Beyond the Frontier:
TRAPRAIN LAW

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August 1997

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. Hanson for the incredible amount of help he gave me throughout all my work. I would also like to thank Michael Erdrich for all those hours spent going through the artefacts at the Edinburgh museum. I also thank Fraser Hunter for granting me access to the finds and his insight on those artefacts. In addition the I would like to thank all the people at the National Monuments Records, who helped me find all the information I needed on Traprain and its surrounding sites. Dr. Knapp also deserves many thanks for granting me unlimited use of his SyQuest drive, without which none of the maps would have been possible. On the home front I would like to thank Ian and Graham from the Multi-Media Centre at Hopkins, who gave me free range of the equipment, certainly without their help the maps would never have been completed. I would also like to thank Kim and Andy Anderson, Hasdai Westbrook and Robert Thompson for all their editing and emotional support. Finally I thank my parents, without whom none of this would have been possible.

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Abstract

Conquest, assimilation, and acculturation are all buzz words in the modern fields of history, anthropology, archaeology and classics. The conquest and Romanization of Britain has attracted a great deal of attention particularly because it is there that the greatest amount of recent work has been done on this topic. One area of particular interest in Britain is the Borders region, where conquest and even contact was fairly sporadic. Within the Borders region, in East Lothian, remain the ruins of a hillfort dating back to the Neolithic. On this site, Traprain Law, an unprecedented amount of Roman artefacts was found. Among the finds were numerous indications of metalworking, including moulds, wasters and even crucible tongs.

Due to the plethora of artefacts from Traprain, Traprain Law ought to be the centre from which scholars begin research on Romanization in Scotland and the Borders. Nevertheless, most scholars avoid detailed discussions of the site when dealing with the question of Romanization. Problematic excavation techniques and a lack of any coherent synthesis on the site gives Traprain Law a stigma. Excavations of the site by 'levels' and not habitation layers gives the sense that the artefacts are promiscuously mixed. Burley (1956) dealt with some aspects of the lack of synthesis of the artefacts by producing a category and synthesis of all the metalwork found at Traprain. However, without a context, applying this information remains problematic.

This thesis investigates all the excavation reports in an attempt to clarify just what the evidence indicates about habitation at the site. Also, with the use of modern technology, a context can be applied to many of the items, by plotting all the finds from Traprain onto distribution maps. This new information is applied to the current hypotheses of Traprain in an attempt to come to a better understanding of Traprain and its place in the Borders area and the Roman world.

Table of Contents

Tables

Maps

Chapter 1:

Introduction

Romanization has long been a source of interest to scholars. The construction and maintenance of the Roman Empire extensively relied on it. Romanization is a process in which the native cultures begin, at least archaeologically, to resemble Roman culture. Recent trends in archaeology and classics have focused attention on the cross-cultural aspects of Roman-native contact. Martin Millett defines Romanization as "a two-way process of acculturation; it was the interaction of two cultures, such that information and traits passes between them" (Millett 1990, 2). Extensive research has gone into understanding this amorphous process, and a particular amount of attention has focused on Britain. Conquest occurred rather late there, yet the province held a position of great importance. Scotland is of particular importance when considering Romanization in Britain.

The Roman occupation of Scotland consisted of three brief periods. The tribes of Scotland first came into contact with the Romans sometime in the 70s AD. During the governorship of Agricola, the Romans advanced all the way into the northeast of Scotland. Yet in AD 87 the Romans began a withdrawal, and before long they were south of the Tyne-Solway isthmus. Reconquest was instigated by Antoninus Pius around 139 AD, the Romans had reoccupied the Lowlands by 142 and had began constructing linear earthworks, the Antonine Wall, across the Forth-Clyde isthmus. Occupation continued along the wall until the mid 160s AD when the troops fell back to Hadrian's Wall.

The second withdrawal of the Roman troops did not end Roman contact with Scotland, there was the continued presence of some outpost forts beyond Hadrian's Wall (Hanson 1997, 197). Septimius Severus led the final major expedition into Scotland in 208

AD, although this only lasted until 210 AD, when the Roman forces returned to Hadrian's Wall permanently.

Due to these varied occupations, investigating the Romanization of Scotland is particularly important. It provides a region where some areas experienced no Roman contact at all, others only slight contact and finally some regions which bordered the Romans and were, at certain intervals, actually occupied. Certainly trade and contact existed, yet the question remains whether Romanization truly occurred in Scotland. If so, what role did trade and contact have on the development and Romanization of the natives. Numerous scholars have addressed this issue, Breeze, D.J. 1982 Whittaker 1989, Hanson, W. S. 1996, to name a few.

Some scholars have asserted that the pressures of maintaining the Roman army may have affected the development of natives in the border regions (Breeze 1989 and Fulford 1989). However, recent investigations suggest that the presence of the Roman military may have had little or no effect on the natives (Hanson 1997). In general, the dearth of Roman goods beyond the frontier indicates that Romanization was not extensive in Scotland. That is not to say Roman items are singularly lacking, but no site has ever revealed an extensive quantity or range of Roman artefacts, except at Traprain Law.

Traprain Law is an enormous site, located in the southeast of Scotland, twenty miles east of Edinburgh in East Lothian. The Law rises to a height of 350 feet, and is naturally defended by a steep rocky incline on the south and around the north. The west and the northwest are more accessible, and it is around these areas that a number of ramparts once stood. At its largest, the site had a rampart which enclosed forty acres.

Here A.O. Curle and J. Cree commenced excavations from 1914 to 1915 and again from 1919 until 1924. Curle and Cree discovered an unprecedented amount of goods, and published their finds annually in PSAS. The artefacts revealed that habitation on the site began at least as early as the Neolithic, and perhaps earlier. The

amount of artefacts was vast for a southern rural site, and is unheard of for a Scottish site. The finds consisted of numerous bronze objects, many of Roman origin, and extensive evidence of metalworking. How and why all these Roman items got so far north had to be addressed. The clay moulds sufficiently answer how, although why so many Roman artefacts were found at Traprain remains a mystery.

Any scholar dealing with the Roman presence along the borders must address Traprain Law and its incredible assemblage of goods. Yet understanding, or even attempting to interpret the finds at Traprain is extremely problematic. The excavators chose to focus on the western plateau, which appeared to be the most habitable area for settlement (Jobey 1976, 191). Excavation of the rolling plateau was commenced by removing soil according to arbitrary levels, and not habitation layers. Thus the levels do not necessarily represent contemporaneous occupation, and often items would be located in levels to which they obviously could not belong. Curle and Cree both acknowledged that this method of excavation was problematic, yet they chose to retain it, reporting "it will be realised that the term 'level' in connection with a continuous occupation is *necessarily inaccurate*, although for descriptive purposes this method is more convenient and has its advantages" (Cree 1921, 206).

The second problem scholars faced was the lack of any coherence or collective interpretation of the excavation and finds.

> Unfortunately the excavators, who should have been those best qualified to do so, produced no definitive report embodying and synthesising the material scattered in the interim accounts, nor does the excavation as a whole seem to have been planned with such an end in view. The interim reports in these Proceedings are, as is well known to archaeologists, almost incomprehensible if read as a whole (Burley 1956, 119).

The finds therefore were inaccessible and unusable for research, as they basically lacked context and stylistic chronology. Burley (1956) effectively dealt with the latter problem, by examining and classifying all the metalwork at Traprain. In effect, Burley documented the stylistic development of the metalwork and revealed the chronology of the items. Her work also recognised, and forced others to recognise, that some order and

stratigraphy could be detected in the 'level' method of excavation. Interpretation of the finds, however, remains elusive, since there is no convenient means of discovering the context of the artefacts.

Although other excavations were commenced on the Law, Cruden in 1939 and Bersu in 1948, none were as extensive as the early excavations. The later investigations were of limited duration and focused primarily on the ramparts. Therefore, there were no other excavations in the settled areas of the site to help clarify the abundant material from the first set of excavations. Finally, even if the material at Traprain had been well reported and contextualized, the lack of other excavations in East Lothian renders any coherent interpretations of contact between the Romans and the local natives beyond Traprain impossible.

That is not to say that Traprain Law has been exclusively ignored by scholars. Indeed, the importance of the site has long been recognised, yet a coherent interpretation of the site has, through necessity, been avoided. Most scholars interpreted the site as evidence of a philo-Roman stance among the tribe which occupied that territory, purportedly the Votadini (Richmond 1955 and Feachem 1956). Recent theories have taken a new perspective. Peter Hill proposed that Traprain Law was a votive site (1987). Such an interpretation of the site completely negates the commonly assumed philo-Roman policy of the Votadini. If all the artefacts were deposited as votive goods, by people travelling from all over Britain, as Hill suggests, these items lose their Roman context since their provenance becomes unknown. A votive use of the site, in some aspects, divorces the artefacts from the occupants of the Law, and instead renders the site an anomaly, not to be considered in the question of Romanization or Roman contact in Scotland. Furthermore, votive deposition effectively dispels the legacy of stratigraphical difficulties left by the early excavations.

With the help of modern technology, the material at Traprain, which once seemed an amorphous mass, can be systematically processed so that a pattern and

context of the finds becomes coherent. The finds at Traprain have been plotted onto the site maps submitted to the PSAS by the original excavators. The exact find spot of the items cannot be recorded, as this information is not available and probably never was. However, the artefacts within each year must be confined to the area excavated that year, and usually each artefact is given a level and square. Each artefact, listed either in Burley's report on the metalwork, in the PSAS articles or obtained from the Edinburgh museum, is plotted on the site maps according to its provenance. The artefacts are classified and plotted together as a group. Since the exact location of the artefacts is unknown, the number of artefacts have been listed as near to the centre of the square as possible, to avoid the occurrence of any bias. There are three sets of maps which the accompanying CD ROM contains. One set, classified as 'all area' indicates finds by class from across the entire western plateau, yet does not indicate the levels each item was found on. The second set also represents the entire site, plotting finds by groups, yet, these maps divide the finds from the upper levels from those on the lower levels. Finally, the map from each level of each year's excavation is listed, on these maps is plotted every find made in that location. See CD ROM for directions of use.

The purpose of this paper is, with the aid of these maps, to establish a context for the finds at Traprain and to assess the modern theories and interpretations of the site in comparison with the newly established context of finds. Chapter two gives a detailed discussion of the current interpretations of the chronology and history of the site. In this chapter all the contextual information revealed in the excavation reports is closely examined and interpreted. Chapter three addresses the current votive interpretation of Traprain Law by comparing the artefact assemblage from Traprain with assemblages from other votive sites. Chapter four continues this comparison by comparing the distribution of artefacts at Traprain with the distribution identified at other votive sites. Chapter five consists of a detailed discussion of the distribution and chronological context of the artefacts. The conclusion applies this new information to other existing

interpretations of Traprain law in an attempt to uncover the social and cultural activities occurring at Traprain and among the Votadini. Finally, the question of Romanization and Roman contact in Scotland is addressed.

Chapter 2:

The Ramparts

Traprain Law lies on top of a hill with a series of ramparts standing upon several natural terraces. The Law consists of three main areas: the summit of the hill, a lower western terrace and an even lower northern terrace. Ramparts enclosed all these areas at some time. Great attention has focused on the ramparts, since the intricacies of their winding system is rather complicated. Yet comprehension of the system of ramparts would procure a chronological framework for the site. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine critically the current hypothesized chronology of Traprain and the data upon which it is based.

Over a number of years, various scholars have invested an extensive amount of research and discussion in attempting to identify and date the rampart system; not an easy task due to the denuded condition of the ramparts and their construction on a series of slopes. This renders interpretation of the systems development extremely complex.

Since the ramparts underwent different excavations, several different names have been applied to the same ramparts. Table A is a concordance table which identifies the different excavations which occurred on each rampart and the corresponding system of names which developed for those ramparts.

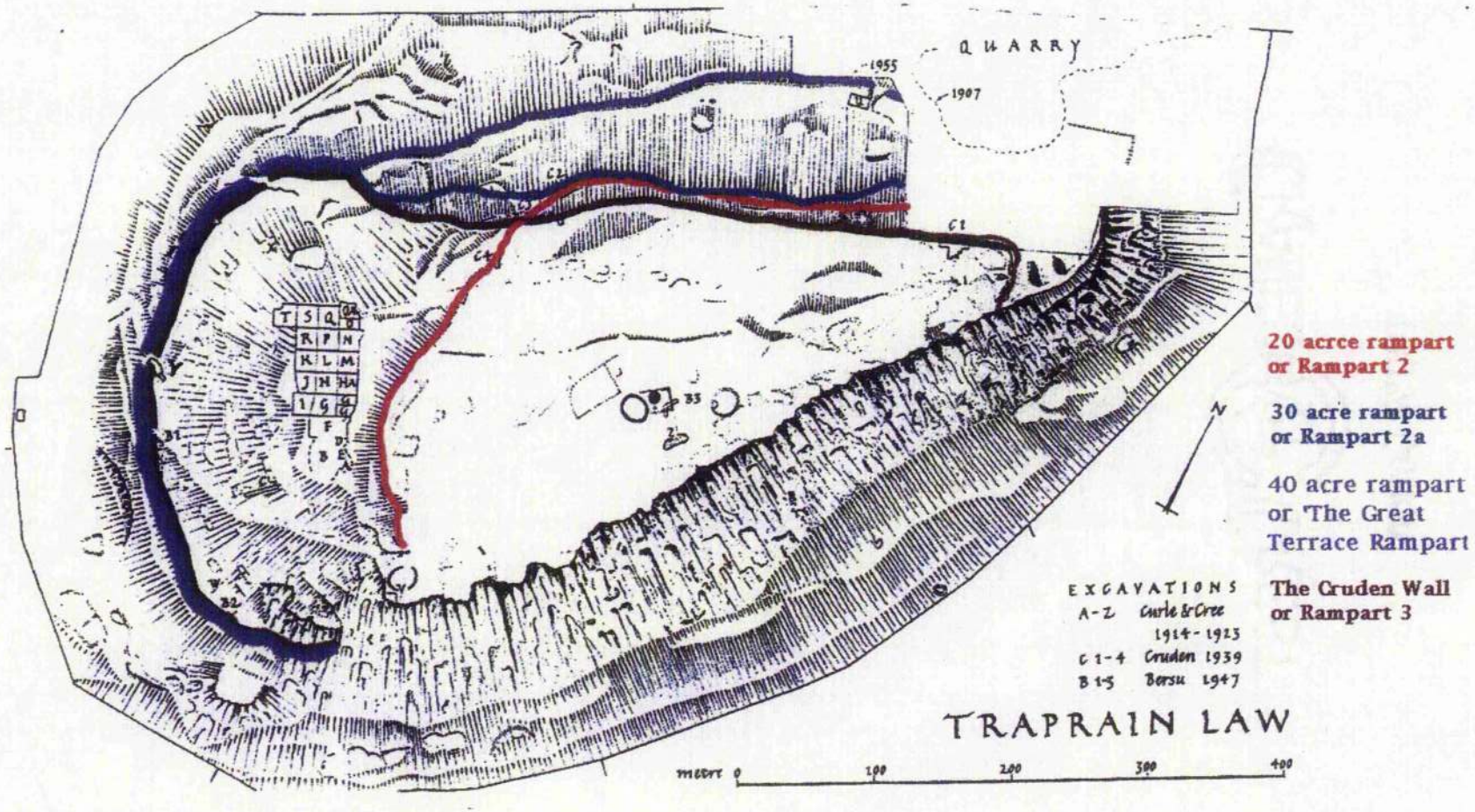
Table A: concordance table

Rampart	Cruden 1939	Bersu 1947	Feachem
Enclosure located on the summit and enclosed only part of the summit.-no longer visible	Unidentified	Unidentified	Ten acre enclosure or Summit rampart

Terrace-rampart encircling only the summit of the Law-denuded	Rampart 2	Unidentified	Twenty acre rampart or upper rampart
Rampart enclosing the summit of the law, and also running west to encircle the western plateau-extremely denuded	Rampart 2a	Unidentified	Thirty acre rampart
Rampart enclosing the western and northern plateau-very obvious	Rampart 1	Great Terrace Rampart	Forty acre rampart
Stone-faced turf cored rampart enclosing the western plateau and summit of law-remains prevalent	Rampart 3	The Cruden Wall	The Cruden Wall

Feachem theorized that there originally was a ten acre enclosure along part of the summit, although most excavators could not identify any existent features. The first attested rampart, the upper rampart, or Feachem's twenty acre rampart, runs along the summit of the hill enclosing an area of approximately twenty acres (Map 1). Cruden sectioned this rampart, which he identified as Rampart 2, in cuttings C2 and C4.

The second terrace-rampart, Feachem's thirty acre rampart, follows the approximate line of Rampart 2 on the northern portion of the hill, but "where the latter begins to turn S. the former seems to run on W., and it may well have continued to follow a course similar to that taken by the later defences" (Feachem 1955, 287). Cruden excavated a piece of the second terrace-rampart, which can be identified on Map 1, as



Map 1 Feachem, adapted by Close-Brooks

Cutting 3. He notes that this rampart, referred to as Rampart 2a, is of a slighter size than the upper rampart, Rampart 2. Jobey follows Feachem in postulating the continuation of the line of this rampart to the west, but it was not identified by Bersu in any of his cuttings. By way of explanation Jobey notes that the thirty acre rampart was not "recognized as a surface feature elsewhere" at that time, and also that the course of the rampart, due to its ruinous state, was not assured (Jobey 1976, 197). Due to the unusual steep uphill climb of the rampart and the slightness of its construction, as identified by Cruden in Cutting 2, Close-Brooks argued that this line of defence should be severely questioned (Close-Brooks 1983, 209).

The third rampart, called the great terrace-rampart, encloses the western plateau. Instead of following the line of the upper rampart along the summit, it spreads out to enclose the northern flank of the hill. The great terrace-rampart thus enclosed an area of forty acres (Map 1). Cruden referred to this rampart as Rampart 1, and Feachem calls it the forty acre rampart.

The latest rampart, known as the Cruden Wall, followed the approximate line of Rampart 2. The Cruden Wall excluded the northern flank of the hill and reduced the enclosed space once again to thirty acres (Map 1).

As with identifying the ramparts, dating the defenses has also proven to be extremely problematic. This arises due to the complex system and the limited amount of excavation which has been carried out. Nevertheless, the excavations, even those not directly associated with the ramparts, provide further insight into the complex development of the site and its ramparts.

Three programmes of excavations occurred on the hill. The first, and most extensive, was directed by Curle and Cree from 1914 to 1915 and again from 1919 until 1923. Map 1 marks all the areas examined, most which were located on the western plateau. Areas A-T, with the exclusion of C, were together in a block all close to the slope from the summit. Areas C, W and X though also on the western plateau, were scattered

out closer to the western edge of the plateau. Area C was excavated in 1914. The purpose of that trench was to investigate some hut depressions ninety feet further down from the western limit of Area B. In 1915, Curle and Cree excavated two areas on the northern terrace, one of which was directly behind the northern-terrace gateway, Area U on Map 1. The second area excavated that year on the northern terrace cannot be identified on Map 1, as the quarry has removed the excavation site. Also excavated during that time was Area V, a midden heap at the south-west corner of the summit. In 1922, they excavated Area W, which crossed an artificial hollow lying behind the main rampart. Also in 1922, Cree excavated the water hole on the summit of the hill, area Z. The final excavations were the same year on one of the western gateways through the rampart, Area Y on Map 1.

The next programme of excavation was undertaken by J Cruden in 1939. He was investigating the latest rampart, which is now generally referred to by his name, and Ramparts 2 and 2a, or the twenty acre and thirty acre enclosures. The four areas he dug can be identified on Map 1. At C1, he excavated the Cruden Wall, at C2, he investigated the relations between Rampart 2, 2a and the Cruden Wall; C3 was a continuation of his investigation of the relationship between Rampart 2 and the Cruden Wall, and finally, C4 affirmed the continuation of Rampart 2.

Dr. Bersu performed the final excavations on Traprain Law in 1947. He focused on the great terrace-rampart, or the forty acre rampart. Bersu made one small cutting on the summit, investigating the remains of a building (B3 on Map 1). The remaining trenches, B1 and B2 on Map 1, were cut through both the Cruden Wall and the great terrace-rampart, and were designed to investigate the relationship between these two ramparts. Finally, in B3, Bersu excavated a square, medieval structure on the summit.

The information from these excavations led to the following chronological interpretation of the site and its ramparts. Feachem claimed that the first and second terrace-ramparts, Ramparts 2 and 2a, were quite early and practically contemporary. He found the presence of early material on the Western plateau as evidence of early

occupation and the need for defense on the site. Therefore, Feachem interprets the thirty acre enclosure, Rampart 2a, as a defense system built shortly after the first rampart, Rampart 2, to protect the inhabitants of the western plateau.

> Their presence there might be due to their having been thrown out of the 20-acre enclosure in midden material; but it might also be due to the W. slope-and therefore the 30-acre enclosure-having been occupied from an early time. In this case, the enclosing of the W. slope to enlarge the 20-acre enclosure to 30 acres might have come about in consequence of a need for more room at some time quite early on in the life of the 20-acre enclosure (Feachem 1956, 288).

Jobey found this interpretation of the early enclosures problematic. While he agreed that the first rampart, Rampart 2, had a 'primary context' and found no problem in dating it to the seventh century AD (1976, 197), he was unwilling, however, to accept Feachem's' suggestion that the thirty acre rampart, Rampart 2a, was also of the Bronze Age This, he claims, "would entail at least one and possibly two enclosures being of earlier date" (Jobey 1976, 197). He instead suggested that the thirty acre rampart, Rampart 2a, was a later extension meant to defend 'renewed activity' on the western slopes.

> This renewed occupation may not show itself very clearly or concisely in the archaeological record although we could be approaching a little firmer ground by the second to first century BC. (Jobey 1976, 198).

The third rampart, the great terrace-rampart, is unequivocally dated by both Feachem and Jobey to the Roman period. However, as Jobey pointed out, it was unusual for a native *oppida* to maintain defensive ramparts during the Roman occupation. He suggested that this may have been due to the philo-Roman relations maintained by the Votadini, in whose territory Traprain allegedly lies (Jobey 1976, 198).

No precise date for the final rampart, the Cruden wall, has been agreed upon. Cruden himself gave the wall a *terminus post quem* date of the second century AD (Cruden 1939, 54). Bersu chose to date the wall to the Dark Ages (Close-Brooks 1983, 213), while Feachem suggested it was constructed in 370 AD, when the Votadini were

converted into a *foederatus* (Feachem 1956, 289).

This interpretation of the walls constructs the generally accepted dates for the defenses of Traprain Law. However, all scholars tend to agree that the dates can only be guesses due to the limited amount of excavation carried out on the ramparts. Close examination of the evidence used to construe these dates enforces this claim, and reveals the paucity of substantiating evidence for any of them.

The Ten Acre Rampart:

With regard to the proposed ten acre enclosure, no excavation has been done either on the rampart or in any place on the summit except for the water hole, the midden heap, area B3, and Cruden's trench, C1. None of these trenches revealed this hypothesized enclosure. Cree excavated the reservoir in 1922, which consisted of a natural oval basin bordered by large slabs set on end which served as a foundation or edging for turf walls enclosing the tank. The stones' structure suggested a lane leading to the tank from the west. The finds consisted of a bronze object of uncertain use, two fragments of a pair of tweezers, a whorl, a stone hone and two smoothing stones, a sling stone, two horse-shoes, a fragment of a mould for casting a blade, several pieces of native pottery, and three to four fragments of mediaeval pottery. The artefacts from the water hole coincide with the evidence found from the excavated western plateau. The Roman presence is accounted for by the uncertain bronze object and tweezers, while the Bronze Age is attested by the mould. The remainder of the material, excluding the mediaeval pottery, can not be dated.

The midden heap on the summit of the rampart, cutting ✓ in Map 1, was excavated in 1915. The finds include: a few small scraps of pottery (one or two Roman), a fragment or two of clay moulds, a flint, and half of an annular bead. As Curle and Cree point out, "the evidence produced was not sufficient to indicate clearly the relation of the midden to any of the various occupations already noted, but the general character of the

pottery suggested the earlier rather than the later group" (1915, 85).

Finally, the excavations from Cruden's C1 revealed a hearth and hut walls directly below the Cruden Wall, which was situated on a layer of sticky black soil. Finds from this trench can not be dated. and include: native ware, a rim of a stone vessel and some oxen bone.

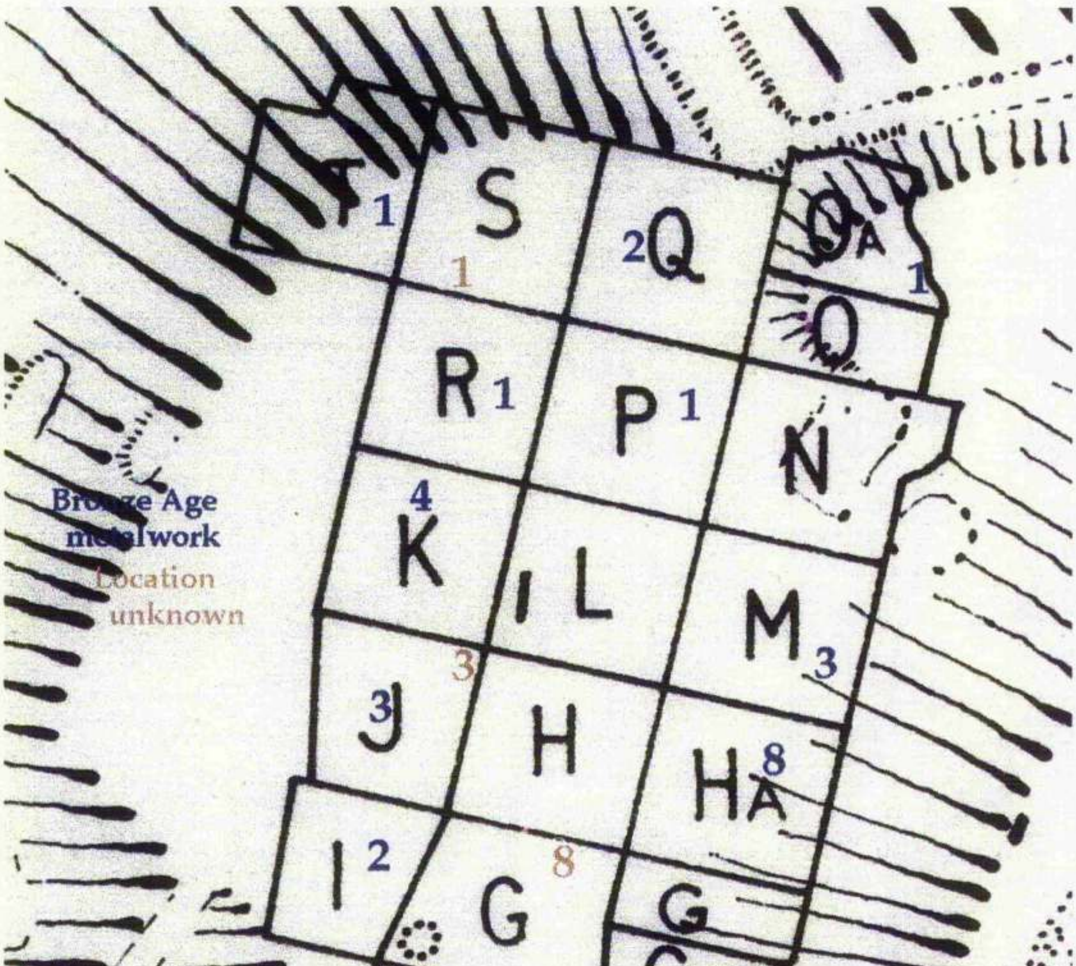
As far as substantiating or negating the existence of a ten acre rampart, all the evidence from excavations is inconclusive. However, some relevant points, concerning the occupation of the summit, do arise. Firstly, the presence of the Bronze Age mould found in the water hole indicates some Bronze Age activity was occurring on the summit. Also, the early nature of the finds from the midden heap and Cruden's C1 confirm that the summit of the hill was occupied at an early date.

Ramparts 2 & 2A:

In 1939 Cruden carried out the only investigation of the earliest attested walls, the proposed twenty and thirty acre ramparts. He examined the relation between the Cruden Wall and these earlier ramparts. He excavated a trench on the north west side of the site (C2, Map 1), where the Cruden Wall and Ramparts 2 and 2a, or the twenty and thirty acre ramparts respectively, ran along the hill in relative proximity.

At the foot of Rampart 2, Cruden found a polished stone axe head and some native sherds, while on the terrace upon which Rampart 2 was constructed, he found a hearth, which contained two sherds of native pottery. Cruden did not investigate beneath the hearth, so its position in the chronological sequence is uncertain. He noted (1939, 56):

> At the top, where the rampart lay upon the terrace, the face stones have slid inwards on to a spread of small stones which may have been the original backing. At any rate, the face stones above the lip of the terrace must have been backed at one time by a core now gone, which had no inside face, as the turf-cored rampart had. This suggests the hearth was constructed after the fall of the rampart, but there is no stratigraphy to prove this. The beaten surface on the other side of the hearth does not spread over the face of small stones, so it is questionable whether the small stones under the hearth are a continuation of those outside or a separate bottoming heaped up for the hearth to lie upon.



Bronze Age
Artefacts

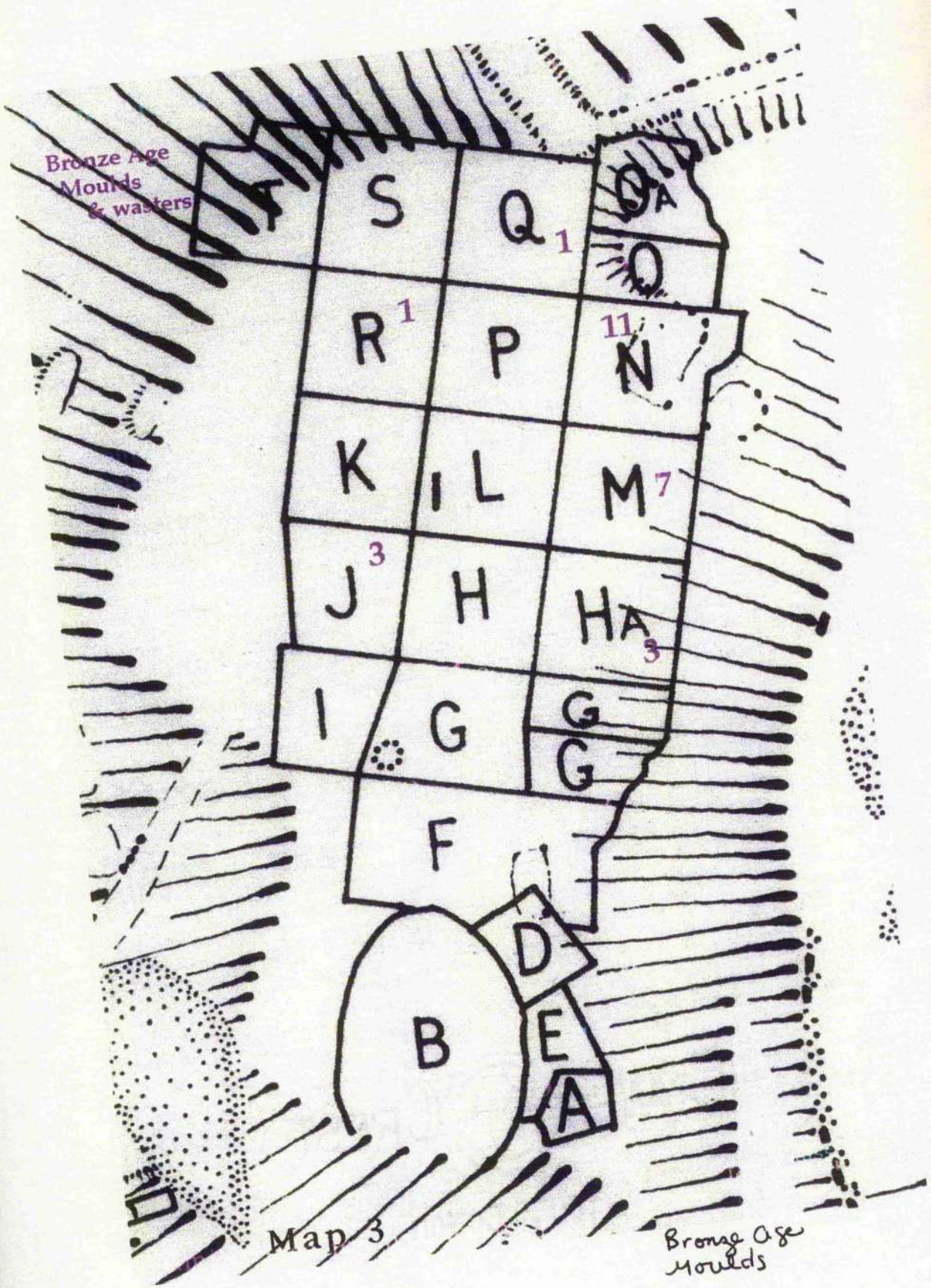
scale: 45 Metres

Cruden laid another trench, C3, Map 1, sixty feet west of C2, to investigate the intersection of Rampart 2 and the Cruden Wall. In this cutting, Cruden found that Rampart 2 ran directly underneath the Cruden Wall (Cruden 1939, 56). Therefore, Cruden's excavations on the earlier ramparts have shown without a doubt that Rampart 2 was separate and earlier than the Cruden Wall.

Nevertheless, the actual dating of Ramparts 2 and 2a is difficult due to the difficulty in dating the material. Feachem (1956, 247) inferred a Bronze Age date for both of the earlier ramparts, while Jobey (1976, 197) agreed that one could be Bronze Age, but denied that they both could be. His arguments have been discussed above; the main point is the problem of dating both structures to the Bronze Age, particularly one as large as thirty acres. Another issue is the possibility that the Bronze Age artefacts on the terrace may have been in a secondary context. Feachem stated that provided the Bronze Age artefacts found on the western plateau were *in situ*, such a wealth of material was a reliable indicator that the thirty acre enclosure was Bronze Age.

Thus the nature of the deposition of the Bronze Age items on the western plateau has serious effects on how settlement at the Law should be understood and interpreted. Map 2 shows the distribution of Bronze Age artefacts found on the western plateau and indicates that they are scattered fairly uniformly across the site, with a general lack of items in the southern section of the plateau.

By contrasting the Bronze Age artefacts with the Bronze Age moulds, Map 3, one can see that the majority of the latter were located in areas Ha, M & N. Six other items for production were found along the western side of the plateau. The distribution map indicates two things: primarily, the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the western plateau was occupied during the Bronze Age, and secondly, that some metalworking activity was occurring on the plateau as well. Therefore, the evidence supports Feachem's claim that the thirty acre enclosure was Bronze Age, provided that the excavation reports support a primary context for these items. The concentration of Bronze Age moulds in


Bronze Age
Moulds
& wasters
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A
Map 3
Bronze Age
Moulds
Scale: 45 metres

areas Ha, M and N might suggest that they are fill or rubble that has slid or been thrown down from the summit.

The greatest number of Bronze Age moulds were found in Area N. The majority of the moulds were found in the fourth level, and a few fragments were recovered in the third level. The third level of area N revealed a large amount of structural evidence. The northeast area revealed no signs of habitation, while the occupied area contained many scattered stones, at least five hearths, and some possible post holes. No mention was made of rubble or fill. The fourth level showed evidence of occupation, although only across half the square, where there were two areas of paving and several stones set on edge. Once again no mention is made of fill or rubble in the square. The artefacts also give no indication of mixing or contamination which one would expect to find in rubble or midden material.

Level three produced artefacts of both the late Bronze Age (two bronze buttons) and the Iron Age. The majority of finds were of the Iron Age, consisting of several fibulae, Roman glass, Samian ware, a whipping-top (Curle, 1921, 252), and finally a denarius of Trajan. The layer is consistent with the general pattern seen throughout the site of the third layer, consisting primarily of Iron Age artefacts with small amounts of Bronze Age goods surfacing. These moulds were most likely disturbed from the lower level and redeposited here. The artefacts of the fourth level also follow the pattern seen across the site. Some Neolithic and Bronze Age artefacts were found (a polished stone axe, some flint scrapers and an instrument of chert (Curle, 1921, 246)) as well as a few Iron Age items. The only truly questionable item was a fourth century coin. The levels in this square show a chronological progression, with very little evidence of any mix or rubble contaminating the finds. The moulds, therefore, should be associated with a Bronze Age structural context.

Attention should be paid to Areas Ha and M. An area of paving surrounded by rough stones was found in the sixth level of Ha. Cree stated "there is little doubt that

this enclosure formed a small dwelling" (Cree 1921, 204). Four feet from this dwelling lay one hearth; a few other hearths lay scattered further away from the dwelling. A barley cache was also found to the east of the dwelling. There was evidence of occupation in a third of section M but only one hearth was found, located near to section Ha. A saddle quern was also found there, close to section Ha and the dwelling.

> The dwelling and other structure above described in Ha and M is of particular interest, as from the relics obtained, which will be described later, there is no doubt that the occupation of this level is referable to the "overlap" period, *i.e.* the period covering the termination of the Bronze Age and the introduction of iron to Scotland (Cree 1921, 206).

Cree comes to this conclusion primarily from the number of Bronze Age and Early Iron Age items found on the lower levels that year. He points out that three Bronze Age axes were found near the door of the dwelling as well as the discovery of the iron socketed axe in area M.

All the items from these levels contain early artefacts. Therefore, while the socketed axes cannot positively be identified with the dwelling, the reports show definite evidence of early occupation on the western plateau, habitation which at the latest is Early Iron Age. The artefactual assemblage does not show any inconsistencies indicative of secondary deposition. In Ha, level 6, two bronze wasters were found and one mould was found in section M. However, several other moulds were found on higher levels and some were even found in the third level. While this may seem out of place, since the majority of the Bronze Age goods were all found in the lowest level, the cause of this chronological scattering becomes clear from the site reports. The excavations of 1921 in some areas were very problematic. Cree points out:

> It must also be borne in mind that all the ground on each level was not necessarily under occupation at the same time, and that, owing to the natural slope of the hill, levels, for instance, referable possibly to the Early Iron Age were found to be on the same horizon as occupied areas of a much later date (Cree 1921, 204).

The presence of crucibles in the sixth level also indicates that manufacture was occurring

in that area, reinforcing a primary context for the moulds in that area.

The evidence thus indicates that the Bronze Age artefacts were most likely *in situ*, and not secondary deposits from the summit. Map 2 indicates that habitation was occurring on the western plateau, while the archaeological reports indicate that even the moulds are to be associated with the western plateau and not the summit. Thus Feachem's suggestion that the thirty acre enclosure is Bronze Age is feasible.

Nor is such occupation without precedent. Jobey hesitated to accept that the thirty acre enclosure was Bronze Age because he doubted such a large stone rampart could be Bronze Age. Finds of extensive Bronze Age occupation and complex constructions were rare at the time when Jobey was writing, although he was forced to admit "with the current dates from Dinorben hillfort and, indeed, others , anything might seem possible and the Pac-y-meirch hoard may well remind us of possibly similar relationships elsewhere" (Jobey 1976, 197). Since then recent excavations have shown that such extensive Bronze Age development was not so unusual after all, and can be seen close to Traprain (Owen 1993, 66).

Recent excavations at Eildon Hill, just south of Traprain, have revealed extensive Bronze Age occupation. Radiocarbon dates indicate Bronze Age settlement of the early first millennium BC, lasting two to three centuries. While only a small percentage of Eildon Hill was excavated, the Bronze Age was represented over a large area.

> However, it is noteworthy that features of this period have been found close to the summit (Platform 3) and 220 m downhill (Platform 1), while the pre-rampart hearth is circa 250 m downhill from Platform 3. Thus, Late Bronze Age features occur over at least one-eighth (roughly 4 acres) of the total area of the fort. Late Bronze Age features are, in fact, more numerous and more varied than Roman Iron Age features in the areas examined (Owen 1993, 66).

The Bronze Age occupation may have been enclosed by a 39 acre rampart. The Late Bronze Age features of a hearth and Pit (Pit 2) were located beneath the 39 acre 'Defensive System A'. The rampart, however, is earlier than the Roman Iron Age Platform 2. Therefore, the ramparts at Eildon Hill must be Late Bronze Age or Pre-Roman Iron Age.

"The absence of A-and B-horizon development between the pre-rampart features and the rampart base indicates that the rampart was probably erected in the earlier part of the interval, i.e. that it is a Late Bronze Age rampart" (Owen 1993, 64). The evidence for this dating is however still tentative.

Great Terrace Rampart:

Two different sets of excavations took place on and around the outer, forty acre ramparts (the great terrace-rampart). Curle and Cree opened two trenches near the rampart in the course of their 1914 to 1923 excavations (Areas U and W on Map 1). In 1943, due to the extended quarrying on the northern side of the Law, Dr. Bersu commenced some limited excavation on the site, including some trenches dug into the forty acre enclosure (B1 and B2 on Map 1).

In 1915, three trenches were laid beyond the excavations on the western plateau. Two trenches were opened on the northern terrace, between the thirty acre ramparts (Area U on Map 1). A final trench was placed across an artificial hollow lying in the rear of the main rampart, located to the southwest (Area W on Map 1).

As can be seen from Map 1, Area U does not actually go under the great terrace-rampart, but is really an excavation just within the rampart. Therefore, the aforementioned trenches cannot give secure evidence for the dating of this wall. Since the forty acre rampart was the only rampart to enclose this area, the information from the excavation on the northern terrace gives some insight into the occupation of the plateau and the construction of the terrace rampart.

The first trench was set to the north of the terrace, near the rampart entrance. The excavation revealed that, as with the other excavated areas of the site, this area showed approximately four layers of occupation (Curle 1910, 65). The first layer of occupation revealed many stones lying irregularly, approximately one foot below the surface. The presence of clay beneath the stones was interpreted by the excavators as evidence of a

floor. No artefacts were found on this layer (Curle 1916, 66). The second level revealed a paved floor and a hearth within, and other scattered evidence of dwellings, such as post holes, paved areas and hearths (Curle 1916, 67). The artefacts were of a late Roman date and include such things as: a playing man, a fragment of a large glass bottle, a much weathered piece of Samian, a jug possibly of Castor ware, Roman pottery, and some hand-made native pottery (Curle 1916, 68).

In the third layer, numerous stones were found scattered 'irregularly' in two groups. Curle noted that this "seemed to suggest the sites of two circular huts with a diameter each of ten feet, but here again the evidence warranted no definite conclusions" (Curle 1916, 68). The finds indicated a second century AD date. The artefacts included: the point end of an iron sword-blade, a lead whorl, a piece of Roman bottle-glass, a fragment of Samian ware, of a second century date, and some native pottery (Curle 1916, 69). Curle also noted that the amount of native pottery in this location was rather small (Curle 1916, 69). The lowest level had no signs of occupation, not even a hearth. However, large stones had been piled up to render a floor level where the ground dipped. The finds were few and possibly could be dated to the first century AD on account of the presence of a fragment of Samian ware. The amount of native pottery was comparable to that of the third level (Curle 1916, 69).

Numerous interesting points can be raised from this excavated area. As was mentioned before, the entire terrace seems to follow the pattern found in the other layers, as Curle himself notes (1916, 71):

> The result of the excavation on the terrace thus brought us no nearer to the determination of the date of occupancy of the earlier fortification, but it revealed to us that we had here exactly the same phenomena as we had encountered on the other part of the hill where our previous excavations had been conducted-three, or four, periods of occupation, the earliest dating probably from the end of the first century. As elsewhere, the paucity of relics and the absence of discoloration of the soil on the two upper levels clearly pointed to occupations of short duration.

While the excavations cannot provide a secure date for the construction of the

fortifications, it does, however, provide some relevant clues. In considering the levels, nothing can be said in relation to the top level, as the remains were too sparse to provide any information. It is interesting to point out that the top level was found at a depth similar to that found in other excavated areas. The second layer also is similar to the second layers found in other areas. The area exhibited a considerable amount of structural remains while the artefacts produced third century Roman pottery and a small amount of native ware.

The third and final level is of interest here. The presence of two possible circular houses indicates that occupation may have occurred at this time on the terrace. The artefacts give it a second century AD date. The low level of native sherds is slightly puzzling. In all other respects, the levels of the northern terrace have produced a similar variety of artefacts. Such a low level of native ware is compounded in the fourth level, where the amount of native ware was also extremely low. Curle states that the fourth level produced "about the same amount of native pottery as from the level above" (Curle 1916, 69). The pottery consisted of "many fragments of one particular pot, and pieces only of two or three others" (Curle 1916, 69).

In all the other areas excavated, the fourth level produced large amounts of native pottery and very little Roman pottery or goods. The fourth level of this area, however, differed from all the other regions not only in its lack of structural evidence, (including even a hearth, very unusual for the lowest level), but it produced Roman goods of the first century and very little native ware. One possible explanation for this is that this area of the terrace was not an area of habitation until the Late pre-Roman or Roman period. If it had been a domestic site for a long period during the early Iron Age, a greater quantity of native ware as well as domestic features would have been found on the terrace. The complete lack of any evidence of metalworking should also be noted here. Clearly the activity which was occurring there is of a slightly different nature than that seen on the western plateau.

Further to the east, on the northern terrace, Curle and Cree opened another trench in 1915. This trench cannot be identified on Map 1, as the excavated area was destroyed by extensive quarrying. An oval trench of thirty feet by twenty feet was laid out, revealing three levels of occupation. Some evidence of paving and occupation was found eight to eighteen inches below the surface (Curle 1916, 70). As with the first trench, no relics were found on this level. The next level revealed more substantial indications of occupation with horizontally lying stones and clay beds. The artefacts included an iron fibula with a bronze pin, and several fragments of Roman pottery, probably of the second century AD (Curle 1916, 70). The final level was again comparable to Area U. It produced a small number of finds, the Roman finds dating to the first century AD. In respect to the native ware Curle notes "on this site singularly little native pottery was found" (Curle 1916, 70).

Therefore, the second trench on the northern terrace is comparable to the first trench. The paucity of native sherds in the second trench supports the theory that Bronze and early Iron Age domestic habitation on this terrace was not extensive or possibly not even present at all.

In 1915, a trench was dug, Area W, Map 1, to investigate an artificial hollow which lay directly behind the Cruden Wall on the western plateau. While the trench is located by the Cruden Wall, the information obtained there does have some bearing on the dating of the great terrace-rampart.

The natural slope of the hill was found six feet four inches below the surface. The excavators reported four occupation layers. The first layer was at a depth of two feet, and consisted of a stone paving "projecting for a distance of three feet from the rampart" (Curle 1916, 85). One foot below this paving some artefacts were found, which consisted of: an iron tool, a piece of Roman blue-green glass, a fragment of coarse native pottery, and a small piece of reddish-brown Roman ware "probably a species of Castor ware and of third- or fourth-century date" (Curle 1916, 85).

At five feet down the third layer was found, which consisted of a quantity of bones and a fragment of bronze. The bottom consisted of "a number of fairly large bones" (Curle 1916, 85).

Curle and Cree summarize this trench claiming:

> Though this cut across the trench was only a very partial exploration, the evidence points as elsewhere to four definite periods of occupation: the latest represented by the paving, the next by the pottery, and the second in point of time, as well as the earliest, by the bones found at two different levels (Curle 1916, 85).

However, while Curle and Cree associate these finds with the four layers of occupation identified throughout the remainder of the site, the finds from the last two layers seem to agree more with the finds in the Midden Layer also excavated that year. With the exception of the first stone paving, Curle and Cree fail to mention any floors or stratigraphy. Also, the lack of any hearths, clay areas or stones strongly contrasts with the other excavated areas on the western plateau. It is important to note Curle's comment that the definite periods of occupation are 'represented' by the paving, pottery and bones. With the exception of the paving found on the upper level, this area revealed singularly little evidence of domestic activity. Indeed, the report of the lower levels sounds similar to that of the midden deposit. Area W may represent layers of midden deposits which were built upon later, thus compacting the rubbish together.

Compare the description of the last three layers with that of the Midden deposit also excavated that year on the summit of the hill:

A) Rampart trench:

> At a depth of 2 feet what appeared to be a stone paving was met with projecting for a distance of 3 feet from the rampart; at a foot below this there were found an iron tool (apparently a mortising chisel) (fig. 33, No. 1), a piece of Roman blue-green glass, a fragment of coarse native pottery, and a small piece of reddish-brown Roman ware ornamented with a scroll in white engobe...At a depth of 5 feet a fragment of bronze was found, as well as a quantity of bones. A number of fairly large bones were also found at the bottom (Curle 1916, 85).

B) Midden heap:

> The soil was very loose, and lay at greatly varying depths over an uneven rocky bottom; it also showed no stratification. The number of bones recovered clearly demonstrated the theory of a kitchen-midden to be correct, but very few relics were recovered in

> addition to the bones. Some small chips of pottery were found, one or two of them Roman; a fragment or two of clay moulds; a flint which had been used as a strike-a-light; and, directly beneath the turf one half of an annular bead of opaque green glass (Curle 1916, 84).

The report does indicate some stratigraphy for the rampart cut, as opposed to the Midden heap. However, the nature of the finds are quite similar, particularly considering the lack of bones found in other areas of the site (Ritchie 1916, 142). The possibility of Area W being part of a midden heap is further substantiated by Bersu's excavation reports, discussed below.

Also of interest is that a depth of two feet divided the 'second layer' and the 'third layer'. This is a far greater depth than any other space noted between the second and third layers in all the other excavated areas on the site. In addition, if one assumes the only identifiable 'layer' is the paving, there is a distance of three feet between the 'third' layer and the first. Thus, the top paving may have been constructed to support accommodations built on top of a midden heap, hence the lack of any substantial floors, paving or hearths below it, this would also explain the usual depth between the 'layers'.

Finally, in 1922, Cree excavated the northern rampart entrance on the western side of the great terrace-rampart, area Y. This excavation revealed that a large wall had been built along the entrance. At an unknown time, the wall was knocked down and used as fill, while a new entrance was built slightly to the north. Cree pointed out that the former wall and entrance was strategically located, and that the latter construction, although slightly to the north, remained within that easily guarded position (Cree 1923, 225).

The finds from the wall fill were few and followed the general pattern of Roman Iron Age items found throughout the site. The artefacts included a few bronze items, a glass bead and bangle, a mould, some Roman ware, including a piece of Samian, and some native ware (Cree 1923, 225). A *terminus post quem* date of the first century AD was applied to the Great Terrace-Rampart due to the presence of the Samian ware among the artefacts.

Dr. Bersu carried out more excavations on the great terrace-rampart in 1949. He laid two trenches along the main rampart, B1: Map 1, directly west of the 1914 excavations and close to the southwest gateway. The second trench, B2, Map 1, was laid at the southwest corner of the western plateau, close to the Curle excavation in Area W. This trench cut through an area of the Cruden Wall where a natural terrace lay just below the wall.

In the first trench Bersu cut through the Cruden Wall, finding it very poorly preserved. Beneath the Wall on the inner face, lay a hearth "coming out between the faces of the Cruden wall" (Bersu 1949), which was embedded in red clay. Under this hearth was some black silt. Beneath this black layer Bersu notes that "hardly any levels can be seen" (Bersu 1949) and "the fill of the terrace bank contains many bones" (Bersu 1949). Close-Brooks noted:

> His section drawings suggest only one clearly defined differentiation, apart from humus in front of the Cruden wall, and that is between a black level with a lot of bones in it at the base of the cutting, and above it a deep layer of brown earth, in which lighter patches with reddened clay are noted both below the Cruden wall and at the east end of the cutting (Close Brooks 1983, 212).

His finds included a Samian sherd, two bronze rings, one broken. Three Roman sherds may also be associated with the finds.

The Cruden Wall was better preserved in the second cutting, while beneath the wall no proper surface could be identified. On the outer surface, beneath the wall, Bersu found many boulders with spaces between them, yet no horizontal levels in the fill. Deep beneath the Cruden bank Bersu found two Roman sherds and some reddened material (Bersu 1949). The finds included sherds of Roman pottery, a bronze ring and some native sherds.

From these excavations, Bersu suggested that the Cruden Wall was built upon a terrace bank, which earlier was the main defense of the *oppidum*. "It was constructed of material scraped up from the inhabited area inside it, including miscellaneous refuse, and

owing to the steepness of the slope was probably revetted with timber" (Close-Brooks 1983, 214).

Close-Brooks had a different interpretation of the finds. She suggested that the terrace rampart was never a defence of the site, but rather refuse that built up behind the remains of an older rampart (Close-Brooks 1983, 215).

> The earlier rampart was probably sited at a point where there was a natural break in the slope of the ground, which falls away more sharply below. The terrace bank, however, should not be regarded as once the main defense of the *oppidum*, as Bersu thought. It appears rather as a purely domestic feature on which buildings were erected over a long period of time. (Close-Brooks 1983, 215).

Close-Brooks believed that an earlier rampart encircled the top of the site, indications of which are visible from the surface (Close-Brooks 1983, 213). She proposed the existence of a possible Iron Age wall, or at least a pre-Roman wall, which fell into disuse, collecting refuse, upon which later inhabitants constructed homes until the Cruden Wall was built on top of it. She dates this older rampart as 'pre-Roman', claiming this dispels the problem of a Roman rampart mentioned by Jobey.

The suggestion that there is an older rampart behind the Cruden Wall, causing the terrace bank to arise will be discussed later. However, Bersu's suggestion that the terrace bank is constructed of refuse is worth considering here. A comparison between the Cree excavations in 1922, area W, and Bersu's trenches along the western and south-western tip of the western plateau, Cutting B3, support this suggestion. Both areas show a layer of habitation on top of a deep area with negligible stratigraphy. Both areas uncovered many bones and a similar variety of goods. All of these trenches are comparable to the Midden heap excavated on the summit in 1915.

The evidence agrees with Bersu's suggestion that a bank of refuse was collected beneath the Cruden Wall. The line of the Great Rampart strikes the line of the Cruden Wall, and most likely it continues along the western plateau in a pattern similar to that of the Cruden Wall. If the wall ran slightly behind the Cruden Wall, the trenches of both Cree and

Bersu would have missed it.

Close-Brooks suggested that there was no rampart constructed of refuse, but rather that the great terrace-rampart is a pre-Roman defence which fell into disuse before Roman habitation. Behind this dilapidated defence refuse simply accumulated. A feasible suggestion, particularly since the archaeological evidence supports her claim, yet the dating of the rampart remains problematic. There is no discernible reason to date these walls as pre-Roman except for the general trend to date walls before the Roman presence, thus alleviating the problem of a defended fort in Roman territory. The walls could be earlier or later.

No excavation has actually been made beneath the great terrace-rampart. Until excavations occur, the dating of the rampart is conjectural, but let us examine what related evidence we have.

Primarily, if the wall began to collect debris after its disuse, the pottery found close to the wall could give some indication of a date. The rampart trench of 1922 recovered only bones on the lowest level and is of no use here. Excavations by the gateway uncovered finds only in the gateway fill, and these items included Roman goods. Bersu's excavations revealed several native sherds as well as a good deal of Roman ware.

Thus the pottery establishes a *terminus post quem* date of the first to second century AD for this wall going out of use. However, these reports are far from complete, and no finds are recorded from *under* the wall. Another relevant point must be made here; the 1922 excavations from the northern terrace indicate very little activity in that area until the Roman period, indicating that the walls are Roman, although the terrace has not been fully excavated and Iron Age occupation may have been occurring on other parts of the terrace.

The Cruden Wall:

Cruden commenced the first real excavations on the wall which now bears his name in 1939. He cut two trenches, the first, C1, Map 1, was on the eastern shoulder of the hill, at the highest point of the quarry face at that time. The wall was twelve feet wide and had an estimated height of six feet. The rampart was constructed of a core of turf laid in layers (Cruden 1939, 50). Within the turf core he found: thin grey sherds, (one Roman, two native), fragments of iron and bronze, and two flint scrapers (Cruden 1939, 59).

Two hearths were found inside the core of the rampart. The first lay three feet beneath the top, and a foot under this lay the remains of the second hearth (Cruden 1939, 53). Six inches behind the hearth was a stone-lined post-socket. Stone foundations were also located curving around the hearth, and laid completely beneath the rampart (Cruden 1939, 54). The finds from this occupation deposit included native ware, most of which was coarse with large grits, and the rim of a stone vessel (Cruden 1939, 57).

The first hearth covered part of the wall therefore, post-dates it. Cruden gives the wall a *terminus post quem* of the second century AD due to the discovery of a piece of Samian, type 18/31, beneath the hearth. The soil around both hearths "was strewn with charcoal and unburned bones of domestic oxen" (Cruden 1939, 54), and the soil was not derived from the rampart core.

The west end of the rampart revealed no features, however at the eastern end of the rampart, near the first hearth, were the remains of another hearth and a pocket of earth showing burning (Cruden 1939, 55). Amongst these remains Cruden found evidence of buildings, the foundation of a hut, five post-holes, and two more hearths. The finds from this area were numerous and include: coarse native ware ^and Roman ware ^including a Samian rim 18/31, grey ware with a lattice pattern of the second to third century AD, and a flat-bottomed Roman ware bowl of Antonine date. The finds also included three silver coins, one Republican, ^one Vespasian and a third too corroded to identify, a terret ring of

iron, some copper fragments, a cast ring pin-head of silver, lumps of iron, fragment of a white opaque glass armlet, an amber bead, a fragment of another bead, two worked flints, a flint knife and a micro-blade, a sandstone spindle-whorl, a colourless glass rod and various stones, whetstones, pounders, rubbers, etc. (Cruden 1939, 59).

A second trench, C2, Map 1, was opened to the west, on the north side of the hill, close to the Ramparts 2 and 2A. The trench revealed no information on the Cruden Wall. However, a third trench was dug sixty feet west of this trench where Ramparts 3 (the Cruden Wall) and 2 intersected. The excavation revealed that Rampart 2 ran under the Cruden Wall.

In 1947, Bersu also investigated the Cruden Wall. He dug two trenches across it, investigating its relation with the great terrace-rampart. The first cutting was laid at the west end of the hill, close to the south-west gate through at the west end of the hill, close to the southwest gate through the outer rampart. Here the Cruden Wall was poorly preserved, with the inner face missing. The wall was only three metres wide and the turf core was missing.

Below the inner face of the wall were some stones, directly beneath which Bersu found a hearth "coming out between the faces of the Cruden Wall" (Bersu 1949). Bersu associated the hearth with a line of 4.5 m long stone slabs and a disused quernstone. He relates the quernstone to the hearth because it was embedded in red clay near the hearth. The hearth was paved. Beneath the hearth area was a level of black silt, under which Bersu came upon the unfavorable ground he interpreted as the refuse heap. The finds from the level below the Cruden Wall revealed: the base sherd of a Dr. 37, a wall sherd of a large beaker (fourth century), and a bronze ring. The level beneath that revealed: a wall sherd of native ware, a bronze ring, a bronze rod and the upper stone of a rotary quern (Close-Brooks 1983, 218).

Bersu's second trench was laid at the southwest corner of the hill. Here the Cruden Wall was better preserved, 2.5 m wide, faced with large stones, with the turf

core still between them. Under this wall the earth was firm and not as disturbed as in the previous cutting. Further beneath this, Bersu found many boulders with great spaces between them. The finds from this cutting of the inside and under the Cruden Wall include: a wall sherd of orange-buff fabric of the fourth century AD, a wall sherd of a jar, burnished externally and not earlier than Hadrianic, a wall sherd of a cooking pot of the late second or third century, a wall sherd of a large jar-buff core, a wall sherd of native ware, four scraps of native ware, a pebble used as whetstone and a fragment of lignite. While outside, under the Cruden Wall he found: a wall sherd of a jar of the late first to early second century AD, rim sherd of native ware, wall sherd of native ware (Close-Brooks 1983, 219).

This assemblage of finds gives the layer under the Cruden wall a *terminus post quem* of the late third to early fourth century AD. Bersu interpreted the wall as of the Dark Age, while Feachem placed it to 370 AD, since it was at this time, following Richmond, Feachem claims, Theodosius converted the Votadini into a *foederatus* (Feachem 1956, 289). Close-Brooks however, dates the wall to the late fourth to early fifth century AD due to the ring pin-head Cruden discovered in the secondary occupation deposit directly below the Cruden Wall on the northern terrace (Close-Brooks 1983, 216-17).

The evidence is too scarce to firmly establish a date for the Cruden Wall. Feachem's suggestion of 370 is dubious, considering that there is no evidence of any *foederatus* ever occurring. Close-Brooks makes an interesting argument for the late fourth to fifth century AD due to the pin evidence, which further research may help to substantiate.

Beyond the dating, the evidence from the wall indicates two things. Primarily, that the hill fort was occupied and thriving enough to build a defensive rampart which lasted into the fourth and possibly fifth centuries AD. Up until this time the occupants of the hill were also still using Roman pottery and the hill displayed evidence of metalworking. Beyond this, we can suggest that sometime before the construction of the Cruden Wall,

occupation of the hill was extensive enough to force people to be living on the extreme edge of the summit and plateau. This may have led even to the extent of people living on top of the rubbish accumulated behind the earlier terrace.

Chapter 3:

Settlement or Votive Site?

Traprain Law, which lies in southeast Scotland, is an enclosed settlement site, in an area generally identified as belonging to the Votadini tribe. The incredible size of the site and its numerous ramparts, which were extensively discussed in Chapter 2, suggests that the site was the capital of the Votadini. The strong presence of Roman material at Traprain led early scholars to suppose that the Votadini held a pro-Roman stance. The existence of a philo-Roman attitude among the Votadini gained popularity among scholars to such an extent that in 1955, Richmond reported that the Votadini became a *foederatus* of Rome in the fourth century AD, a completely unsubstantiated claim (Richmond 1955, 63). Nevertheless, assuming a pro-Roman attitude among the Votadini remains attractive as it would explain the unusual amount of Romanized items found at Traprain.

The only problem with interpreting Traprain Law as evidence of a philo-Roman attitude is the dearth of Roman items among the rest of the area attributed to the Votadini. In addition to that, there is the difficulty of comprehending the evidence of Traprain, due to the arbitrary level technique by which it was excavated. Therefore, any philo-Roman attitude which may be construed for Traprain rests solely on conjecture. Recently the philo-Roman interpretation of the site has been challenged.

In his article, "Traprain Law: the Votadini and the Romans", Peter Hill (1987) suggests that Traprain was a votive site. Such an interpretation could be used to explain the complex stratigraphy of the site, as well as the extensive amount of goods, particularly bronze items, found there. Yet it calls in to question how much validity the artefacts at Traprain should be given in relation to the issue of Romanization and native-Roman contact. The

site becomes an anomaly and the vast amount of material the pios gifts of southern, Romanized travellers.

Hill has constructed a chronology for Traprain Law which differs slightly from that usually proposed. Most scholars agree that some Neolithic activity was occurring on Traprain, as evidenced by the presence of sixteen stone axes and thirteen flint arrowheads. After the Neolithic occupation is presumed to have ceased for a time. Hill agrees with the general assumption that there was a hiatus in occupation during the second millennium BC, although all scholars admit that some slight activity occurred on the site. This activity is indicated by a cairn, rock carvings, and urn burials. Hill concludes that these Neolithic items are evidence of "ritual and funerary activity", which he takes to suggest that Traprain Law "had acquired a special ceremonial or religious significance as early as the 2nd millennium" (Hill 1987, 86). However, one must seriously question to what extent such limited remains can be indicative of the full nature and extent of use at the site.

Hill agrees with the common chronology, recognizing a Late Bronze Age, early pre-Roman Age occupation. He contests, however, the claim that there was a hiatus in occupation from the sixth century BC to the end of the millennium. The assumption that a hiatus occurred is justifiable, given the difficulties in dating pre-Roman Iron Age sites. Yet Hill is probably correct to doubt this claim, given the recent identification of metalwork from the pre-Roman Iron Age at Traprain (Fraser Hunter, pers. com.). However, Hill not only states that occupation continued, but he also implies that Traprain Law was defended. He quotes Jobey, who "suggests that the earlier ramparts (Rampart 2a) pertain to this time (Iron Age)" (Hill 1987, 86). As was demonstrated above, (p. 17), Jobey had no evidence on which to base this claim. He only supposed (contrary to Feachem) that the defences were Iron Age because he could not conceive of such extensive Bronze Age terracing (Jobey 1976, 197). Hill, therefore, gives the

impression that there is firm evidence that Traprain Law was occupied and defended by ramparts during the Iron Age. While it is possible, definite evidence for this is lacking.

Hill strongly diverges from the accepted chronology of the Roman Iron Age. He claims that, during the Roman Iron Age, habitation at Traprain was in decline. The arguments he makes in support of this are two fold: the dating of the great terrace-rampart to the Iron Age and the lack of large fortifications in southern Scotland during the Roman-Iron Age. Close examination of these points reveals that Hill's theory is problematic.

Hill argues that the dating of the great terrace-rampart is questionable. He cites Close-Brooks (1983) as stating the great terrace-rampart was in decay by the Roman Iron Age, and points to the problems with dating the rampart. However, as was mentioned in Chapter 2 (p. 26) any postulation of the date of the rampart is highly subjective due to the fact that no one has actually excavated *beneath* it. Clearly the walls were present during the Roman period, but the level of decay that the walls had undergone by this time is undetermined. Furthermore, disuse of the wall is not necessarily indicative of a deterioration of the *use or habitation* of the site.

Hence, the claim that the site was undefended, like so many other native border sites, is unsubstantiated. Hill also cites the lack of defence works at other locations during the Roman Iron Age as evidence that the questioned walls at Traprain are earlier, and to thereby substantiate his claim that Traprain was decaying in the Roman Iron Age. Yet the lack of extensive defensive works from an area under direct control of the Roman army is typical, and the lack of defenses on other neighbouring rural sites cannot simply be applied to Traprain Law, which in all respects is different from its neighbouring sites.

Hill continues along these lines by stating that from the mid-second century to the third century AD there was a complete hiatus in occupation at Traprain. His evidence is the coin analysis and "evidence from contemporary sites" (Hill 1987, 87).

The coins at Traprain can be divided into two groups, an earlier group, dating from AD 78-160, and coins dating from AD 250-400, with a break between 160 AD and 250. Sekulla (1982), in a recent survey of the coins, pointed out that the earlier group follows the typical pattern of coin distribution on military sites, with a concentration in the Flavian and Antonine periods. The later group, he claims, was comprised of low denomination coins, which was not the pattern of loss common to the military sites or coins in currency, but a pattern found in votive sites and deposits.

Hill argues that the change in the later currency is precisely because Traprain Law became a votive site at this time.

> Sekulla's analysis offers the key to an alternative interpretation of the activity taking place at Traprain Law during the Roman period...we can suggest that the defenses had fallen into decay prior to the Roman arrival, that the population had declined or moved elsewhere, that the ancestral status of the site was acknowledged by the development of the ritual practices accompanied by votive offerings. (Hill 1987, 88).

Although Sekulla maintained that the coin histogram resembles that of a votive site, he never argued that Traprain was a votive site. He had another plausible explanation for this phenomenon.

> The coins from Traprain, as is the case on temple sites, are not representative of a circulating currency. The absence of late 3rd-and 4th-century coins from other sites, beyond Hadrian's wall, together with the fact that the Traprain histogram bears no resemblance to those on the wall would seem to rule out any possibility of a circulating Roman currency in Scotland in the late Roman period (Sekulla 1982, 288).

Sekulla, therefore simply attributes the new pattern in the coin histogram as the natural result of Traprain no longer participating in the monetary system.

Hill maintains that Traprain was unoccupied at this time and he points out that other sites in the Tyne-Forth area show evidence of abandonment during the later second and early third century AD. Yet Close-Brooks noted (1987, 92) that this evidence is based on a lack of late Roman pottery in the area, and should not be taken as positive evidence of abandonment or mass migration. Close-Brooks also points out how Bersu's

excavation uncovered a hearth over the old west rampart, indicating that space was at a premium and buildings were being erected out to the limits of the site. Hardly evidence for either abandonment or "an advanced state of decay" (Close-Brooks 1987, 92).

Most of Hill's evidence to support a second century abandonment does not stand up to closer detailed scrutiny. Nothing indicates any decay at Traprain during the first century, in fact, there is some evidence to the contrary. For example, the northern terrace shows an increase in occupation during this period. While there is a hiatus in the coin and Samian ware finds datable to the second century AD at Traprain, this is not indicative of any change in occupation, but rather a change in the Roman presence and therefore, access to Roman goods.

Even accepting the problematic aspects of Hill's chronology, we must question whether these problems affect the possibility that Traprain Law was a votive site. Such an interpretation would explain the preponderance of bronze which was found there, the confusing stratification and unusual nature of the site. Hill points to two issues to strengthen his argument: the deposition and nature of the artefacts. It is necessary now to turn to these issues to consider if the odd nature of the finds at Traprain truly reflects a votive character.

The excavator's technique of removing soil by arbitrary 'levels' is a long recognised problem of Traprain. Any method which focuses on levels instead of layers of habitation will lead to numerous problems when attempting to contextualize the finds. The PSAS reports themselves are very confusing and often list pieces of the same pot coming from different levels and squares. Hill points to this inconsistency in the site reports as evidence not of antiquated excavation techniques on difficult terrain, but rather of votive activity. He suggests that the pre-Roman buildings and artefacts found on the lower levels were contaminated by pits of votive goods. The presence of votive goods would thus explain the apparent mixing of artefacts. Hill adds that such pits

would not be unusual, as numerous pits were found at Broxmouth and even in the south annexe of Newstead (Hill 1987, 89).

Hill's suggestion is flawed in two respects. First, while the work was left primarily to the workmen, one must question why Curle never noticed these pits. Since his brother had excavated Newstead, he could not have been unaware of the common occurrence of pits. Yet the possibility of pits is never even mentioned by Curle, even when discussing artefacts found in stratigraphically uncomfortable positions. It might also be mentioned that he had no problem identifying the pit in which the Silver Hoard was found.

While it is possible that Curle might not have noticed votive pits, the stratigraphy itself negates Hill's proposal. Indeed the stratigraphy does have a number of problems, yet a discernible pattern of occupation is evident.

Close-Brooks, noting that Cree and Curle had both demonstrated certain artefacts being exclusive to certain levels (Curle (1920, 100-101) & Cree (1924, 261-2)), notes:

> there seems an element of genuine division between the lower levels 1 and 2, and the upper levels 3 and 4, over much of the western terrace (Close-Brooks 1987, 93).

A stratigraphical division in the artefacts has been recognised by the scholars working closely with the artefacts; i.e., Curle, Cree, Burley and Sekulla. Finds from the lower levels have consistently supported pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman occupation, while the artefacts from the upper levels repeatedly indicate a later Roman date. Burley recorded this pattern (1956, 120):

> From this it is evident that little reliance is to be placed on the arbitrary "levels". Yet it is not possible to discount them altogether. As was noticed above, p. 119, the 1915 excavations do fall into two well defined and dateable groups and it should be possible to use the evidence from other years in the same way...In fact, if the metalwork is studied objectively, without first considering stratigraphical evidence, a distinct logical pattern does emerge. This may then be seen to coincide quite closely with the excavation "levels," but instead of being confined merely to each individual area, it will apply throughout (p. 120).

Only during the 1920 and 1921 excavations is any significant mixing of artefacts noted. However, the intermingling of artefacts is not by any means mysterious or unaccountable. Curle himself notes (1922, 189):

> At an early stage of this year's work it was recognised that our old theory, which surmised four levels of occupation, must be greatly modified...and our work this year has demonstrated that Traprain Law was in reality a walled town or *oppidum*, at least during the period mentioned. This condition, it will be seen, does away with the question of different levels; new structures simply having been built from time to time on the ruins of previous habitations. Another factor was observed which must be taken into account, viz. the leveling up of ground. It was noticed that this process had occasionally taken place; the higher ground having been dug out to the required depth, and the soil removed and taken to raise ground at a lower level...therefore we found that the old system of removing the ground in horizontal layers by no means yielded reliable results. *These circumstances thus account for objects belonging to a very much earlier period having been brought to light on later horizons*, and we have now some explanation of the apparent mixing of relics in the excavations of previous years (italics mine).

Thus, the mixing of artefacts, presumed by Hill to be evidence of votive pits, is explained clearly by Curle as the result of the redistribution of soil, caused by extensive occupation on the site.

The evidence proves that there is a stra tigraphical deposition of the artefacts. The stratigraphy negates two points in Hill's argument. There is no promiscuous mixing of goods which indicate early debris mixed with votive pits (Hill 1987, 89). Indeed, if anything it indicates that there were no votive pits at all.

In addition, it disproves Hill's argument that the occupation on the upper two levels should be divorced from the artefacts. Hill argues that the site was declining or not occupied in the Roman period, and the structural evidence of the upper two levels was later. However, the stratigraphy indicates that, as Close-Brooks noted, "while no individual find can be trusted, the coins and other objects were not deposited in votive pits, but are in general contemporary with the building levels in which they were found" (1987, 93). Thus, the artefacts must be associated with the structural evidence.

Also, the upper two levels consistently produced several hearths and areas of paving which indicates that there was not a lack of habitation during the Roman period as Hill claims. Curle and Cree clearly note which areas show a lack of habitation and evidence of fill or mixing of soils. Nevertheless, they never make such a comment about the upper levels. The only consistent comment they make about the upper levels is that the soil is not as discoloured on the upper two levels, which, they conclude, shows "occupations of short duration" (Curle and Cree 1916, 71).

Hill also claims the nature of the artefacts is indicative of votive activity. It is necessary to examine whether the nature of the artefacts is similar to that found on votive sites. One possible approach is to compare the assemblage of pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age finds at Traprain with those found from other votive sites. Here Traprain will be compared with two know pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age votive sites in south-eastern England, Uley and Harlow[1]. For this comparison all the recorded finds, with the exception of pottery which is difficult to quantify, were separated into broad groups defined as votive, jewellery, household items, weapons, coins, tools, building materials, and metalworking materials. On this basis, trends and patterns across the sites can more easily be compared and processed, for the full data see Appendix I.

Only three items from Traprain can justifiably be classified as votive. Even these three objects are problematic and may not be votive as their precise use is unclear. The first object listed, a 'part of body', is a tiny bronze leg and foot measuring 1.3 inches long. The itme was found during the 1914 excavations in the middle level in section A (Burley 1956, 184). Curle suggests that the object was a foot-amulet "such as was common in Europe in Early Iron Age times" (1915, 196), although he admits no definite conclusions can be drawn. Burley classifies it as an amulet as well, mentioning

[1] Both sites were rural, votive sites, located near or on pre-Roman Iron Age hillforts. Uley, like Traprain has a history of activity possibly dating back to the Neolithic (Woodward 1993, 303), and it lies directly adjacent to an Iron Age hillfort. The archaeological evidence indicates it was a sacred shrine, which by Roman times was dedicated to Mercury (Woodward 1993, 14). Harlow was also a votive site, as the remains of altars and other votive offerings indicate (France and Gobel 1985, 11).

parallels between it and other similar amulets found at Newstead (1956, 184). She also maintains that the object is too thin and flat to have been part of a statue. The piece most likely has some ritual/religious significance but may not have been a votive deposit.

The second object, listed under 'animal parts', is an iron deer antler, 3 3/4 inches in length. The antler was also found during the 1914 excavations, on the middle level in section B. The antler has three points and, according to Burley, the tip is very flattened as if it fitted into something. Neither Curle nor Burley have any suggestions as to what the antler could have been used for, although Burley does note that it is similar to antlers found on a bronze model of a stag on Gatehom Island, Pembrokeshire (1956, 186). The purpose and use of this piece is open to conjecture; there may indeed be some kind of votive or religious aspect associated with it, though the fitted tip of the antler suggests it may have served a decorative purpose.

The final object listed under 'animal parts' is a bronze raven model. The model is 1.8 inches long, with a perforation below the body. The raven was found on the top level of area L in the 1920 excavations. In the excavation report, Cree pointed out that the presence of iron oxide within the perforation (1956, 196) "indicates that the bird rested on the top of a ring or rod of iron". Cree suggests that the raven was part of a harness mount, while Burley suggests it may have been connected to a bucket (1956, 185).

Therefore, of the three objects from Traprain listed as votive, two had other decorative functions and quite probably had no votive function at all. Nevertheless, the objects must be included here since they have previously been labelled as votive.(Hill 1989, 90) Hill also listed the numerous ostrakoi found on the site as votive. However, the ostrakoi Hill seems to be referring to are the numerous playing men found on the site. These have not been listed here since such objects are a very common occurrence on both votive and non-votive sites, a fact testified by Woodward's preference of listing the playing men found at Uley under 'personal items'(1993, 332).

Table B: Finds by group as a total of assemblage.

CLASS	ULEY	HARLOW	TRAPRAIN
Votive	11.3%	2.6%	0.2%
Jewellery	10.11%	21.9%	37.7%
Household Items	3.57%	4.9%	30.1%
Coins	68%	56.6%	4.2%
Weapons	1.65%	5.9%	8.9%
Tools	0.2%	0.88%	2.5%
Building Materials	4.92%	7.2%	10.5%
Metalwork	minimal	0%	5.9%

In Table B, the total percentage of each class of item from the entire artefactual assemblage has been calculated. Votive objects only comprise 0.2% of the total assemblage found at Traprain. An incredibly small amount, particularly when compared with Uley where 11.3% of its goods were purely votive. Though Harlow has a much lower percentage than Uley, it is still a more significant figure, 2.6%, than that of Traprain.

Not only is there a strong difference in the percentage of artefacts which make up the votive assemblage between these sites, but the actual artefacts themselves are also variant. Harlow and Uley both produce artefacts of unquestionable votive use. Harlow's votive assemblage includes stone altars, figurines, plaques and candlesticks. At Uley, as well, the votive nature of the assemblage is unquestionable. A cult statue head was found there, along with many purely votive and religious items including several figurines, altars, inscriptions (curse tablets), and miniature weapons and pots. Traprain differs significantly from Uley and Harlow, both in the percentage of votive goods found and in the kinds of votive artefacts it produced.

Yet Hill did not come to consider Traprain votive on account of its votive assemblages alone. He considered the large amount of bronze, the peculiar numismatics, and the high quantity of jewellery which *could* be considered votive as evidence of ritual activity on the site. Most importantly, it was the 'votive-like' distribution of the coins mentioned by Sekulla that prompted Hill to suggest that Traprain was a votive site.

If the numismatic evidence reveals a pattern similar to votive sites, then the coins should be considered votive material. Counting the coins as votive material and recalibrating the percentages of items, Traprain Law should now show a votive assemblage percentage closer to the other votive sites. Table C, refiguring the percentages, and counting coins as votive deposits, reveals that this does not occur.

Table C: Finds by group as a percentage of total assemblage, with coins included in the votive category.

CLASS	ULEY	HARLOW	TRAPRAIN
Votive	79.4%	59.3%	4.4%
Jewellery	10%	22%	38%
Household Items	3.6%	4.9%	30%
Weapons	1.7%	5.9%%	8.9%
Tools	0.2%	0.9%	2.5%
Building Materials	4.9%	7.2%	10.5%
Metalwork	minimal	0%	5.57%

The result is quite interesting. While the votive percentages from Uley go from 11.3% to an incredible 79.4% and at Harlow from 2.6% to 59.3%, the change at Traprain is not so dramatic, from 0.2% to 4.4%. The difference between Traprain and the other sites is thus *increased* by this comparison, and not actually *decreased* as one would expect. One could argue that this is a bias associated with the lower amount of coins

found at Traprain. However, if Traprain was a religious centre attracting people from all over Britain as Hill suggests, then one would expect the coins to follow the general pattern of the other sites, even if at a slightly lower level. Another interesting point to observe is how this pattern changes with the coinage not counted in the percentage chart at all. Since, however, coins are a part of all three sites, that exercise cannot be done here, but is addressed in Appendix II.

While Traprain can compare with neither Uley nor Harlow in respect to the number of purely votive items, in jewellery, Traprain Law dominates. Jewellery comprised over 37% of all items found at Traprain. This is a remarkable percentage for a southern site and completely unheard of for a border territory. Harlow is a religious site noted for its high percentage of jewellery and even it does not compare with Traprain. Harlow's jewellery percentage was 21.9%, significantly less than that found at Traprain, while the figure from Uley comprised a mere 10.11%.

Table D shows the jewellery assemblages from all three sites. Traprain, like Harlow, produced a large number of brooches, but in other respects is quite different. At Harlow the largest component of jewellery assemblage was the brooches, 96 were found in excavation, and secondly the pins, with 34 in total. One can see a great divergence here. Harlow produced a large amount of one item with very little variety. Compare that with Traprain, where, although producing almost the same amount of brooches, the number of bracelets far outnumber that of the brooches. The interesting point is not just that Traprain produced such a large amount of jewellery, but that it produced such a wide variety of jewellery.

Table D: Jewellery Assemblages

JEWELLERY	Uley	Harlow	Traprain Law
brooches & penn. fib	40	96	93
enameled objects	6	-	-
beads			
glass	89	4	58
jet	5	-	4
antler/bone	1	-	2
necklace fittings	5	-	-
earrings	5	-	1
bracelets			
copper/ bronze	43	4	4
jet	3	-	>100
shale	25	4	-
glass	-	-	180
bone/antler	42	-	-
pins			
metal	8	16	43
antler/bone	14	8	-
jet	4	-	9
finger rings			
copper/ bronze/iron	38	13	54
jet	7	-	33

bronze discs	-	-	5
glass disc	-	-	1
button	-	-	2
pendant	2	-	1
chain	2	-	-
dress fasteners	-	-	32
intaglios	1	4	-
TOTAL	340	149	630

In this respect, Traprain is similar to Uley which also has a wide variety and larger amount of goods, although Traprain has a much higher total number of artefacts. Other differences of note are that Traprain produced a far greater number of goods in jet than any other site. Traprain also had dress fasteners, something not found on either of the other two sites. Intaglios, however were found only at Uley and Harlow. Also, some of the items of jewellery at Harlow were broken or bent, indicating that they were ritually killed (France and Gobel 1985, 70 and 82). At Traprain, some brooches were missing pins or springs, though this is not necessarily evidence of ritual killing. Indeed, the pins and springs are the most delicate part of the brooch, and the loss of these parts may have been the cause and not the result of the deposition of the brooch.

Uley has a wider variety of jewellery, which at first seems similar to Traprain, but the two sites differ greatly in two important aspects. Primarily, Uley has a much lower percentage of jewellery than Traprain. Secondly, although Uley has a greater variety, certain items are strongly represented while the rest of the goods are found in low numbers. A pattern which fits Woodward's description of the difference between votive and secular jewellery.

> ...all classes of jewellery and personal items occur on both religious and secular sites. What distinguishes the temple site assemblages of personal items and trinkets from the secular groups is the occurrence of certain types in particularly large numbers on specific temple sites (Woodward 1993, 332).
>
> and Leach

Traprain does not show this peaking of certain items; it has a high number of most of the classes of objects listed. The greatest amount of goods found were bracelets, which are found in a high number at most Iron Age northern sites. Therefore, although it is obvious that jewellery played an important role at Traprain, the evidence reveals nothing to indicate that the role was votive.

The votive and jewellery assemblages have been addressed, but the more mundane items also need to be examined. Table E gives a list of all the general household items found at the three sites. These items, although all classified as 'household' items can roughly be divided into two groups. One group is associated with finer aspects of living, for example the toilet articles, styli and such objects, while the hearths, whetstones and querns are centred on more menial domestic activities.

Table E: Household Assemblages

HOUSEHOLD ITEMS	Uley	Harlow	Traprain
patera handles	1	-	1
spoons	14	-	1
toilet articles	6	19	19
combs	1	-	-
razors	1	-	1
styli	8	5	1
spindle whorls	8	-	141
weights	1	-	5
needles & points	6	2	1
whetstones	12	-	11
querns	13	-	10

hearths	12	2	200
lamp rods	-	-	2
shoe fittings	3	1	-
glass ball	-	-	1
metal vessels	17	1	3
scale pan	-	-	1
stone balls	-	-	18
playingmen	12	-	80
handles	4	3	8
TOTAL	119	33	504
OTHER			
HOUSEHOLD			
pre-Roman coins	3	232	-
early coins (170)	34	53	23
later coins	2231	100	48
pottery	very high	200 Samian	105 Samian
bones	>goat	>sheep	few domestic oxen

Hearths have also been included in this study, although they are neither 'items' nor 'artefacts' according to archaeological classification; they are however an important domestic feature which play a vital role in constructing our understanding of domestic activity on these sites.

Regarding household items, Traprain again has the highest number of artefacts. Table B reveals that household items comprise over thirty percent of the total assemblage found at Traprain. Considerably more than that found at Uley or Harlow, which have 3.57% and 4.9% respectively.

Differences in the artefacts themselves are apparent in Table E. Harlow has very few household items. The highest represented class is the toilet articles; 19 in total. Harlow is almost completely lacking in all other household goods. Uley has a much more representative spread of household items, although spoons and metal vessels are best represented. In this respect, Uley and Harlow are similar, showing a high percentage of domestic objects which reflect a wealthy and Romanized society. Uley, however, also produced a number of purely work-related objects. For example, thirteen whetstones, eight spindle whorls and twelve hearths came to light. Thus, features of domestic habitation are represented there.

Traprain, conversely, has the greatest proportion of its household items related to primary domestic features. Over 200 hearths were uncovered across the whole site, as well as 141 spindle whorls and eleven whetstones. Nearly all the hearths are Iron Age with the possibility that a few are Bronze Age. The evidence indicates a long period of domestic habitation. The site is not without items of a more sophisticated level, including some toilet articles, several playing men and even a stylus. However, unlike Uley and Harlow, the evidence of the household items at Traprain suggests a site primarily focused on basic habitation, not an area geared towards a religious function.

If the number of coins found from Traprain is compared with those on other votive sites, it is clear, from Table B, that coins comprise only 4.2% of the total assemblage found at Traprain. An insignificant amount when compared with Uley's 68% and Harlow's 56.6%. For Uley and Harlow, the coins comprised over half the total assemblages of each site. At Traprain, coins comprise one of the smallest element of the total assemblage, following 'votive' items and tools.

Weapons and military gear comprise the next section of this comparison. Once again Traprain shows a greater volume of goods, 8.9% of its artefacts served a military purpose. A percentage close to Harlow's 5.9% but a significant jump from Uley's 1.65%.

Each site shows a different pattern in military gear. Uley's artefacts in this realm are all weapons. While thirty percent of the military artefacts at Harlow are actual weapons, the rest of the items are related to military gear. Over fifty percent of the military artefacts from Harlow are armour hinges.

At Traprain 58% of the military artefacts are actual weapons, while 42% of the items are related to horse harnesses and trappings. The implications of these variations are difficult to assess. Perhaps at Uley, the weapons were purely votive, Woodward mentions that most of the weapons were found in pre-Roman and early Roman layers (Woodward 1993, 131). The miniature weapons, many of which were broken or bent, indicating ritual killing (Woodward 1993, 133), reveal that military objects were received at the temple as votive offerings.

Both Traprain and Harlow show a greater diversity of military items in general, although Traprain shows the greatest variety of items. Harlow shows an unusual peak in the numbers of military hinges, as Traprain does with the horse trappings. Whether the latter is related to votive activity or is just a reflection of the importance of the horse at the site is unclear.

A wide variety of tools is listed in Appendix I. Most of this variety is represented by Traprain alone. Tools comprise 2.5% of the artefacts at Traprain. A significantly greater percentage than that found at Uley and Harlow, 0.2% and 0.88% respectively. Thus, excavations revealed almost no tools at all at both Uley and Harlow, while Traprain shows a wide variety of tools: scrapers, punches, adzes, tongs, sickles, hoes, and even an ox goad. None of these kinds of tools are represented at the other sites. For example, eight sickles and two hoes were found at Traprain. The pattern of tools reflects the pattern identified in the household items revealing a wide variety of items focused on basic domestic activities.

At all three sites a considerable amount of artefacts deal with architectural and structural remains. Table B shows that 10.5% of the assemblage at Traprain is related to

structural material, fairly comparable to Harlow's 7.2% and Uley's 4.92%. Traprain and Uley have both produced considerable amounts of building pieces, plaques and fittings, studs and rivets, plates,and washers etc. However, the fittings at Uley are indicative of material used for furniture (Woodward 1993, 331) Although Traprain produced the greatest amount of fittings, most of its fittings were for structural construction (Burley 1956, 214). Yet Uley and Harlow produced numerous items not found at Traprain, the kinds of items associated with temple construction: wall plaster, tesserae and roof tiles. We can assess that if Traprain had a temple on the site, it was not adorned in the manner identified at Uley and Harlow. None of these kinds of items were found in excavation or in survey expeditions.

Table B shows that only Uley and Traprain offer evidence of metalworking on the sites. Woodward suggests that Uley was producing copper rings. She comes to this conclusion because of the high amounts of slag and the distribution of copper sheets discovered on the site (Woodward 1993, 331). Traprain has produced an amazing assemblage of metallurgic items. Crucible tongs (listed under tools), high amounts of slag, a glass run, wasters, crucibles, and, most telling, moulds, all unequivocally proclaim metallurgical use on the site. Bronze Age moulds are also identified on the site. Only the northern terrace did not reveal evidence of metalwork. The moulds cover a variety of items, from blades to pins, indicating that metalwork there was not confined to one mass produced item.

At Uley, unlike Traprain, the only evidence of metalworking is the numerous copper rings found. Woodward notes the large amount of flimsy rings, which she suggests were made on the site as votive offerings.

> These rings cannot have been valuable items and may well have served as tokens of some sort though, as mentioned above, they were most probably intended to be seen rather than handled. Classes III and IV and probably Class II rings were almost certainly being made on the site; the unfinished examples mentioned above are good evidence for this (Woodward 1993, 140).

The items being produced at Traprain do not mimic this pattern. The moulds show a variety of goods being produced, and there is no evidence of an inferior quality or variety of goods being produced.

After examination, it is clear from a detailed comparison of the artefactual assemblage that Traprain is quite different from Uley and Harlow. The low amount of votive and coin assemblage suggests that Traprain was not a votive site. Further, the wide diversity and high percentage of household items, tools, weapons and building material strongly suggest extended domestic use of the site.

Chapter 4:

Distribution of Items

Traprain's artefactual assemblage indicates that it is not strictly a votive site. Yet, this alone is not enough to effectively disprove Hill's argument. Some scholars assert that the high amount of jewellery alone at Traprain is indicative of votive activity. Therefore, this investigation must be taken a step further by examining the actual distribution of the artefacts at Traprain.

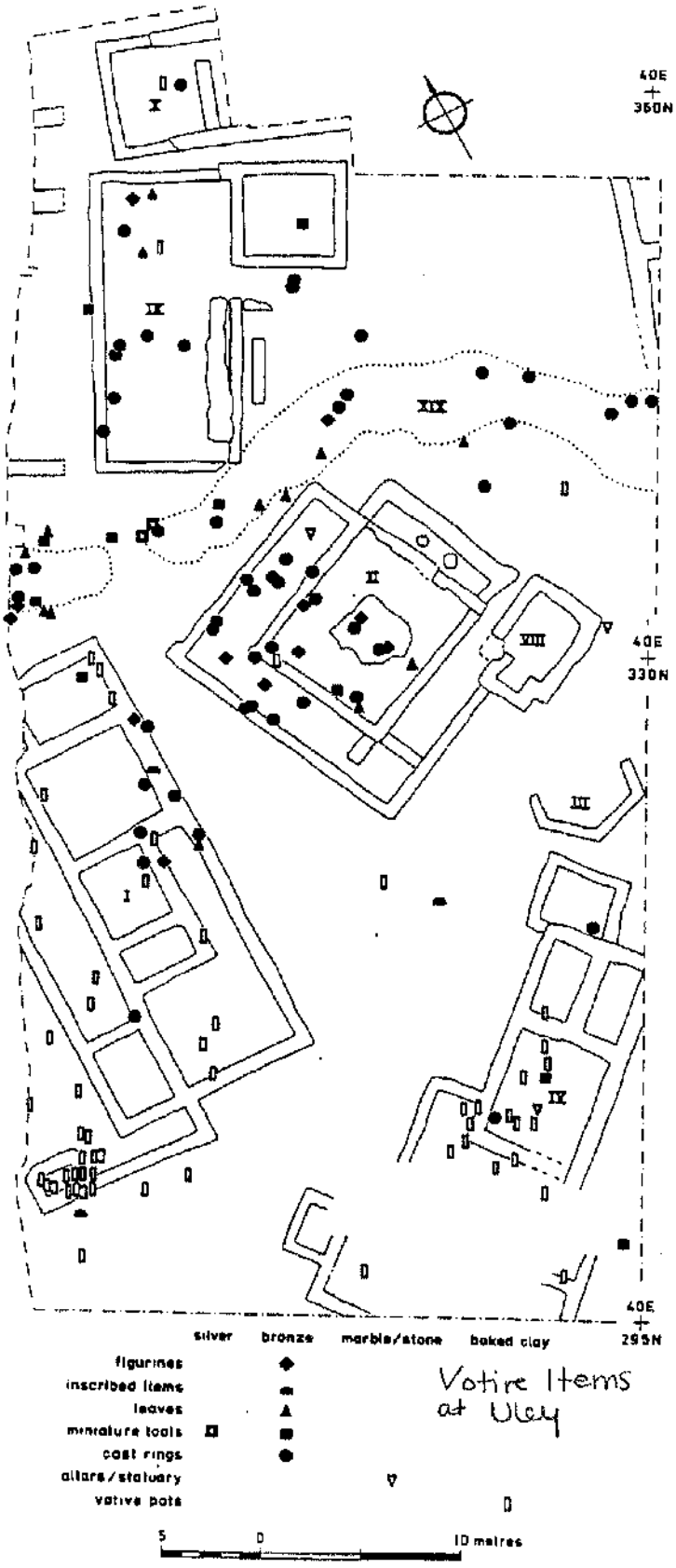
This examination is a difficult task, since the early excavations obviously did not follow modern archaeological methods; a fact which, up until this time, has been one of the major problems in producing a coherent synthesis of the site. Modern technology can help rectify this situation so that some of the general trends of habitation on the site can now be easily recognized. Old site maps published by Curle and Cree in their series of PSAS articles were scanned into the computer. All the finds were plotted (as accurately as possible) upon these maps, in the same groups as those seen in the last chapter and in Appendix I. The excavation reports do not give very specific find spots for the artefacts and sometimes they do not even list the specific square where items were found. However, at bare minimum, almost all the artefacts can be associated with the excavations of a particular year and from there often the square and level can be identified. The result is a large volume of maps, from each square and level, showing the general distribution of all the classes of items. This set of maps can be found in full on the CD ROM, while all the corresponding items which are plotted on the maps are listed in Appendix IV on the attached disc. The list of items includes the reference for each item in both Curle and Cree's PSAS reports (1914 to 15 and 1919 to 1923) and in Burley (1956) where applicable. The ID number has also been included whenever possible.

The maps cannot give exact find spots, as that information was never recorded, but they can clearly reveal general trends in artefactual distribution. It is, therefore, possible to do a comparison of the distribution of artefacts at Traprain with that identified on other sites. For continuity, the artefactual distribution at Traprain is compared with that at Uley. Uley is well published and has distribution maps to compare with Traprain. The site reports of Uley plotted votive items, jewellery, coins and fittings on distribution maps. This chapter compares the distribution of these items on both Uley and Traprain.

The entire site of Traprain is over forty acres. The area of the western plateau excavated by Curle and Cree was slightly greater than a hectare (actually over 10,186 square metres were excavated). At Uley, excavations covered an area of 2,150 square metres (Woodward & Leach 1993, 9). There is a great discrepancy in the amount of area excavated on these two sites and that discrepancy must be kept in mind while examining the distribution maps.

The distribution of goods on a votive site tends to be primarily around the temple site itself (Reece 1980). This pattern is evident at both Uley and Harlow and, if Traprain is votive, should be reflected there as well. Given this archaeological paradigm, the distribution of votive artefacts can be expected to follow one of two patterns. There will either be an area with a high concentration of votive items in one area or there will be a clumping of votive items towards the eastern side of the plateau.

A high concentration of votive goods in one area of the site would be indicative of a holy area, possibly associated with a temple which was undetected in the archaeology or just a sacred precinct, in which visitors were depositing their offerings. If, however, the site of the temple was one of the structures on the summit of the hill, as suggested by Hill, (which Close-Brooks identifies as a recent sheep enclosure (1987, 93)) then a heavy concentration of votive goods near the slope of the summit which gradually dissipates to the west, would be expected.


40E
360N
X
IX
XIX
II
XIII
40E
330N
III
I
IX
40E
295N
silver
bronze
marble/stone
baked clay
figurines
inscribed items
leaves
miniature tools
cast rings
altars/statuary
votive pots
Votive Items at Ulay
5
0
10 metres

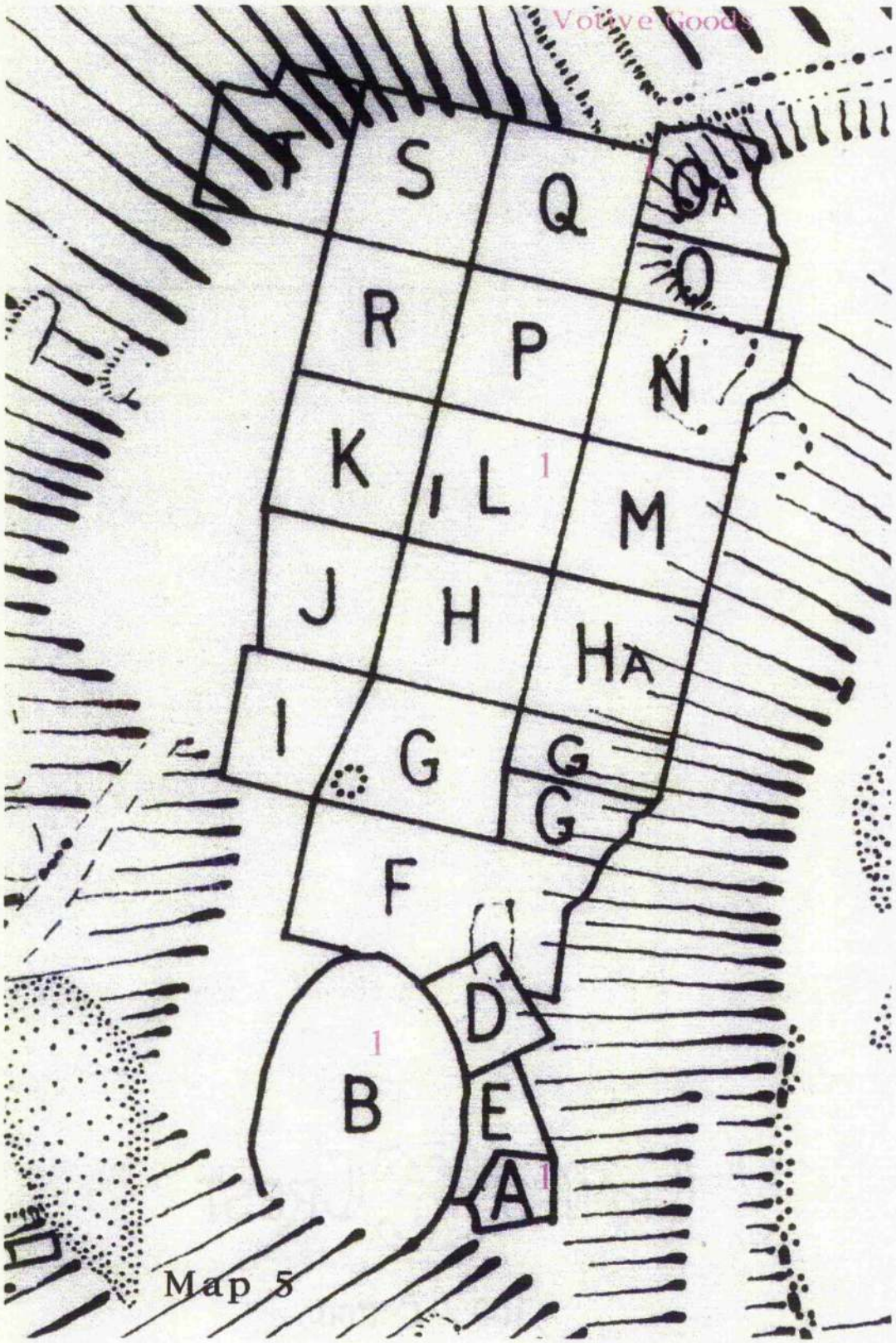
Map 4

The precise definition of a votive object must again be addressed. As was discussed previously (p. 38), the strictly votive artefacts from the site number three, an amount which cannot securely indicate any kind of distribution spread here. Yet if the jewellery, weaponry or a fair amount of any of the other items consistently followed one of the proposed patterns, these objects could be considered as votive. While this may initially seem to be circular reasoning, the votive use of jewellry and weaponry in Britain is common. If these kinds of objects were found distributed in a manner similar to that acknowledged votive sites, they should also be attributed a votive use at Traprain.

At Uley, the distribution of votive goods was concentrated around the temple (Woodward 1993, 331 and Map 4). The votive goods represented two trends in distribution. Several copper rings and alloy leaves were found beyond the temple in Structure IX. Since some of the copper rings were found with casting flanges still attached, Woodward suggests that they were manufactured on the site. Structure IX, displayed evidence of bronze and lead working and may have been a manufacturing centre within the complex (Woodward 1993, 331). Other goods, particularly miniature votive pots, were found in Structures I and IV. They were distributed over the ruins of these structures. Areas between structures remained relatively void of votive deposits.

Map 5 shows the distribution of votive goods at Traprain. The articles found in 1914 were both on the second level, while the raven was found on the first level in area L. The number of artefacts are too few to give any strong indications of a trend. However, two of the three items were located in areas A and B on the same level. It will be of interest to see if any of the other sets of goods are concentrated in this area.

A comprehensive discussion of the coins at Uley is set forth in Woodward (1993, 82-87). It is not necessary to go into the nuances of the coin evidence at Uley here, but rather to consider the general parameters of coin distribution there. Three general trends in the coin evidence at Uley serve as a basis of comparison with Traprain.



Votive Items at Traprain

Scale: 45 metres

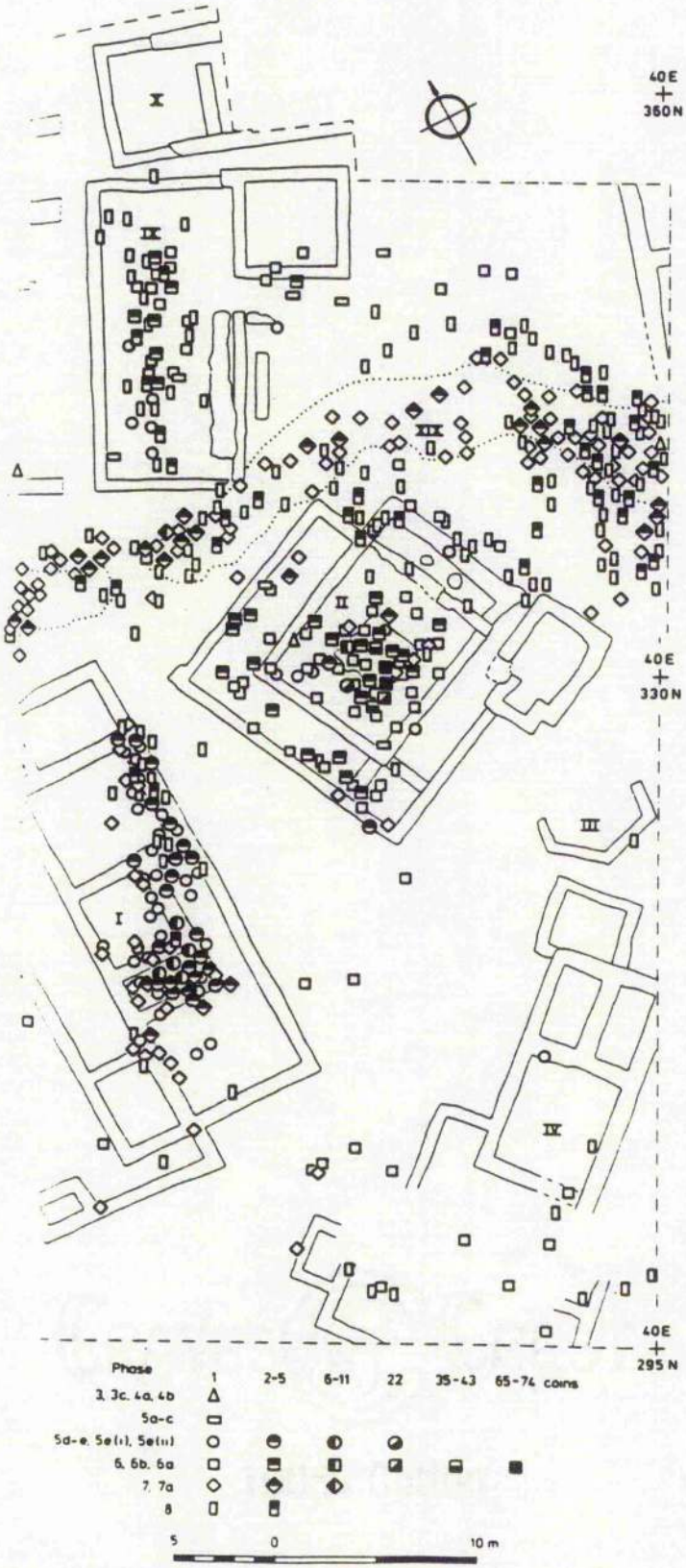
First, the numismatic evidence supports the possibility of continuance. The list of issued coins

> stretches from pre-Roman issues...to the latest issues of the house of Theodosus minted in the West (395-400). The list is not uniform in its density throughout the whole period, but part of this variation is the overall variation which will be seen on every site in Britain (Woodward 1993, 82).

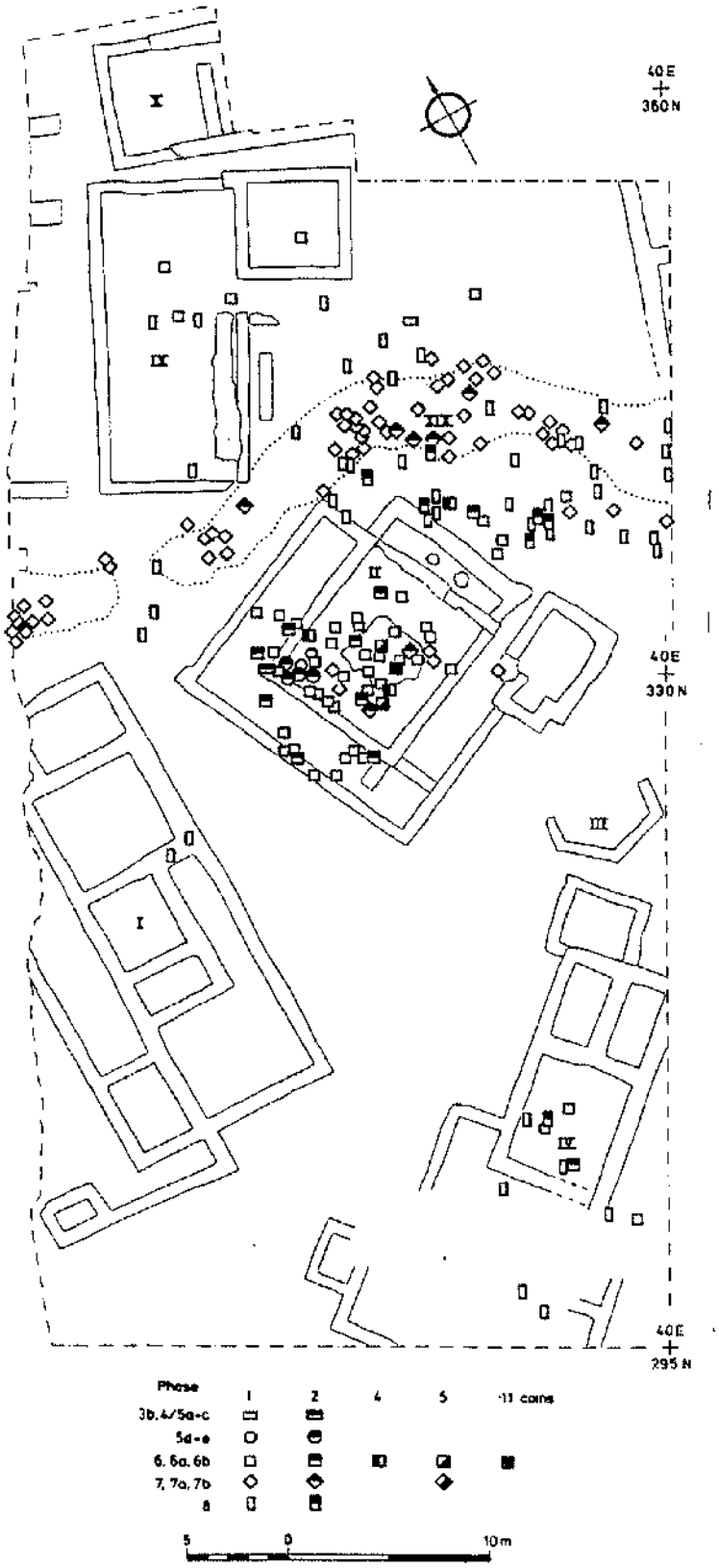
A second point is raised in this quote, namely that the coins at Uley follow the general numismatic pattern identified at Romano-British sites, provided one accepts that the high number of later coins was due to an undetected coin hoard (Woodward 1993, 86).

The final point of notice is the distribution of coins at the site. A comprehensive comparison between the distribution of coins at Uley and those at Traprain is impossible. This is not only due to the problematic excavation reports at Traprain, but also because the Uley excavators have only published distribution maps of the *Fel Temp Reparatio* and Theodosian coins. However, at least within these two groups, a pattern of distribution is easily detected (Map 6 and 7). Both sets of coins have a high concentration of finds in the temple cella and the bank material and both sets also have a light scattering in Structure IV. The *Fel Temp Reparatio* coins are also very prevalent in Structure I and IX. Finally, many of the coins were not single finds. The coins indicate a pattern similar to the votive deposition. They concentrated around the temple and decreased the greater their distance from the temple and its associated buildings.

It is possible to take this comparison further and contrast the distribution of coins at Uley and Traprain with those at Harlow, which has a long history of coin deposition. 232 Celtic coins were found in the province of the Temple. A further 105 Celtic coins were recorded from other sites at Harlow, thirty-seven of these were from an area 500m northeast of the Temple (France and Gobel 1985, 52). A comprehensive list of all these coins can be found in France and Gobel (1985, 51-52). One hundred and fifty-nine Roman coins were found at Harlow, one hundred and thirty-five of those came from the



Map 6 Fel Temp Reparatio coins at Uley



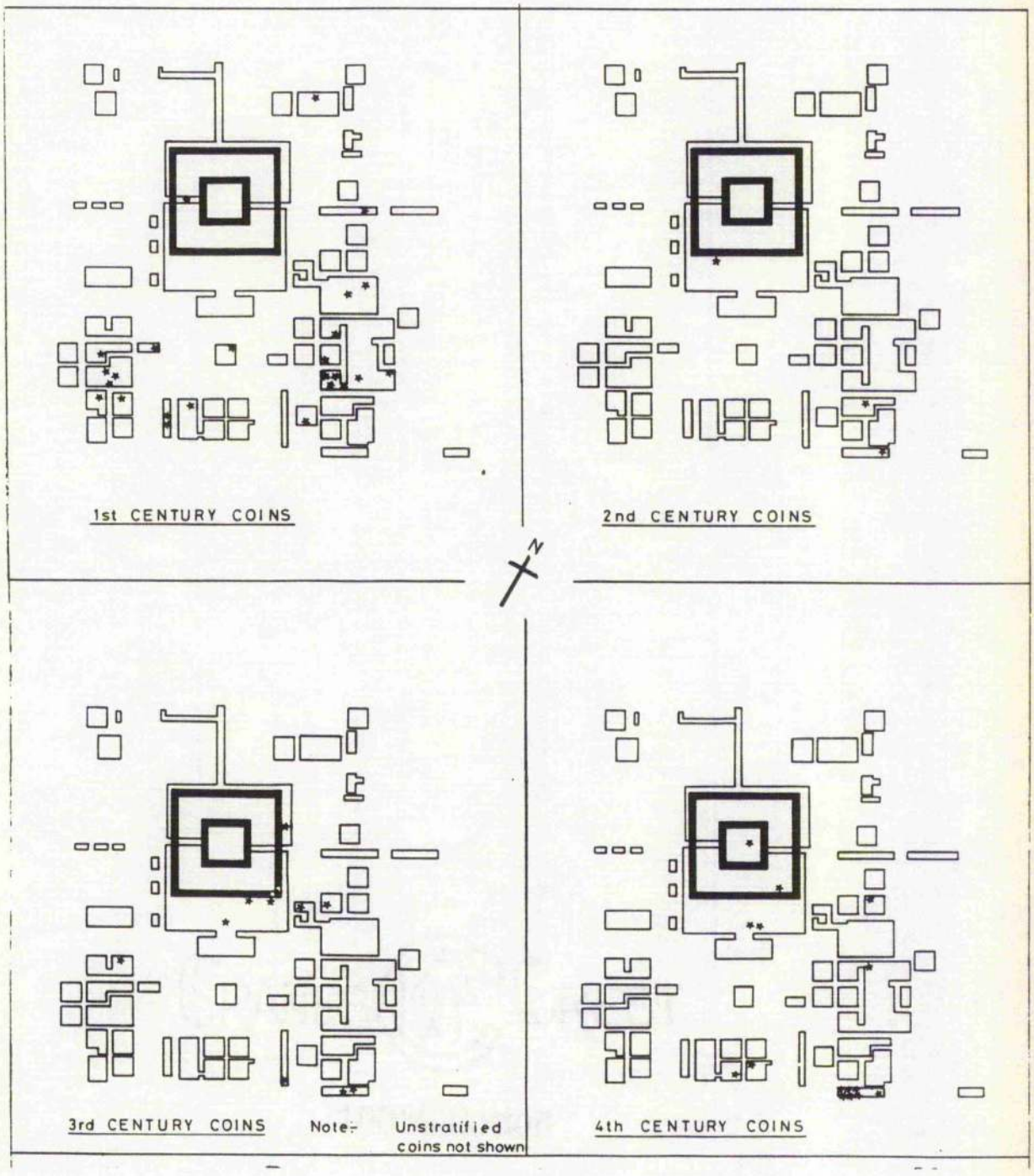
Map 7 Theodosian coins at Lilley

Temple area and twenty-five from the site 500m northeast of the temple. The finds include a large number of first century coins (including four Semes of Nero), a few second century coins and several later coins from the second half of the third century. The general numismatic pattern follows that seen at most Romano-British sites, with the exception of the high percentage of Celtic coins.

The distribution of both sets of coins follow a similar pattern. The Celtic coins concentrate in the area directly southeast of the temple. A few coins were found in the area of the later Roman Temple, most of which were early gold coins (Map 8). Fitzpatrick discusses several possible reasons for this distribution (France & Gobel 1985, 57), though the important point remains that the finds were clustered around the temple site. The Roman coins follow the same basic pattern, particularly the first century coins. Some coins were located in the Temple area, although "others were mainly concentrated in the areas of the long rooms H and J on the south-east front of the stone temple" (France and Gobel 1985, 68). Harlow, like Uley, has a concentration of its coins found either in or around the temple site.

Some of the coins came from the Holbrooks site, the area 500m northeast of the Temple. In this area, excavated in 1970-71, numerous coins, brooches, and votive items were found. Most of these items were located in Roman masonry buildings. Conlon (1973, 38) suggested that this area was a manufacturing centre for the Temple complex. Fitzpatrick, however, points out that most of the votive items from Holbrook were not found at the Temple site. Since masonry is rare on rural sites in Essex, and related to official or communal uses, Fitzpatrick suggests that this area may have constituted another Romano-Celtic Temple complex (France and Gobel 1985, 52).

Both Uley and Harlow reveal fairly similar patterns of coin deposition, which should be compared with that at Traprain. The most obvious point from which to begin is simply to recall the vast difference in the amount of coins uncovered at each site. Two thousand, nine hundred and ninety-six coins comprise the numismatic evidence at Uley,



Map 8 Roman Coins at Harlow

four hundred and ninety-eight coins were found at Harlow and only seventy-one coins were recorded at Traprain.

Sekulla (1982), published the most recent examination of the numismatic evidence at Traprain. Excluding the coin hoard, there are sixty-five coins from which to construct a histogram. It must be noted that the low number of coins renders a histogram that might not be exactly representative of the pattern of coin loss. The coin histogram at Traprain is comprised of three sections: coins from 78 to 160 AD, then a period of no finds which spans from 160-250 AD and finally about two-thirds of the coins represent the period from 250-400 AD.

While the coins from Uley and Harlow followed the general pattern of Romano-British sites, the same trend does not occur at Traprain. Sekulla points out that the coin evidence at Traprain is closely linked with the military presence.

> The pattern of coins lost at Traprain during the 1st and 2nd centuries suggests that a military presence brought about a brief influx of coinage into the area and that this coinage continued to circulate only as long as there was a military occupation. When this was removed the coins in native hands quickly ceased to be used, as both wear patterns on the coins-together with the overall pattern of loss-imply and that as a result there was no circulating Roman coinage in Scotland very soon after the demise of the Antonine frontier (Sekulla 1982, 287).

The influx of coins coming into Traprain may have been closely related to the military, yet that does not necessitate that the inhabitants were utilizing the coins in the same manner as that employed by the military. As Erdrich (pers. com.) pointed out, to believe that the natives immediately adopted the Roman use of money is "behaviour contrary to anything we know about native societies within the provinces." Undoubtedly the inhabitants were acquiring money as a result of the proximity of the Roman army, yet the presence of coinage at Traprain proves neither direct trade and contact with the Romans nor the native adoption of a Romanized use of money.

The period between 160-250 AD is not represented in the coin evidence. This is not surprising as the Roman army was no longer present to supply the area with coins and in general the coin evidence in this period dips across Britain (Sekulla 1982, 287). Thus, even if some coins were still finding their way to Traprain, due to the small sample of coins, it is unlikely that they would now be represented.

In the final period, 250-400 AD, coins returned to Traprain in a greater number than seen in the first period. This could not be due to a renewed presence of the military. Sekulla notes that an increase in coins for this period is not unusual, as "such an increase can be observed on nearly all sites with any quantity of Roman coins finds" (Sekulla 1982, 288). However, what is unusual about the coinage at Traprain during this period is that the pattern of coin loss does not correspond to that noted at Hadrian's Wall and other military outposts. The pattern at Traprain matches what is typically seen at votive sites, and Sekulla suggests this indicates that the coinage at Traprain served no purpose as currency and was basically valueless (Sekulla 1982, 287).

Hill found Sekulla's explanation for this anomaly problematic.

> He does not explain why these coins were transported more than 70 miles into an unoccupied hinterland only to be discarded as worthless (Hill 1987, 88).

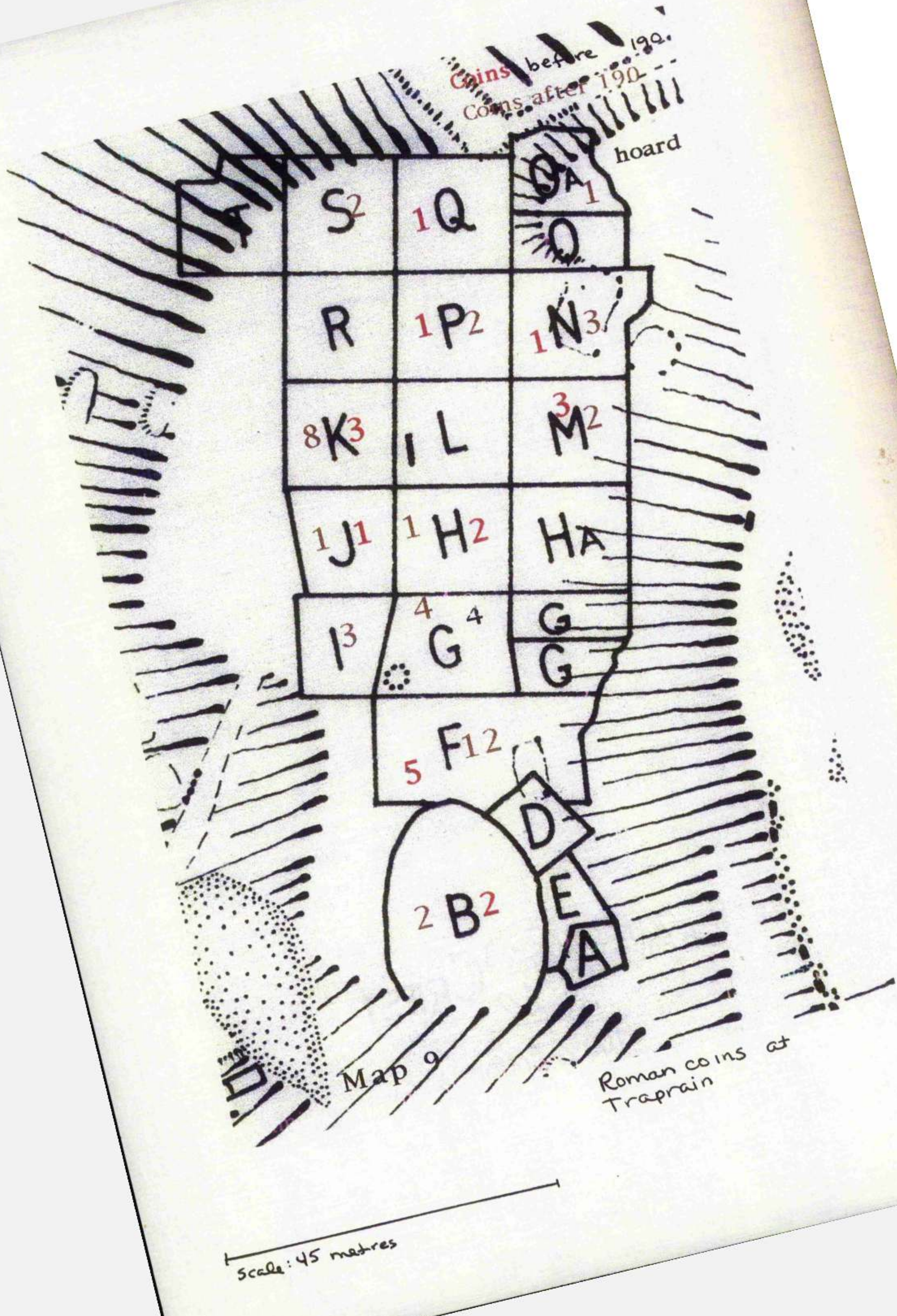
As was noted above (p. 35), there is no reason to suspect this hinterland was unoccupied, although Hill's questions must be addressed. Why are coins found deposited at Traprain at all during this period, and why is the distribution so different from that seen at other sites? Hill's explanation that these coins were votive overlooks one simple problem. If these late coins are indicative of votive deposition during the third and fourth centuries, thus explaining their presence and deviant patterning, he must then also explain how and why coins were on Traprain during the first period.

Hill, like Sekulla, assumes that the coinage at Traprain in the first period was adapted and used by the inhabitants of Traprain in a system of currency. The fact that

the coins of the first period followed the histogram more closely is not indicative of inhabitant adoption of the coinage system, but simply has more to do with the accessibility of the coins. If Traprain was a dying site at the time of the Roman invasion, as Hill suggests, how could they be strong enough to become integrated into the Roman system of currency?

Why, therefore, was there any coinage on Traprain at all? The pattern of coinage at Traprain is not difficult to understand within its context. The coinage *never* had any intrinsic value, at least not in the monetary sense. The general patterning of coins has to do with their accessibility. Originally the presence of the Roman army dictated the supply to Traprain and thus, during the first and second centuries AD, it mimics the histograms of the military forts along the frontier. The withdrawal of the Roman army and the general scarcity of coins during the second period resulted in a paucity or total lack of coins at Traprain during this time. During the final phase, low denomination coins found their way to Traprain. Once again, they are not indicative of circulating currency at Traprain. Perhaps the coins were not coming from Hadrian's Wall, but rather somewhere else in Britain, thus they do not follow the coin histogram found at the Wall. Another possible suggestion is simply that the means by which the coins were coming into Traprain were very sporadic and inconsistent. Thus coins from 318-330 AD may outnumber those from 330-348 AD simply due to less contact and activity with those from whom they were receiving the coins. The numismatic paradigm at Uley is completely contrary to this. The issues at Uley indicated possible continuance and, like Harlow, they followed (though it is a votive site) the general pattern of currency within Britain. This is hardly surprising considering the location of the sites in Romanized Britain.

Finally, the distribution of coins at Uley and Harlow contrasts with that which is found at Traprain Law. The old problem of specific find spots remains, and the plotted points only reveal the square from which the coins were found. However, the trend at



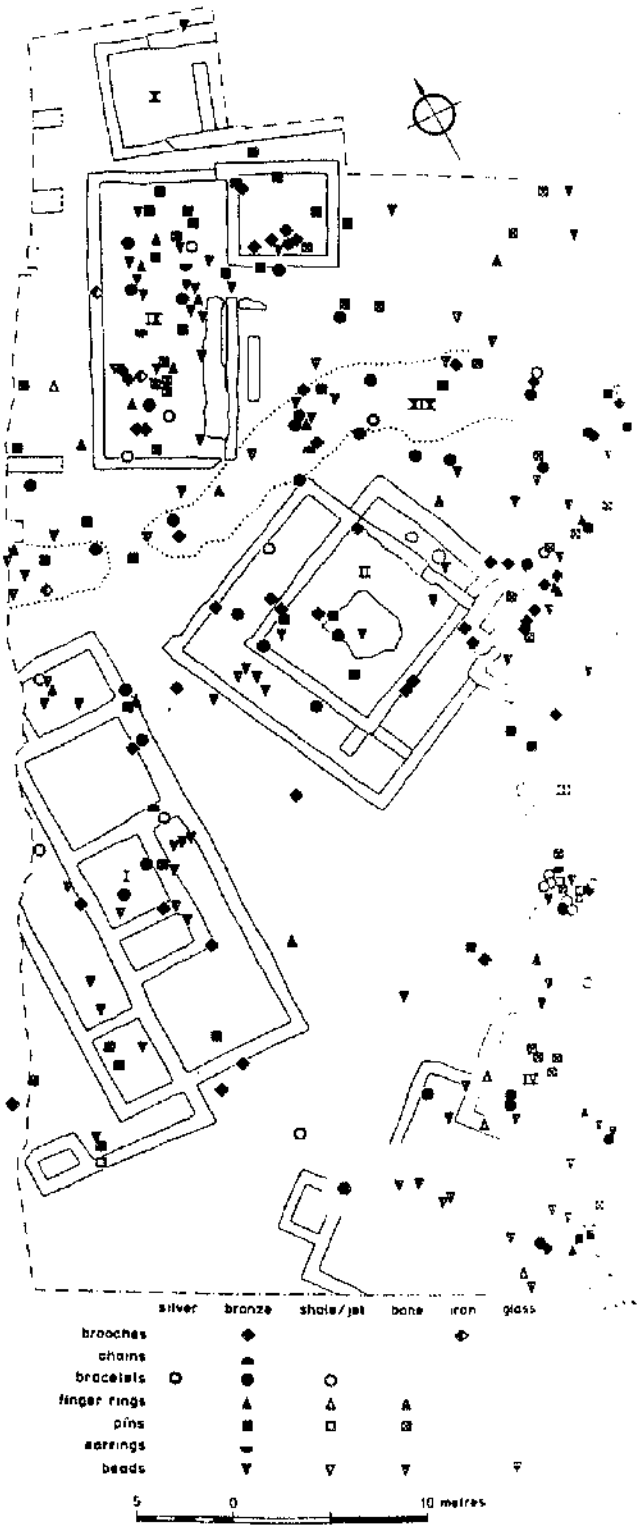
Map 9

Roman coins at Traprain

Uley and Harlow indicates clumping of the coins at the temple building and in a few structures in the vicinity. The evidence at Traprain indicates no such pattern. The coins are fairly uniformly scattered across the site, with a slightly greater number of coins located in the south (Map 9). This uniform spread of coins is true for both periods of coin representation on the site. The only difference in the scatter is a slightly higher amount of late coins and a slight concentration of coins located in area F. If the coins from the first period were serving a different purpose from the coins of the second period, (i.e. one was currency and one was votive), a different pattern of distribution would be expected, yet this does not occur. Finally, unlike Uley, all the coins at Traprain were single finds (with the exception of the hoard). Thus, not only does Traprain show no similarities to Uley in respect to coin distribution, the coin evidence itself strongly indicates that coins held the same use *throughout* Traprain's occupation, contrary to Hill's suggestion.

A lack of circulating currency does not necessitate some kind of votive activity. The coins were possibly some kind of novelty item which was reaching Traprain through trade contacts, perhaps with individuals who were part of the circulating monetary system or had contact with that system.

Map 10 records the distribution of brooches, chains, bracelets, finger rings, pins, earrings and beads at Uley. The distribution of jewellery at Uley has a much more complicated pattern than that of the votive items or the coins. The complicated distribution of jewellery also reveals certain chronological patterns in the deposition of those items. For example, bracelets of copper are located primarily in the bank material, which indicates that they were deposited later (Woodward 1993, 11 & 331). The brooches, which represent a low percentage of the jewellery on the site, cluster around the temple building, and most relate to the early Roman structural phases. The pattern of jewellery distribution also reveals interesting aspects of habitation at the site. Structure IX held many copper alloy finger rings which further indicates that this area was a

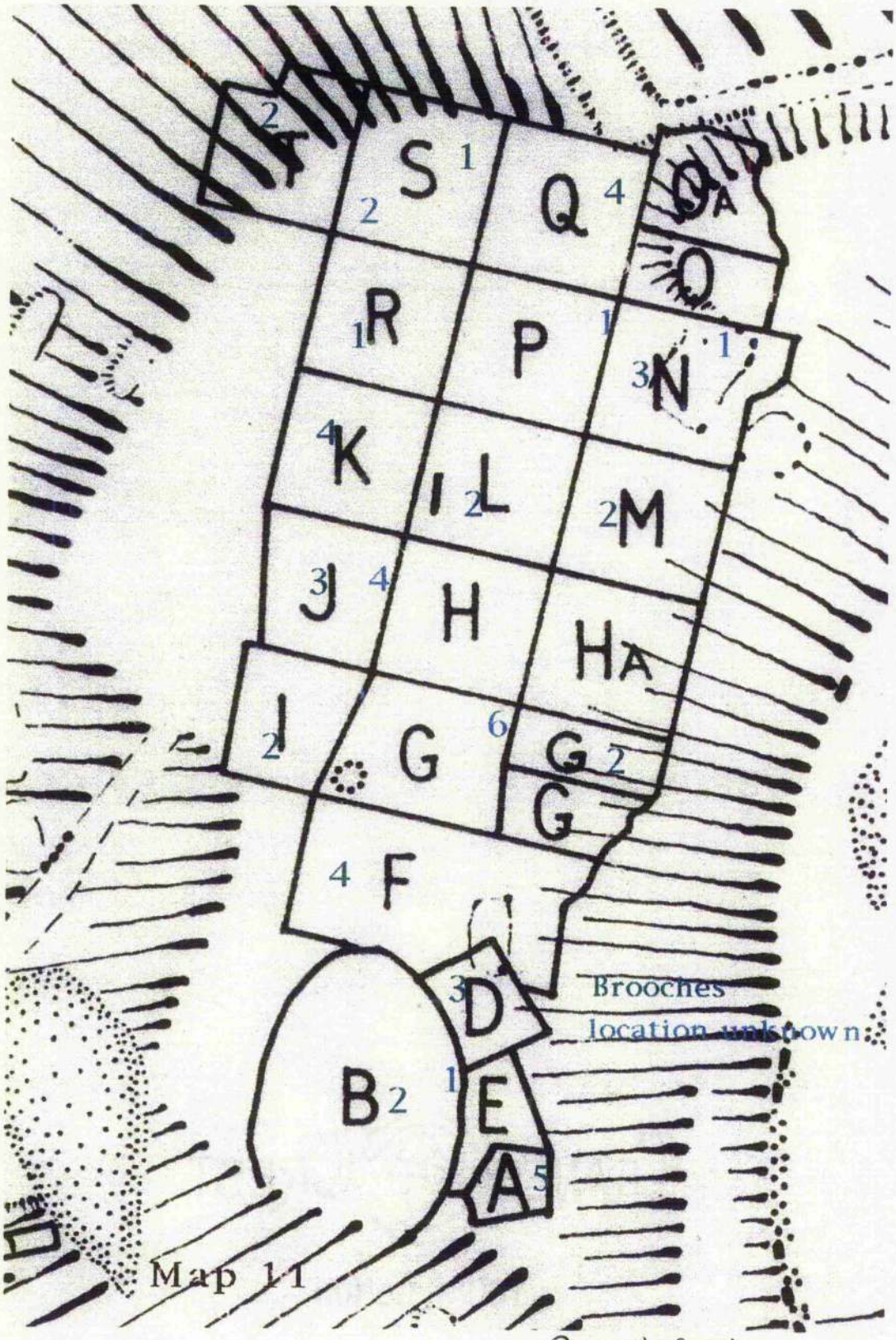


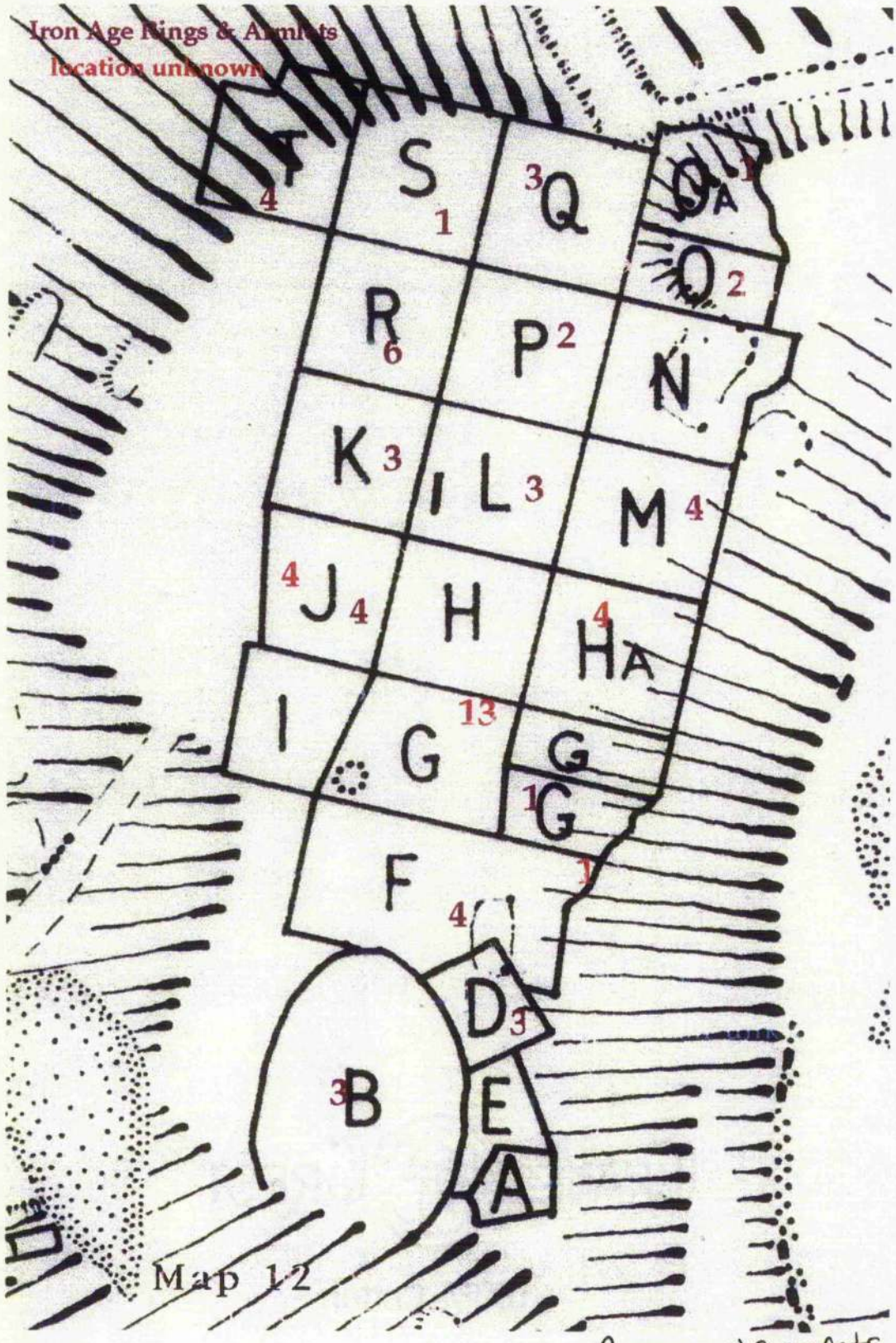
Map 10 Jewellery at Uley

copper working area. The antler, bone, shale and jet items were highly distributed in Structure IV, not as votive deposits over it as was seen with the miniature votive pots but in the layers associated with its use (Woodward 1993, 331). Woodward suggests that this clumping of items occurred as the result of their being sold as votive items from this structure. Glass beads were scattered throughout the site. A close examination of Map 10 reveals some interesting patterns in the distribution of each form of jewellery on the site. The diverse distribution of jewellery across the site is very informative in regard to the spatial use of a votive site. One particularly relevant pattern worth noting is the general containment of all these items within the temple and neighbouring structures.

How does the distribution at Traprain correlate? Once again, it is apparent that the distribution maps at Traprain cannot be as specific as those at Uley and also cannot show such detailed distinctions in distribution. However, given the difference in the size of the excavated sites, the area at Uley being able to fit into one season of excavations at Traprain, it is reasonable to expect the distribution of jewellery, if it was votive, to predominate in one particular area. Map 11-16 show the distribution of jewellery at Traprain.

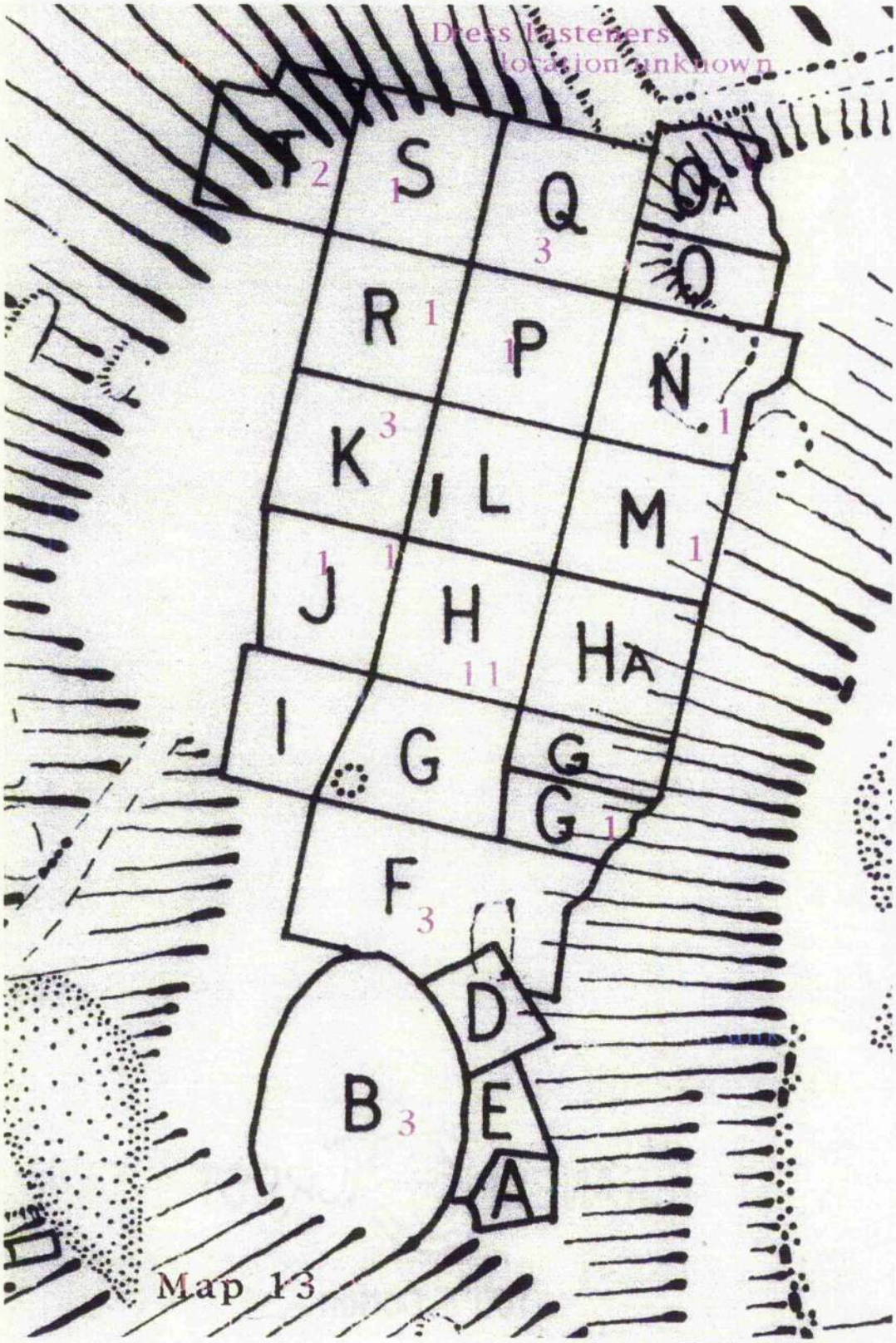
Brooches are located in nearly every section. There is a slight increase in number toward the south of the site, particularly in areas A, J and K (Map 11). The bronze rings and armlets are evenly scattered across the site, with the exception of areas G and H which have thirteen items within their areas (Map 12). At first sight, this seems like a high concentration within one area. Considering that areas R, S and T have eleven items and areas I, J, K and L have fourteen bracelets and rings, this is not a high enough concentration of items to be considered definitely indicative of artefactual clumping. If several other of the jewellery items would have a high percentage of finds in areas G and H, then this might indicate some kind of votive activity. The dress fasteners also show a higher concentration in areas G and H (Map 13), the remainder of the site has a liberal


S
Q
R
P
N
K
L
M
H
HA
J
I
G
F
D
B
E
A
Brooches
location unknown
Map 11
Brooches at
Traprain Law
Scale: 45 metres



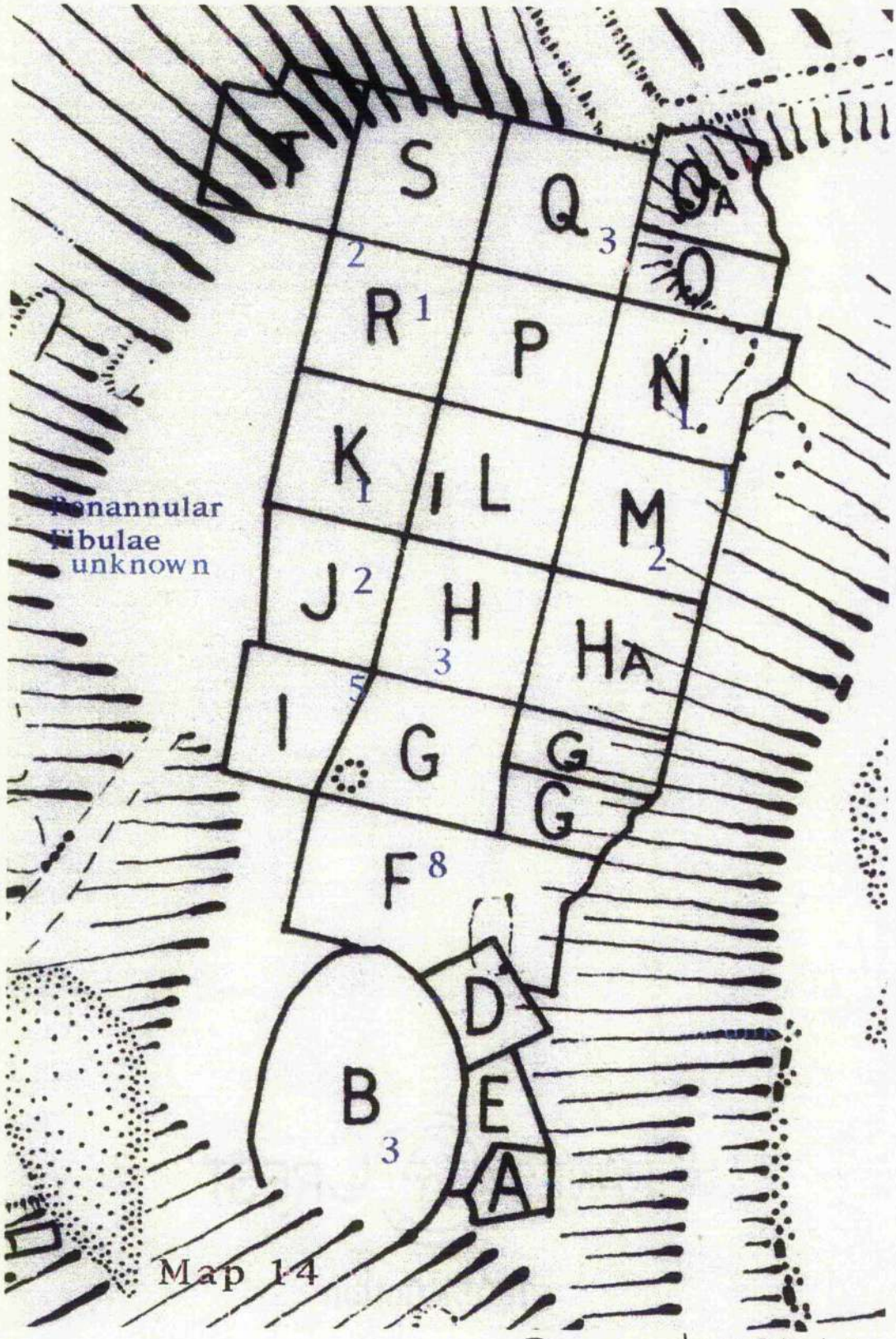
Rings and Armlets at Traprain Law

Scale : 45 metres



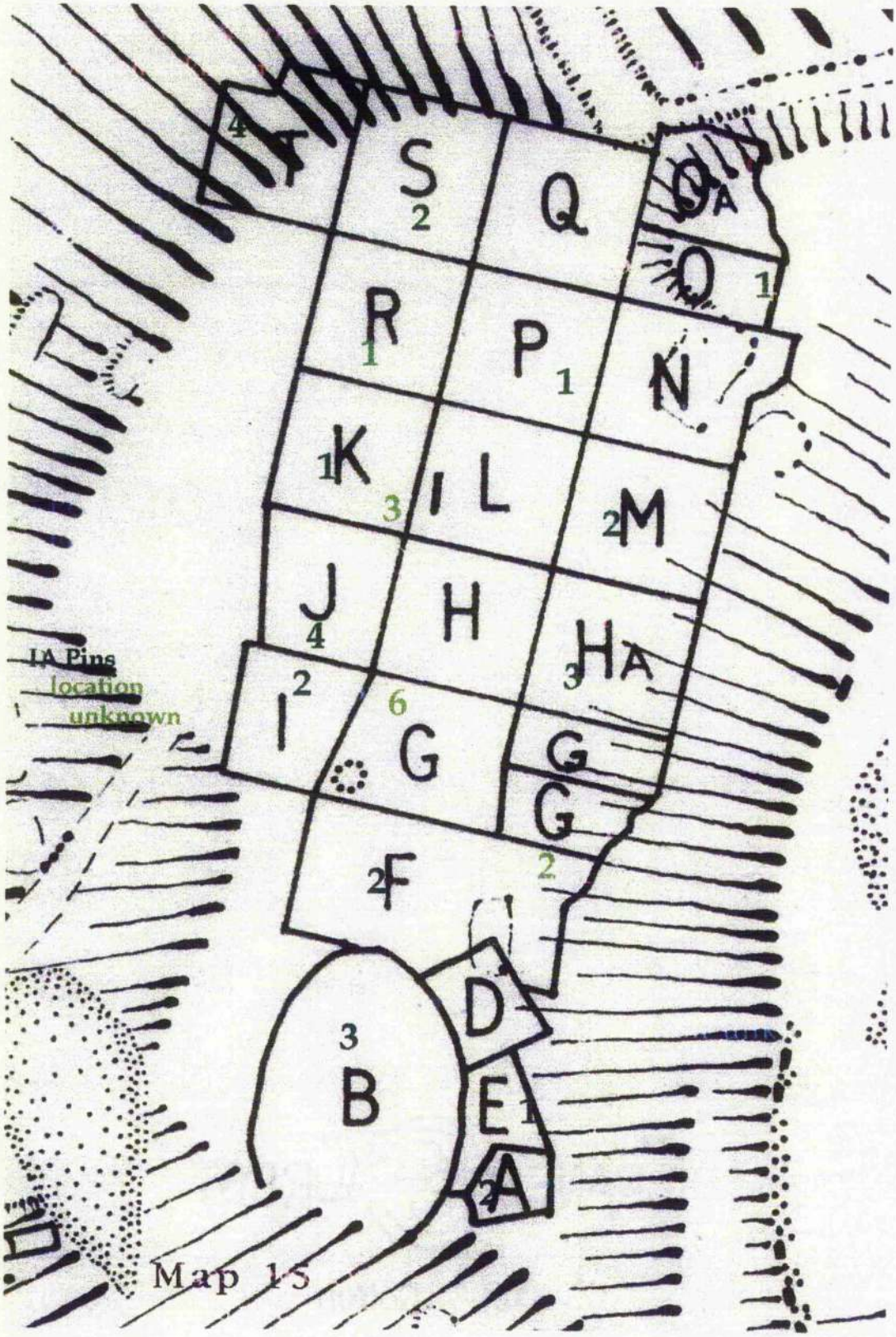
Dress Fasteners
at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres



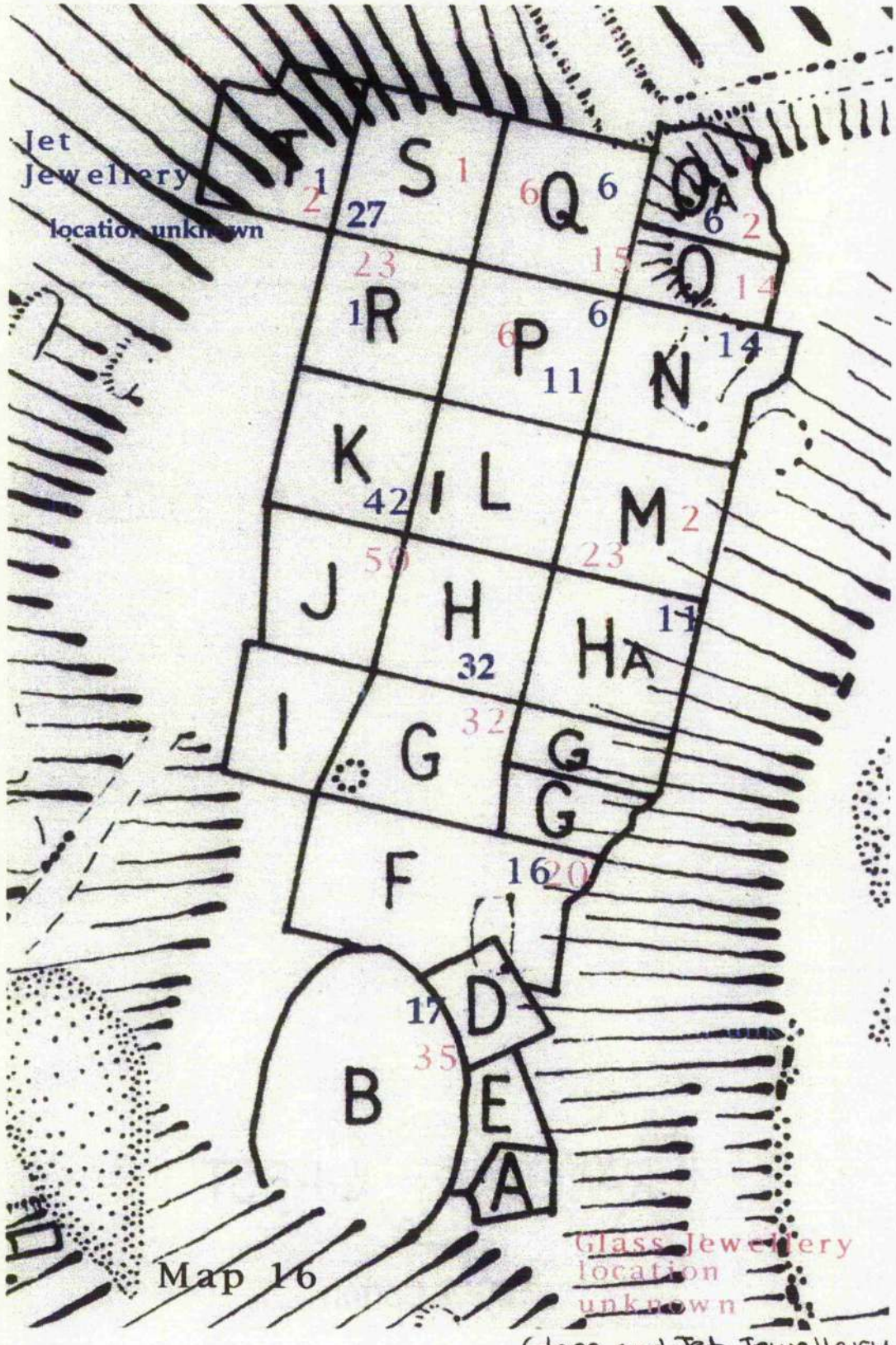
Penannular Fibulae at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres



Iron Age Pins at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres



Glass and Jet Jewellery at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres

scattering of fasteners, no one square having more than three items. Eleven dress fasteners are located in areas G and H. The penannular fibulae are not well represented in areas G and H (Map 14), in fact, only three items appeared across both areas. Unlike the rings and bracelets, the penannular fibulae were not located throughout the entire site, and a greater concentration of items are located to the south. The most fibulae were found in section F. The bronze pins follow roughly the same pattern as the penannular fibulae (Map 15). Areas G and H show no concentration of these items. Indeed, there is no concentration of pins in any particular area, although less pins were located in the northeast areas. Finally, there is a profusion of jet and glass items across the entire site (Map 16). A slightly higher amount of items in areas G and H can be detected, although areas I, J, K and L also have a large amount of jet and glass objects. The northeast area again has the least amount of finds.

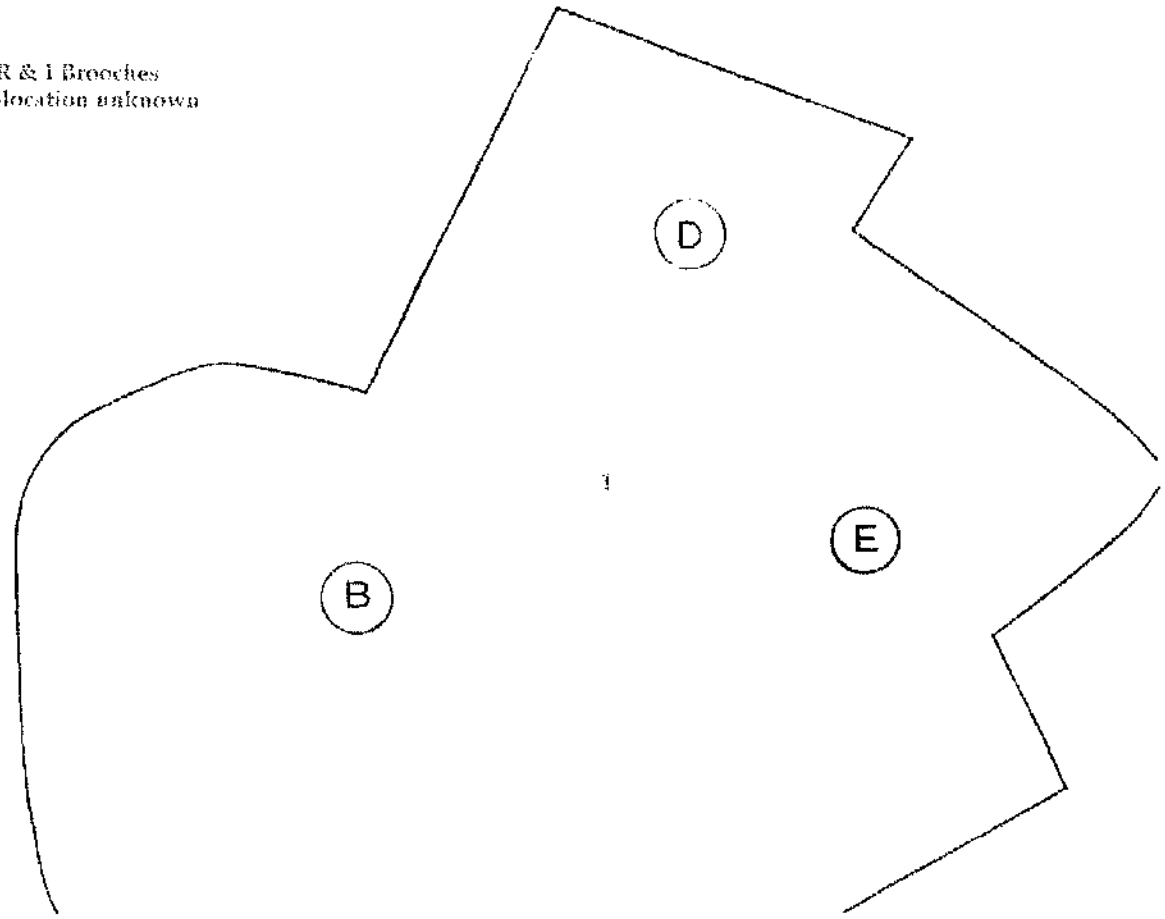
Certainly, a few trends in the distribution of jewellery at Traprain can be detected. A slightly greater concentration of items in areas G and H represents one pattern, although this concentration is very slight and not found in all classes of items. Also, there is a generally higher amount of items to the south of the site, yet this pattern is not uniform among the items as well. The only consistent pattern seen in all the distribution maps is that singularly few items were found in areas O, Oa and L.

None of the evidence at Traprain indicates any kind of clumping comparable to that at Uley, nor is there a heavy distribution of items towards the eastern side of the western plateau. Due to the size of the areas excavated at Traprain, if there was a temple and votive area, the distribution of jewellery would not be so widespread. This investigation was based upon all the items found at Traprain, while Hill argues that only the second century finds are votive. How does this change the distribution of items on the site?

Table F: Distribution of jewellery by level

YEAR	Brooch		Rings & Armlets		Dress Fastnrs		Pen. Fibulae		Pins		Jet		Glass	
1914	3	9	3	5	3	3	3	2	3	1	3	14	3	8
	2	1	2	1	2	0	2	1	2	4	2	0	2	6
	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	4	1	3
													?	17
1915	4	3	4	2	4	1	4	1	4	0	4	7	4	7
	3	4	3	0	3	3	3	6	3	4	3	8	3	3
	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	1	2	7
	1	0	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
			?	1										
1919	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	2	4	0	4	24	4	19
	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	0	3	2	3	5	3	7
	2	0	2	2	2	0	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	5
	1	0	1	2	1	4	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	1
									?	1				
1920	4	4	4	1	4	0	4	3	4	3	4	7	4	15
	3	5	3	5	3	1	3	3	3	1	3	10	3	16
	2	6	2	6	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	18	2	14
	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	6	1	5
1921	6	0	6	0	6	0	6	0	6	0	6	0	6	2
	5a	0	5a	0	5a	0	5a	0	5a	1	5a	0	5a	2
	5	1	5	3	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	1	5	7
	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	5	4	2
	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	1	3	0	3	2	3	8
	2	0	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	0
	1a	0	1a	0	1a	0	1a	0	1a	2	1a	1	1a	1
	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	3
			?	4										
1921	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	1	4	0	4	3	4	2
	3	3	3	1	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	4	3	3
	2	1	2	0	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	4	2	5
	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	4
1922	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	11	4	7
	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	16	3	11
	2	2	2	4	2	1	2	0	2	1	2	1	2	10
	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	2
1923	4	1	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	10	4	6
	3	3	3	1	3	1	3	0	3	2	3	7	3	0
	2	2	2	8	2	3	2	0	2	3	2	11	2	18
	1	0	1	3	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
							?	2	?	1				

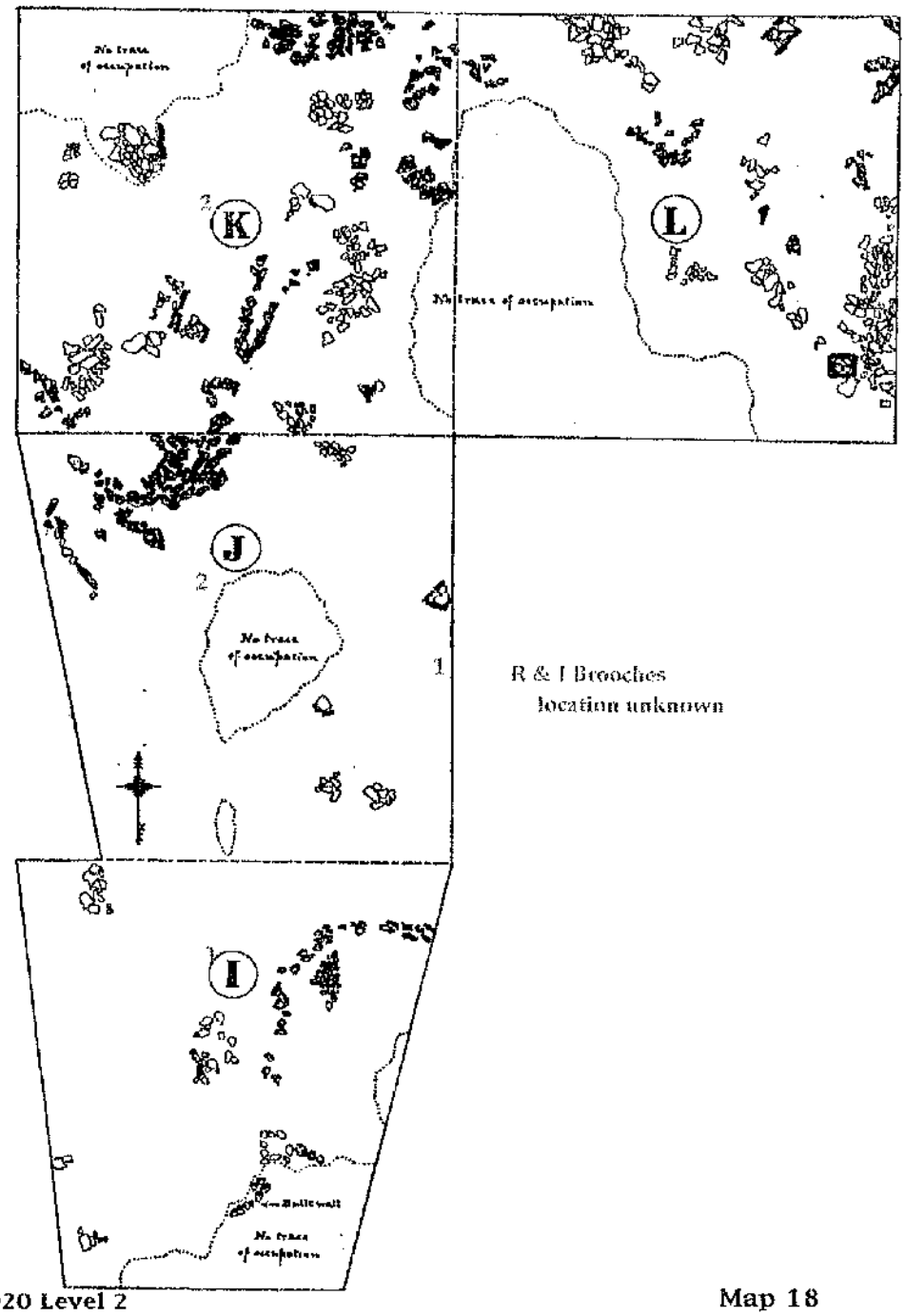
R & I Brooches
-location unknown



1914 Level 1 **Map 17**

Brooches
at Traprain Law

Scale: 10 metres



R & I Brooches
location unknown

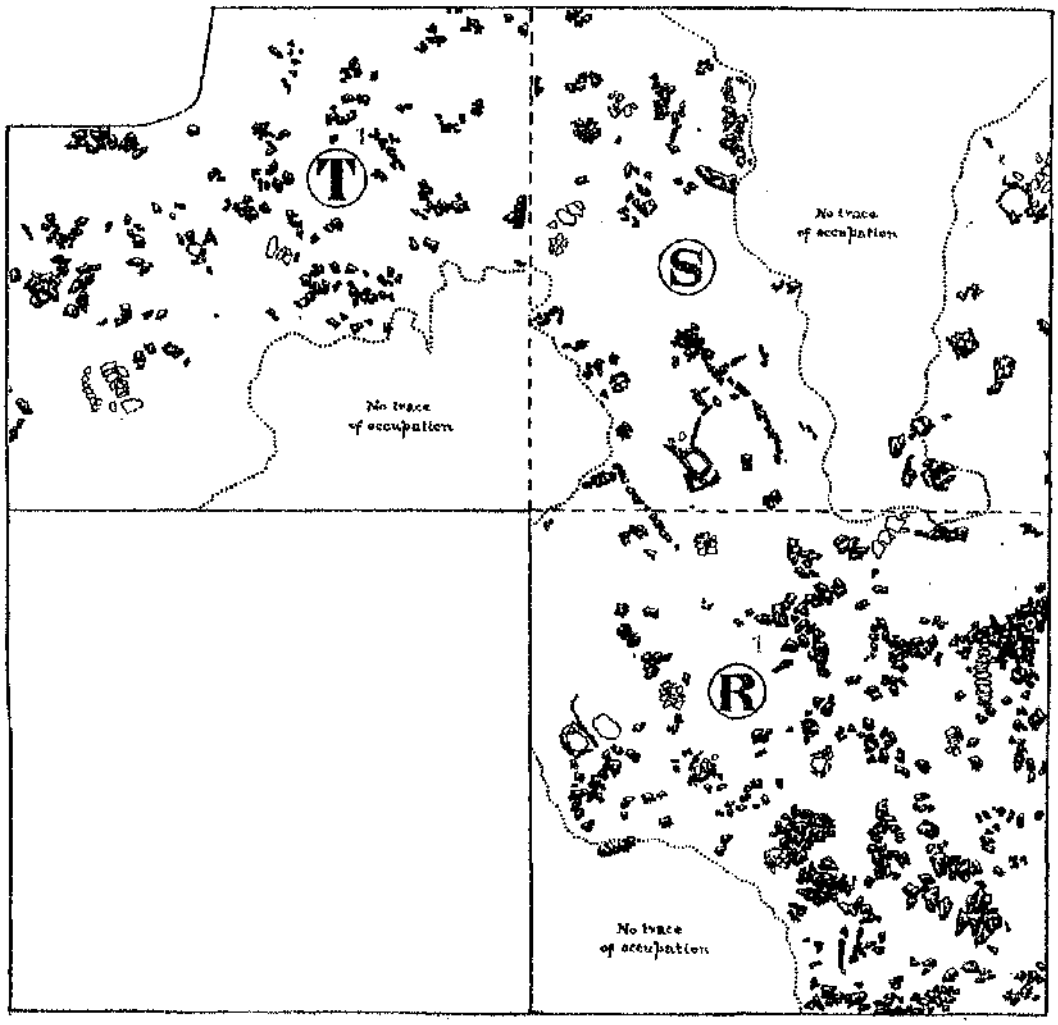
1920 Level 2

Map 18

Brooches at Traprain Law

Scale: 15 metres

R & I Brooches



1923 Level 2

Map 19

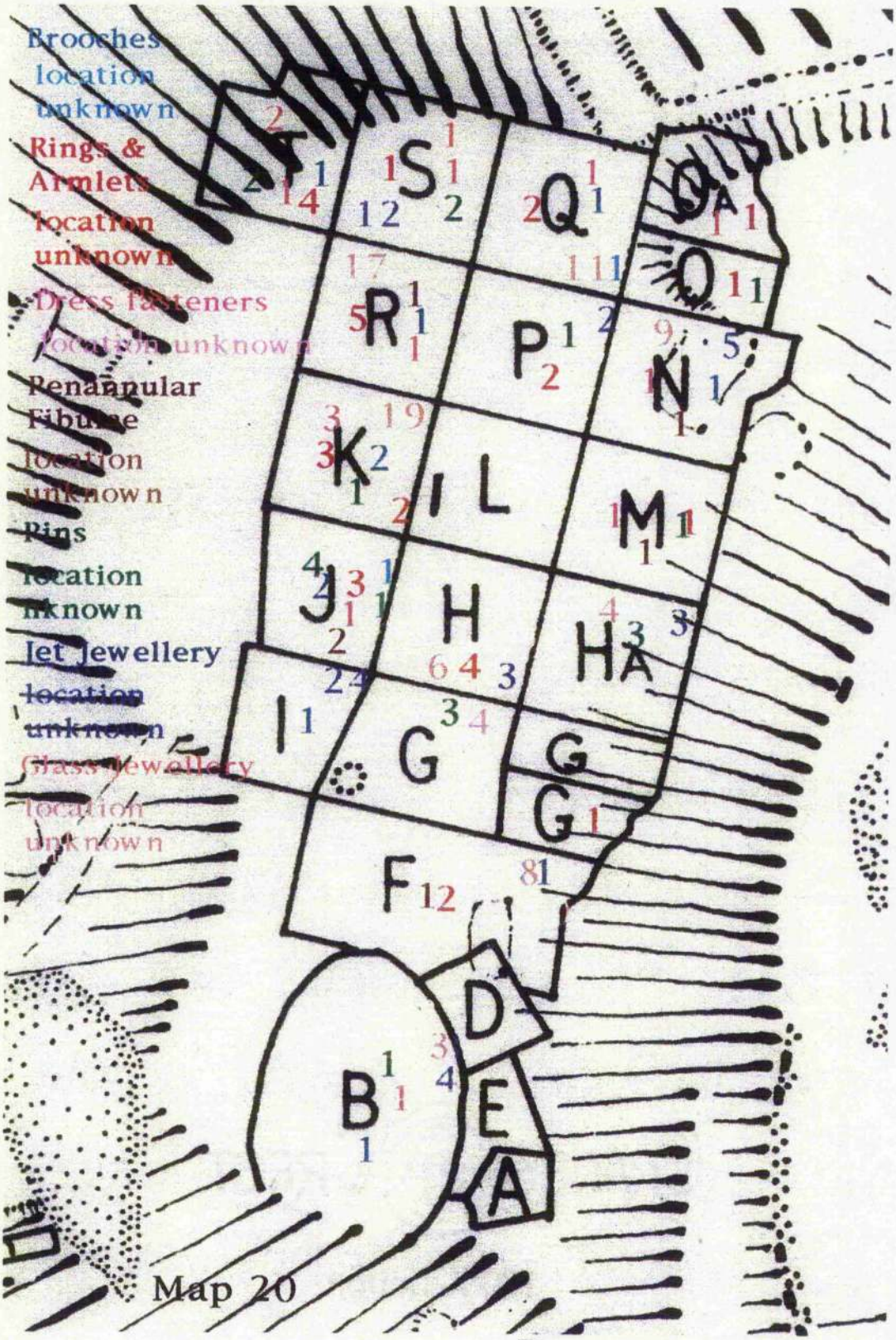
Brooches at Traprain Law

scale: 15 metres

Table F shows the distribution of jewellery according to levels. Since the second and third century artefacts are consistently located in the upper levels, this is a reasonable means by which to investigate the distribution of the later artefacts. Thirteen brooches were found on the upper two levels, as opposed to the 41 found on the lower levels. Of the brooches found on the upper levels, only one was found on the first level, and that was in 1914, when there were only three levels (Map 17). Six brooches were found in 1920 (Map 18), and two came from the 1923 excavations (Map 19). This scatter now looks nothing like that noted above. The only clustering of the later brooches is in the areas excavated in 1920. Other than that, the brooches are fairly evenly distributed, although the ones on the upper levels tend to be to the northwest of the plateau.

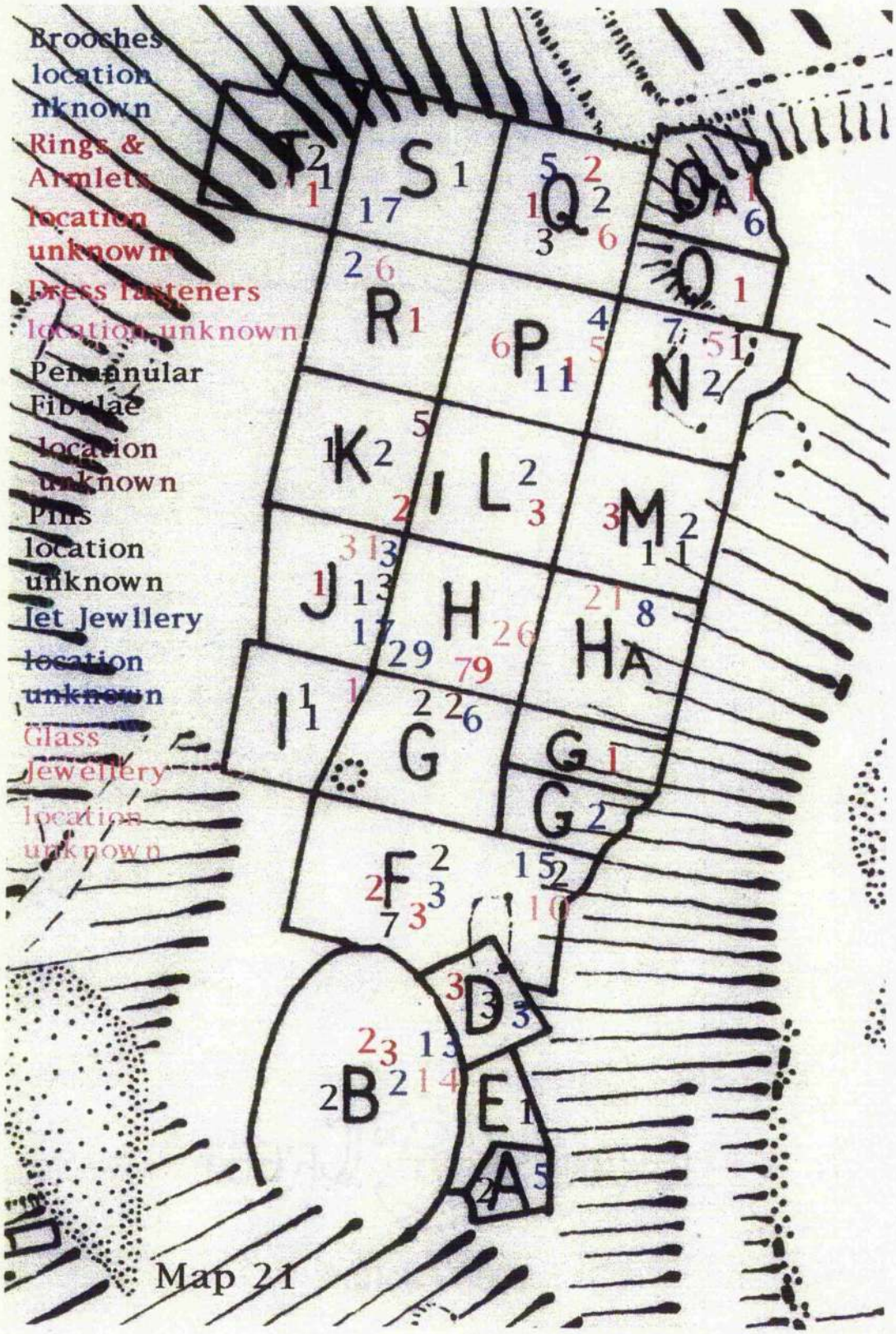
A similar pattern of change can be identified among the remainder of jewellery items. The number of rings and armlets found in the upper two levels is 32. The greatest concentration of finds was in 1920 and 1922, with the most upper finds located in 1923. Fifteen dress fasteners were located in the upper levels, the greatest amount of them came from the 1919, 1920 and 1923 excavations. The distribution of penannular fibulae was fairly even across the site, and only seven fibulae were located on the upper levels. Twenty pins were found in the uppers levels; these were also fairly evenly scattered. The jet items are strongly present in the upper levels; the greatest percentage of them came from the areas in 1920 and 1923. Finally, the glass is also very prevalent. Eighty-one items were located in the upper levels. The majority of these items came from the 1920, 1922 and 1923 excavations. Map 20 shows the new pattern of distribution.

Note that the majority of brooches found in the upper levels were located in the 1920 excavations, the year in which the excavators reported a fair amount of mixing of artefacts (Cree, 1920-21, 194). Cree reported difficulty with the levels in 1920 and 1921, and Burley noted that artefacts from this year should be considered carefully (Burley 1956, 120). If the finds from 1920 are discounted, the number of brooches in



Jewellery on the Upper Levels at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres



Map 21

Jewellery on the Lower Levels at Traprain Law

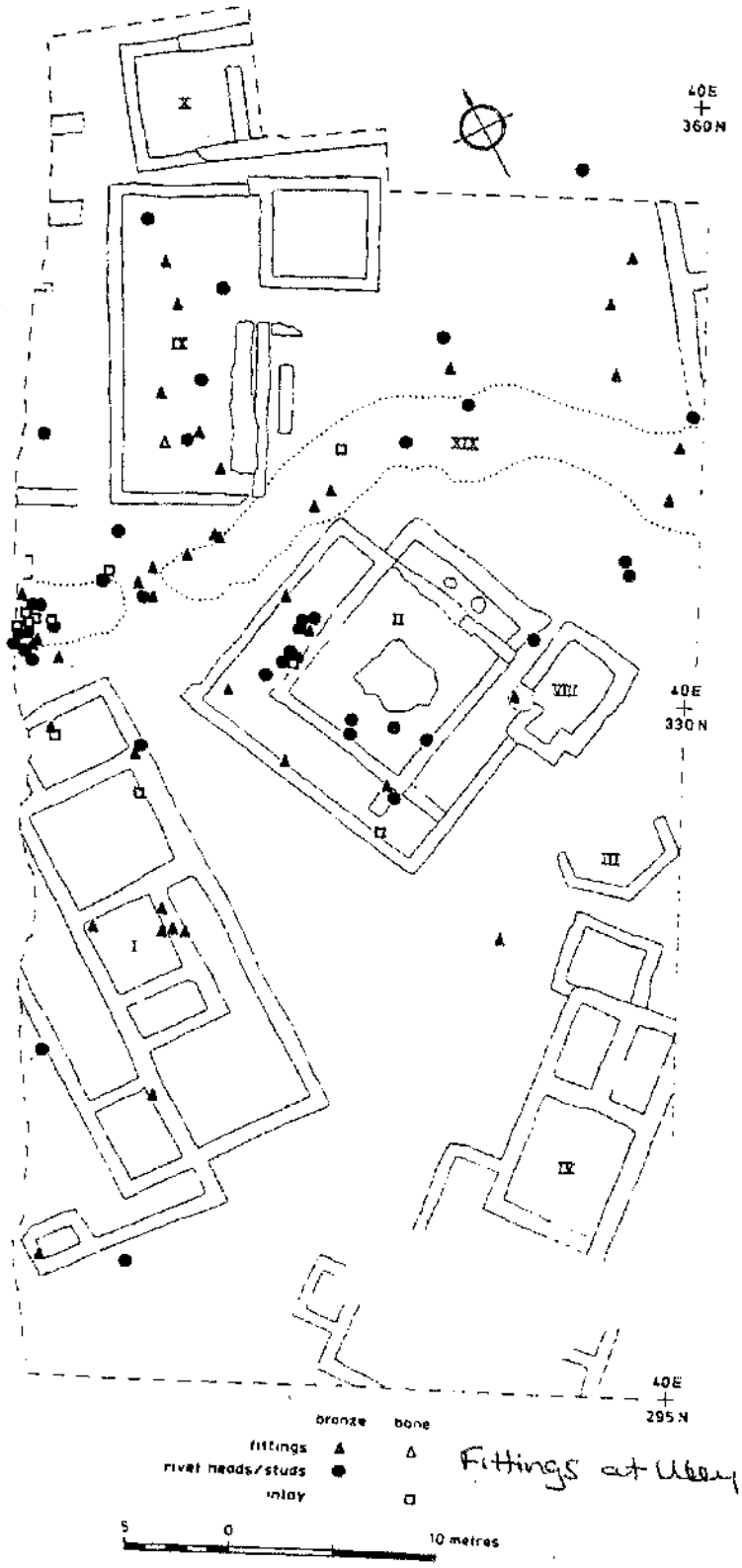
Scale: 45 metres

the upper levels drops to three. Burley observed that all the brooches, according to both style and stratigraphy, with the exception of the crossbow brooch, were early, generally from the second century (Burley 1956, 133). She concludes from this evidence that brooches simply went out of style in the second century (Burley 1956, 133). A votive use of the brooches, according to Hill's theory, must therefore be dismissed, since the brooches occupy primarily the lower levels and not the upper levels which he claims represent the votive area.

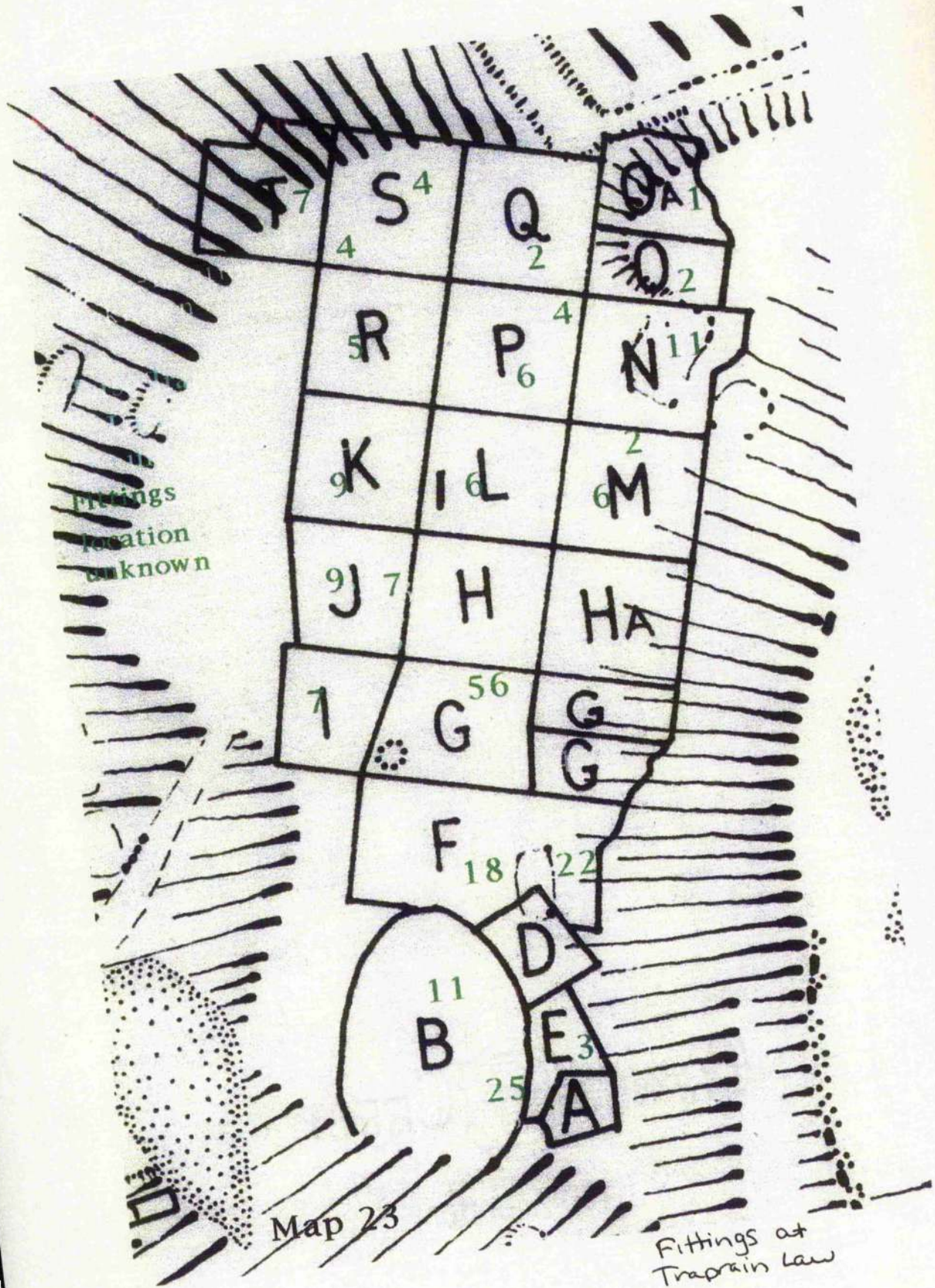
In fact, the majority of the jewellery comes from the lower levels, severely undermining Hill's argument that those items were votive. Only the rings and armlets and pins are more heavily distributed in the upper than the lower levels. The difference in the stratigraphical distribution of rings and armlets is minimal. Thirty-two objects were found in the upper levels, while 29 came from the lower levels. The numbers are close enough to indicate that no significant change occurred in the production and use of these items during Traprain's occupation. The pins show a much greater difference in development. Only six pins come from the lower levels, compared to 23 found in the upper levels. Burley notes that this change has a cause. "Once brooches fell out of fashion, it is noticeable how pin types flourished" (Burley 1956, 133).

The jewellery from the lower levels is located primarily around the southern half of the site (Map 21). The finds from the upper levels are distributed generally towards the north and northwest. This pattern represents neither of the two proposed distribution patterns which would be indicative of votive deposition.

Considering the fittings, Map 22 indicates the distribution of these items at Uley. The distribution mimics, though to a lesser degree, the pattern identified with the votive objects. The majority of these items were located in the bank material. Some finds were in the temple and a few remains were located in Structures I and IX. The high amount of finds in the western section of the perimeter bank is probably due to the deposition of a complete box (Woodward 1993, 331). The similarity between the distribution of


X
IX
XIX
II
VIII
III
I
IV
40E
360N
40E
330N
40E
295N
bronze
bone
fittings
rivet heads/studs
inlay
5
0
10 metres
Fittings at Ubby

Map 22


A 7
S 4
4
Q 2
Q A 1
O 2
R 5
P 6
4
N 11
K 9
L 16
2
M 6
J 9
7
H
HA
1
G 56
G
G
F 18
22
D
11
B
E 3
25
A
Fittings location unknown
Map 23
Fittings at Traprain Law
Scale: 45 metres

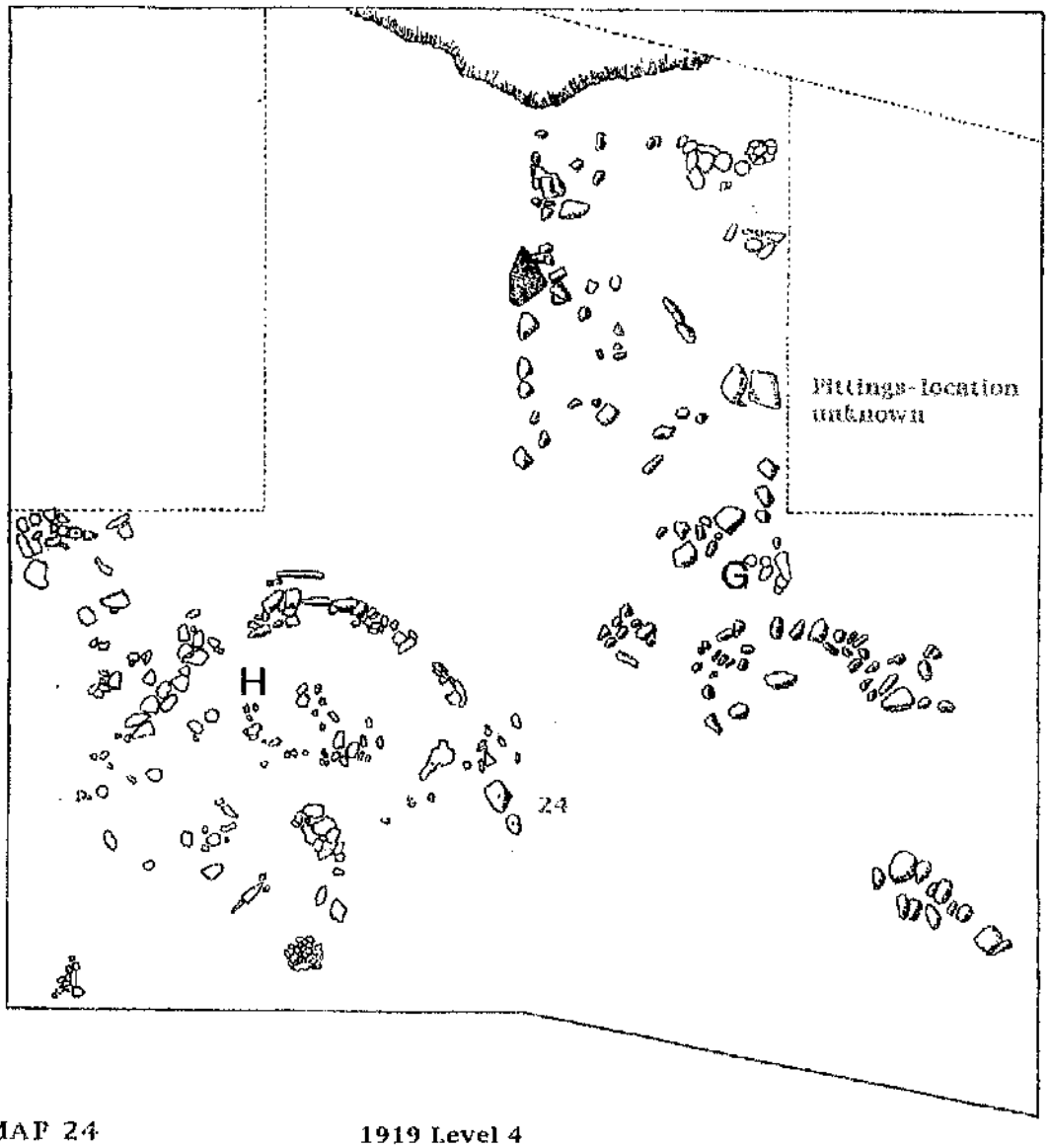
fittings and votive objects is not surprising, considering that the fittings at Uley were the "various types of furniture and fittings which may have graced the temple" (Woodward 1993, 331).

The objects at Traprain indicated a much broader field of use. Many of these objects were used for the construction of buildings.

> These staples, loops and perforated pins indicate considerable building activity on the hill, in wood or stone; though they might have been stolen for their potential value as a source of iron from Roman forts. Few of these loops occur however on the lowest levels where the huts were probably of wattle and daub (Burley 1956, 214).

Map 23 reveals the distribution of these objects. There is a particularly high density of fittings in the southern half of the site with the highest concentration being in the areas G and H. The excavation reports indicate some structural activity in that area. On the top level, numerous large stones lay about, forming an elliptical enclosure (Curle 1920, 55). The stones were very large, and Curle surmises that they held walls of turf (Curle 1920, 55). The second level had some paving and scattered stones, but actual lines of any enclosures could not be discerned. What was evident on this level was a systematic alignment of the hearths, which Curle suggests is evidence of streets (Curle 1920, 58). The same pattern was seen in the third level, where "smallish stones are scattered about in a way that hardly suggest any structural form except as regards the hearths" (Curle 1920, 61).

The fourth level had more definite evidence of structural remains. Map 24 reveals the site plan and has the fittings from the first level plotted on it. Curle points out that two sets of "fairly regular segmental lines of stones a little to the north of the centres of G and H respectively show presumably the sites of circular huts" (Curle 1920, 61). A point of particular interest is, that within the presumed hut in area H and the area north of the circular hut to the west, the majority of the finds came from that section (Curle 1920, 61). The remains are rather scanty and no structure in a similar location



MAP 24 1919 Level 4

Fittings at Traprain Law

Scale: 10 metres

can be identified on any of the other levels. Thus, it seems that this building, although it was an area with a high density of goods, was not important enough to warrant upkeep throughout the years. While some concentration of items is present in this area, it is only in the lower levels. Therefore, although this area seems to have been of some importance, its ephemeral nature militates against this area retaining its use beyond the occupation period indicated on level four. A votive use for this area cannot be applied according to Hill's theory, as the area is on the lowest level. The brief existence of the structure also argues against a votive use of the structure.

Finally, the finds made in the areas beyond the western plateau must be considered. The large amount of items found in excavations beyond the western plateau indicates that the dense scatter of artefacts is not unique to the western plateau. Compared with other votive sites, it is apparent that the broad spread of items at Traprain severely challenges Hill's votive theory.

> It is difficult to see the extensive scatter of not only metalwork, but native and Roman potsherds, clay moulds, spindle-whorls, quernstones and so on, found all over Traprain, and in rampart and gateway cuttings as well as the west terrace, as the result of votive deposition (Close-Brooks 1987, 93)

Appendix III lists all the items found in cuttings other than those plotted in the distribution maps. This includes cuttings to the west of those on the western plateau, as well as those on the northern terrace and summit. All the items are of the same class as those found on the western plateau. The only exception being that the northern terrace revealed a lower amount of native pottery, and no evidence of metalworking.

The distribution of items at Traprain does not conform to either of the two patterns which would be expected if Traprain was votive. No area, particularly in the upper areas, revealed a strong concentration of items. Nor did the finds at any time appear generally along the eastern side of the Law. Unless the entire western plateau, over one hectare, was votive during its entire occupation, it is necessary to assume that

the high volume of finds at Traprain represents normal loss for the inhabitants of Traprain.

Chapter 5:

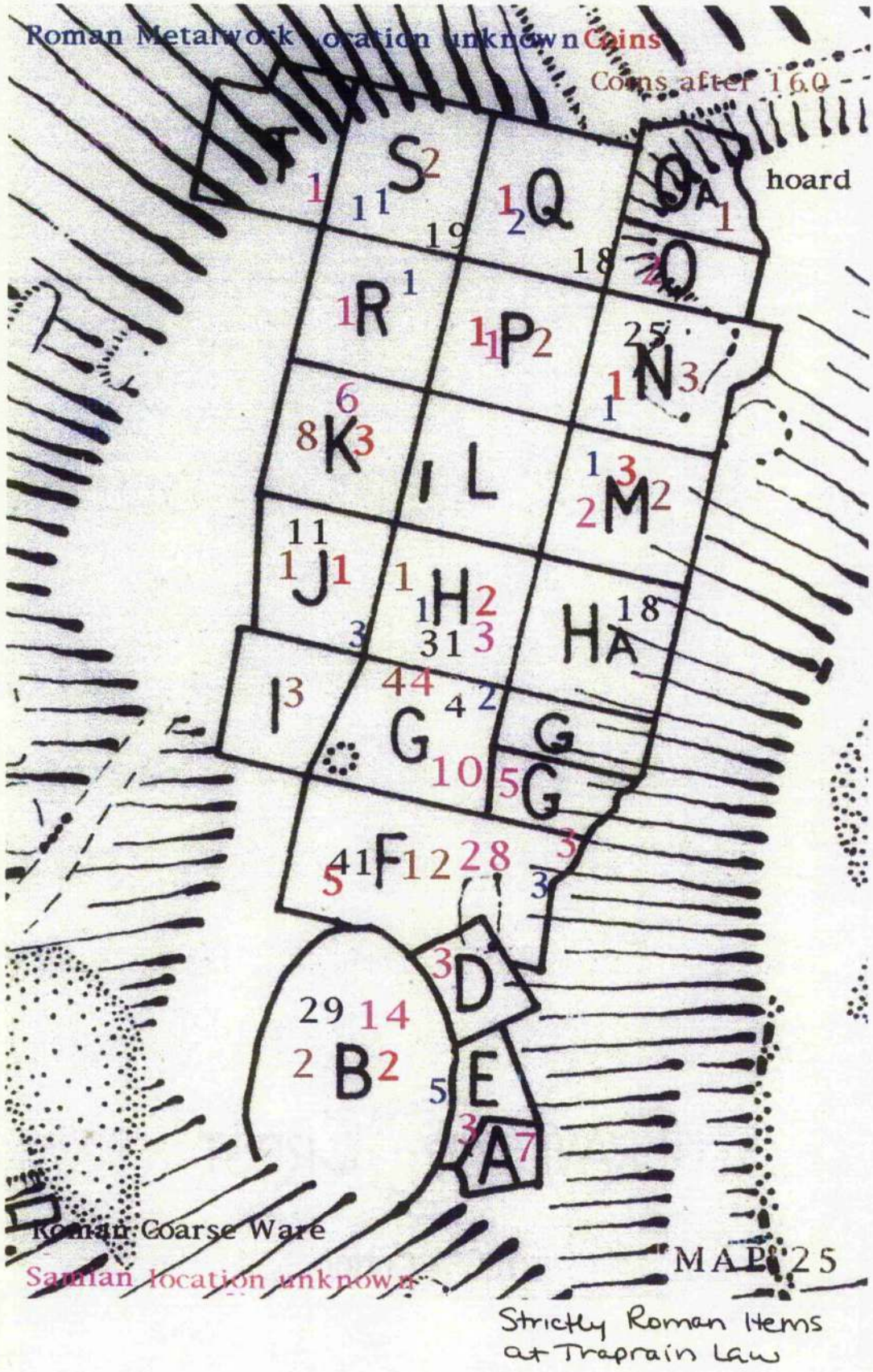
Settlement Patterns

It is clear from this study that Traprain was not a votive site. Another explanation of Traprain's vast assemblage and a new understanding of the site within the context of the Roman world must be sought. A detailed investigation regarding the distribution of artefacts indicates a pattern of occupation and activities at Traprain which may prove helpful in discovering Traprain's function within the borders.

Examining the distribution of strictly Roman artefacts may grant some insight into the kinds of relations developing between Traprain Law and the Roman World. Several groups of items can be classified as strictly Roman and not produced locally; i.e. the Samian ware, the Roman coarseware, the Roman glass, the coins, and strictly Roman metalwork. Of these items, the Samian ware, the first series of coins and the Roman metalwork all have a *terminus ante quem* of 160 AD, precisely the time of the Roman withdrawal from Scotland.

The Samian has the most distinct spatial patterning (Map 25). Most of the Samian ware centred towards the south of the plateau, eighty of the 93 pieces were located south of areas K, L & M. This trend is also evident, although less strongly, in the Roman coarseware, where 130 out of 192 pieces were located south of areas R, P & N. An investigation of the pieces reveals an interesting dichotomy. Most of the Roman coarseware pieces are shards from a few pots, while the majority of the Samian shards are single pieces (Erdrich, pers. com.).

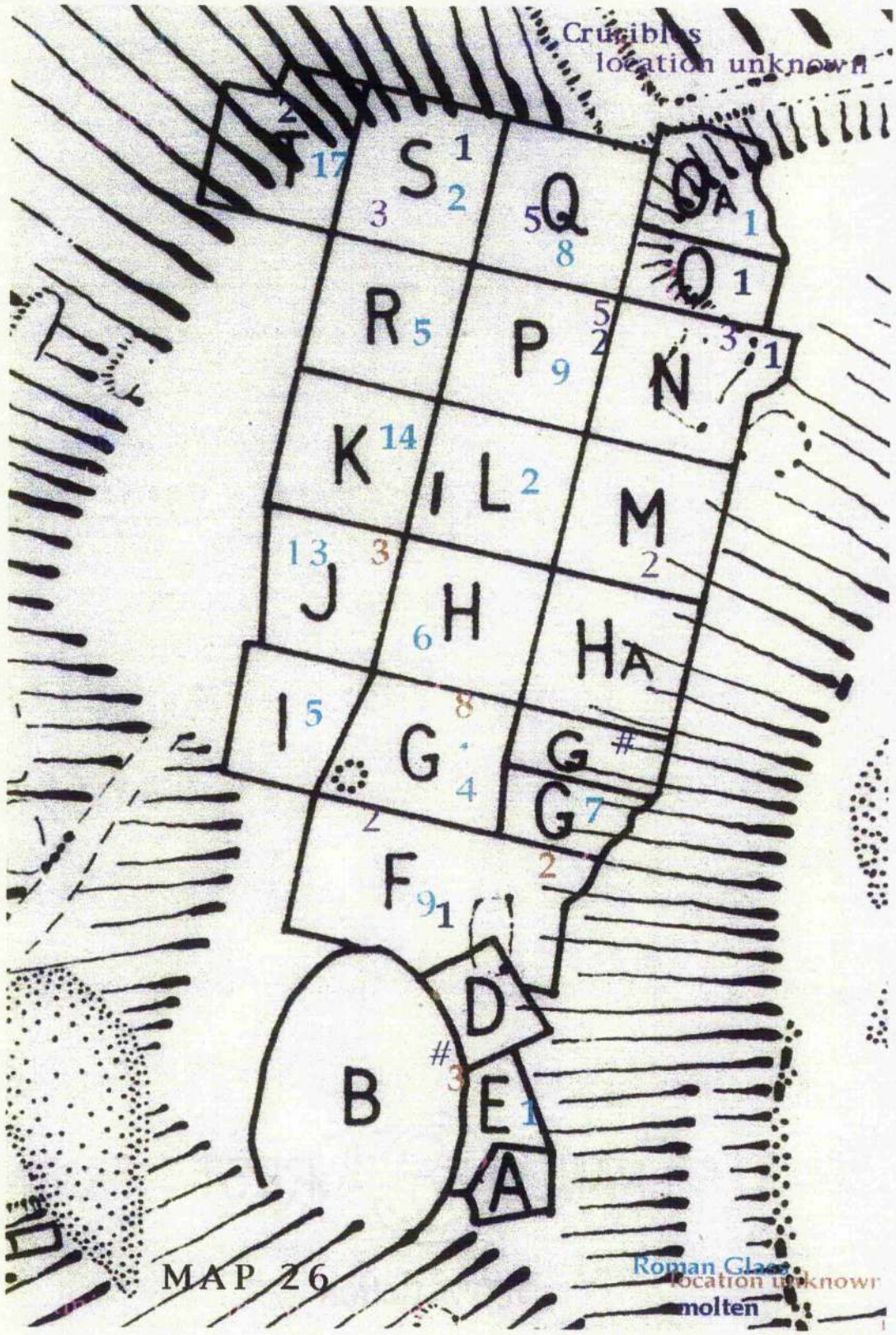
The Roman glass, however, follows a pattern quite contrary to that found among the other Roman items. The glass, comprised primarily of Ising 50/51, was concentrated to the west of the plateau (Map 26). Only one fragment was found in the areas excavated in 1914. Area T had the most fragments, followed by areas K and J


Roman Metalwork - location unknown
Coins
Coins after 160
hoard
Roman Coarse Ware
Samian location unknown
MAP 25
Strictly Roman Items at Traprain Law
scale: 45 metres

consecutively. The scatter of coins is fairly uniform across the site, though the absence of coins in areas T, R, L, Ha & G (1915) spatially separates the coins and reveals a slightly higher concentration of coins to the southwest of the plateau. The Roman metalwork is not confined to any one area, but rather lightly covers the site. Given the sparse amount of Roman metalwork, it is difficult to formulate any definite opinions about its distribution.

Generally, with the exception of the Roman glass, the strictly Roman goods tend to fall to the south and the southwest of the site. The reason for the diverse pattern in the glass is not difficult to detect. Recent glass analysis from Eildon Hill indicates that the green and clear glass items found there were composed of remelted Roman glass. Many of the bracelets at Traprain are of the same green glass and undoubtedly comprised remelted Ising glass. Map 26 also shows areas where pieces of molten glass were found, all of these were in areas T, S & P, while the glass runner was found in area N. Clearly, Roman glass was being remelted in the north and northwestern part of the site. It is, therefore, no surprise that particularly in area Q, as well as areas P & Oa, several large crucibles were found with molten glass inside (Curle 1922, 206).

When comparing the Roman distributions to the Bronze Age distributions, the Bronze Age distributions have a more northerly focus. The evidence concentrates primarily north of area F, with the highest concentration of occupation evident on the eastern sections of the plateau (Map 2). Area L seems devoid of objects, although three Bronze Age items from that year were not ascribed to a particular square and some or all of them may be from area L. Other than finds, the only structural evidence of Bronze Age occupation may be the dwelling and barley cache found in section M level 6 in 1921. Comparing the distribution of the two periods indicates that habitation on the site had shifted from the north and northeast to the south between the Bronze and Roman Iron Age.



Crucibles and Roman Glass at Traprain Law

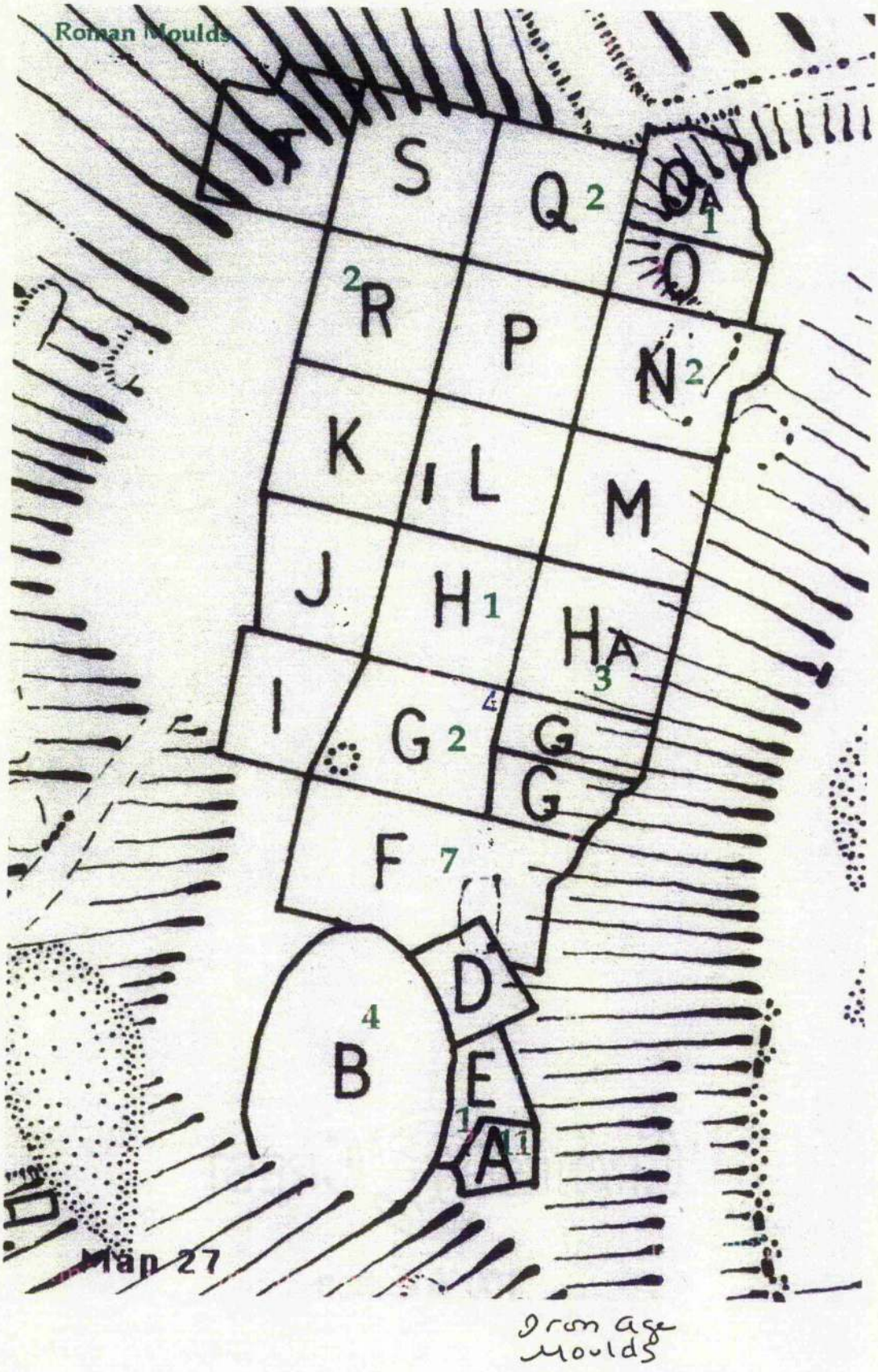
Scale: 45 metres

Recognizing these two settlement patterns is interesting, yet it does not lend much information to our understanding of Traprain's role within the borders during the Roman Iron Age. The distribution of strictly Roman artefacts must be contrasted with that of all other items from the Roman Iron Age. Such a comparison may shed some light on the activities of the Roman Iron Age occupants of Traprain.

Traprain Law is most famous for the incredible amount of bronze items and evidence of metalworking found there. Concerning the metalworking, the distribution pattern of Bronze Age moulds and wasters was discussed in Chapter 2 (p. 14). A concentration of Bronze Age moulds to the east side of the plateau was noted (Map 3). The pattern for the Roman-Iron Age moulds is fairly different. The moulds, like the strictly Roman items, predominate in the southern section of the plateau (Map 27). The crucibles, as was mentioned before, while present in the south to a certain extent, have a high concentration in the north, particularly around those areas which had evidence of molten glass (Map 26).

The distribution pattern of domestic items at Traprain is more complicated. Maps 20 and 21 reveal the distribution of jewellery on the upper and lower levels. In all periods and all classes of jewellery, there is a general dearth of items in area L. There may be a few more items that should be associated with this area, such as those items which are listed from an unknown province in the 1920 excavation season. The distribution of the jewellery also changes from the lower levels to the upper. One could draw a theoretical line between G and I, H and J, P and L and N and M. South of this line, the jewellery shows a high level of activity in the lower levels, and very sparse activity in the upper levels. The opposite, to a slightly lesser degree, could be said about the upper levels, where the concentration of items is to the north.

One area of particular interest is sections G and H. These sections appear to have a high percentage of jewellery when considered irrespective of level. However, once divided into the upper and lower levels, it is clear that the majority of the concentration



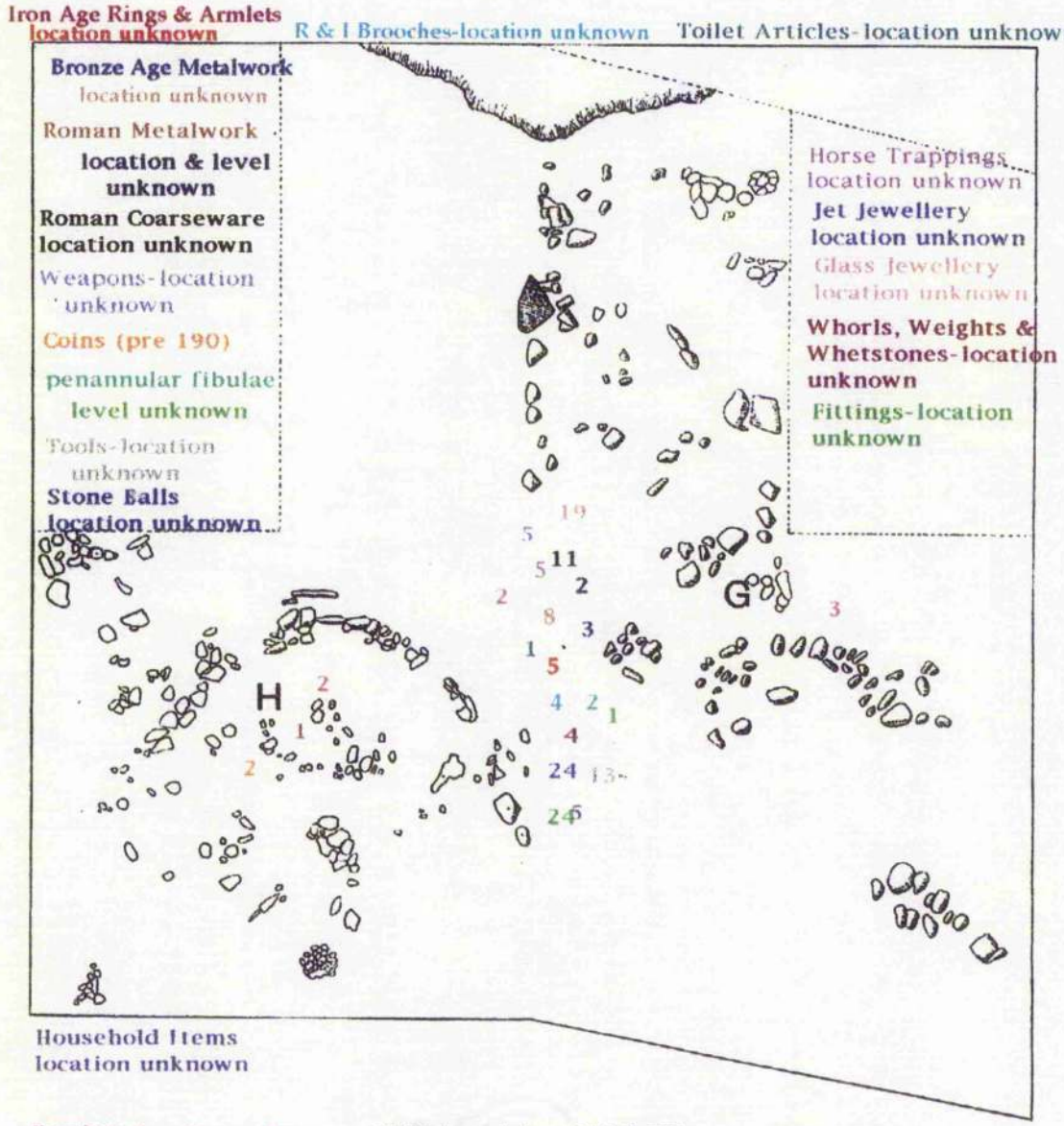
Scale: 45 metres

was coming from the lower levels (Map 21). The lowest level of that season is of particular interest. It has the highest amount of items. According to the excavators, it was in area H, within the segmental line of stones, which they proposed was a house, and slightly to the southwest of the house, that the greatest amount of items were found from that level. Precisely which items were found in that location unfortunately was not recorded. Map 28 indicates all the items found on the level, though generally all the items are listed as unknown, since their exact find spot cannot be rediscovered.

The stylistic development of the jewellery must be considered in accordance with the distribution pattern. The brooches follow a distinct pattern of development. Arriving in the late first to early second century AD, the brooches were entirely of Roman fashion, yet, by the mid second century they showed influences of native Celtic style (Burley 1956, 132). The distribution of the brooches significantly decreases in the upper levels, and Burley notes that stylistically almost all the brooches are early (Burley 1956, 132-133 and see #1-57, 154-162). The brooches become basically obsolete by the late second century.

The pins, dress fasteners and rings and armlets are the classes of jewellery at Traprain which show a majority or close number of finds from the upper levels. This is because the pins and dress fasteners became more popular and developed in style after the gradual disappearance of the brooches (Burley 1956, 132). Simple ring-headed pins are prevalent in the lower levels, while the 'rosettes' and 'proto-hand pins' are found only in the upper levels (Cree 1924, 262 and Burley 1956, see #95-120, 167-170). The dress fasteners are of another native style that is seen on the early levels and later flourishing on the upper levels (Burley 1956, 132 and see #210-240, 178-181 & Cree 1924, 254).

A developmental growth is not as prevalent with the rings and armlets, although their strong continued presence attests to their popularity throughout the occupation of the site (Burley 1956, 133). The penannular fibulae displayed native styles which flourished in the earlier periods. The fibulae were generally found on the lower levels



1919 Level 4 MAP 28

All items Level 4, 1919 at Traprain Law

Scale: 10 metres

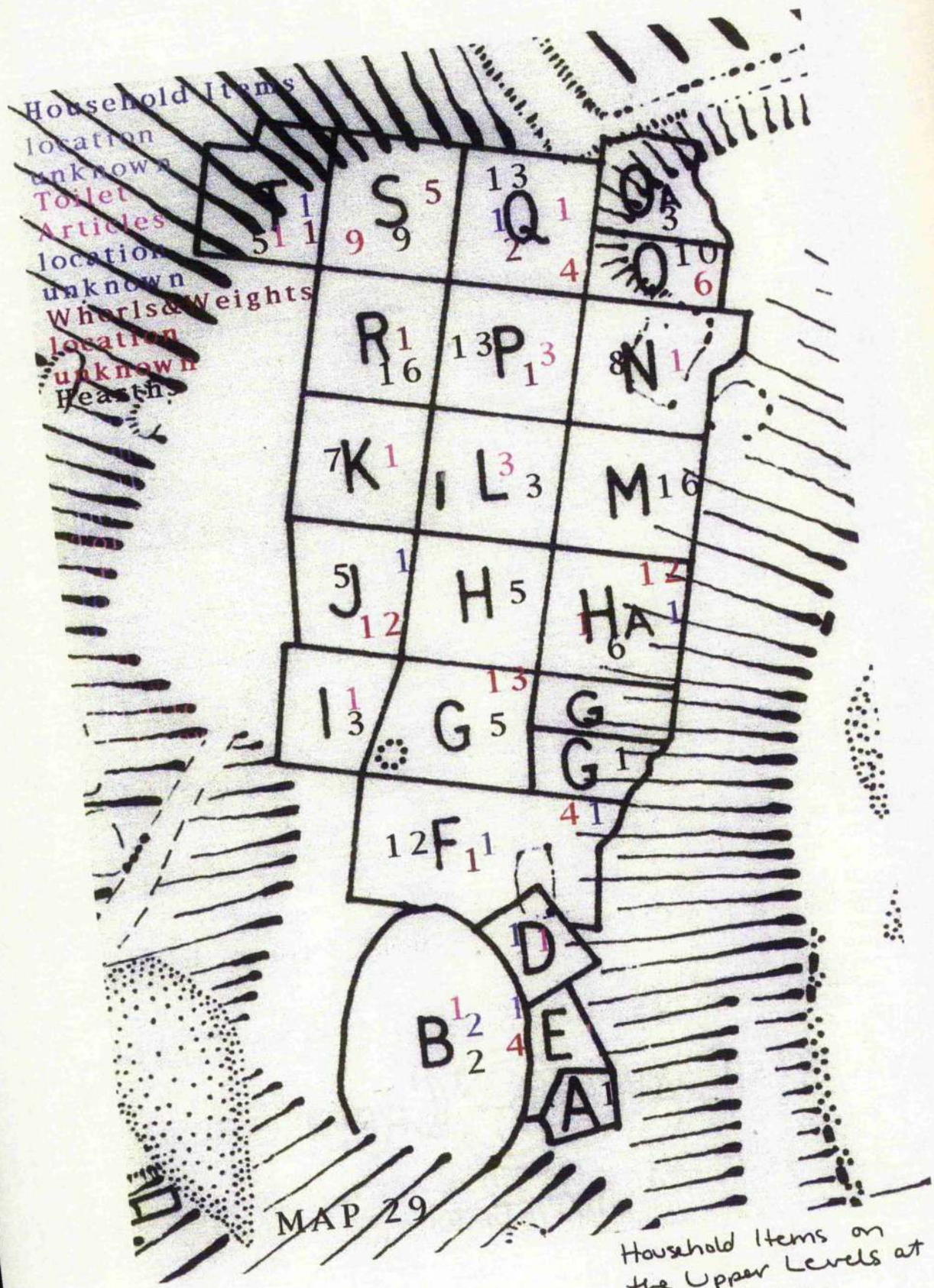
with the brooches, indicating that native styles still continued during the early influx of Roman ornaments (Burley 1956, 131 see #58-93, 162-167). In respect to sheer volume, the glass and jet rings and armlets have a strong presence throughout the occupation of the site. However, there is a significant decrease in the amount of these items on the upper levels.

Table G: distribution of household items

YEAR	Mis. Household		Toilet Articles		Whorls, Weights etc.		Hearths	
1914	3	0	3	2	3	3	3	3
	2	3	2	1	2	0	2	4
	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3
	?	0	?	0	?	1	?	0
1915	4	1	4	0	4	2	4	0
	3	2	3	0	3	4	3	4
	2	1	2	1	2	4	2	5
	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	8
	?	0	?	0	?	1	0	0
1919	4	5	4	1	4	4	4	2
	3	1	3	0	3	6	3	4
	2	0	2	0	2	3	2	7
	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	3
	?	1	?	0	?	0	?	0
1920	4	0	4	0	4	5	4	2
	3	1	3	0	3	12	3	1
	2	0	2	3	2	6	2	7
	1	0	1	2	1	6	1	11
	?	0	?	0	?	0	?	0

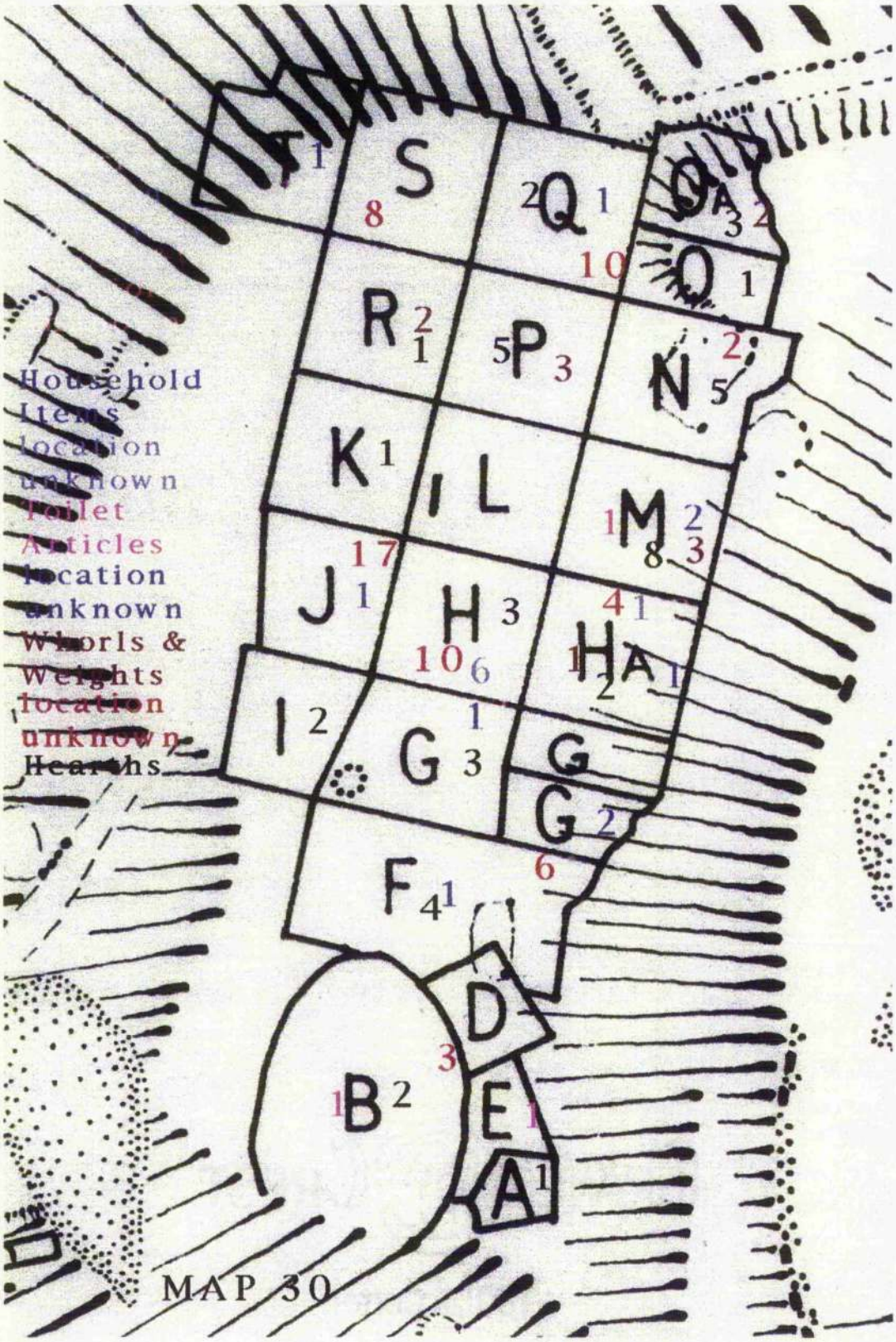
1921	6	2	6	0	6	1	6	2
	5a	2	5a	0	5a	2	5a	1
	5	0	5	1	5	2	5	6
	4	0	4	0	4	3	4	1
	3	0	3	0	3	6	3	4
	2	1	2	0	2	3	2	4
	1a	0	1a	0	1a	4	1a	5
	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	9
	?	0	?	0	?	0	?	0
1921	4	0	4	0	4	1	4	0
	3	0	3	0	3	1	3	5
	2	0	2	1	2	2	2	10
	1	0	1	0	1	4	1	8
	?	0	?	0	?	0	?	0
1922	4	0	4	0	4	3	4	1
	3	1	3	0	3	12	3	9
	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	15
	1	0	1	2	1	4	1	14
	?	0	?	0	?	0	?	0
1923	4	0	4	0	4	10	4	1
	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0
	2	1	2	0	2	13	2	13
	1	0	1	1	1	3	1	17
	?	1	?	1	?	0	0	0

Table G reveals the distribution by levels of the household items. Maps 29 and 30 indicate the distribution of household items on the upper and the lower levels. The miscellaneous household items, the whorls, the weights, and the quernstones are found in a greater majority on the lower levels. These items represent two-thirds of the total miscellaneous household items on the lower levels. The whorls, weights and quernstones do not exhibit such a great division, with 77 items on the lower and sixty on



Household Items on the Upper Levels at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres



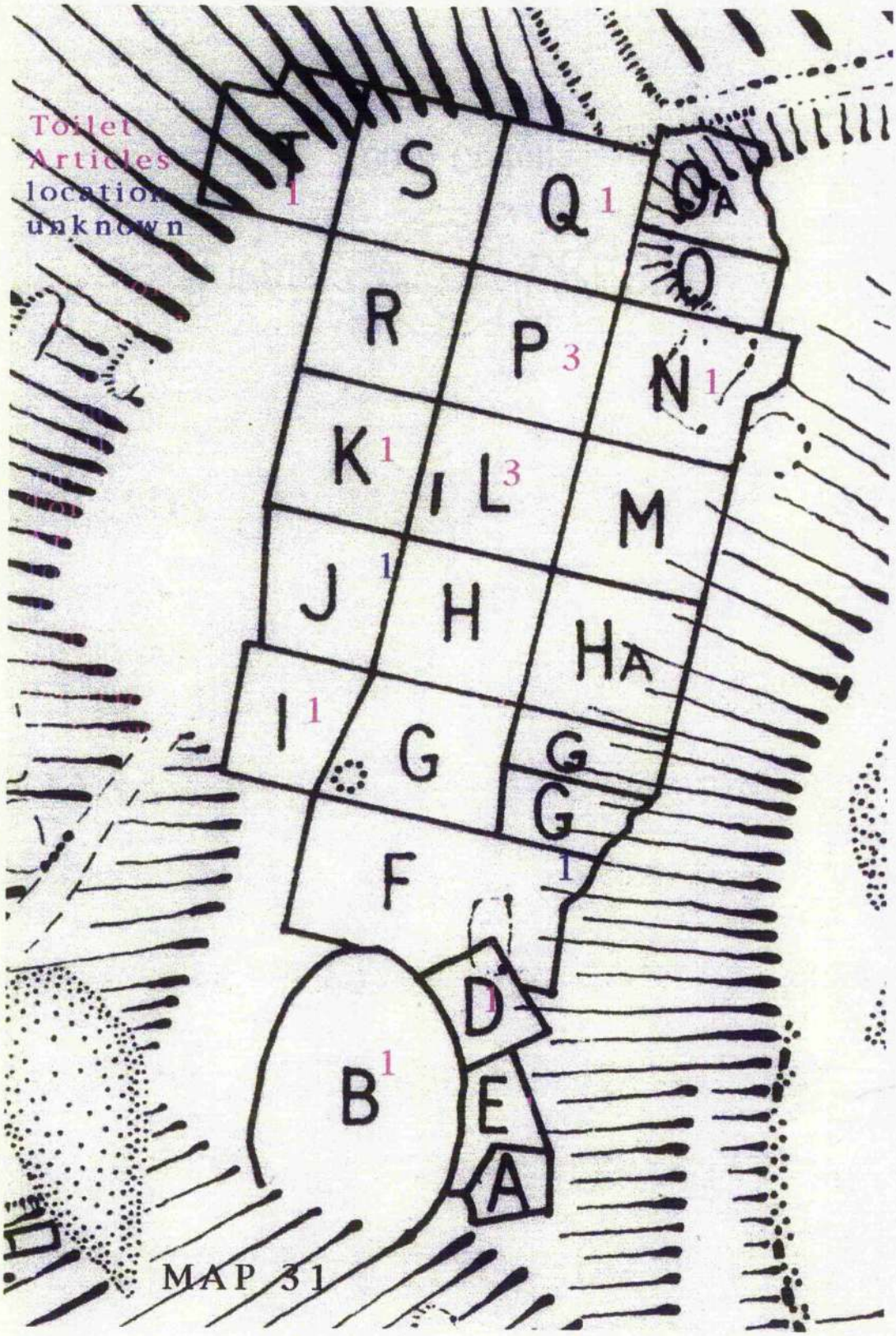
Household Items on the Lower Levels at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres

the upper levels. The toilet articles were primarily from the upper levels, thirteen items from the upper levels and four from the lower. The hearths show the greatest division of all the items. Only fifty out of the 189 hearths on the western plateau were from the lower levels.

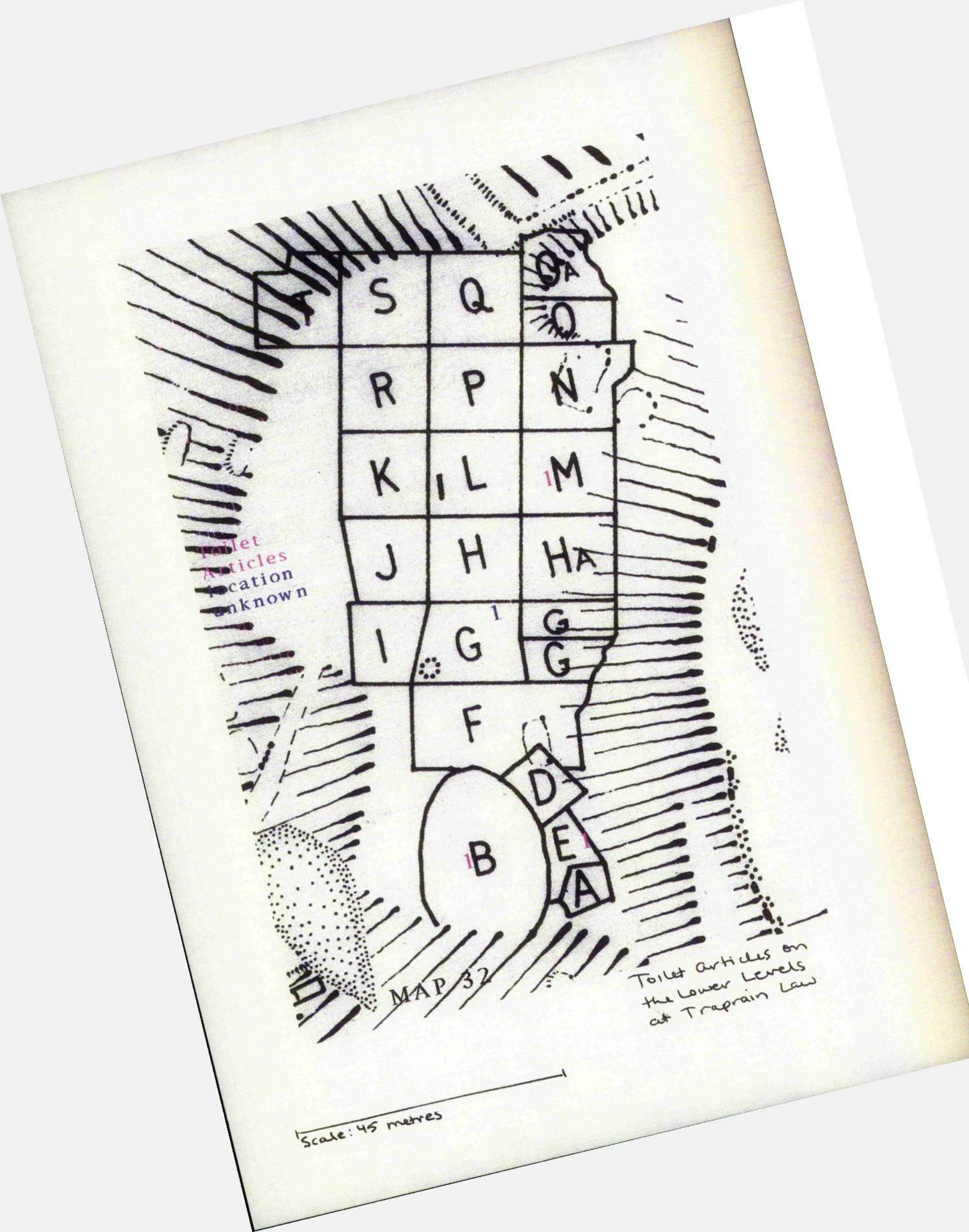
It is worth noting that the majority of miscellaneous household items came from the southern half of the plateau, while most of the later items were located in areas Q and T. Many of the miscellaneous household items are Romanized (Appendix IV). The list includes the stylus, a razor, lamp hooks, a scale pan, a needle and several handles. Quern spindles, however, also comprise a number of these finds The pattern of the miscellaneous household items mimics that of the strictly Roman items; this is not surprising considering that most of the household items were Romanized goods. Whorls, weights and quernstones appear to be fairly evenly distributed on all the levels. The hearths of the lower levels are also fairly evenly distributed, although there is a slightly greater amount in areas M, N, P and Oa. The hearths of the upper level, however, show a marked concentration in the north, particularly in areas R, Q, O, P and M. The number decreases to the south with the exception of area F, which has twelve hearths.

At first sight it seems the development of the household items differs from that of the jewellery, since some of these items are found in the upper levels. Yet many of the miscellaneous household items from the early levels are unique Roman artefacts, for example, the stylus, patera handle and lamp hooks. Burley notes that the early Roman items found on the site are personal ornaments and uncommon items, which she argues were directly acquired from the Romans (Burley 1956, 134). The later household items have a much less Roman character. This clustering of early objects to the south supports Burley's claim, and thus it also matches the early presence of strictly Roman goods recognised among the jewellery.



Toilet Articles on the Upper Levels at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres


S
Q
Q
R
P
N
K
L
M
J
H
H
I
G
G
G
F
D
E
B
A
Toilet Articles
Location
Unknown
MAP 32
Toilet articles on the Lower Levels at Traprain Law
Scale: 45 metres

Most of the toilet articles are from the upper levels, generally from the north and northwest (Map 31). This is contrasted by the artefacts from the lower levels which are predominately in the south (Map 33). Yet, the toilet items are different from the strictly Roman-style goods described previously. As Burley notes, all the later items, like the toilet articles, tend to be of the standard Romano-British style found in villages in southern England (Burley 1956, 134).

The general spread of whorls, weights, and whetstones is hardly surprising. The distribution indicates that the inhabitants of Traprain were exploiting both arable and pastoral means at Traprain. The whorls, weights, and whetstones are each evenly scattered on all levels, indicating that exploitation of all resources was occurring throughout the site's occupation. The distribution of the hearths is much more complicated than that seen with all the other items. While many hearths are to the south, some concentration can be identified in the northern squares. The hearths of the upper levels are all located primarily to the north, and the preponderance of hearths in the upper levels is curious.

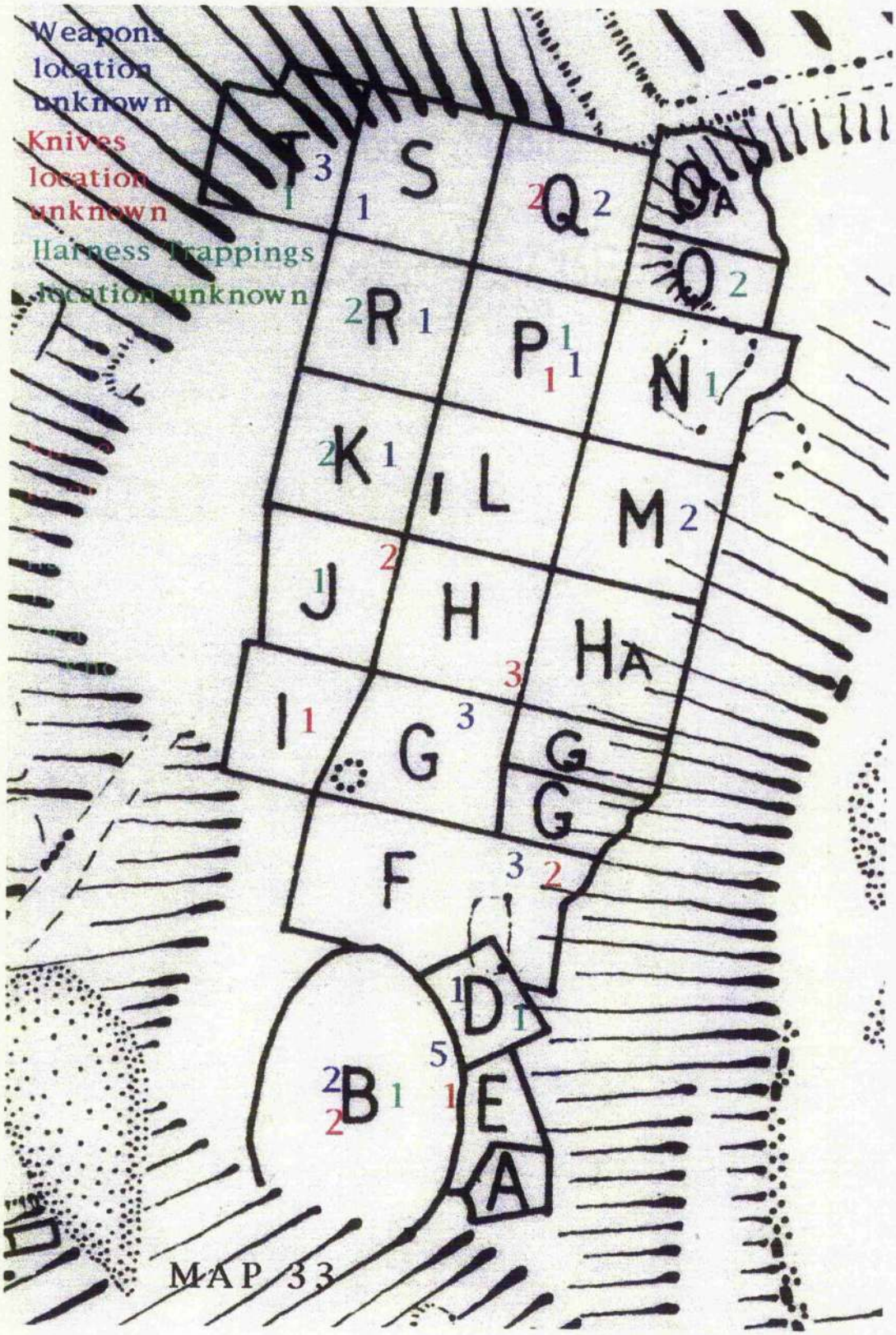
Weapons and military gear reveal a different pattern of deposition. Table H and Maps 33 and 34, indicate the distribution of military gear by levels. In general, there is a greater number of items in the lower levels, however, the knives are slightly better represented in the upper levels. The weapons also have a small spread between the upper and lower levels, 18 in the former, 22 in the latter. Making an exception for the knives, the greater number of weapons were on the lower levels. There is a significant spread between the upper and lower levels in the harness trappings. Thirty-nine out of 51 harness trappings are located in the lower levels.

Table H: Distribution of Military Gear by level.

YEAR	Weapons		Knives		Harness Trappings	
1914	3	0	3	0	3	8
	2	6	2	3	2	2
	1	2	1	0	1	1
	?	?	?	4	?	4
1915	4	2	4	0	4	3
	3	2	3	1	3	2
	2	2	2	1	2	0
	1	0	1	1	1	1
	?	2	?	3	?	1
1919	4	5	4	0	4	5
	3	2	3	3	3	6
	2	3	2	2	2	0
	1	0	1	1	1	0
	?	1	?	0	?	0
1920	4	0	4	0	4	3
	3	2	3	0	3	5
	2	1	2	3	2	2
	1	0	1	0	1	1
	?	1	?	1	?	1
1921	6	0	6	0	6	1
	5a	0	5a	0	5a	0
	5	0	5	0	5	2
	4	0	4	0	4	0
	3	0	3	0	3	0
	2	1	2	0	2	0
	1a	0	1a	0	1a	0
	1	1	1	0	1	0
	?	0	?	1	?	0

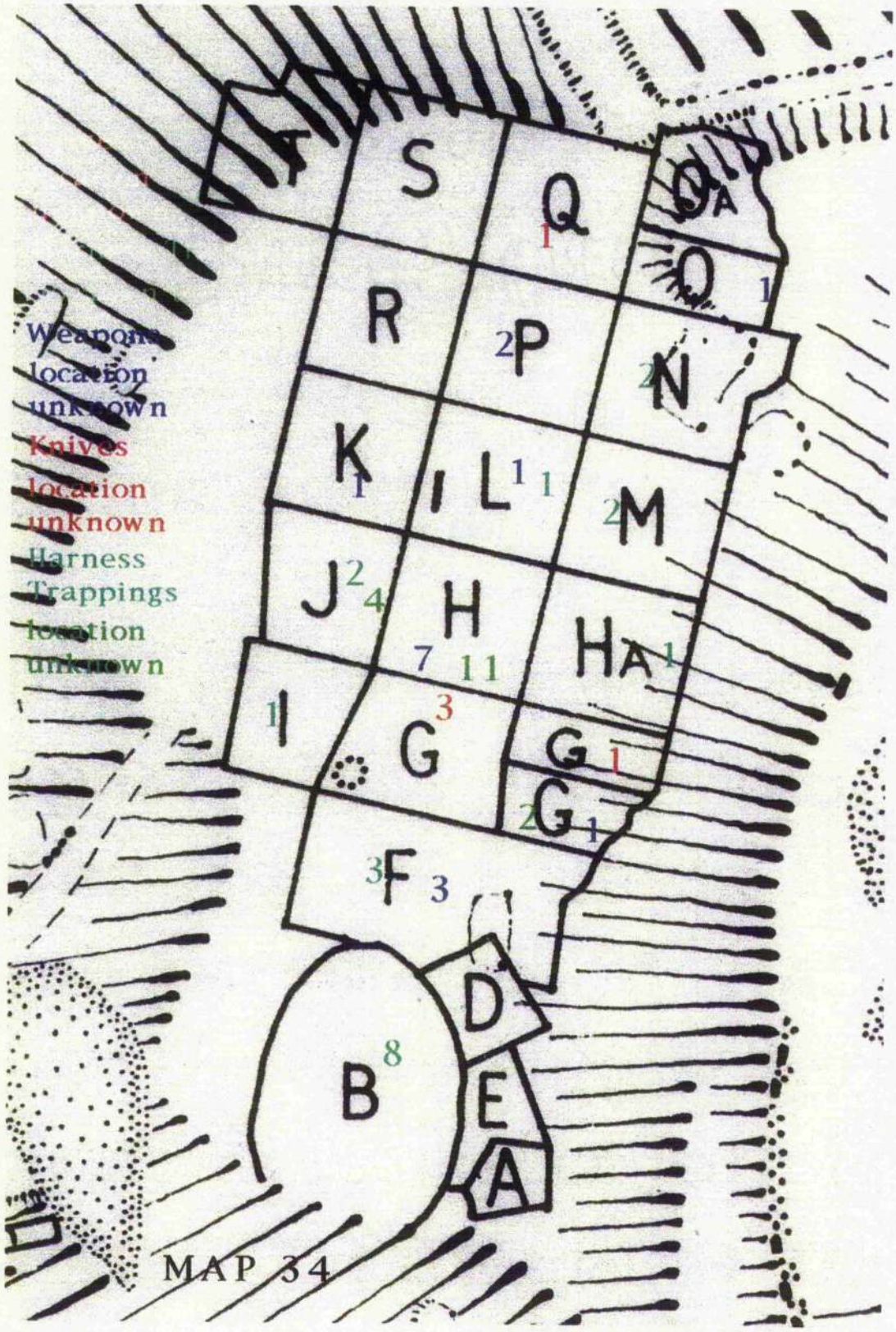
1921	4	1	4	0	4	0
	3	0	3	0	3	2
	2	0	2	0	2	1
	1	0	1	0	1	2
	?	0	?	0	?	0
1922	4	0	4	0	4	0
	3	2	3	1	3	0
	2	1	2	3	2	1
	1	2	1	0	1	0
	?	0	?	1	?	1
1923	4	0	4	0	4	0
	3	0	3	0	3	0
	2	2	2	0	2	3
	1	3	1	0	1	0
	?	0	?	0	?	0

One pattern remains consistent among all three classes of items: that is the greater concentration of items is to the south of the plateau. The 1921 excavations are practically devoid of any items. The 1922 and 1923 excavations reveal a few more finds, although nothing in comparison with the amount of jewellery and household items identified there. No knives were present in areas N, O, R, S or T; quite a surprising fact, considering that knives are later, and the later objects generally are highly represented in these areas. The few knives from the lower levels were consistently in the south. No knives at all were uncovered in the lowest level. The weapons and harness trappings follow the pattern identified with the jewellery on the lower levels. The pattern changes on the upper levels. While there is an increase in the amount of finds to the north in the upper levels, it is not a significant increase like that identified among other classes of items. Also, unlike all the other items, a fair number of artefacts from the upper levels were still located to the south.



Weapons on the Upper Levels at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres



Weapons on the Lower Levels at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres

Of the weapons, which come from both upper and lower levels, some of the swords are strictly Roman in style and others are native in style. Again, the Roman swords are the ones which appear in the lowest levels, and the more native issues are from the higher levels (Burley 1956, 131 and see #375-382, 199-200). The spears and spear-butts are of a native style and they are found predominately in the lower levels (Burley 1956, see #384-395 and 407-408, 201-202).

The knives also follow the general pattern of the weapons. While no knife is specifically Roman, those with a lower deposition tend to be closest to Roman style (Burley 1956, 140 and 207). The harness mountings are concentrated in the lower levels and are generally of native design, although some of the later items show incorporation of Roman style. For example, the boss and petal design, a quite common native design on the harness mountings, is present only on the lowest levels. Burley suggests that the production of these items ceased around the late second century "because there was no continuing demand for such trappings" (Burley 1956, 136).

The distribution of tools is fairly evenly scattered across the site (Map 35). Unlike all the other items so far discussed, this does not change even when the distribution by level is taken into consideration (Table I and Maps 36 and 37).

Table I: Distribution of tools and fittings by levels

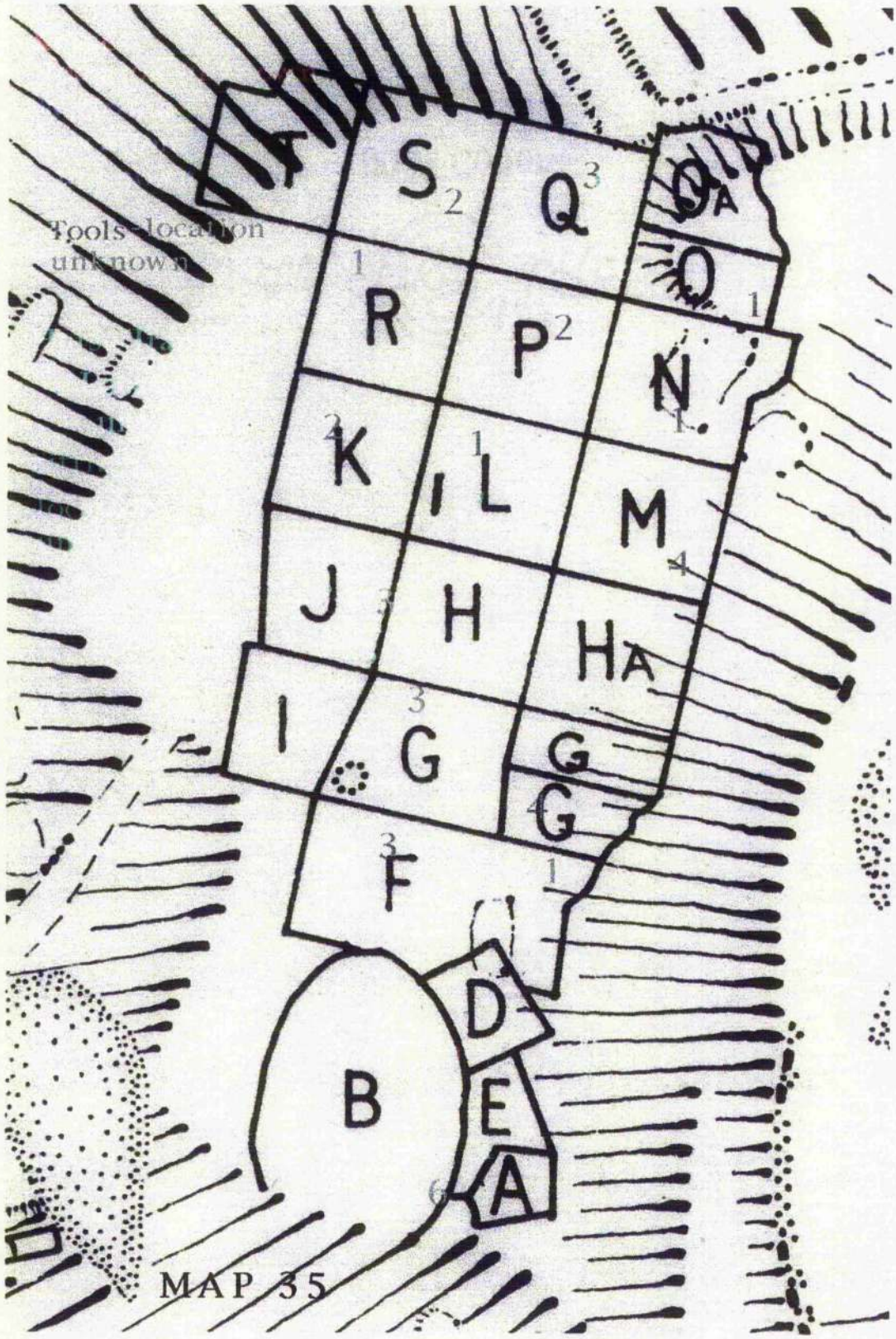
YEAR	Tools		Fittings	
1914	3	0	3	10
	2	3	2	8
	1	0	1	1
	?	3	?	19

1915	4	1	4	1
	3	3	3	8
	2	3	2	4
	1	0	1	5
	?	1	?	22
1919	4	0	4	22
	3	2	3	2
	2	1	2	8
	1	0	1	6
	?	0	?	7
1920	4	0	4	3
	3	1	3	8
	2	1	2	13
	1	2	1	8
	?	2	?	6
1921	6	1	6	0
	5a	0	5a	1
	5	1	5	0
	4	0	4	0
	3	1	3	3
	2	1	2	0
	1a	0	1a	1
	1	0	1	1
	?	0	?	0
1921	4	0	4	0
	3	0	3	3
	2	1	2	10
	1	1	1	0
	?	0	?	0

1922	4	0	4	0
	3	3	3	3
	2	1	2	4
	1	1	1	2
	?	0	?	4
1923	4	0	4	0
	3	2	3	1
	2	0	2	12
	1	1	1	3
	?	0	?	4

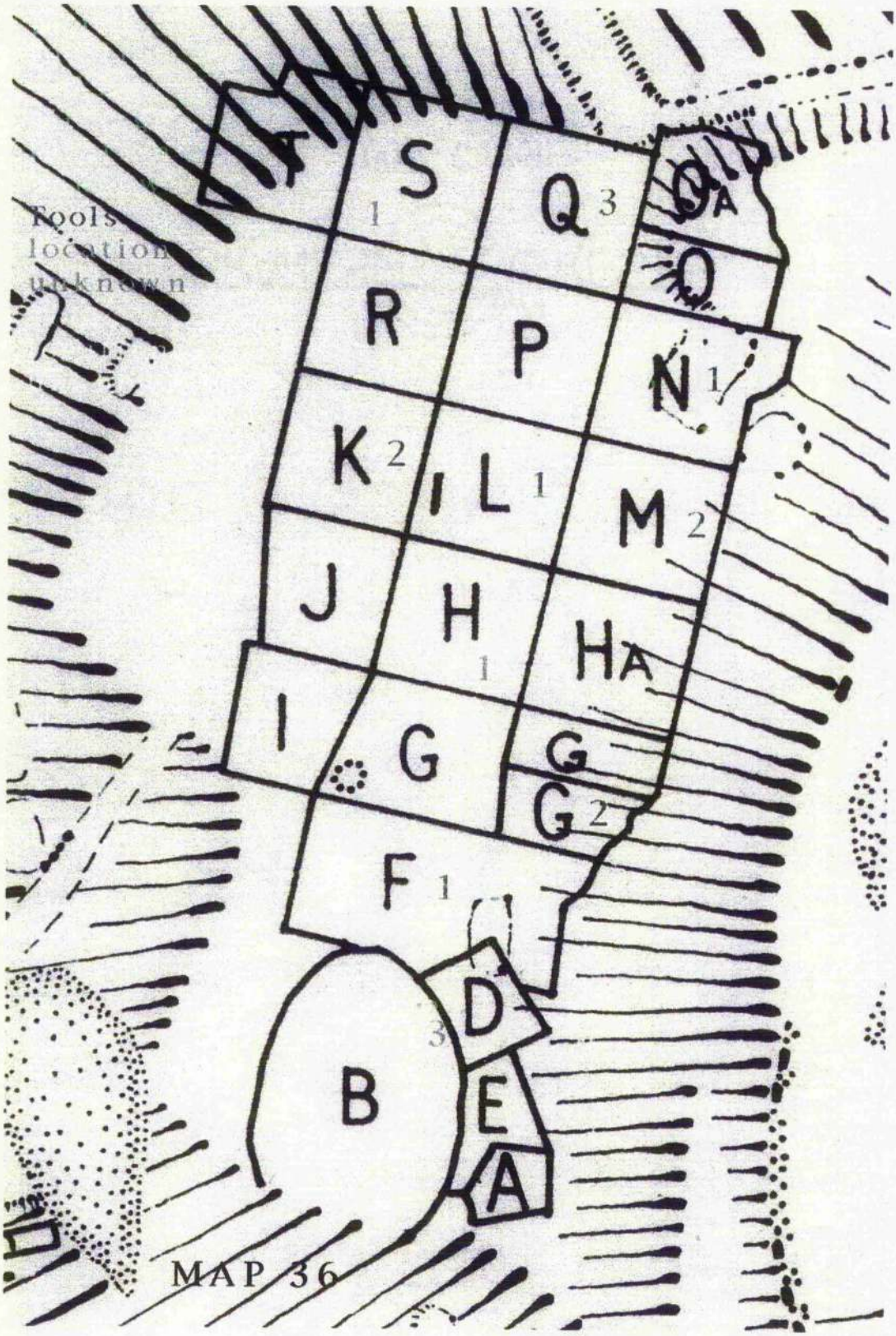
There is nearly the same number of items on the lower levels as there is on the upper. Unlike all the other classes of items, the pattern of distribution reveals no change between the lower and upper levels.

Stylistically, however, the tools at Traprain follow the same pattern identified for the weapons. The earlier tools were Roman or Romano-British, while the later tools reverted back to native styles from the Iron Age (Burley 1956, 140). The axes (474-476) are all Roman and were found exclusively in the lower two levels. The ploughshare and shears are also Romano-British and are generally found in the lower levels, though one pair of shears was found in level 2 F. However, the sickles and files, which are native in style, are predominately in the upper levels (Burley 1956, 140 see #474-512, 211-215). It is also important to note that only two items were found on the lowest level. One of these items was the iron socketed axe, dated to the late Bronze-Early Iron Age, from Level 6. This was the same area in which the cache of barley and three bronze socketed axes were found (Curle 1921, 204). The second tool uncovered in the lowest level was a shear blade from section G of the 1915 excavations (Burley 1956, #491 213). Therefore, the only tool from the Roman Iron Age found on the lowest level was a pair of Romano-British shears.



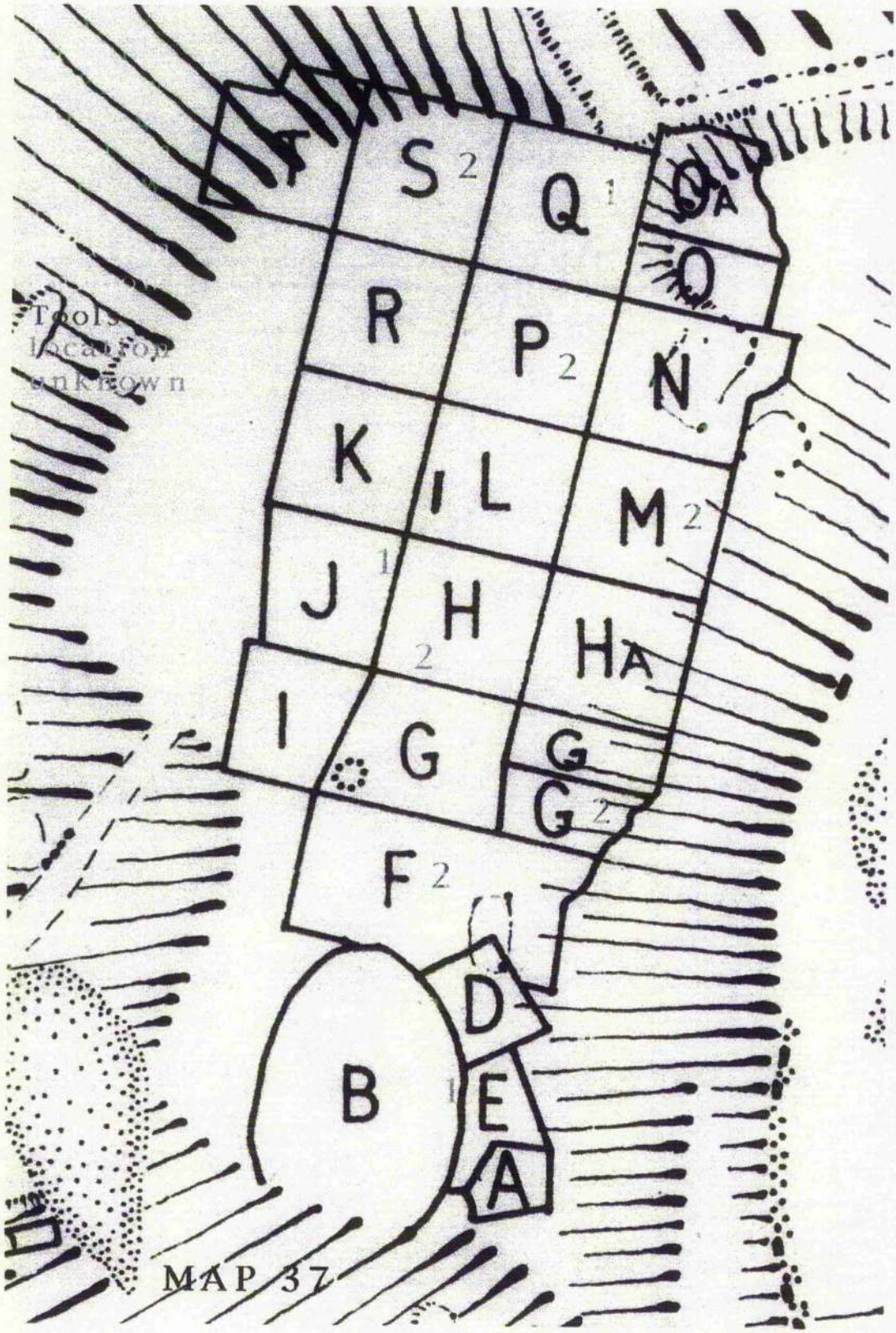
Tools at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres



Tools on the Upper Levels at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres



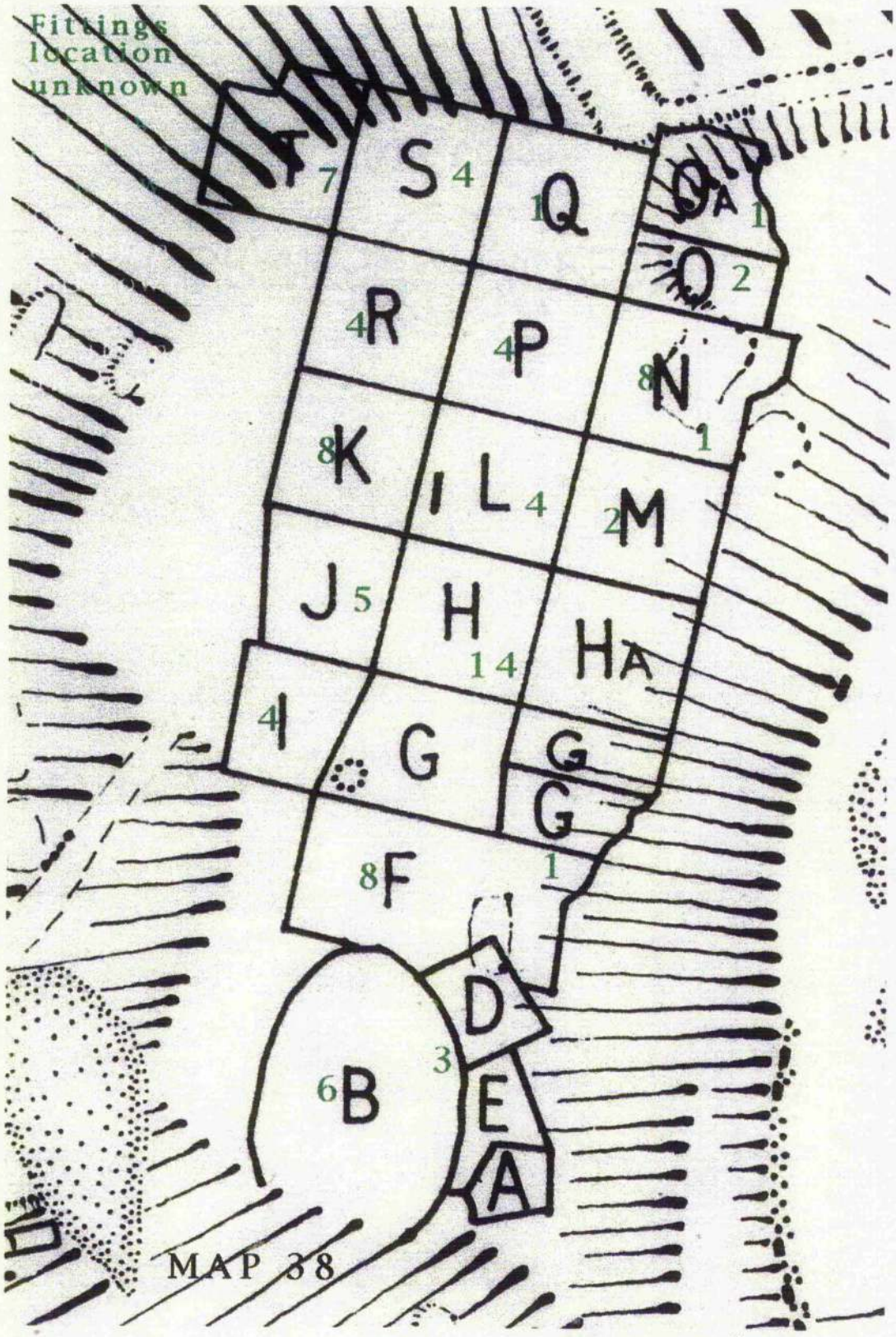
Tools on the Lower Levels at Traprain Law.

Scale: 45 metres

Table I and Maps 38 and 39 also reveals the distribution of fittings by level. Similar to the tools, the distribution between the two levels is minimal, although there are a few more items on the upper levels than on the lower levels. The distribution pattern of tools is similar to that identified for the weapons. There remains a strong presence of items to the south even in the upper levels. In fact, the distribution seems fairly even across the entire upper level, with perhaps a slight concentration to the west of the plateau. Areas M and Ha had the least amount of fittings. As with all the items, except the tools, a definite concentration of fittings to the south is discernible on the lower levels. One other important issue is the large amount of fittings from the lowest level in 1919, as was discussed before (p. 4, Map 24). In this area Curle argued there was strong evidence for a structure (Curle 1920, 61). Inside and closely adjacent to this is where the majority of finds from section H were made. On that level was an extremely high yield of items, particularly jewellery (Map 28). The actual fittings located in G and H level four were: ten nails, one iron link, three iron rings, two bronze discs, three pieces of bronze wire, one oval plate of bronze, a U-shaped bronze binding and two bronze mountings. The finds were of two categories; those items associated with construction, and those which were used as decorative fittings; certainly the bronze mountings and oval plate showed evidence of once being fastened to something (Burley 1956, see #270 and 278 187).

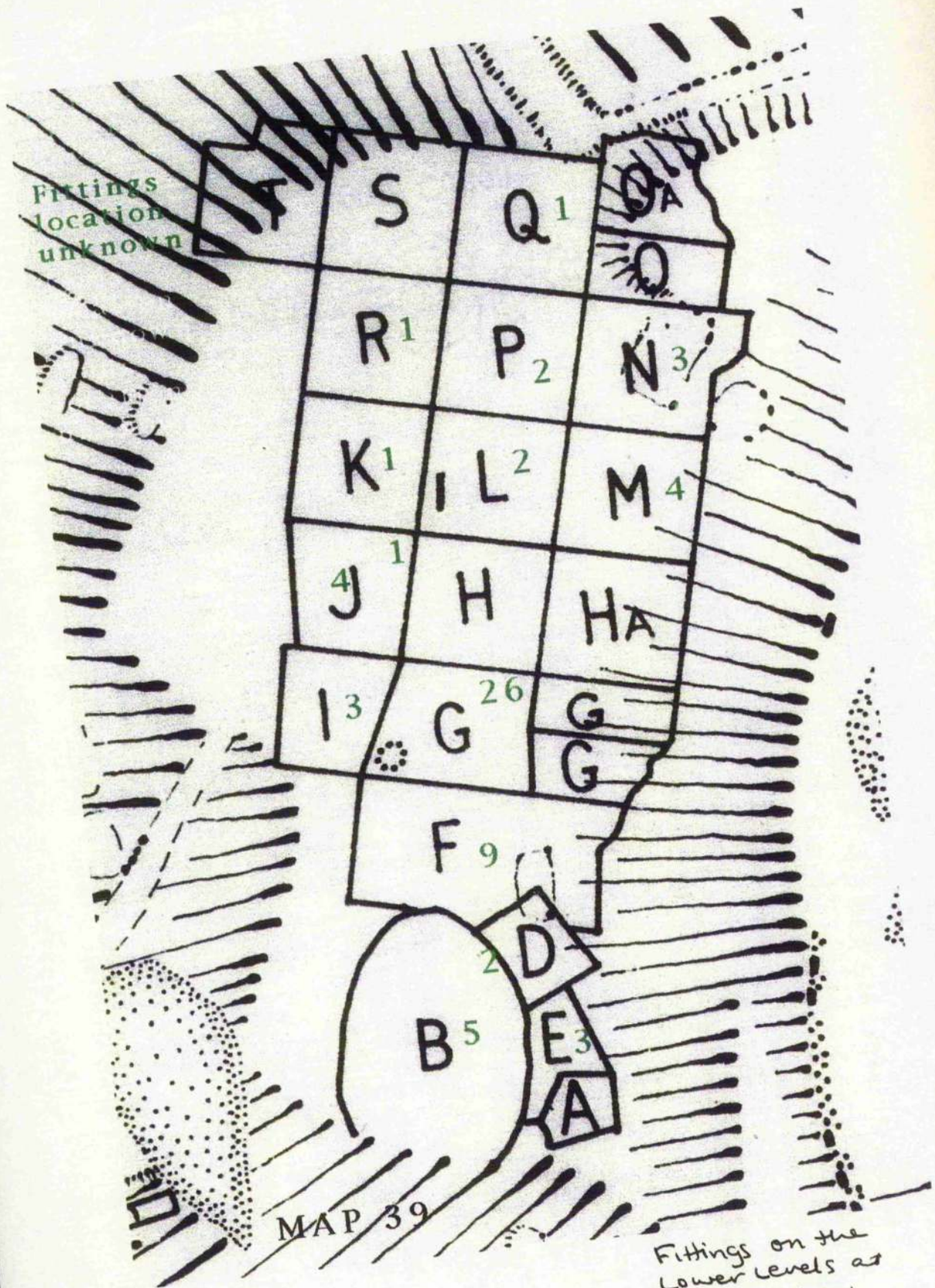
Most of the items under fittings are not sensitive to any kind of developmental analysis, so locating any pattern in distribution and context is difficult. However, Burley does point out that the iron pins and staples are Romano-British, and they come predominately from the lower levels (Burley 1956, 140).

This investigation has clarified a few points about the habitation at Traprain. Primarily, the majority of finds from the lower levels exhibit a concentration on the south of the plateau. Apparently activity in the early Roman period was centred around this section of the Law. Every class of item, except perhaps the tools, reflects this



Fittings on the Upper Levels at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres



Fittings on the Lower Levels at Traprain Law

Scale: 45 metres

pattern, although the strictly Roman goods accentuate this most clearly (Map 25). The preponderance of strictly Roman items in the south indicates a larger trend. A large percent of those items located in the lower levels are predominately of Roman style. Although native Celtic design makes a small showing during this period, particularly in the dress fasteners and harness trappings. At some point in time, presumably in the late second early third century, the settlement shifted. Items from the later levels predominate in the north and west side of the plateau. At this time, the native style reasserted itself (Burley 1956, 131).

The evidence indicates that the occupation on the upper levels appears to be more sparse. Curle and Cree both noted that the soil from the upper two levels was less compact (Curle 1916, 71). The occupation on the northern terrace suggests that this may simply be the result of a broader area of habitation. Certainly there is a much greater amount of artefacts coming from the lower levels.

Pins, rings, armlets (bronze, jet and glass), whorls, hearths, weapons, knives, tools and fittings maintain a strong presence throughout the upper levels. This indicates that although jewellery production continued throughout Traprain's occupation, it was decreasing in the later years. Items generally required for everyday living continued to flourish throughout Traprain's occupation.

Section G and H revealed a high concentration of items, particularly on the lower levels. Neither the amount of artefacts, nor the duration of the proposed structure was extensive enough to suggest votive activity in that area. The area must have been of some importance, and the wide variety of items identified there suggests it may have been a trading centre. Finds from the upper levels do not concentrate in that area, although an unusual amount of hearths do appear in that area in the upper levels.

This chapter has clearly demonstrated that there was a pattern of habitation and settlement across Traprain, which developed and changed during the Roman Iron Age. Not all of the idiosyncrasies of the site can be interpreted into a coherent whole.

However, occupation trends are visible and grant the first step to understanding Traprain and its activities during the Roman Iron Age.

Chapter 6:

Conclusions

Having dealt with all the data, it is now possible to focus on a synthesis of the information. What does all this information reveal about the development of Traprain, and more generally, the effects of Roman contact in the borders region?

Traprain was not a votive site. The assemblage and distribution of the artefacts, along with the settlement pattern, concordantly attest to this fact. Dispelling this theory, however, leaves us again with the problem of interpreting the site. Since the site is not votive, the Roman artefacts must be considered within the context of normal occupation at Traprain. Thus Traprain's connection to the Romans must be examined.

Another interpretation of Traprain Law suggests that the site was a production and redistribution centre for East Lothian (Macinnes 1984, 193). In light of the evidence, considering Traprain a redistribution and trading centre is far more plausible than interpreting it as a votive site. Primarily, there is no need to reconstruct the present chronology for Traprain. The extensive history and importance of the site is recognised and not constrained to a brief period, which offers no explanation for the extensive goods identified before that period. Macinnes suggests that Traprain Law was a trading centre even in the Bronze Age, a position it held, though possibly to a slighter degree, in the pre-Roman Iron Age and on through the Roman Iron Age (Macinnes 1984, 197).

The evidence of Bronze Age contact between Traprain and Ireland, as well as the Continent (Burley 1956, 128), indicates that Traprain Law was a trading centre of certain importance even in the first millennium BC. While metalworking at Traprain certainly diminished during the pre-Roman Iron Age, there is no reason to suspect that trading did not continue. The evidence for pre-Roman activity at Traprain is slight, although this is a problem generally related to archaeological detection and not occupational shifts. Recent analysis on the basis of metal content has indicated that

some of the metal items at Traprain were produced in the pre-Roman Iron Age (Hunter pers. com.). Metalworking at Traprain reached its peak during the Roman Iron Age and this peak was fairly continuous, although slowly tapering off in the later periods. The pattern of metalwork does not conform well with Hill's theory, but rather indicates a trading centre developing and following the pattern of settlement within its area over a long period of time. Sections G and H of the lowest level also suggest trade activity at Traprain.

Now that a more feasible explanation of Traprain's function can be accepted, an interpretation of the finds and their role within the borders region may commence. Two issues must be addressed. Primarily, is the evidence indicative of any kind of philo-Romano policy at Traprain? Secondly, do the Roman and Romano-British items indicate some level of Romanization occurring in this region?

The preceding chapter has revealed numerous patterns in production at Traprain Law. In the early second century Traprain Law was acquiring and producing Roman items. During that time, Roman coins following the histogram of military coins, Samian ware, and metalwork, all most likely acquired directly from the Roman military, appeared on the site (Burley 1956, 134). Traprain was not only acquiring these items, but also producing varieties of Roman items, mostly jewellery and some mounts (Burley 1956, 131). After a period of time, items of strictly Roman style faded out and northern Romano-British and Celtic styles asserted themselves. Eventually, evidence of life on the site faded and by the late fourth-early fifth century the site was abandoned.

Numerous factors indicate direct relations between the inhabitants of Traprain Law and the Roman military. The preponderance of Roman items on the lower levels has been duly noted and serves as evidence for early links between Traprain and the Romans. While a high proportion of Roman goods does not necessitate trade contact directly with the Romans, other evidence from Traprain suggests that this was indeed the case. The patera handle, certain swords (Burley 379 and 380) and the shield rib (Burley

382) represent direct acquisitions from military sites (Burley 1956, 134). The chronology of the strictly Roman items, which ceases at 160 AD (p. 68), and the evidence of the early coins, which reveals that they were obtained from the neighbouring military (p. 56), all attest to direct relations with the Roman military. Finally, as Macinnes pointed out, the manufacture of items at Traprain, which "have been found on both Roman and native sites, together with the possibility that it continued to be defended at this time (Jobey 1976, 199), further suggests that Traprain Law may indeed have played a primary role in the contact between Roman and native in the eastern lowlands" (Macinnes 1989, 113).

Given the history of Traprain, it seems distinctly possible that Traprain was a trading centre of some political power and importance. Even in the Bronze Age it had contact with Ireland and the Continent. During the Iron Age, it seems to have lost some of its power or status as activity became less prominent. Therefore, with the impending approach of the Romans, it is distinctly possible that the inhabitants of Traprain initiated a system of trade with the Romans. This link between the natives and Romans was focused around the survival and revitalization of the site as a trading centre, a strategy which apparently worked, as growing population at Traprain, and the numerous Roman settlements developing near Traprain Law (Macinnes 1984, 183) indicates.

Upon the withdrawal of the Romans, the inhabitants of Traprain had to find a means by which to maintain its flourishing trade. In this period the goods at Traprain display a more Romano-British and native character. It is indeed very possible that trade relations were now no longer focused around the Roman military, but became more erratic; possibly the majority of goods now came from various northern tribes within the province. Local and native styles reappear as the impetus for Roman styles dissipated, though trade does seem to have been affected, as the diminishing amount of jewellery indicates.

Traprain certainly engaged in extensive contact with the Romans. This contact indicates some form of a philo-Roman attitude on the part of the inhabitants of Traprain, although any actual recognised policy need not be the case. As Braudel has pointed out, relations with the Romans took on many forms, and many of them were never formally acknowledged (Braudel 1984). On the other hand, the lack of Roman forts in East Lothian suggests that some reciprocal arrangement existed between the Romans and the natives of that region. In some respects, this lack of Roman presence in the area may not have been to the advantage of the site. As Macinnes pointed out, any agreement which kept the Romans from entering East Lothian, "must also have kept Traprain Law firmly in the position of a secondary, provincial centre, rather than the major centre of exchange for the area" (Macinnes 1984, 195). Perhaps there are two factors at play here. First, as the Roman army advanced, Traprain established trade relations with it, thus strengthening its position as a redistribution centre for the local tribe. As Roman control became imminent, the tribe sought a philo-Roman treaty, or some form of philo-Roman policy, as a means of protection. The scope of this policy may not have been extensive, since it appears that direct contact with the Roman military ceased with the withdrawal of the Romans. Feachem's suggestion that the Cruden Wall is evidence of re-vitalization due to Rome making Traprain a *foederatus* must be seriously questioned (Feachem 1956, 289), as the ancient sources never report that the Votadini became a *foederatus* of Rome (Maxand Penman 1985). The artefacts at Traprain leave no particular reason to suppose that the people of East Lothian ever had direct contact with Rome again after the withdrawal of the troops.

After the Romans left, Traprain Law sought other means by which to remain a trading centre. The shift in occupation patterns at this time may be indicative of a temporary abandonment of the site, or some kind of political change. After the shift in occupation to the north of the plateau, native styles developed. Trade with a Romano-British source, most likely one of the northern Romanized tribes, commenced. Hence,

the metalwork at Traprain after the second century was chiefly native and Romano-British (Burley 1956, 131). While Traprain apparently retained its position, gradually its importance declined and occupation scattered.

Does this evidence for Roman contact, in conjunction with the vast amount of Roman goods produced at Traprain, indicate Romanization was occurring in East Lothian? The question of Romanization is far more difficult to assess than identifying contact. Given the brief presence of the Romans and general lack of impact their presence imparted (Hanson 1997, 216), Romanization seems unlikely. Formulating trade relations with others was an established policy at Traprain. Thus, contact with the Romans may not have been indicative of any cultural attitudes, although continued trade itself often instigates some cultural interaction. Any further philo-Roman policies, which may have developed for protection, would certainly create an impetus to expedite Romanization. At Traprain, production of Roman items occurred very quickly. Hence the people at Traprain were not just acquiring Roman goods, they were imitating them. The imitation of items serves as some evidence of a gradual development of Romanization, as does the acquistion of Roman items such as the Roman coarseware and toilet articles.

The impact of this early Romanization must be put into perspective. The evidence for Romanization is not extensive and the extremely limited amount of contact between the Votadini and the Romans must have severely stunted its development. Romanization does not appear to go beyond Traprain, although the limited amount of excavation in East Lothian may contribute to this bias. The decline of Roman items and style with the withdrawal of the army indicates that the effects of Romanization were not long lasting. Trade was established with Romano-British peoples to the south, items and artefacts continued to come in, but native styles began to reassert themselves. Traprain Law is not evidence of the Romanization of Scotland. Instead, it is indicative of how

Romanization was unique to each area, within and without the borders, and how Romanization is completely contingent upon a variety of factors.

Appendix I

Table A: Assemblages

VOTIVE	Uley	Harlow	Traprain Law
parts of body	3	-	1
stone altars	12	1	-
figurines			
copper/bronze	18	-	-
stone	-	7	-
'rings'	53	6	-
leaves	11	-	-
plaques	18	3	-
letters	-	-	-
miniature tools/weapons	14	-	-
miniature pots	94	-	-
unusual clay vessels	9	-	-
curse tablets	140	-	-
bronze animal parts	-	-	2
sealbox lid	1	-	-
ceramic altars	1	-	-
candlesticks	2	1	-
TOTAL	376	18	3
JEWELLERY			
brooches & penn. fib	40	96	93
enamelled objects	6	-	-
beads			
glass	89	4	58
jet	5	-	4
antler/bone	1	-	2
necklace fittings	5	-	-

earrings	5	-	1
bracelets			
copper/bronze	43	4	12
jet	3	-	>100
shale	25	4	-
glass	-	-	180
bone/antler	42	-	-
pins			
metal	8	16	43
antler/bone	14	8	-
jet	4	-	9
finger rings			
copper/bronze	38	13	54
jet	7	-	33
bronze discs	-	-	5
glass disc	-	-	1
button	-	-	2
pendant	2	-	1
chain	2	-	-
dress fasteners	-	-	32
intaglios	1	4	-
TOTAL	340	149	630
HOUSEHOLD ITEMS			
patera handles	1	-	1
spoons	14	-	1
toilet articles	6	19	19
combs	1	-	-
razors	1	-	1
styli	8	5	1
spindle whorls	8	-	141
weights	1	-	5
needles & points	6	2	1
whetstones	12	-	11
querns	13	-	10

hearths	12	2	>200
lamp rods	-	-	2
shoe fittings	3	1	-
glass ball	-	-	1
metal vessels	17	1	3
scale pan	-	-	1
stone balls	-	-	18
playingmen	12	-	80
handles	4	3	8
TOTAL	119	33	504
OTHER HOUSEHOLD			
pre-Roman coins	3	232	-
early coins (170)	34	53	23
later coins	2231	100	48
pottery	very high	200 Samian	105 Samian
bones	>goat	>sheep	low/domestic oxen
TOTAL			
WEAPONS/ MILITARY GEAR			
spearheads	20	-	33
javelins	24	-	1
swords	1	5	6
knives/blades	10	5	39
arrowheads		-	3
fish spear	-	1	-
sheath	-	2	1
shield	-	-	2
horse trappings	-	6	61
chape	-	-	1
hilt mounting	-	-	2
military hinge	-	21	-
TOTAL	55	40	149

TOOLS

IRON/BRONZE

scraper	1	-	1
chisel & punch	2	3	10
gouge	5	-	-
socketed axe	-	-	1
shear blade	-	-	4
plain axe	-	2	4
crucible tongs	-	-	1
burnishers	-	-	1
sickle	-	-	9
file	-	-	3
hoe	-	-	2
adze	-	1	1
awl	-	-	1
ox goad	-	-	3
ploughshare	-	-	1
TOTAL	9	6	42

BUILDING REMAINS

roof tiles	4	several	-
tesserae	31	several	-
column base	1	-	-
keys/locks/latch lifters	9	3	4
wall plaster	267 kilos	high amounts	-
plaques and fittings-hooks, joiners etc.	32	6	68
clamp	-	-	3
hinge	-	-	3
studs & rivets	large number	8	5
fittings of furniture	30	19	-
sheet strips	8	5	-

sheet strips from boxes	13	-	1
ferrules & terminals	5	-	-
plates, washers, rings & fittings	29	8	38
sheet from casket	1	-	-
bronze mounts	-	-	14
bolt	-	-	3
iron & bronze rods	-	-	18
bars	1	-	18
TOTAL	164	49	175
nails	3,700	4	59
TOTAL	3864	53	234
METALWORK MATERIAL			
slag	high amounts	-	-
wasters	-	-	-
crucibles	-	-	22
glass run	-	-	1
glass rod	-	-	1
moulds	-	-	54
TOTAL	high amounts of slag	-	78

Appendix II

Coins

Endeavoring to quantify, interpret or even understand the numismatic evidence from all three sites is incredibly problematic. When constructing the comparison of coin finds at the sites, and indeed, even when calculating the percentages of assemblages, one particular problem was always apparent. How does one interpret the high number of coins? Woodward also addresses this issue when discussing the unusual numismatic mean at Uley.

> If what we are looking at in a coin list is the results of a series of individual events occasioning either, the loss, or intentional deposition of a coin, then the assumption has to be that the results are very roughly equal, so that they usually concern only one coin, or occasionally, a small number. This assumption does not affect the value of the event: thus by dropping one gold coin by a shrine a considerable 'event' could take place, which to the treasurers would far outweigh a number of smaller 'events', yet to us as observers of individual coins it would number simply as one. If, instead of one gold coin the visitor deposited the same value in small bronze coins, say a bag of one thousand pieces, then instead of one unit deposited, one thousand units might have been hung up in a bag on a convenient nail (Woodward 1993, 86).

If one considers that the construction of any assemblage chart is simply a process of counting units, then it is easy to identify the problem associated with the coins. While it is necessary to count each coin, since its presence has meaning, counting and considering each coin as a unit severely skews the percentages, and represents a paradigm not necessarily indicative of reality. However, to disregard the coins also creates a false pattern. In the end, the coins must be counted and considered, as they form a significant part of the assemblages. Therefore, in the body of this thesis each coin was counted and considered as a unit. Here, however, the percentages have been recalibrated without the coins incorporated.

Chart A: Assemblages recalibrated without coins.

ITEMS	ULEY	HARLOW	TRAPRAIN
Votive	35.4%	6.1%	0.2%
Jewelry	32%	50.5%	39%
Household Items	11.2%	11.2%	31.5%
Weapons	5.2%	13.6%	9.3%
Tools	.75%	2.0%	2.6%
Building Remains	15.4%	16.6%	10.9%
Manufacturing Material	minimal	0%	6.2%

Chart A reveals the recalibrated percentages of assemblages at the three sites. The ratio of percentages has significantly changed. First, the percentage of votive items at Uley and Harlow increases. The votive items at Traprain remained unchanged, while the percentages of Uley and Harlow went from 11.3% and 2.6% to 35.4% and 6.1% respectively. The pattern identified in chapter 3 remains the same. Traprain still has a considerably less amount of votive items then the other sites, an almost negligible percentage. Compare the 0.2% at Traprain to the incredible percentage (35.4%) at Uley, where there were numerous items of a votive character. The percentage at Harlow, like before, is fairly low, but still is much greater than that seen at Traprain. The low amount of votive items at Harlow is, however, hardly surprising since jewellery comprised a large percent of the items deposited for a votive purpose. The votive purpose of the jewellery is indicated by the bending and breaking of some of these items (France and Gobel 1985, 70 and 82).

In respect to jewellery, the pattern previously seen has changed. In the original calculations, Traprain had the highest percentage of jewellery, 37.7%. This was in contrast to 10.11% and 21.9% at Uley and Harlow respectively. Now, however, Harlow dominates, with over fifty percent of its assemblages being jewellery. The percentage of

jewellery at Traprain also increased, but not so dramatically, climbing from 37.7% to 39%. Uley had a much more significant increase, jumping from 10.11% to 32% of its assemblages being jewellery. The change in pattern is indicative of Harlow's votive use of jewellery. The increase in Uley's jewellery assemblage is also most likely due to its use of jewellery for votive reasons. While the increase in Traprain's percentage is meaningless, indicative only of the decrease in the total number of assemblages.

As in the first calibration, Traprain shows the highest percentage of household items by far. The pattern basically has remained the same, with a small increase in percentages at Traprain, from 30.1% to 31.5%, and a slightly greater increase at Uley and Harlow.

The percentage of weapons also increased, while at Traprain the change was minimal, both Uley and Harlow showed a significant increase. Harlow now has a higher percentage of its goods coming from weaponry than Traprain. Meanwhile, the pattern remained basically the same for tools.

In respect to building remains there was an interesting change. Traprain which had the highest percentage of the three sites before, now has the lowest. The percentage of building remains at Uley went from 4.92% to 15.4%. A similar increase occurred at Harlow, which jumped from 7.2% to 16.6%. The percentage at Traprain increased only 0.4%

It is obvious therefore, that removing the coins had an interesting effect on the ratio of the distribution of items. In some ways the coins were acting as a buffer, mooting peaks in other classes of items. Once the coins have been removed, the items which were predominate in the assemblages suddenly become more apparent, thus the incredible jump in votive assemblages at Uley and in jewellery at Harlow. It is not surprising that removing the coins had little affect on Traprain's percentages, since Traprain had such a fairly low amount of coins to skew its percentage. The outcome of this endeavor, however, has confirmed the conclusions drawn above. Namely that the

trends at Traprain are contrary to those identified at Uley and Harlow, which strongly suggests domestic habitation of the site with a non-votive use.

Appendix III

Artefacts found outside of areas revealed in the maps.
VOTIVE: none

JEWELLERY:

1) Bronze Ring	Quarry Find	ID#1932.103
2) Penannular Bronze Ring	Quarry Find	no reference
3) Trumpet Brooch (Rii)	1932	PSAS 67 (1932-33) 10
4) Pin (Class III)	Quarry Find	ID#1932.176
5) Pin (Class IV)	Rampart	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
6) Pin (Class V)	stray find	no reference
7) Dress Fastener	C Lowest Level	PSAS 49 (1914-15) 172-fig25/10 XI.14.32
8) Silver cast ring pin-head	Quarry site secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
9) Glass armlet	Quarry site secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 58
10) Amber bead	Quarry site secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 58
11) Bead	Quarry site secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 58
12) Glass armlet	1939-disturbed soil above hearth I	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
13) Bronze oval ring	1947-cutting 2-mid cutting, under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1908-fig 98
14) Button-like Glass disc	1915; Terrace Level 2	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 68
15) Bead	1915; Terrace Level 3	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 69
16) Bead	1915; Terrace Level 3	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 71-fig26/1
17) Penannular Fibula, Class I	Quarry find-eastern end of hill	no reference (1932)

18) Penannular Fibula, Class I	Quarry find-eastern end of hill	no reference (1932)
19) Penannular Fibula, Class I	Quarry find-eastern end of hill	no reference (1932)
20) Penannular Brooch	Quarry find	PSAS 66 (1931-32) 215-fig 1
HOUSEHOLD ITEMS:		
1) Samian pot, ovolo	C Level ?	II.15.435
2) Samian Drag 18/31-plain	C Level 3	II.15.437
3) Samian Drag 18/31-plain	C Level 3	II.15.437
4) Roman ware-Mortarium	C Level 2	PSAS 49 (1914-15) 164-fig 19/19
5) Native ware	Terrace Level 2	PSAS (1915-16) 88-89-fig16/5
6) Native ware	Terrace Level 3	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 69-fig 16/3
7) Native ware	Terrace Level 2	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 68
8) Native ware	Terrace Level 3	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 68-69
9) Native ware	Terrace Level 4	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 69
10) Native ware	Midden Layer-bottom level	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 71
11) Native ware	Main Rampart-2 gt. down, stone paving 3 ft from rampart	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 85
12) Samian platter, Drag 18	Midden Layer-occupational surface, Level 4	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 71
13) Samian frag	Midden Layer, occupational surface, Level 4	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 71
14) Samian Drag 37	Terrace Level 2	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 68

15) Samian	Terrace Level 3	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 69-fig21/2
16) Samian	Terrace Level 4	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 69
17) Roman ware	Terrace Level 2	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 68
18) Roman ware	Terrace Level 2	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 68-fig19/10
19) Roman ware	Terrace Level 3	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 69-fig18/6
20) Roman ware	Terrace Level 4	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 69-fig19/15
21) Roman ware	Midden Layer-3rd occupation layer	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 70
22) Roman ware	Midden Layer-3rd occupation layer	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 70-fig19/18
23) Roman ware	Midden Layer-bottom occupational layer	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 71
24) Roman ware	Midden Layer-bottom occupational layer	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 71
25) Roman ware	Midden Layer-bottom occupational layer	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 71
26) Roman ware	Midden Layer-bottom occupational layer	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 71
27) Roman ware	Rampart-2 ft down on stone paving, 3 ft from Rampart	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 85-fig19/7
28) Native ware	X Level 4	PSAS 55 (1919-20) 205
29) Native ware	X Level 3	PSAS 55 (1919-20) 205
30) Native ware	X Level 1	PSAS 55 (1919-20) 206
31) Samian ware	X Level 4	PSAS 55 (1919-20) 205
32) Samian ware	X Level 3	PSAS 55 (1919-20) 205-fig 31

33) Roman ware	X Level 4	PSAS 55 (1919-20) 205-fig 30
34) Roman sherds	X Level 3	PSAS 55 (1919-20) 205
35) Roman sherds	X Level 3	PSAS 55 (1919-20) 205
36) Roman ware	X Level 2	PSAS 55 (1919-20) 206
37) Roman ware	X Level 1	PSAS 55 (1919-20) 206
38) Native ware	tank	PSAS 57 (1922-23) 222
39) Native ware	Rampart	PSAS 57 (1922-23) 226
40) Native ware	Rampart	PSAS 57 (1922-23) 226
41) Native ware	Rampart	PSAS 57 (1922-23) 226
42) Roman ware	Rampart	PSAS 57 (1922-23) 225
43) Native sherds	Quarry site-primary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
44) Native ware	Quarry site-secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
45) Terra sigillata 18/31	Quarry site-secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
46) Roman ware	Quarry site-secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
47) Roman ware	Quarry site-secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
48) Roman ware	Quarry site-secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
49) Stone vessel	Quarry site-primary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
50) Roman ware	Turf core	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59

51) Native ware	Turf core	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
52) Native ware	Turf core	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
53) Native ware	1939-disturbed soil above hearth I (Rampart)	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
54) Terra sigillata	1939-disturbed soil above hearth I (Rampart)	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
55) Native ware	1939-trench through ramparts 3, 2 & 2A	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
56) Native ware	1939-trench through ramparts 3, 2 & 2A	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
57) Samian Dr.37	1947-cutting 1, below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 217)
58) Roman ware	1947-cutting 1, below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 218)
59) Native ware	1947-cutting 1, level below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 218) 1947.1913
60) Rotary quern	1947-cutting 1, level below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 218) 1947.620-fig97
61) Roman ware	1947-cutting 2, inside of Cruden wall; level lower than Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1889-fig 97
62) Roman ware	1947-cutting 2, inside of Cruden wall; level lower than Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1890-fig97
63) Roman ware	1947-cutting 2, inside of Cruden wall; level lower than Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1891
64) Roman ware	1947-cutting 2, inside of Cruden wall; level lower than Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1892
65) Native ware	1947-cutting 2, inside of Cruden wall; level lower than Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1893

66) Native ware (4 pieces)	1947-cutting 2, inside of Cruden wall; level lower than Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1894
67) Pebble (used as whetstone)	1947-cutting 2, inside of Cruden wall; level lower than Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1895
68) Roman ware	1947-cutting 2, outside (west); level under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1897
69) Native ware	1947-cutting 2, outside (west); level under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1898
70) Native ware	1947-cutting 2, outside (west); level under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1899
71) Native ware	1947-cutting 2, outside (west); level under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1900
72) Native ware	1947-cutting 2, ouside (west); level lower than Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1901-fig 98
73) Roman ware	1947-cutting 2, outside (eastern end); level below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1902
74) Roman ware	1947-cutting 2, outside (eastern end); level below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1903
75) Native ware (two sherds)	1947-cutting 2, outside (eastern end); level below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1904
76) Roman ware	1947-cutting 2-mid cutting, under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1905
77) Roman ware	1947-cutting 2-mid cutting, under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1906
78) Native ware	1947-cutting 2-mid cutting, under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1907

79) Native ware	1947-cutting 2-mid cutting, under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1907
80) Native ware	1947-cutting 2-mid cutting, under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1907
81) Native ware	1947-cutting 2-mid cutting, under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1907
82) Native ware	1947-cutting 2-mid cutting, under Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1907
83) Samian, Dr. 31	1947-rabbit burrows, surface of terrace-bank outside western end of cutting 2	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1924
84) Samian, Dr. 31 or 31 R	1947-rabbit burrows, surface of terrace-bank outside western end of cutting 2	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1925
85) Roman ware	1947-rabbit burrows, surface of terrace-bank outside western end of cutting 2	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1926
86) Roman ware	1947-rabbit burrows, surface of terrace-bank outside western end of cutting 2	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1927
87) Native ware	1947-rabbit burrows, surface of terrace-bank outside western end of cutting 2	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1928-fig 98
88) Native ware	1947-rabbit burrows, surface of terrace-bank outside western end of cutting 2	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1929-fig98
89) Native ware	1947-rabbit burrows, surface of terrace-bank outside western end of cutting 2	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1930-fig98

90) Native ware	1947-cutting 3, southern end, black earth under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1916
91) Native ware	1947-cutting 3, southern end, black earth under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947. 1916
92) Native ware	1947-cutting 3, southern end, black earth under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1916
93) Native ware	1947-cutting 3, southern end, black earth under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1916
94) Roman ware	1947-cutting 3, fissure in rock; level under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1917-fig98
95) Roman ware	1947-cutting 3, fissure in rock; level under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1918
96) Roman ware	1947-cutting 3, fissure in rock; level under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1919
97) Roman ware	1947-cutting 3, fissure in rock; level under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947. 1920
98) Stone ball	1947-cutting 3, fissure in rock; level under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1921-fig98
99) Stone ball	1947-cutting 3, fissure in rock; level under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1921
100) Stone ball	1947-cutting 3, fissure in rock; level under building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1921
101) Hearth	1914; C Level 2	PSAS 49 (1914-15) 153
102) Hearth	1915; North Terrace 1 Level 2	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 67
103) Hearth	1915; North Terrace 1 Level 2	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 67
104) Hearth	1915; North Terrace 2 Level 1	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 70

COINS		
1) Roman Republican-Silver	Quarry site-secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
2) Vespasian-Silver	Quarry site-secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
3) Hadrian?-Silver	Quarry site-secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
WEAPONS/MILITARY GEAR:		
1) Knife	Rampart	ID#1924.284
2) Knife	unknown	no registration
3) Spear-Butt	Quarry find	PSAS 66 (1931-32) 216-fig2 1932.88
4) Spear Ferrule	unknown	no registration
5) Spear Ferrule	unknown	no registration
6) Horse: terret ring of iron	Quarry site secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
TOOLS:		
1) Flint knife	Quarry site secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 58
2) Flint micro-blade	Quarry site secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
3) Flint scraper	Turf core	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
4) Flint scraper	Turf core	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
5) Stone axe head	1939 trench through ramparts 3, 2 & 2A	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
BUILDING REMAINS:		
1) Bronze Ring	1947 cutting 1 below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 218) 1947.1912
2) Bronze Ring	1947-cutting 1 level below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 218) 1947.1914

3) Bronze rod	1947-cutting 1 level below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 218) 1947.1915-fig 97
METALWORK:		
1) Sandstone Mould for casting ingots	unknown location	no reference
MIS:		
1) Copper fragments	Quarry site secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
2) Lumps of iron	Quarry site secondary occupation deposit	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 57
3) Iron fragments	Turf core	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
4) Bronze fragments	Turf core	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
5) Piece of Iron	1939 disturbed soil above hearth I (Rampart)	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
6) Oxen bones	1939 excavations	PSAS 74 (1939-40) 59
7) Fragment of lignite	1947-cutting 2; level below Cruden wall (under Cruden wall)	Close-Brooks (1983, 219) 1947.1896
8) Antler tines	1947-cutting 2-mid cutting below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1909
9) Antler tines	1947-cutting 2-mid cutting below Cruden wall	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1909
10) Block of sandstone with 2 irregular hollow pecked on opposing faces	1947-cutting 3, fissure in rock, below building	Close-Brooks (1983, 220) 1947.1922-fig 98
11) Jet-square piece	1915 Gateway Level 2	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 68
12) Roman Glass	1915; Rampart Level 2	PSAS 50 (1915-16) 85

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