16SW60	No
Meikle Tongue	hut-circle	NX 1288 6463	NX16SW53	No
Meikle Tongue	field-system	NX 1262 6393	NX16SW70	No
Meikle Tongue	field-system	NX 120 645	NX16SW56	No
Merton Hall	enclosure (possible) (nv)	NX 3863 6426	NX36SE26	No
Merton Hall 1	enclosure	NX 383 643	NX36SE15	Yes
Mid Dinduff	fort	NX 026 640	NX06SW24	Yes
Mid Gleniron	hut-circle	NX 1931 6174	NX16SE19d	No
Mid Gleniron	hut-circle	NX 1952 6180	NX16SE19c	No
Mid Gleniron	hut-circle	NX 1955 6181	NX16SE19b	No
Mid Gleniron	platform	NX 1958 6179	NX16SE19a	No
Mid Gleniron	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1918 6240	NX16SE18	No
Mid Gleniron	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 1875 6190	NX16SE15b	No
Mid Gleniron	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1875 6190	NX16SE15a	No
Mid Gleniron	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 1880 6188	NX16SE15c	No
Mid Ochtrelure	enclosure; linear cropmark	NX 0534 5980	NX05NE35	Yes
Miller's Cairn, Dowalton Loch	crannog	NX 3977 4654	NX34NE8	No
Millfield	enclosure(possible) (nv) (no)	NX 4695 4695	NX44NE13	Yes
Milton Of Larg	hut-circle	NX 1572 6387	NX16SE78	No
Miltonise	hut-circle	NX 2060 7364	NX27SW11	No
Miltonise	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1938 7400	NX17SE68	No
Miltonise	enclosure (stone)	NX 1957 7399	NX17SE67c	No
Miltonise	enclosure (stone)	NX 1954 7400	NX17SE67b	No

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Miltonise	field-system	NX 1957 7402	NX17SE67a	No
Miltonise	field-system (stone)	NX 19 73	NX17SE69	No
Miltonise, White Fell	hut-circle; field-system	NX 2006 7354	NX27SW12	No
Monreith Mains	enclosure	NX 364 438	NX34SE26	Yes
Mote Hill, Glenluce	enclosure	NX 1936 5733	NX15NE12	No
Muldaddie	fort: promontory	NX 0914 3977	NX03NE2	No
Mull Glen, West Tarbet	enclosure	NX 1380 3106	NX13SW15a	No
Mull Glen, West Tarbet	hut-circle (enclosed)	NX 1380 3106	NX13SW15b	No
Mull of Galloway	earthwork	NX 1418 3064	NX13SW17	No
Mull Of Sinniness	enclosure (possible) (nv)	NX 227 518	NX25SW27	No
Nether Barr	enclosure (possible)	NX 419 638	NX46SW33	Yes
North Balfern	fort (stone)	NX 4372 5095	NX45SW4	No
North Cairn	enclosure	NW 9813 7005	NW97SE10	Yes
North Kirkbryde	cropmarks	NX 000 710	NX07SW11	Yes
Ochtrelure	pits; post-holes	NX 056 585	NX05NE51	No
Old Hall	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1431 6015	NX16SW15	No
Old Hall, Dunragit	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 1483 5975	NX15NW47b	No
Old Hall, Dunragit	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1464 5966	NX15NW48	No
Old Hall, Dunragit	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 1475 5982	NX15NW47a	No
Parkneuk	barrows; pit-alignments; pit-structure (possible)	NX 147 575	NX15NW121	Yes
Piltanton Bridge	linear cropmarks	NX 146 565	NX15NW63	Yes
Piltanton Bridge	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 1476 5655	NX15NW62	Yes
Piltanton Burn	ring-ditches; linear cropmarks (possible)	NX 1235 5711	NX15NW83	Yes
Piltanton Burn	enclosure: palisaded (possible)	NX 1146 5682	NX15NW85	Yes
Piltanton Burn	ring-ditch (possible) (possible)	NX 1207 5695	NX15NW84.03	Yes
Piltanton Burn	enclosures; linear cropmarks	NX 1194 5726	NX15NW84.01	Yes
Piltanton Burn	enclosure; linear cropmark	NX 1264 5731	NX15NW82	Yes
Piltanton Burn	enclosure	NX 1211 5709	NX15NW84.02	Yes
Piltanton Burn	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 1164 5679	NX15NW14h	Yes
Piltanton Burn	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 1167 5680	NX15NW14f	Yes
Piltanton Burn	ring-ditch (possible) (possible)	NX 1168 5676	NX15NW14e	Yes
Piltanton Burn	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 1164 5676	NX15NW14d	Yes
Piltanton Burn	ring-ditch [barrow (possible)]	NX 1164 5678	NX15NW14g	Yes
Piltanton Burn	linear cropmark (A)	NX 1148 5678	NX15NW14a	Yes
Piltanton Burn	linear cropmark (B)	NX 1168 5677	NX15NW14b	Yes
Piltanton Burn	ring-ditch (possible) (possible)	NX 1165 5677	NX15NW14c	Yes
Port William	enclosure (stone) (field-system)	NX 343 437	NX34SW5	Yes
Portobello	fort: promontory	NW 9609 6641	NW96NE9	No
Portslogan	enclosure (stone)	NW 9837 5857	NW95NE3	No
Pularyan	hut-circle	NX 1342 6831	NX16NW82	No
Pultadie	hut-circle	NX 1953 7001	NX17SE85	No
Quarter	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 1840 6835	NX16NE111	No
Quarter	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 1895 6861	NX16NE117	No
Quarter	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1813 6893	NX16NE113	No
Quarter	enclosure (possible) (stone); field-system	NX 1817 6903	NX16NE114	No

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Quarter Fell	hut-circle (possible); field-system	NX 197 685	NX16NE103	No
Quarter Fell	field-system	NX 206 689	NX26NW35	No
Quarter Fell	field-system	NX 205 686	NX26NW33.02	No
Quarter Fell	hut-circle	NX 2061 6865	NX26NW33.01	No
Ravenstone Moss	crannog (nv)	NX 40 42	NX44SW12	No
Reiffer Park	enclosure	NX 4496 4548	NX44NW11	No
Riffer Park	enclosure (possible) (stone)	NX 4458 4491	NX44SW3	No
Ringheel	homestead	NX 3384 4913	NX34NW2	No
Rispain Camp 1	round-house	NX 4293 3993	NX43NW3b	No
Rispain Camp	enclosure	NX 4293 3993	NX43NW3a	No
Rispain Camp 2	round-house	NX 4293 3993	NX43NW3c	No
Rough Cairn Hill, Portslogan	enclosure	NW 9836 5902	NW95NE4	Yes
Rough Loch	crannog (possible)	NX 318 492	NX34NW39	No
Rough Loch, Airylick	crannog	NX 3179 4919	NX34NW15	No
Several Hill	enclosure: palisaded	NX 1115 5621	NX15NW57	Yes
Several Hill	ring-ditch [round-house (possible)]	NX 1125 5594	NX15NW58	Yes
Several Hill	linear cropmarks (A)	NX 106 559	NX15NW78.06c	Yes
Several Hill A	enclosure	NX 1093 5574	NX15NW78.00a	Yes
Several Hill B	enclosure (possible)	NX 1091 5600	NX15NW78.00b	Yes
Several Hill C	enclosure (possible)	NX 1079 5593	NX15NW78.00c	Yes
Several Hill D	linear cropmarks; cropmarks; pits	NX 1082 5598	NX15NW78.00d	Yes
Several Hill E	enclosure (possible)	NX 1082 5588	NX15NW78.00e	Yes
Several Hill 1	enclosure	NX 1086 5613	NX15NW78.01	Yes
Several Hill 2	linear cropmark	NX 108 561	NX15NW78.02	Yes
Several Hill 3	enclosure: palisaded	NX 1081 5607	NX15NW78.03	Yes
Several Hill 4	round-house	NX 1086 5604	NX15NW78.04	Yes
Several Hill 5	enclosure (possible)	NX 1078 5601	NX15NW78.05	Yes
Several Hill	linear cropmarks	NX 1094 5598	NX15NW78.06a	Yes
Several Hill	linear cropmarks (B)	NX 1094 5591	NX15NW78.06b	Yes
Sheddock	Enclosure (possible) (nv)	NX 4765 3964	NX43NE12	No
Sheuchan	enclosure: palisaded (possible)	NX 1179 6133	NoNumber8	Yes
Sheuchan	enclosure (possible)	NX 117 610	NX16SW89	Yes
Sheuchan	linear cropmarks	NX 119 610	NX16SW20e	Yes
Sheuchan	linear cropmark (A)	NX 1080 6099	NX16SW20d	Yes
Sheuchan	linear cropmark (B)	NX 1205 6105	NX16SW20c	Yes
Sheuchan	enclosure (possible)	NX 1189 6100	NX16SW20b	Yes
Sheuchan	enclosure (possible)	NX 1190 6103	NX16SW20a	Yes

Name	Revised Type	Grid Reference	NMRS #	AP Crop-mark
Sheuchan 1	enclosure: palisaded (inner); round-house (possible)	NX 1183 6089	NX16SW19	Yes
Slickconerie	hut-circle	NX 1583 7128	NX17SE30	No
Slickconerie	field-system (stone)	NX 1558 7130	NX17SE29	No
Smithy Hill	field-system	NX 026 629	NX06SW30	No
Soleburn	round-house	NX 020 648	NX06SW34	Yes
Soulseat Bank	ring-ditches (possible) (possible)	NX 099 593	NX05NE45	Yes
Soulseat Burn	linear feature	NX 102 573	NX15NW102	No
Soulseat Loch	pit-alignment; pits	NX 1130 5915	NX15NW98	Yes
Soulseat Loch	enclosure (possible)	NX 1068 5800	NX15NW97c	Yes
Soulseat Loch	pit-defined	NX 1062 5822	NX15NW97h	Yes
Soulseat Loch	ring-ditch (possible)	NX 1062 5816	NX15NW97f	Yes
Soulseat Loch	enclosure (possible)	NX 1071 5823	NX15NW97g	Yes
Soulseat Loch	enclosure (possible)	NX 1068 5825	NX15NW97d	Yes
Soulseat Loch	enclosure (possible)	NX 1071 5801	NX15NW97b	Yes
Soulseat Loch	enclosure (possible)	NX 1071 5822	NX15NW97a	Yes
Soulseat Loch	linear cropmarks	NX 113 589	NX15NW96	Yes
Soulseat Loch	pit-alignments	NX 1100 5858	NX15NW95	Yes
Soulseat Loch	round house (possible)	NX 1019 5830	NX15NW94b	Yes
Soulseat Loch	ring-ditches (possible) (possible)	NX 1019 5830	NX15NW94a	Yes
Soulseat Loch	pit-alignments; pits	NX 1146 5842	NX15NW93	Yes
Soulseat Loch	enclosure (possible): field-system	NX 1067 5885	NX15NW92	Yes
Soulseat Loch	enclosures (possible); linear cropmarks	NX 1044 5814	NX15NW91	Yes
Soulseat Loch	enclosure	NX 1053 5881	NX15NW114	Yes
Soulseat Loch	barrow (possible)	NX 1062 5818	NX15NW97e	Yes
Soulseat Loch - Kirminnoch	roman road; quarry-pits	NX 1035 5910	NX15NW75.02	Yes
South Balfern	enclosure (possible)	NX 441 508	NX45SW20b	Yes
South Balfern	enclosure	NX 441 508	NX45SW20	Yes
Springbank	enclosure (possible) (inner palisade); linear cropmarks	NX 043 610	NX06SW23	Yes
Stab Hill	hut-circle	NX 1462 7248	NX17SW44	No
Stab Hill	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1492 7170	NX17SW48b	No
Stab Hill	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1489 7165	NX17SW48a	No
Stab Hill	hut-circle	NX 1471 7194	NX17SW47	No
Stab Hill	hut-circle (possible)	NX 1419 7212	NX17SW45	No
Stab Hill	hut-circle	NX 1517 7157	NX17SE27	No
Stab Hill	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 1502 7164	NX17SE26	No
Stab Hill	hut-circle; field-system	NX 1462 7198	NX17SW46	No
Stairhaven	broch	NX 2090 5335	NX25SW9	No
Steinhead Mote	fort: promontory	NX 4853 3718	NX43NE5	No
Stonehouse	crannog	NX 4033 4719	NX44NW1	No
Teroy	broch	NX 0992 6410	NX06SE7	No
The Carlinwark	fort (possible) (nv)	NX 2600 5200	NX25SE32	Yes
The Dounan	fort: promontory	NX 0190 5230	NX05SW12	No
The Dunnan, Portankill	fort: promontory	NX 1417 3229	NX13SW8	No
The Stepping Stones Of Kilhern	field-system (stone)	NX 1912 6423	NX16SE41	No
Tonnachrae	linear cropmarks; field-system	NX 1300 5850	NX15NW120	Yes
Tonnachrae 1	enclosure: palisaded (inner); cropmarks	NX 1301 5925	NX15NW79.0	Yes

Name	Revised Type	Grid Reference	NMRS #	AP Crop-mark
			1	
Tonnachrae 2	enclosure: palisaded	NX 1320 5924	NX15NW79.02	Yes
Tonnachrae 3	enclosure: palisaded; round-house (possible)	NX 1315 5906	NX15NW79.03	Yes
Tonnachrae 4	enclosure: palisaded; linear cropmarks	NX 1315 5919	NX15NW79.04	Yes
Tonnachrae 5	enclosure (possible palisade)	NX 1333 5868	NX15NW80	Yes
Tonnachrae 6	enclosure: palisaded (possible)	NX 1298 5866	NX15NW119	Yes
Top Cottage	enclosure (possible) (nv)	NX 3080 4804	NX34NW13	No
Tor Of Craigoch	fort (stone)	NX 0085 6464	NX06SW1	No
Tree Island, Whitefield Loch	crannog (nv)	NX 2323 5509	NX25NW11	No
West Galdenoch 1	enclosure: palisaded (possible)	NX 0934 5593	NX05NE28	Yes
West Galdenoch 2	ring-ditch [round-house (possible)]	NX 0938 5592	NX05NE12	Yes
West Muntloch	hut-circle (possible) (enclosed)	NX 1157 3417	NX13SW48	No
West Muntloch	enclosure (stone) (h)	NX 1157 3417	NX13SW48a	No
West Myroch	enclosure	NX 1113 4121	NX14SW15	Yes
White Bar, Dranigower	field-system	NX 201 656	NX26NW55	No
White Loch	crannog	NX 4017 4404	NX44SW2	No
White Loch	enclosure (possible)	NX 273 548	NX25SE37	No
White Loch of Myrton	crannog	NX 3585 4328	NX34SE8	No
Whitecrook	enclosure	NX 1694 5655	NX15NE75	Yes
Whitecrook	ring-ditch; pits [barrow (possible)]	NX 161 568	NX15NE71a	Yes
Whitecrook	ring-ditch; pits [barrow (possible)]	NX 161 568	NX15NE71b	Yes
Whitefield Loch	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 2367 5493	NX25SW55	No
Whitefield Loch	crannog (nv)	NX 2355 5493	NX25SW30	No
Whitefield Loch	crannog (possible) (nv)	NX 2355 5486	NX25SW28	No
Whitefield Loch	structures (nv)	NX 2309 5517	NX25NW36	No
Whitefield Loch	crannog	NX 2332 5510	NX25NW12	No
Whitefield Loch	platforms (possible) (nv)	NX 232 551	NX25NW33	No
Whiteleys	field-system	NX 072 574	NX05NE49	No
Whiteleys	pits; post-holes	NX 064 579	NX05NE52	No
Whithorn Priory, Bruce Street	later	NX 4446 4023	NX44SW34	No
Wood Of Dervaird	hut-circle (possible) (nv)	NX 2297 5779	NX25NW86	No
Wood Of Dervaird	hut-circle	NX 2273 5758	NX25NW45	No
Wood Of Dervaird	enclosure (stone)	NX 2196 5751	NX25NW42	No
Wood Of Park	platforms (possible) (nv)	NX 1837 5696	NX15NE5	No

Appendix 2: Roundhouses in Wigtownshire

Name	NMRS No.	RCAHMS Type	AP	Enclosed	Max Length	Max Width	Entrance	Porch	Ring-Post/Ring-Groove
Dunragit	Nonumber1	N/A	No	No	7.00	7.00	SE	Yes	RP
Dunragit	Nonumber2	N/A	No	No	7.00	7.00	SE	Yes	RP
Fox Plantation (Structure A)	NoNumber3	N/A	No	No	7.5	7.5	E	Yes	RP
Fox Plantation (Structure B)	NoNumber4	N/A	No	Yes	14.0 (inner); 22.0	14.0 (inner); 22.0	SW?, SE	No	RP, RG x2
Fox Plantation (Structure F)	NoNumber5	N/A	Yes	No	8.0	8.0	ESE	Yes	RP, RG
Fox Plantation (Structure I)	NoNumber6	N/A	No	No	10.0 (inner)	10.0 (inner)	SW?	No	RG x3
Knockneen	NW97SE18a	ring-ditches	Yes	No	10.00	10.00	?	?	RP, RG
Knockneen	NW97SE18b	ring-ditch (possible)	Yes	No	0.00	0.00			RG
Knockneen	NW97SE18c	ring-ditch (possible)	Yes	No	0.00	0.00			RG
West Galdenoch	NX05NE12	ring-ditch	Yes	No	15.00	15.00	?	?	RG
Culgrange	NX05NE6	Enclosure	Yes	Yes	0	0	?		RG
Beoch	NX06NE65	settlement: palisaded; round-house; pit-circle (possible); cropmarks	Yes	Yes	14	11	NE?	?	RG
Cairn Connell Hill	NX06NW41a	Settlement	Yes	Yes	12	12	E	No	RG
Cairn Connell Hill	NX06NW41b	Settlement	Yes	Yes	12	12	E	No	RG
Cairn Connell Hill	NX06NW41c	Settlement	Yes	Yes	12	12	SW &?	?	RG
Cairn Connell Hill	NX06NW42b	Settlement	Yes	Yes	9.5	9.5	?	?	RG, Scoop
Cairn Connell Hill	NX06NW43a	round-houses; souterrain (possible)	Yes	No	11.5	11.5	?	No	Scoop
Cairn Connell Hill	NX06NW43b	round-houses; souterrain (possible)	Yes	No	6	6	?	No	RG
Innermessan	NX06SE101a	settlement; round-houses; enclosure (possible); linear cropmarks	Yes	Yes	0.00	0.00	?	?	RG
Innermessan	NX06SE101b	settlement; round-houses; enclosure (possible); linear cropmarks	Yes	No	0.00	0.00			Scoop?
Aird	NX06SE26	settlement: palisaded	Yes	Yes	12.5	12	SE	?	RP, RG
Craigcaffie 1	NX06SE89	settlement: palisaded; round-house (possible)	Yes	Yes	9.0	9.0	?	?	RP x2
Craigcaffie 2	NX06SE92b	enclosure: palisaded; round-houses (possible); enclosure (possible)	Yes	Yes	0.00	0.00			RG
Craigcaffie 3	NX06SE92c	Enclosure: palisaded; round-houses (possible); enclosure (possible)	Yes	Yes	0.00	0.00			RG
Craigcaffie 4	NX06SE92d	Enclosure: palisaded; round-houses (possible); enclosure (possible)	Yes	Yes	0.00	0.00			RG
Sole Burn	NX06SW34	round-house	Yes	No	7.0 (post-ring); 11.0 (slot)	7.0 (post-ring); 11.0 (slot)	E	Yes	RP, RG

Name	NMRS No.	RCAHMS Type	AP	Enclosed	Max Length	Max Width	Entrance	Porch	Ring-Post/Ring-Groove
Craigenholly	NX15NE74a	souterrain (possible); round-house (possible)	Yes	No	0.00	0.00	?	No	RP
East Galdenoch	NX15NW20b	Fort	Yes	No	9.5	9.5	E – SW?	No	RG ?
East Galdenoch	NX15NW20a	Fort	Yes	Yes	14.0	14.0	ESE	No	RP, RG
Drumflower	NX15NW25.01	Enclosure: palisaded	Yes	Yes	11.0	11.0	? SE – S –SW (wide)	?	RG
Several Hill	NX15NW58	ring-ditch	Yes	No	0.00	0.00			RG?
Several Hill	NX15NW78.04	Enclosure (possible); pits	Yes	No	7.00	7.00			RG?
Tonnachrae	NX15NW79.03	enclosure: palisaded; round-house (possible)	Yes	Yes	7.5	7.5	SW?	?	RP
Tonnachrae	NX15NW79.02	Enclosure: palisaded	Yes	Yes	7	7	?	?	RG
Cults	NX15NW118	enclosure: palisaded; round-house (possible)	Yes	Yes	17	13	? NE or S or SW (multiple)	?	RG
Fox Plantation	NX15NW81.01	enclosure: palisaded; round-house (possible)	Yes	Yes	0	0.00	?	?	RG?
Soulseat Loch	NX15NW94b	ring-ditches (possible); round house (possible)	Yes	Yes	0.00	0.00	?	?	RP, Scoop
Sheuchan	NX16SW19	Settlement: palisaded	Yes	Yes	8.5 (inner), 11.5 (outer)	8.5 (inner), 11.5 (outer)	?	?	RG x2
Chlenry Cottages	NX16SW80	Enclosure	Yes	Yes	0.00	0.00	?	?	RG
Rispain Camp (Building 1)	NX43NW3b	Settlement	No	Yes	13.5	13.5	W & E	No	RP, RG*, Stone bank
Rispain Camp (Building 2)	NX43NW3c	settlement	No	Yes	0.00	0.00	? Not SE	?	?, RG
Carghidown Castle (Roundhouse 1)	NX43NW8b	homestead	No	Yes	12.0	12.0	SE?	?	Scoop?
Carghidown Castle (Roundhouse2)	NX43NW8c	homestead	No	Yes	8.5, 6.4 (floor)	8.5, 6.4 (floor)	ESE?	?	RP, RG*, Stone bank
Cruggleton Castle	NX44SE4	round-house	No	Yes	8.0	8.0	? Not NW, W, SW	?	RP & RG*, divisions
Baldoon Hill	NX45SW37	Fort	Yes	Yes	0.00	0.00	?	?	RG
Merton Hill	NX36SE15	Enclosure	Yes	Yes	6	6	ENE?	No	RG