#### BROCHS AND DUNS

by ALISON YOUNG, F.S.A., F.S.A.SCOT.

THE study of the brochs has been the concern of many students of Scottish Archaeology, not least among these Professor Gordon Childe and Sir Lindsay Scott. To these I wish to pay tribute, both for their published works and for discussions with them. I would also like to record my indebtedness to the Society for grants which enabled me to examine brochs and duns in the far North, not previously included in the fifty or more sites visited. This paper is based on a lecture given to the Society in

Joseph Anderson in his Rhind lectures<sup>2</sup> described the architecture of the brochs as 'absolutely peculiar to the Scottish area'. Even so, they are closely localised, seldom far from the sea, and, but for strays, confined to Orkney, Shetland, the northern mainland and the Western Isles. In the Northern Isles, many brochs bear names which derive from the Norse words burg, burh, for example Burrian, Borwick, Burland, Brough, all names of later derivation than the buildings themselves, while on the west coast 'dun', a word for which Johnston gives an Irish-Gaelic derivation denoting a fort or strong place, is applied to broch and allied structures alike. The fact that the incoming Norse gave the buildings names which are variants of their word for strong places indicates that some were still functional at that time. That others by the ninth century were already grassy 'tullochs' is also apparent, for in several instances they have been used as burial howes by the Norse invaders.<sup>3</sup> Later stone robbers, as reported by eighteenth-century antiquarians, have used the brochs as convenient quarries to build houses and walls4; others, then as now, are not certainly identifiable. Reports of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments show that some of the brochs, mainly coastal, are now totally destroyed by wind and weather, so that accurate numbers for the incidence of these structures cannot now be given.

The quality of dry-stone building in these circular towers depends to some extent on available material, but, though the quarries of the Northern Isles and Caithness can provide better building stone than those of the Western Isles, characteristic skilled masonry work is apparent both in the northern brochs and in the scatter of broch and allied structures on the west coast.

In his valuable paper on brochs, Mr Angus Graham suggests that there are two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Acknowledgement is made to H.M. Stationery Office for permission to reproduce the photographs of Culswick, Carloway, Burland, Grugaig and Sron an Duin from the Inventories of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments; thanks are also due to Mr Angus Graham, Miss M. Richmond and Miss

Anderson, J., Scotland in Pagan Times: Iron Age (1883), 174.

Anch. Scot., v (1890), 76. Okstrow Broch; 131, Broch of Yarhouse; 154, note, How of Hoxa.

ibid., 181, 'Cullswick has been greatly destroyed to build houses since 1774'. Archaeologia, v (1779), 250, 'About 20 years ago a gentleman in that neighbourhood who is laird of the spot of ground on which this beautiful remnant of ancient grandeur is placed (Dun Alisaig) pulled down 8 or 10 ft. from the top of these walls for the sake of the stones to build a habitation for its incurious owner.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P.S.A.S., LXXXI (1946-7), 79.

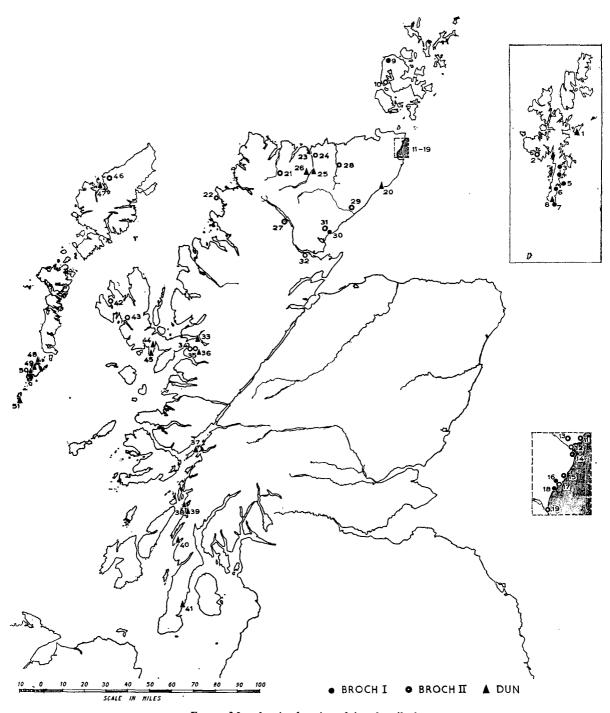


Fig. 1. Map showing location of sites described

strains; it seems possible to go further, and, by studying structural features of brochs duns and related buildings, to offer a chronological sequence.

#### Broch I

The earliest in the series fall mainly within the maximum range of inner diameters, as shown in Mr Graham's table. These are commonly built in close proximity to the sea, often on flat sites chosen for convenience rather than for strategic value. The choice of building stone is good and the coursing even.

The main characteristics of the brochs are double walls rising from a solid ground course, corbelled cells within the thickness of the wall opening onto the central area. and a guard chamber with access from the entrance passage. The latter rebates from 3 to 5 ft. from the entrance and against the check so formed a door could be secured by means of a cross-bar housed in the thickness of the main wall. Thereafter the low passage usually widens towards the inner entrance allowing for the manipulation of the door, which, in two cases, consisted of a single slab of stone. In many brochs a scarcement or corbelled course of stonework is found in the interior at a height varying from 5 to 13 ft. above floor level. This feature may also be built as a ledge bonded into the stonework, and there are examples where the same result is achieved by a free-standing wall. This device, it has been presumed, is to provide support for some form of roofing, perhaps of verandah type. Corbelled mural cells opening from the interior give access to stairs which spiral up and flatten into galleries. These galleries offer possible sleeping and storage places at the lower levels, but, since the inner wall is perpendicular and the outer curves inward as it rises, the higher stairs and galleries narrow, and in some cases the latter could not have been put to such a use, nor could the diminishing spaces form a means of access to the wallhead, which may, however, have been reached by a ladder. Window-like openings or 'voids' in the interior wall, set one above the other and separated by transomes, are thought to

#### SITES DESCRIBED IN TEXT

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<ul> <li>1 Hogsetter</li> <li>2 Culswick</li> <li>3 Burland</li> <li>4 Clumlie</li> <li>5 Mousa</li> <li>6 Levenwick</li> <li>7 Jarlshof</li> <li>8 Burgi</li> <li>o Okstrow</li> </ul>	18 Keiss 19 Wester 20 Forse 21 Dornadilla 22 Clachtoll 23 Ca an Duin 24 Rhinovie 25 Viden	35 Troddan 36 Chonil 37 Tirefuir 38 Mhuilig 39 Ardifuir 40 A Choin Dhuibh 41 Kildonan 42 Iardhard
, ,	*	•
16 Road 17 Whitegate	33 Caisteal Grugaig 34 Telve	50 Bahn 51 Sron an Duin

have been designed to relieve pressure, but also to provide some light to the stairways and galleries. Wells or cisterns are commonly found in Broch I central courts, and in some there are also underground storage chambers.

The distribution of Broch I is confined to the Northern Isles, Caithness and the east coast of Sutherland.

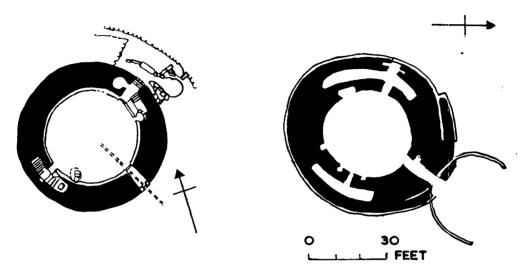


Fig. 2. Keiss, No. 18 (left) and Road, No. 16 (right), Broch I/II

#### Broch II

Brochs in the second category tend to show a smaller inner diameter, varying from 19 to 32 ft.; their size, however, may have been governed by the lie of the land. They are commonly sited on precipitous and rocky ground and where possible a strategic defensive position is chosen, which could be held by a small force in sudden attack. In some cases, where the broch is on sloping ground, the foundations have been built up on one side as much as 9 ft. to obtain a level floor. The interior may include living rock, smoothed and sometimes levelled up with earth. While the building materials are not so carefully chosen as in Broch I, an ingenious use has been made of all sizes and types of stone, reflecting a traditional skill in dry-stone building.

As in Broch I, bar-hole defences are common. Wells and underground storage places are not normally found, though careful siting within easy reach of water is the rule. Broch II sites carry on the traditional use of corbelled mural chambers opening on the central court and a guard cell at the entrance: some have earth and stone enclosing walls.

In some instances the reoccupation of Broch I structures may be attributed to the builders of Broch II, for, as will be seen below, reconstruction is carried out sometimes in Broch II building technique, but rarely in Broch II proper has any major rebuilding taken place.

An innovation which occurs in this period is the use of triangular lintels over the

entrance, a feature which, it has been suggested, could be an attempt to relieve pressure. From now on it is used in varying related structures.

The distribution of Broch II is wider spread than that of the earlier type and includes the west coast.

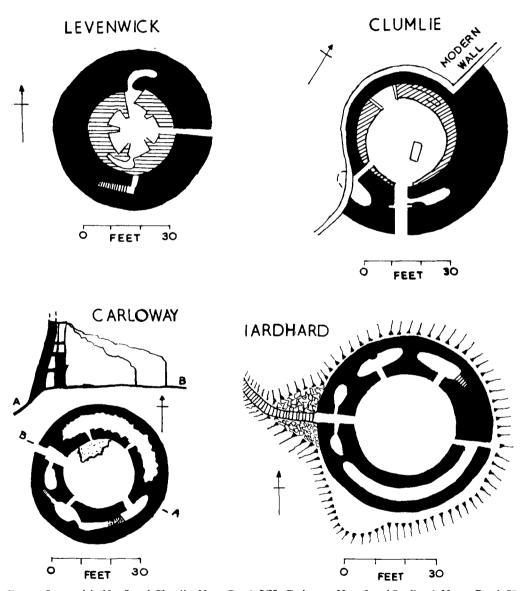


Fig. 3. Levenwick, No. 6 and Clumlie, No. 4 Broch I/II; Carloway, No. 46 and Iardhard, No. 42 Broch II

#### Duns

In the following categories the broch tradition is outworn and shows great diversity of form.

The duns are sometimes built on promontory sites with defensive walls across the neck of land. The choice of an island site reached by a causeway is not uncommon.<sup>1</sup> The structures are not always circular but may be of contour plan; they still show, however, some relation to the broch idiom. Some early features persist, the bar-hole, the mural cell, and, while possibly never of any great height, stairways giving access to the wallhead. New characteristics are the use of an extra wall<sup>2</sup> (which may be a device to reinforce the build-up on sloping sites), floors at different levels within the structure, slab lined sockets for post-holes and outworks forming a courtyard, possibly used for stock.

The distribution of the duns is mainly western and includes the Outer and Inner Hebrides. There is, however, a small number of structures in Strath Naver, Sutherland, which may be included in this wider category. These are largely ruined, and, while lacking any positive Broch II characteristics, offer certain features found in the duns.

Mention may be made of the 'semi-brochs' of Tiree, described by Erskine Beveridge as concentric walls with no stair or upper gallery, and well defined entrance, regularly built of large stones. Internal diameters are given as 30 to 40 ft.3 Recent excavations, however, have already shown the presence of a stairway at Dun Mhor Vaul.4

#### GALLERIED OR CHAMBERED WALLS

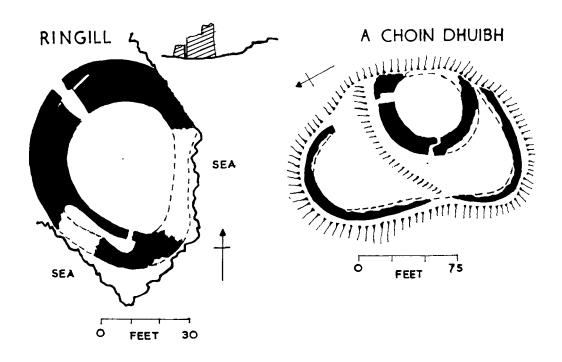
Walls with defended entrances, showing bar-hole and check, built across the neck of a promontory, or guarding the approach to a walled island site,<sup>5</sup> appear to end this era of dry-stone defences. Still echoing the broch tradition, these have chambers and/or galleries in the walling. Comparable to a simplified form of the Galleried Dun, these walls may even have been contemporary with them. The wellnigh inaccessible sites chosen suggest the last stand of people overpowered by enemy pressure and postulate a temporary refuge rather than a permanent dwelling place.

The following examples of brochs and duns are offered to illustrate the characteristics of the suggested sequence (fig. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Dr Fairhurst's 'median walling' seen at Kildonan, see No. 41.
<sup>3</sup> Erskine Beveridge, *Coll and Tiree* (1903), 73.
<sup>4</sup> I have to thank the excavator, Mr Euan Mackie for this information. His work in Tiree will be followed with interest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Many of the smaller examples bear women's names, such as Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn (Portain), the Dun of the King of Lochlainn's Daughter (R.C.A.M., (Outer Hebrides), No. 199) and Dun Loch nic Ruaidhe (Barra), the Dun of the Red Haired Girl (R.C.A.M., (Outer Hebrides), No., 454), but these appear to belong to the undefended wheel-house or farm complex, rather than to the defensive dun.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> These sites have sometimes been reoccupied by Early Christian communities, as may be seen at Annait (R.C.A.M. (Skye), No. 499). The place-name, Annait denotes a religious enclosure. In this instance the cells of the original defensive walling may be traced, as well as the remains of a church and other secondary buildings. Unbaptised children were buried within the enclosure till the early years of this century.



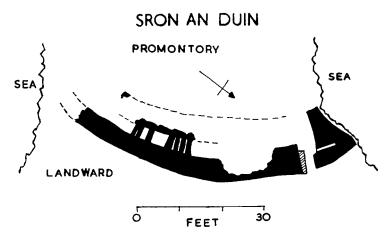


Fig. 4. Ringill, No. 44 and a' Choin Dhuibh, No. 40, duns; Sron an Duin, No. 51 galleried wall

#### Broch I

### 3. Burland, Parish of Brindister, Shetland<sup>1</sup> (HU 445360)

The broch lies on a precipitous headland, above the sea, backing onto good pasture, between Culberswick and the East Voe of Quarff (Pl. VII: 2). Three irregular banks of earth and stone with quarry ditches and central passage-way enclose the headland.<sup>2</sup> The entrance to the broch faces the sea. Here two inner walls have been added, the first covering access to a stairway which is now just discernible in the original walling. The final reduction of the inner diameter from 30 ft. is to 14 or 15 ft. The regularity of the stonework, though but little remains standing, resembles that at Levenwick, as described by Goudie.

# 4. Clumlie, Parish of Dunrossness, Shetland 3 (HU 405181)

The broch now known as Clumlie,<sup>4</sup> was built on rising ground lying in good agricultural land, less than a mile from a sandy bay. Though distorted by a modern field boundary, enough of the structure remains to show the rebuild covering the stairway entrance, which was above ground level, but giving access to a wall chamber (fig. 3). The original guard-chamber opens 3 ft. above the passage level. An irregularly built addition considerably reduces the original diameter given as 34 ft. A flagged hearth, stone edged, is assigned by Mr Goudie, the excavator, to a later period. The original walling shows even, carefully chosen stonework.

Pottery with sharply everted rim and fluted bevel was found at this site, which identifies the secondary occupation as wheel-house (N.M.A. GA 1204).

# 5. Mousa, Parish of Dunrossness, Shetland<sup>5</sup> (HU 457236)

The best preserved broch is Mousa, on an offshore island a mile in length, on the east coast of Shetland, standing to a height of 41 ft. in 1866. Built on the slight slope of a shelving rock promontory above the sea, the broch is asymmetric, having an inner diameter of 20 by 18½ ft. at floor level. The quality of the stonework is excellent. As at Jarlshof and Clumlie, the entrance to the stairways is above ground level, in this instance 4 ft. A storage tank, 4¼ ft. by 2½ ft. and 2 ft. deep, has been partly cut out of the rock floor. An inner wall and three surviving radial piers have been added by wheel-house farmers. One of the piers covers in part the storage tank, which must therefore have been an original feature. By reason of its small inner diameter and impregnable siting, this broch appears to be transitional between Broch I and II. Little remains of an outer defensive wall, though in 1882 Sir Henry

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.C.A.M., (Orkney and Shetland), vol. III (1946), No. 1247.
 <sup>2</sup> The same lay-out may be seen in the outer defences of the cliff-castles on the western seaboard of Brittany, ascribed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler to the Veneti, defeated by Julius Caesar in 56 B.C. See Wheeler, R. E. M., Report Research Comm. Soc. Ants. Lond., XIX (1957), 'Hill-forts of Northern France', p. 4 (Castel Coz, Castel Meur. etc.).

Castel Meur, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 1145. Goudie, G., The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland (1904), 21.

<sup>4</sup> The adjacent land is still known as Chapel Field, and the name Clumlie has been derived from a dedication to St Columba.

<sup>5</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 1206. Arch. Scot., v (1890), 207-11.

Dryden reports remains of an 'intrenchment' on the SE. and NE., which now only shows as slight footings. The defence was against the mainland and the broch is well hidden from the open sea.

Pottery recovered from the site includes sherds with everted rims (N.M.A. GA 1121-24).

Mosey Jarborg, which has suffered some changes, is recorded early in medieval times and was evidently a known place of refuge.1

# 6. Levenwick, Parish of Dunrossness, Shetland<sup>2</sup> (HU 415197)

The broch, now quite ruined, stood on a cliff above the shore. Excavated and planned by Goudie in 1871, it is described as 'built with great regularity, the stones uniform in size' (fig. 3). The original entrance had already collapsed when the building was reoccupied and the guard chambers suppressed. The plan shows that access to one of two stairways was blocked by an added wall with radial compartments. In the thickness of the secondary walling a cell had been inserted, and, though the intrusive construction showed a gap at one of the original stairways. Goudie reports that the entrance had been carefully built up, proof that it was then considered too ruinous for use. The reduction in space from an inner diameter of over 30 ft. to something under 24 ft. is interesting, and below the flagged entrance passage a drain leads out, a feature characteristic of the aisled- and wheel-house group.

# 7. IARLSHOF, Parish of Dunrossness, Shetland<sup>3</sup> (HU 398095)

Here the broch, built within a courtyard, has an inner diameter of 291 ft. and a wall-chamber about 3 ft. above floor level. The building must have been partly ruined when a series of intrusive wheel-house structures was added and the rock cut well, 8 ft. in depth, was apparently out of use and built over by the secondary occupants.

From the wheel-house levels Mr Hamilton records pottery of his Jarlshof Class II, with everted rim and fluted bevel. A long-handled bone comb is reported from broch levels and a sherd with finger pinched band under the rim.

Mention must be made of the broch at Clickhimin (R.C.A.M. No. 1246) also excavated by Mr Hamilton. In a recent publication4 he has described the development of the site from a Late Bronze Age to an Early Iron Age settlement, which he compares to pre-broch Jarlshof, and which is followed by the complicated brochwheel-house occupation. The full report is awaited with interest.

# 9. Okstrow, Parish of Birsay, Orkney<sup>5</sup> (HY 253267)

Little remains of the original building of this broch, planned and described by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Egill's Saga makes mention of temporary occupation of the broch by a runaway pair in A.D. 900, while the Orkneyinga Saga records the exploit of Erland Jungi in 1154, when he eloped with the widow of Maddadh, Earl of Athol, and repulsed the efforts of her son, Harald, Earl of Orkney, who laid siege to the stronghold, which, as it was well provisioned, could not be taken. Munch, Mems. Soc. des Ant. du Nord (1850-60), 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 1144. Goudie, ibid., p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 1149. Hamilton, J. R. C., Excavations at Jarlshof, Shetland, H.M.S.O., 1956.

<sup>4</sup> The Northern Isles, edited by Wainwright, F. T., (1962), p. 53, 'Brochs and Broch Builders'.

<sup>5</sup> R.C.A.M., (Orkney and Shetland), Vol. 11 (1946) No. 11. Arch. Scot., v (1890), 71, fig. 4.

Petrie after the mound had been cleared by farm labourers. The inner diameter is given as 45 ft. That the broch was re-used by wheel-house farmers is shown by three slab piers, set radially, as well as by the drain which led out through the original entrance. A well, with steps leading down to it, was asymmetrically placed in the interior. After the broch was a deserted and overgrown hillock, it was used as a burial place and short slab-built cists were inserted. These contained the burnt remains of bone. A bowl-shaped stone 'urn' is reported as found in one of the cists.

Three lamps, one copying the Roman type, and a plain bowl, all of sandstone, were among the unstratified finds,<sup>1</sup> as well as two long-handled bone combs, a bone pinhead with iron shank, a bronze penannular brooch with flat expanded zoomorphic terminals, and a bronze pin with engraved shank and loose ring-head, the latter most probably of the cist period. Sherds of Samian form 45 of late second/third century date, which had been drilled for repair, were also recovered, which indicates that the site was still inhabited after that period.

### 18. Keiss, Parish of Wick, Caithness<sup>2</sup> (ND 353610)

Keiss is one of a group of brochs just south of John o' Groats, excavated by Sir Francis Tress Barry and described by Joseph Anderson. Built on the shore, a narrow strip of sward dividing it from the shingly beach, the broch encloses an area 38 ft. in diameter, reduced to 35 ft. by the later addition of a scarcement wall (fig. 2). Still standing at 12 ft. in height when excavated in 1901, this broch shows good, well coursed masonry in the original building and a footing course. From the plan and detailed description it would appear that the original entrance faced the sea, though this was destroyed at an early date and only traces of the early guard-chamber were noted by the excavators. Keiss is a good example of the classic Broch I. The stairway entrance within the wall is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. above floor level, a feature already noted in the Shetland group. From this entrance nine steps leading upwards remain, as well as five down, the latter descending to what is described as a 'water-hole', communicating with a well or storage tank in the central court. The broch in its first phase must have presented a formidable exterior, and would be a strong tower with a magnificent outlook.

In the next phase (Broch II) the original entrance, now ruined, was built up and replaced by a secondary doorway on the NE., contrived through the opening to a stairway, chosen for reconstruction, perhaps on account of thinner walling at that point. Joseph Anderson comments on the massive masonry of the secondary entrance passage, which measures  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. at the outer end, widened behind the checks to 3 ft. 3 in., with a large slab of stone, originally forming the door, now wedged across the passage. A triangular lintel stone, built into the wall by later inhabitants, must have fallen from its place over the entrance.

In the succeeding phase the outer wall was rebuilt, incorporating the fallen triangular lintel and closing the passage-way permanently. The slab doorway was now firmly fixed in the entrance against door-checks, with stone wedges thrust into the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anderson, J., Scotland in Pagan Times: Iron Age (1883), 241, figs. 214-19. <sup>2</sup> R.C.A.M. (Caithness) (1911), No. 515. P.S.A.S., xxxv (1900-1), 122.

bar-holes. An additional wall or scarcement built within the broch blocked the secondary entrance from within. The original seaward passage was apparently reconstructed in a simplified form, and a well-made drain leading from the central area now passed under the slabs of this entrance which widened towards the sea. The guard-chamber, opening from the original passage, was by now apparently ruined and disregarded, for no sign of it shows on the plan. During this third period or even later, the interior of the broch was divided by slab structures and paved at varying levels.

The finds, which were unstratified, include saddle guerns probably from the early horizon, rotary querns, a sandstone handled cup and 'lamp', stone discs, quartzite strike-a-lights, three painted pebbles ornamented with brown-black pigment, a triangular crucible containing a residue of bronze, bone pins and a longhandled bone comb. Pottery with everted rim recovered from the site (N.M.A., GA 17) may be related to the first rebuild in Broch II period. Two fragments of Samian form 37 of second-century date and a sherd of Rhenish ware, black with white paint, of third-century date, were also recorded.

# 16. Road Broch, Parish of Wick, Caithness<sup>2</sup> (ND 348615)

Less than a quarter of a mile distant from Keiss, a broch, now ruined, lies to the left of the road leading N. Described by Joseph Anderson, the planning of this building shows great skill and it is perhaps one of the best examples of Broch I (fig. 2). The diameter is given as 34 ft. The original entrance, with its guard-chamber, had been ruined and distorted by rebuilding. In the interior two passageways gave access to stairs and wall-chambers. On the left of the entrance one chamber, 12 by 5 ft. lay at the foot of a stairway of which twelve steps remained; the second chamber, on the right of the entrance, stretching for 30 ft., opened onto stairs, of which eleven steps survived. Almost opposite the primary entrance, a rectangular doorway, cut through a large stone slab built into the main wall, led into a small cell. A well, centrally placed and partly cut out of the natural rock,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in depth, had steps leading down to it. This feature when excavated, had been covered by flagstones, probably in the post broch period, when the interior was filled with stone slab compartments set over debris, and the original doorway was rebuilt in a simplified form. As at Keiss a secondary entrance had been contrived in the Broch II phase, where the wall was at its thinnest, between the stairway and 30 ft. long wall chamber. This had a bar-hole and a door formed of a single slab, again comparable to Keiss, in that this doorway was securely blocked up, a large stone lying against it. The outline of the broch was, in a later phase, distorted by a wall varying from 2 to 3\frac{3}{4} ft. in thickness which was added to the outer circumference, blocking the secondary entrance.

The broch finds cover a long period and include a shale armlet, bone pins and needles, a long-handled bone comb, strike-a-lights, an incised sandstone disc or 'tableman',3 spindle-whorls, a 'lamp' and a handled cup, all of stone, two saddle

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These have been described as of ritual or cult significance but could also be gaming pieces. They are also reported from Wester Broch (see No. 19), Burrian, Jarlshof and Clickhimin brochs, in Shetland.

<sup>2</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 517. P.S.A.S., xxxv (1900-1), 131, and ibid., xlii (1908-9), 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ornamented discs are reported from Ness of Burgi (No. 8) and several from Jarlshof (No. 7).

querns and twelve rotary querns, ingot moulds and four painted pebbles. Professor Childe comments on whalebone rings from this broch, the exact copy of a bronze prototype from Traprain, regarded as horse-trappings.<sup>1</sup> As at Keiss, sherds with everted rim may be noted (N.M.A. GA 912) also a fragment of Samian form 37 of second-century date.

# 30. CARNLIATH, Parish of Golspie, Sutherland2 (NC 870013)

Built above the sea, the broch is surrounded by indeterminate secondary structures. The interior is much ruined, but when planned by J. Maxwell Joass in 1871, the original diameter was given as 30 ft., the walls standing then to 12 ft., with a lintel covered passage. At 8 ft. from the entrance an irregularly formed corbelled guard-chamber opens from the passageway and at a quarter distance round the inner court to the left, an opening gives access to a flight of steps. In the interior a passage leads to a sunk chamber, 11 ft. long, 7 ft. wide and 8 ft. deep. This is noticeably large for the usual well. On the N., close to the main wall, is a second underground chamber, 8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide and 6 ft. deep, the roof supported by flags set on edge. The main wall of the broch is unusually thick, 22 ft.

Both saddle and rotary querns from the broch are shown in Dunrobin museum, as are shale ring roughouts, stone spindle whorls, two steatite cups, one handled, and two long-handled bone combs. The finds also include a silver fibula thought to be of European origin, possibly of fourth-century date. This, however, as well as ingots of brass<sup>3</sup> were reported as found outside the main building.

The brochs described have all been reused. It would appear that the original stairways, entrances and wall-chambers at Burland, Levenwick and Clumlie were no longer considered safe by the subsequent inhabitants and were reinforced. Okstrow after reuse by wheel-house farmers, indicated by the radial slabs and a drain running from the central area, was a 'grassy mound' when it was used for burials, from the evidence of the loose-ringed bronze pins probably during the Norse invasions. The brochs of Keiss and the Road in Caithness were obviously in need of repair when they were refortified and secondary entrances were devised. It seems probable that the Broch II forts in this area were built at about the same period; they are smaller and of simplified type. The Carnliath and third period of reoccupation of Keiss and Road brochs resembles that of the squatter dwellings outside the brochs of Lingro and Gurness in Orkney.

#### Broch II

# 2. Culswick, Parish of Sandsting, Shetland<sup>5</sup> (HU 253448)

The broch lies on a high promontory above the sea, at the entry to Gruting Voe, opposite the island of Foula. Built of pink granitic rock it is now much ruined, though the walls still stand in places to 15 ft. The shrewd use of the sandstone in S.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Childe, V. G., Prehistory of Scotland (1935), 248, now in N.M.A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> R.C.A.M. (Sutherland) (1911), No. 270. Arch. Scot., v (1890), 102.
<sup>3</sup> Anderson, J., Scotland in Pagan Times: Iron Age (1883), 223. The alloy was of copper, zinc and tin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> P.P.S. XXI (1955), 282.
<sup>5</sup> R.C.A.M. (Shetland), No. 1397. Low's Tour in Orkney and Shetland 1774 (Kirkwall, 1879).

Shetland is very marked when comparing this structure with the Broch I examples already noted. The inner diameter is 25 ft. There are traces of a wall-chamber but no certain evidence of a stairway. Four corbelled stones project into the interior at 9 ft. from floor level, but there is no sign of a scarcement. The outstanding feature of the broch is the triangular lintel over the entrance, roughly equilateral in shape and 4 ft. across the base (Pl. V: 1). The building is surrounded by a stone revetted rampart,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  ft. broad.

### 10. Borwick, Parish of Sandwick, Orkney<sup>1</sup> (HY 223167)

The broch of Borwick, which lies on a cliff 90 ft. above the sea, was excavated in 1881 by Mr Watt, who records the remains of an outer wall enclosing the promontory. There are traces of outbuildings and of a quarry ditch. The inner diameter of the broch is 27 ft. reduced to 16 ft. by the addition of walling at a considerably later period, founded on the debris of the original stone-work. A guard-chamber opens from the entrance passage, which is paved and roofed for a distance of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by six large slabs.

### 11. SKIRZA, Parish of Canisbay, Caithness<sup>2</sup> (ND 394684)

The broch is built on a defended promontory, a ditch approximately 30 ft. wide separating it from the mainland. The interior diameter is 22 ft. The entrance faces the sea. Part of the building has fallen over the cliff and very little remains of the walling, though there is evidence of a stairway. The well, 10 ft. deep, an unusual feature in Broch II, still holds water.

The upper stones of two rotary querns, discs of slatey stone, and sherds of characteristic Hebridean ware with applied fillet, (N.M.A. GA 911) were found at this site.

This and the following six Caithness brochs were explored by Sir Frances Barry and reported by Joseph Anderson.

# 12. Freswick Sands, Parish of Canisbay, Caithness3 (ND 376676)

Akin to Wester (see No. 19) this broch is built on the sandhills at Freswick Bay. The inner diameter is 32 ft. 8 in. There is a wall gallery, stairs and a 12 ft. long wall-chamber.

Two quern stones are recorded from the broch, and a yellow bead.

# 13. EVERLEY, Parish of Canisbay, Caithness<sup>4</sup> (ND 369682)

The broch lies inland, with outlook over Freswick Bay. The inner diameter is 29 ft. Only 3½ ft. of the wall remain standing and no chamber is visible, possibly the entrance to the stairway was above ground level. From its small diameter it would appear to belong to this group.

A handled stone cup and four quern stones are reported from this site and a fragment from the hollow rim of a Roman amber glass vessel of first-century date used as an amulet. A sherd of Hebridean ware with pillow type decoration on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.C.A.M. (Orkney), No. 679. <sup>2</sup> R.C.A.M. (Caithness), No. 35. P.S.A.S., xxxv (1900–1), 144. <sup>3</sup> R.C.A.M. (Caithness), No. 34. P.S.A.S., xxxv (1900–1), 143. <sup>4</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 36. P.S.A.S., ibid., p. 142.

applied fillet (N.M.A. 730) and a fragment of Samian form 29 of first-century date were also found.

#### 14. Ness, Parish of Canisbay, Caithness<sup>1</sup> (ND 381666)

This much ruined broch lies on a promontory, defended across the neck by a well built wall, 6 ft. high and 75 ft. long. On the landward side of the wall is a well, 9½ ft. deep with twelve steps leading downwards, roofed with slabs. The broch has an inner diameter of 22 ft.

Three quern stones, a sandstone mould for an ingot, a small bronze ingot and a projecting ring-head pin were recovered from this site.

# 15. Nybster, Parish of Wick, Caithness<sup>2</sup> (ND 370631)

Built on a promontory cliff, the broch has an inner diameter of 23 ft. No wall chamber could be traced. Across the landward side runs a 20 ft. wide ditch, and a forework, perhaps an added feature, with central entrance and two bar defences, has steps leading from the interior to the wallhead.

Finds include a long-handled bone comb, rotary and saddle quern stones, two round crucibles and a fragment of Samian form 37 of second-century date.

# 17. WHITEGATE, Parish of Wick, Caithness<sup>3</sup> (ND 354612)

The broch, though totally ruined has been included as one of the Keiss group, and listed as Broch II on account of its small diameter, recorded as 26 ft.

# 19. Wester, Parish of Wick, Caithness<sup>4</sup> (ND 338583)

Wester broch lies at the point where the water of Wester flows into the Bay of Keiss. This broch has an inner diameter of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  ft. and the remains of one chamber leading to the stairs, but little survives of the structure, probably due to the numerous later outbuildings on the landward side.

The upper stone of a rotary and several saddle querns were found in the broch, as well as three quartzite painted pebbles and a long-handled bone comb.

After the sand had covered all trace of it, the site was used as a burial mound, when four stone cists containing extended burials were inserted.

# 21. Dornadilla, Parish of Durness, Sutherland<sup>5</sup> (NC 457450)

This broch is situated on the banks of the Strathmore river where it turns abruptly from the foot of the western hills, crossing a wide flood plain to the eastern range. The bare moorland gives place here to a fertile strath, as the river runs N. to Loch Hope, which ultimately empties into Loch Eriboll. Spelt variously Dornadilla, Dornaigil and Dornagail,6 the broch is built like Carloway (see No. 46) on the slope

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.C.A.M. (Caithness), No. 33. P.S.A.S., xxxv (1900-1), 143.

<sup>2</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 518. P.S.A.S., ibid., 139.

<sup>3</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 516. P.S.A.S., ibid., 127.

<sup>4</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 513. P.S.A.S., ibid., 119.

<sup>5</sup> R.C.A.M. (Sutherland), No. 155.

<sup>6</sup> The name is of interest as are the alternative names used. Dornadille appears in early King lists in Hollinshed's Chronicles where it is recorded that his laws are chiefly concerned with venery. 'He set all his pleasure on hunting and keeping of hounds and greyhounds, ordeining that everie householder should find him two hounds and one greihound'. His death is said to have occurred at Beregonium or Dunstaffnage. His father's name is given as Mainus. his son's name as Reuther, which has been taken to equate with Riada, but father's name is given as Mainus, his son's name as Reuther, which has been taken to equate with Riada, but attractive as this evidence would be, Professor Skene found the dating unacceptable. (Holinshed, The Description of Scotland (1585), p. 36.)

of the bank, still standing to a height of 20 ft. (Pl. VI: 3). In 1766 the walls stood to 25 ft. and showed three galleries; the inner diameter was given as 26½ ft. A fine example of the triangular lintel is set over the entrance, measuring 5 ft. across the base and with almost equal sides (Pl. V: 2). The broch masonry is good and includes stones of all sizes. Apart from the beauty of the setting and the interest of the site, guarding as it were the arable land and good grazing from the bleak moorland to the south, Dornadilla is notable as one of the furthest inland of the group.

### 22. CLACHTOLL, Parish of Assynt, Sutherland<sup>1</sup> (NC 036278)

On a promontory S. of the Bay of Stoer, where flat ledges of rock fringe the shore, stands the broch of Clachtoll. With no natural defence on the landward side, this broch has a massive outer wall and an inner wall at 40 ft. from the main structure, which is greatly ruined on the seaward side. The interior diameter is 32 ft. The entrance on the E. has a triangular lintel,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. from base to apex and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. across the base (Pl. V: 3).

A steatite cup was found nearby.

### 24. Rhinovie, Parish of Farr, Sutherland<sup>2</sup> (NC 723575)

Also known as Alt Caisteal, this broch, at the mouth of a high pass overlooking the Naver, is admirably situated, as the name suggests, on a brisk little burn, and has a commanding outlook. No chamber can now be traced. A triangular stone fallen at the outer end of the entrance has two sides measuring 2 ft. 10 in. and the base, 4 ft. 2 in. The broch is defended by an outer earth and stone bank.

### 27. SALACHADH, Parish of Lairg, Sutherland<sup>3</sup> (NC 549092)

Near Salachadh burn, on a knoll rising from a terrace above Loch Shin, is a broch with walling slightly built up on the sloping site. The interior diameter measures 31 ft. and the walling stands to a height of 10 to 12 ft. The entrance passage is distorted by comparatively recent rebuilding and the lintels have been removed, but the bar-hole can be traced. On the right of the entrance an excellent corbelled cell stands to 8 ft. above the debris which covers the interior. Facing this is the opening to a second, much ruined chamber. On the left of the interior another opening above floor level leads to the stairway. No trace of a void can now be found. Stones of varying size have been skilfully used in the masonry work.

# 28. The Borg, Parish of Farr, Sutherland4 (NC 899509)

This broch lies in Strath Halladale, and is built on a rocky knoll surrounded by marshy ground. The inner diameter varies from 31 to 26 ft. The broch stands to a considerable height and the skilful use of the intractable granitic stone as building material is noteworthy. The interior is much ruined, but straight walling at 5 ft. from the lintelled entrance may indicate a wall-chamber; a bar-hole was traced at the entrance. This broch, like Dornadilla (No. 21), lies at the junction of moor and arable land.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.C.A.M. (Sutherland), No. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 182. <sup>3</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 392.

<sup>4</sup> ibid., No. 186.

# 29. KILPHEDER, Parish of Kildonan, Sutherland<sup>1</sup> (NC 994188)

On a high terrace above the Helmsdale river, Kilpheder is built of granitic rock and is enclosed by imposing stone-cored earthworks with a quarry ditch. The inner diameter is 32 ft. The remains of a stairway rise from a chamber on the right of the entrance. The lintelled passage still has five stones in situ. The broch is wonderfully complete and well built considering the refractory stone used. This is the most striking of the Helmsdale group.

# 31. BACKIES, Parish of Golspie, Sutherland<sup>2</sup> (NC 835026)

Built on a plateau at the 600 ft. contour, this broch has a fine outlook seawards, to E. and S. and is enclosed by strong outer defences. The inner diameter varies from 25 to  $27\frac{1}{2}$  ft. The entrance passage, which has a check at 6 ft. and the remains of a bar-hole at 9 ft., has ten lintels still in situ. There are traces of a scarcement wall and of a void in the interior opposite the entrance. A wall-chamber opens into the central area at 6 ft. from the left of the entrance, giving access to a narrow stairway. All sizes of stone were used, but the structure shows skilled masonry. Apparently there was some rebuilding, using broch material, on the outside of the W. quarter.

The site was explored by J. M. Joass in 1855.

Shale roughout rings and a stone cup from this broch may be seen in Dunrobin Museum.

### 32. Alisaig, Parish of Edderton, Ross and Cromarty (NH 656868)

The broch stood on rising ground on the S. of the Dornoch Firth, opposite the Iron Age fort of Creich.<sup>3</sup> While singularly well documented in antiquity<sup>4</sup> the broch, spelt variously Alisaig, Aliscaig or Alascaig, is now a total wreck. Approximately twenty earth-fast boulders remain and a heap of stones, apparently too small to repay removal. By good fortune the triangular lintel was recently found almost grown over by heather, the base measuring 5 ft. with sides of 2 ft. 10 in. and 3½ ft. In 1757 Maitland<sup>5</sup> records the triangular lintel and notes three galleries, giving the internal diameter of the broch as 30 ft. Cordiner<sup>6</sup> in 1776, giving a ground plan, represents the lower storey with four 'oval ended chambers'. Dun Alisaig was also described by James Anderson<sup>7</sup> in a paper read in 1777 where he reports it as Dun Agglesag and gives the internal diameter as 50 ft., he is also somewhat optimistic in the size of the lintel; this is however pardonable as, in his report, he admits having mislaid his notes.

# 34. Telve, Parish of Glenelg, Inverness-shire8 (NG 829172)

One of two brochs in Glenbeg, opening from Glenelg, Dun Telve lies on haugh land, a few feet above the river level (Pl. VI: 2). The basic stonework is remarkable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.C.A.M. (Sutherland), No. 307.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ibid. (Sutherland), No. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Anderson quotes Boece's comment from his Scotorum Regni Descriptio, Parisiis (1520): 'Servantur in valle quadam Rossiae duae aedes vetustatis monumenta rotunda, figura in forma campanae,' see Arch. Scot. v (1890), 192. Mr Hamilton's reconstruction of the broch at Jarlshof, indicating a penthouse roof over the upper gallery carries out the 'bell' comparison. In 1588 these are described as 'Churches' by Ubaldini in his Descrittione de Regno di Scotia.

Descrittione de Regno di Scotta.

Maitland, History of Scotland (1757), vol. 1, p. 145.

Cordiner, Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland (1776), p. 118 and Pl. XX.

Iames Anderson, Archaeologia, v (1779), 241.

and great boulders flank the entrance which faces W. The inner diameter is 32 ft. and the broch is notable in having two scarcements. There is no provision for storage or water. The masonry of both Telve and Dun Troddan (No. 35), built in close proximity, is excellent and shows rather careless choice of material. The siting of these two brochs is unusual; they are built in a steep sided glen, now partly wooded, not far from the narrows of the Sound of Sleat.

The remains of nine rotary querns, three handled stone cups and five stone spindle whorls were found at Telve during excavations carried out by Mr A. O. Curle.

### 35. Troddan, Parish of Glenelg, Inverness-shire<sup>1</sup> (NG 834172)

The broch lies on a sloping hillside and built-up stonework is used. The interior diameter is 28 ft. There is no provision for water or storage, but a stream runs nearby. The excavator Mr A. O. Curle, found superimposed hearths, of which the earliest had been built to adjust to a ring of slab lined post-holes, I ft. q in. in depth. These may have been used for some form of roofing.

An upper rotary quern stone was found at this site, also seven stone spindle whorls and a flat bead of yellow vitreous paste.2

# 42. IARDHARD (Dun Vegan), Parish of Duirnish, Skye<sup>3</sup> (NG 231504)

The word Iardhard means an exposed headland, an apt description of the rocky knoll mainly covered by the broch. The inner diameter is 31 ft. (fig. 3). There was no sign of a bar-hole at the entrance, which is reached by a flight of rock cut steps, but there had been some stone fall at the doorway and it is possible that this feature existed, especially as the jambs rebate as though to accommodate a door. There is a second entrance in the walling almost opposite the main doorway. From the lintelled masonry of the opening, this appears to be original. At Dun a' Choin Dhuibh (No. 40) on West Loch Tarbert, there is also a secondary entrance, an unusual feature in brochs and duns alike. There are two oval corbelled chambers, one on either side of the main entrance, as well as a wall-chamber and a gallery opening onto the stairway. A gallery, 17 ft. in length, leads from the second entrance. F. T. Macleod reported on investigations made by Countess Vincent Baillet de Latour.

The most outstanding find from this broch was the little terra-cotta model of a baled fleece which suggests possible trade in hides.4 A fragment of a steatite armlet and 69 beads were recovered, one of yellow vitreous paste (see note 2), 59 of amber and nine of glass. The pottery includes typical Hebridean wares with decoration of raised rondels as from the a' Cheardach Mhor wheel-house,5 lattice and feathered patterns, and girth strip or applied decoration. One sherd is figured with a fingerpressed rim akin to dun pottery<sup>6</sup> which implies a long occupation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ibid., LV (1920-1), 83.

These have a wide distribution, see P.S.A.S., XCIII (1959-60), 164, and ibid., LXXXVII (1952-3), 104.

R.C.A.M. (The Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles), 1928, No. 508. P.S.A.S., XLIX (1914-5), 57. 4 P.P.S., XIII (1947), 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P.S.A.S., xcm (1959-60), 144, figs. 5, 17 and 18 where other references are given. <sup>6</sup> Found at Cuier, P.S.A.S., 89 (1955-6), 311, fig. 7, and a' Cheardach Mhor, ibid., 93 (1959-60), 154, fig. 10, 45-57.

# 43. BEAG, Parish of Bracadale, Skye<sup>1</sup> (NG 340386)

Built on a high rocky site, this is larger than the normal Broch II, with an inner diameter of 35 ft. No bar-hole was noted in the entrance. There is a gallery at ground-floor level and a stairway opening from a wall-chamber. The stonework is uneven. The site was investigated by Countess Vincent Baillet de Latour and reported by J. Graham Callender.

Finds from the broch cover a long period and include two whetstones, stone discs, two round clay crucibles, part of a glass armlet and seven glass beads. Among the pottery recovered are sherds with characteristic, sharply everted rims and fluted inner beyel, also Hebridean wares with applied girth-band and finger channelled decoration.2 Presumably of later date are a gold strip ring, two bronze buckles, four bronze pins and a knife and a leister, both of iron.

# 46. CARLOWAY, Parish of Uig, Lewis<sup>3</sup> (NB 189412)

The broch stands on precipitous ground, overlooking Loch Roag where there is a dangerous tide race in the narrows opposite the site. The inner diameter is 24 ft. (fig. 3) and the levelled interior, with its protruding boss of natural rock, is 9 ft. above the lowest course of built-up foundation (Pl. VI: 1). The irregularity of the stonework is noteworthy. Dun Carloway could easily be defended on three sides, but a feature of Broch II is the total disregard of higher ground when choosing a site, and this broch, like some others of the group, is overlooked.

#### Duns

# 20. WAG OF FORSE, Parish of Latheron, Caithness<sup>4</sup> (ND 204352)

This is a complex site and succeeding occupations were traced by Mr A. O. Curle, the excavator.<sup>5</sup> The primary building, circular in shape, underlying in part a rectangular house of later date, has an entrance with a lintel not strictly triangular in shape,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. across the base and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in height (Pl. VII: 1) comparable to the subtriangular stone at Grugaig, Skye (No. 45). No bar-holes were found, but stop stones in the passage and a worn socket stone indicate the door setting. The interior diameter was 47 ft. and the walling was estimated as only 4½ ft. in width. Seven steps rose from the entrance passage to the wallhead, giving some means of defence for the doorway and suggesting higher walling now destroyed. The excellent masonry of this structure is noted (a feature not always to be observed in duns) as is also the skilful use of large stones at the entrance.

# 23. CA AN DUIN, Parish of Farr, Sutherland<sup>6</sup> (NC 697609)

This dun is built on an impregnable position, a rocky peak of cliff at the estuary of the Naver, overlooking Pol na Marraich Mor, Pool of the Great Seamen. Below

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.C.A.M. (Skye), No. 479. P.S.A.S., LV (1920-1), 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This last type of decoration was found on pots from a' Cheardach Mhor, P.S.A.S. xCIII (1959-60), 146,

fig. 6, 28-32, where other references are given.

\*\*R.C.A.M.\* (Outer Hebrides), No. 68. Arch. Scot., v (1890), 383.

\*\*R.C.A.M.\* (Caithness), No. 263. P.S.A.S., LXXX (1945-6), 11.

\*\*Wag is the name given to varying sites in the NE. of Scotland. Mr Curle gives the derivation from the state of the state Gaelic 'uamh', a cave, from which the word 'weem' used in Perthshire for an underground dwelling, also stems.

6 R.C.A.M. (Sutherland), No. 184. P.S.A.S., xL (1905-6), 132.

lies the sandy plateau of Baile Mhargait, 20 ft. above the tide level, on which hut circles of varying size show up well. Now greatly collapsed, the dun has an inner diameter of 26 ft. and a scarcement can still be traced formed by jutting out slabs reminiscent of Dun Cuier (No. 49) and Caisteal Grugaig (No. 33), but the entrance cannot with certainty be identified. From its position and the poor quality of the surviving masonry, this may be classified as a dun.

### 25. VIDEN, Parish of Farr, Sutherland<sup>1</sup> (NC 726518)

Built on the edge of a terrace at the 100 ft. contour above the fertile plain of the Naver, Dun Viden, now greatly ruined, looks across the river to Dun Chealamy.<sup>2</sup> The interior diameter is given as 30 ft. J. M. Joass, who visited the site in about 1862, notes that it was 'double walled', a feature not now identifiable. Dun Viden could be classed as Broch II, but the inferior stonework which survives is more characteristic of the duns, and the small outer courtyard, with stone walling supplementing the natural rock, may be compared to a like feature at Dun a' Choin Dhuibh (No. 40).

# 26. CHEALAMY, Parish of Farr, Sutherland<sup>3</sup> (NC 719514)

The dun stands not far from the N. bank of the Carnachy burn, which flows into the Naver. Now largely destroyed, it is defended on the N. by the steep flank of a small burn, and on the S. and W. by two banks and a quarry ditch, both ends of which are built up with stone. This last feature is also seen in another site N. of Inchlampie (NC 720473) where stonework alternates with living rock. The surviving masonry of Dun Chealamy is poor. The inner diameter is about 26 ft.

# 33. CAISTEAL GRUGAIG, Parish of Lochalsh, Ross and Cromarty<sup>4</sup> (NG 866250)

Planned by Sir Henry Dryden in 1871 and described by Mr Angus Graham. Caisteal Grugaig<sup>5</sup> lies on a rocky knoll at 250 ft. O.D. above Loch Alsh where it joins Loch Long and Loch Duich. A burn flanks the E. of the dun which is built on the slope, and revetted for 6 ft. out from the footings. The rocky outcrop rises within the central court. The inner diameter is 25 ft. An unusually low scarcement gives place to a row of single stones, corbelling over a wall chamber and the entrance to a stairway. This feature, and the rocky interior, are paralleled at Dun Cuier (No. 49). The 3 ft. wide entrance, lintelled by a large triangular stone (Pl. V: 4). has a wall-chamber opening from it on the E. and a single bar-hole, the bar apparently closing against the rebate where the passage widens, another feature found at Dun Cuier. The masonry is skilfully constructed of stones of very varying size. The setting is of interest; hidden from the sea loch, the dun overlooks the little harbour of Ob Inag.

# 36. GRUGAIG OF CASTLE CHONIL, Parish of Glenelg, Inverness-shire<sup>6</sup> (NG 851159)

The dun lies at the head of Glenbeg, above the precipitous bank of a burn. The outline is irregular, conforming to the bank on the W. where no walling can now be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.C.A.M. (Sutherland), No. 181. P.S.A.S., v (1862-3), 360.

<sup>2</sup> Remains of a chambered tomb with fine quartzite slab may be seen nearby, also the ruins of a clachan, the latter doubtless used the dun as a quarry. <sup>4</sup> P.S.A.S., LXXXIII (1948-9), 14. <sup>6</sup> P.S.A.S., ibid., p. 19. <sup>3</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Grugaig, meaning morose or sullen.

identified. The area enclosed is now 47 by 38 ft. There is a defended entrance, mural chamber and steps leading to the wallhead. The built up walling on the steep slope of the bank and the uneven interior are characteristic of the group. The site was planned by Sir Henry Dryden in 1871 and described by Mr Angus Graham; his Pl. VII, 3 shows the walling built up on the slope.

# 37. Tirefuir, Isle of Lismore, Argyll (NM 867429)

Tirefuir is something of an enigma. Straddling a dyke of outcropping lime-stone 157 ft. above the sea, it is built up on the seaward side to a height of 5 ft.; the stones used are poorly chosen and of all sizes. Admittedly the choice was mainly confined to surface rock, but the masonry work could have been better, though the walling still stands to 15 ft. The interior, enclosing an area varying from 38 to 41 ft. in diameter, is less well preserved than the outer walling. A scarcement 18 in. deep is visible in places. The interwall space is narrow, as at Dun Cuier (No. 49). The entrance passage, 17½ ft. long, now ruined, shows no trace of guard-chamber or bar-hole. Two solid earth-and-stone banks cross the rocky ridge on which the dun is built, to N. and S. From the size of the area enclosed this would appear to be a dun. The stronghold commands an extensive view to the S. down the Firth of Lorne and is a significant landmark.

# 39. Ardifuir, Parish of Kilmartin, Argyll<sup>1</sup> (NR 789969)

Ardifuir lies in a narrow glen with steep sides and is built on rising ground 100 ft. above sea-level, 500 yds. from the shore, facing a sandy bay, but well hidden from the sea. Three hill-top forts² overlook the site, which is not itself defensive. While still undated, these forts would constitute both outlook and, if necessary, nearby dwellings of greater security than the dun itself. A swiftly-running burn flows through marshy ground to the N. of the site, providing a good water supply and a defence. It is difficult to assess to what height the ground rose to the S., now part of the modern farmyard and used as a dump. On the seaward side, 15 ft. out from the entrance, there is a suggestion of dry-stone outworks which could be of even date with the main building.

Excavated by Dr Christison and described by Joseph Anderson Ardifuir has an inner diameter of 65 ft. and a broad scarcement. The walls are 10 ft. thick at base and show a slight batter, decreasing to 7 ft. at the present height of 10 ft. A rectangular passage gives access to the carefully built stairway, the surviving steps well shaped and skilfully pinned to the main walls, as at Kildonan (No. 41). A stone sill stretches across the entrance where the passage widens from 6 ft. to 9 ft. with rebate of 18 in. against which the door would close. No bar-hole can be traced. The flooring of the passage and a part of the interior leading to the stairs are irregularly paved as at Kildonan. On the S. side of the inner passage a square opening, 2 ft. above floor-level, leads to five steps descending to a small chamber 7 ft. high. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the stone bench, 2 ft. high, surrounding part of

P.S.A.S., xxxix (1904-5), 259.
 I am indebted to Miss Marion Campbell of Kilberry who told me of these forts when I visited Ardifuir in her company.

the inner wall and varying from 3 to 9 ft. in width, carefully built of earth and stones faced with large upright slabs. This has been partly removed by earlier excavation but examination of the remaining structure suggests a sleeping bench which would serve the purpose of the continuous gallery at ground-level found in some brochs, such as Midhowe. At Ardifuir the putlog holes, possibly for a verandah type of shelter, should be noted; these are irregularly spaced though of even height.

The finds from the dun are mainly such as would not be out of place in a Dalriadan context: whetstones, a cup-shaped crucible, a spindle-whorl, a polisher of quartzite and an open mould of green micaceous schist, somewhat damaged, but with cavities. One of these is for a rhind, denoting the use of rotary querns, another is an oval mould for a flat, short-handled, spoon-like implement, used perhaps for turning some form of scone or bread baked on heated slabs. Similar moulds have been found at Dunadd. Pottery includes a sherd of Samian form 37 of second-century date.

### 40. A Choin Dhuibh, Parish of South Knapdale, Argyll<sup>1</sup> (NR 804641)

Built on a crag overlooking West Loch Tarbert, the walls of this suboval fort, the Dun of the Black Dog, still stand in parts to a height of 8 ft. (fig. 4). The inner diameter of the dun is 45 ft. It is remarkable in having two entrances, both somewhat irregular; signs of a door-check can be seen in the N. entrance. In the western wall, there is a triangular lintel over the postern doorway. The lintelled passage at this entrance turns sharply at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ft. and, after a further right-angled turn, appears to descend for 4 or 5 ft. into the uneven interior. Outside the dun, two small courtyards are formed by an outer rampart which follows the edge of the rocky summit on the W. and continues round a little terrace at a lower level, ending at an entrance of which one jamb is formed by a single stone.

# 41. KILDONAN, Parish of Campbeltown, Argyll<sup>2</sup> (NR 779277)

Standing 40 ft. above the sea, on the E. coast of Kintyre, with an extensive outlook, this roughly triangular dun encloses an area 63 by 42 ft. The entrance, with checks and bar-holes, opens into the rocky interior. Stairways lead to the wallhead, and, at another point, a stile of slabs is built into the structure, a feature also present at Dun Cuier (No. 49), Dun Scurrival (No. 48) and Dun Ringill (No. 44). The masonry work, including stones of very varying size, is excellent.

A quernstone closely comparable to one found at Dun Cuier, was lying inside the dun at the foot of the main wall, covered by earth thrown in to level the uneven interior and therefore of the earliest period. A fragment of Samian, too small for identification was also recovered, and a penannular brooch assigned probably to the seventh century.

It is suggested by the excavator, Dr H. Fairhurst, that the dun was built in the period of the Scotic raiders. Two later phases of occupation were recorded.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P.S.A.S., LXXVII (1942-3), 41, Pl. XL, where the 6-in. O.S. map is wrongly stated: for cii NE read cci SE <sup>2</sup> P.S.A.S., LXXIII (1938-9), 185.

# 44. RINGILL, Parish of Strath, Skye<sup>1</sup> (NG 561170)

On a promontory above the W. shore of Loch Slapin, the dun is built on two levels and is suboval in plan with axes of 39 and 45 ft. (fig. 4). Added walling was used round the exterior and there is a mural cell 18 ft. long by 5½ ft. wide in the thickness of the wall.

# 45. GRUGAIG, Parish of Strath, Skye<sup>2</sup> (NG 535124)

This dun is built on a rocky promontory 50 ft. above the sea, on the eastern side of the Strathaird peninsula. The fort encloses an area 69 ft. in length, varying from 24 to 35 ft. in width., the wall following the line of the headland. The dun is strongly defended on the landward side where the walling is massively built and 14½ ft. broad. As late as 1921 six of the seven lintel stones remained in place across the entrance passage, resting on a scarcement 8 in. wide. The door jambs are 3 ft. 2 in. from the doorway, where the passage widens. Housing in the thickness of the wall on the NW. would accommodate a bar, with a shorter opening to receive the bar-end on the opposite side. The remains of a gallery can be traced above the entrance, with access from within the dun, where three steps of a stairway can still be seen. Pl. VIII, I shows the entrance passage with well laid masonry which includes very large boulders. The outer lintel stone  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. across the bottom and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. across the top, is not now strictly triangular, but the stonework on the right hand side of Pl. VIII: 1 shows that the wall carried up and inwards as though the lintel were at one time higher or that another stone, completing the triangle, has now fallen. This strong point with defensive entrance owes something to the broch tradition.

# 47. BARABHAT, Isle of Bernera, Lewis, Outer Hebrides<sup>3</sup> (NB 156355)

This island site in Loch Barabhat, reached from the mainland by a 100 ft. long causeway, is irregularly shaped, the suboval walling rising from the water's edge. Captain Thomas, who visited the site before 1890, reports that the wall then stood to 14 ft. He gave the extent of the interior as 40 by 47 ft. There were then signs of four galleries. Access to the ground-floor gallery, or cellar, was through an opening at first-floor level and down a flight of steps on the left. To the right, the first-floor gallery could be traced for 4 ft. The third gallery was reached through a second opening also at first-floor level, and up a flight of stairs to the right. An opening above the second led into or gave light to the fourth gallery, from which traces of a stairway appeared to lead downwards to the left in the direction of the main entrance. Captain Thomas noted that the main wall of the W. and S. was apparently solid. More recently, Sir Lindsay Scott recorded that the N. side of the entrance passage could still be identified, a 4 ft. lintel lying nearby. He also noted two remaining openings. The surviving walls then stood to 4 ft. above the upper transome. Sir Lindsay also traced a stairway from ground level to scarcement, the lintelled floor of the gallery forming the roof of the ground-floor passage-way. In his notes he adds the possibility that the galleries were not continuous, but that there were steps con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.C.A.M. (Skye), No. 650.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., No. 651.

<sup>3</sup> R.C.A.M. (Skye), No. 71. Arch. Scot., v (1890), 391, Pl. XLVIII.

<sup>4</sup> R.C.A.M., records the area enclosed as 56½ by 43 ft. and notes the complication of a secondary building which incorporates part of the original walling. <sup>5</sup> Unpublished notes.

nected each with a separate gallery. It is of interest to find an example of such an irregularly-shaped structure in which broch techniques are used; scarcement, lintelled passage, stairways and galleries.

# 48. Scurrival, Eoligarry, Isle of Barra, Outer Hebrides (NF 695081)

Dun Scurrival, built on the crest of a high promontory, has built-up walling and an extra outer wall which may be traced on the precipitous northern scarp. Galleries are still visible in the ruined walls, but the entrance is totally destroyed. The building is not strictly circular, and the area enclosed has been estimated as 59 by 39 ft. Across the neck of the promontory the boulder footings of a defensive wall may be seen.

# 49. Cuier, Allasdale, Isle of Barra, Outer Hebrides<sup>2</sup> (NF 664034)

Dun Cuier shares features in common with Broch II and is a fairly well preserved example of the galleried dun. Roughly circular in plan with an inner diameter of 25 ft. the walling backs against the crest of the rocky outcrop on which the building stands. The entrance passage, which rebates opposite a single bar-hole, rises to the uneven interior which has been levelled with sand. A corbelled scarcement on the eastern arc gives place on the west to two shelf cavities. Beside the hearth a slab lined post-hole could have taken a support for some form of roofing. An extra outer wall built against the main walling can be seen here as at Dun Scurrival (No. 48) and Dun Ringill in Skye (No. 44). Inside the dun a subsidiary wall curves out to form a small chamber on the left of the doorway, with flat slabs set stile-wise as the sole means of access. On a raised platform to the right of the entrance a hearth was laid over a discarded rotary quernstone. The building still stands to 8 ft. and above the entrance a chamber was traced, the floor formed by the lintelled roof of the passage, of which only two slabs remain. Outside the dun two rows of reinforcing wall may be traced.

Dun Cuier yielded artefacts which suggest a span from fourth to seventh century A.D., these include an iron sickle, fifteen bone pins, five bone dice, six bone combs (five double sided) a round clay crucible and pottery of late and post wheel-house type.

# 50. Bahn, Isle of Barra, Outer Hebrides<sup>3</sup> (NF 632003)

Another promontory site defended by an outer wall, is Dun Bahn on the SW. coast of the island. Here traces of an entrance through the defensive wall can be seen, as well as slight footings of a subcircular building within the space enclosed.

Surface finds of pottery equating with material from Dun Cuier have been recorded from this site.<sup>4</sup>

Other duns worth noting are Dun Rostan, above Loch Sween, Argyll, with builtup walling; Dun an Ruigh Ruadh, Rhiroy, Ross and Cromarty, the dun of the Red King, set on the steep bank rising from Loch Broom<sup>5</sup> and possibly Dun Burgidale in Bute.

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<sup>1</sup> R.C.A.M. (Outer Hebrides), No. 449.

<sup>2</sup> R.C.A.M., ibid., No. 441. P.S.A.S., LXXXIX (1955–6), 290.

<sup>3</sup> R.C.A.M. (Outer Hebrides), No. 446.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> P.S.A.S., LXXXIX (1955-6), 292, fig. 2. <sup>5</sup> P.S.A.S., LXXXIII (1948-9), 72.

#### GALLERIED OR CHAMBERED WALLS

### 1. Hogsetter, Isle of Whalsay, Shetland<sup>1</sup> (HU 559620)

Hogsetter is an island site in Loch Whalsay, where the walling follows the line of the rocky islet. The enclosure is reached from the mainland by a causeway on ft. in length and the lintelled entrance is defended by a bar housed in the thickness of the wall. On each side of the entrance, rectangular buildings contain corbelled cells opening towards the interior and there is also a cell in the wall surrounding the central area. In 1774 these entrance towers stood to a height of 15 ft.,2 the cells corbelled with stone slabs. Jospeh Anderson<sup>3</sup> compares this structure to the forework at Clickhimin in Shetland.4

# 8. Ness of Burgi, Dunrossness, Shetland<sup>5</sup> (HU 388084)

The Ness of Burgi is on a now inaccessible promontory, cut off at its narrowest by a low bank extending from cliff to cliff. A few hundred yards beyonds this, an earth and stone rampart with two ditches defends the main rectangular structure. This has a lintelled passage entrance, not centrally placed, with bar-hole defence. There are two lintelled chambers in the thickness of the wall, one opening from the entrance passage, the other from the interior. Blocks of native sandstone, up to 4 ft. square. were used in the construction. A restored pot from this site in dark ware, irregularly made, is comparable to the coarse cooking pots from Dun Cuier in Barra (No. 49). While this vessel could derive from reoccupation of the Ness of Burgi, it supports a late date for these two northern examples which have some affinity with the western sites described below.

# 38. MHUILIG, Parish of Craignish, Argyll<sup>6</sup> (NM 776018)

Dun Mhuilig consists of a transverse wall stretching across a high, rocky bluff, on the Craignish peninsula, 150 ft. above sea-level. The site is further defended on the landward side by two ruined walls across the neck some 42 and 77 ft. respectively from the dun. Of the main building all that can now be seen is the lower courses of a massive wall, widening from 12 to 15 ft., which contains a mural gallery with three slab lintels still in situ. At its eastern end the wall stops on the lip of a precipice, the western end curves and there is some thickening of the inner wall face at this point, perhaps towards the entrance, of which there is now no sign. Mr Angus Graham compared Dun Mhuilig to Sron an Duin, Barra Head (No. 51).

# 51. SRON AN DUIN (Barra Head), Isle of Berneray, Outer Hebrides (NL 548802)

The most remarkable of the western type is Sron an Duin, 680 ft. above the sea, where a promontory with an area of 135 by 42 ft. is defended by a galleried wall stretching for 52 ft. across the neck of land (fig. 4). The space enclosed has been quarried to provide material for the cross wall, so forming a parapet round the in-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.C.A.M. (Shetland), No. 1316. <sup>2</sup> Low's Tour in Orkney and Shetland, 1774 (1829). When Dr Mitchell visited the site, stones were being loved to build a school.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson, J., Scotland in Pagan Times: Iron Age (1883), 260.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton, J. R. C., The Northern Isles, edited by Wainwright, F. T., 'Brochs and Broch Builders', fig. 22.

<sup>5</sup> R.C.A.M. (Shetland), No. 1154. P.S.A.S., LXX (1935–6), 381.

<sup>6</sup> P.S.A.S., LXXXII (1947–8), 53.

<sup>7</sup> R.C.A.M. (Outer Hebrides), No. 450. removed to build a school.

terior. A one-storied construction, the walling has a fortified entrance with check and bar-hole (Pl. VIII: 2). Seven lintels of the ground floor gallery still survive, set 12 ft. from the cliff edge on the W.

The following additional sites may be mentioned.

Mr A. L. F. Rivet has drawn my attention to Dun Bhilascleitir, Ness, in the Island of Lewis (R.C.A.M., Outer Hebrides, No. 34, NB 562576). Here the stone rampart cutting off the promontory is reported to have had a well-built entrance, with guard-chamber in the thickness of the walling, on the north side of the gateway. I am also indebted to Mr Rivet for information about another of these sites, Dun Vlarveg, Portree, in Skye (R.C.A.M. (Skye), No. 584, NG 518369). He reports that the galleried wall can still be seen. Lastly my thanks are due to Dr H. Fairhurst, who has described a comparable site, Dun Muirgheidh, in Mull (NM 413236). On the S. side of Loch Scridain is a promontory, defended at the landward end by three walls running from cliff to cliff, with central passage ways. The innermost, about 17 ft. thick, has a check and bar-hole in the entrance. There are signs of a passage within the wall, leading to a mural cell or to a stairway. Light walling round the promontory completes the defences.

Few but recurring finds are recorded from the brochs and duns which have been investigated. Among the bone objects, the most common perhaps is a type of longhandled comb, probably used for beating up the weft in weaving, which indicates some sheep farming. The same implement could also have served in carding out sinews for stitching the skins of sheep and deer in fashioning clothing, and doubtless household coverings, for which woollen thread would be too soft. Such combs have been recovered from south-western sites in England, and Joseph Anderson notes a similar implement used in India in carpet making.<sup>1</sup> Possibly employed in conjunction with the weaving combs is another artefact commonly found in brochs and duns alike, a roughly trimmed stone disc which was probably held in the hand when working hides to press the bone needle or borer, as is the modern sailmaker's 'palm'. More carefully shaped stone discs, sometimes ornamented and usually called tablemen, are also found and are commonly held to be gaming pieces, but it is possible that these were made for women's use in sewing leather. Strike-a-lights of quartz are frequently found in Broch II and duns. Painted pebbles have been recorded from reoccupied sites in Caithness and the Shetlands. In some of the brochs collections of white pebbles of even size have been recovered, probably, like the painted pebbles, gaming pieces or counters. Little survives of iron tools, though from the better workmanship of bone combs, pins and needles, the craftsmen of the duns would appear to have had more efficient iron tools than their predecessors.

Early broch pottery is poorly represented. The most widely distributed is a later, better fired type of first/third century A.D. date, with sharply everted rim, sometimes showing fluting on the inner bevel. This form has been recovered from Broch I sites in Shetland and Caithness which have been reoccupied by aisled or wheel-house farmers, from Broch II (Dun Beag in Skye) and from the aisled and wheel-houses of the Outer Hebrides where the characteristic native applied band indicates local

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anderson, J., Scotland in Pagan Times, 1 (1883), 254, fig. 241.

manufacture. This common style implies some communication between Caithness, the Northern Isles and the Hebrides, and sherds with the applied band from Skirza and Everley brochs in Caithness are a further proof of interchange.

Samian sherds have been recovered from both brochs and duns, usually single fragments, some too small for identification. These well nigh indestructable sherds may have been prized as a status symbol, as amulets or used in barter.1

The Northern Isles would not be an impossible landfall for incomers from the Continent. It has been pointed out that a voyager could, in reasonable weather, keep in sight of land from Gibraltar to the Muckle Flugga.<sup>2</sup> The brochs, however, need not be altogether an importation. The skilled builders at Skara Brae in Orkney devised the earliest recorded bar-hole defence,3 and certain devices used in broch building may be traced to the first Early Iron Age inhabitants of the Northern Isles. At Jarlshof, the native force postulated by Mr Hamilton already had a traditional skill in dry-stone building.4 for the lintelled souterrain passages related to the prebroch huts led to chambers, the one 11 ft. long, the other roughly square,5 with flagstone roofs. Comparable techniques were ultimately used by the broch builders in devising chambers, as well as for tying the double walls to form stairways and galleries. The Iron Age stone mason's tools likewise show little change from those used in the Late Bronze Age; well chosen beach stones, abraided at either end by use, as well as hones and polishers of fine-grained sandstone, were found by Mr Curle in the pre-broch levels at Jarlshof.

The two new elements used in building the brochs are height and corbelling. The innovation of these essential features of broch construction supports the theory that the architects were newcomers, for building in height would run contrary to native tradition.6 The need for height was regarded as urgent, and with that the necessity for scaffolding. The structure of the brochs answers both requirements in a treeless country. Professor Piggott has suggested that the brochs are comparable to the Border peel towers of medieval date. Certainly they supply the same needs: a look-out when necessary and a strong defence in uncertain territory.

It could be that the strangers were fugitives from western Gaul, following on the defeat in 51 B.C. of the confederacy of tribes in revolt against Rome. This would explain the knowledge of procedure shown by the rulers of Orkney when they made overtures to Rome and offered formal submission to Claudius.8 Perhaps some mis-

century date offered as coinage in the Sudan.

<sup>a</sup> Childe, V. G., Skarra Brae (1931). At Stanydale in Shetland, there is massive stonework to which we must look when considering the origin of the wheel-houses, while the radial compartments of the late Bronze Age huts at Jarlshof may also be noted in this context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The writer has seen a chipped soup plate from a Cook's steamer proudly displayed above the door of a native mud hut at Abou Simbel and Nuremburg tokens by Hans Krau Winckel of sixteenth/seventeenth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Jarlshof, pp. 33 and 35, Huts IVC and VI.
<sup>5</sup> This type of chamber may be exactly paralleled in Orkney.
<sup>6</sup> e.g. Jarlshof pre-broch occupation and earlier dwellings such as Skara Brae and Rinyo in Orkney,

possibly as protection against the gales, were largely built underground.

Caesar (Hirtius): De Bello Gallico VIII: 24 ff. This revolt, mainly centred in the territory of the Pictones, S. of the Loire, included some of the Armorican tribes and doubtless many who had fled thither after the suppression of the earlier rising of the Bituriges, Carnutes and Bellovaci that same year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> As suggested by Professor V. G. Childe in Scotland before the Scots (1946), 129, quoting Orosius, Historiae adversum Paganos, VII, 6, 10.

chance of weather and currents forced these intrepid sailors to stand out round Ireland and make their final landfall the Northern Isles.

The newcomers in Shetland were able to enlist a skilled native labour force, either by compulsion or reward, and directed the building of the defensive towers. Unassailable by fire, and provided with wells and storage places, these were equipped to stand against assault and short-term siege. The sophisticated technique of the Caithness broch buildings suggests penetration south to better farming land at a slightly later date.

The first occupation of the brochs was relatively short lived; either the need for such strongholds was over or it was no longer feasible to maintain them. By the second century A.D. the Jarlshof broch and courtyard were filled with aisled- and wheel-house dwellings, the well forgotten and built over, while stones were filched from the broch for use in succeeding, humbler farmhouses. This pattern persists in the S. of Shetland: Mousa, Clumlie and Levenwick brochs, after they had fallen into disuse, were all reoccupied by wheel-house farmers.

Contemporary with this reoccupation of the Shetland sites, the great brochs of Keiss and the Road in Caithness, which had been abandoned, were not only reused but refortified. By this time communications must have been established between the Northern Isles and the Mainland, as well as some contact with the Outer and Inner Hebrides, as is shown by the pottery evidence. Sherds of vessels with everted rims recovered from Clumlie, Mousa, Jarlshof, Keiss and the Road brochs, comparable to wares found on Hebridean sites, imply that the reoccupation of the brochs was in the second to early third century A.D.¹ Not only is there refurbishing of existing strongholds, but new brochs are now built, Broch II, using a simpler form and showing a wider distribution which includes the western coasts, though repeating, in part, Broch I traditions. These strongholds are mainly smaller in interior diameter and wells and storage chambers are no longer used; a new technique is the built-up walling which serves to level the central area on a sloping site, presumably chosen for strategic reasons.

From the concentration of brochs in the Keiss area, this would appear to be one point of departure towards the W.; the straths show the distribution of Broch II, up Helmsdale and over the watershed by Halladale; from Loch Fleet up the Fleet to Loch Shin and from the Dornoch Firth, up Strath Oykell to Loch Assynt and so to the sea. Though possibly due, in part at least, to unsettled conditions, the westerly drift of Broch II builders could also have resulted from a cycle of unusually bad seasons.

Apart from the hazards of weather, what disturbance on the mainland of Scotland can have alerted the far North causing the revival of an earlier form of defensive building? Following on the revolts in the lowlands in the late second century A.D., during the absence of Clodius Albinus, Governor of Britain, the Emperor Severus himself organised punitive expeditions against the Caledonians and Maeatae. These, based on the Firth of Forth and supplied by sea, were pressed home into the very

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Young, A. N., 'Sequence of Hebridean Pottery', forthcoming in *The Iron Age of Northern Britain*, edited by Rivet, A. L. F., University of Edinburgh Press.

heart of Scotland, as far N. as Aberdeen and perhaps beyond,<sup>1</sup> resulting in the unconditional surrender of the Caledonians in 209 and the defeat of the Maeatae in 210. There were doubtless various movements of refugees and the repercussion would ultimately involve the North. Further campaigns in the same year were cut short with the death of the Emperor.

The duns represent another aspect of the broch tradition, built in a later period of danger, for, with the exception of outliers in the straths of Sutherland and Caithness, the distribution is mainly western and coastwise. This implies that these later structures may have been a defence against the inroads of the Scots of Dalriada, who raided the W. coast of Scotland from the late fourth century onwards.<sup>2</sup> Still drybuilt in the broch tradition, the duns tend to be sited in strategic positions. An outer, extra wall built against the main structure is a new feature of this very diverse group.

Last in the series are the galleried or chambered walls, on promontory sites, referred by some to an earlier phase, but which also merit consideration as the end of the broch sequence. They may be a fringe product, contemporary to some extent with the larger widespread group, the galleried dun, for from one of the northern sites, Dun Burgi, in Shetland, sherds of a bowl akin to the later pottery from Dun Cuier were recovered. Possibly they were temporary refuges.

These are the last of the dry-built structures which incorporate features of the broch tradition.

#### APPENDIX

Four traditional stories are worth recording.

Firstly from a native of Glenelg: The stones for the brochs, Dun Telve and Dun Troddan, were brought from a quarry up the glen and handed along a chain of men; the way can be traced by chips of the stone used.

Secondly from a native source in Ullapool: The stones used for building Dun Ruigh Ruadh were handed from man to man across a bridge of rafts from Lech Melm (the flat stone or slab) to the W. shore of Loch Broom.<sup>3</sup>

Thirdly, a tradition told to me by Professor Childe: The stones for the broch of Harray were quarried at some distance and brought on rafts to the site. In clear water the stones from capsized rafts could be seen in the loch along the route from quarry to broch.

The fourth and last story comes from Mull, and the change of direction rather enhances the traditional nature of these widespread tales. Stones from a broch 'up the hill' were handed down by a chain of men and used to build a medieval castle on the shore.

A fifth tale is recorded by Captain Thomas in his paper on the Duns of the Outer Hebrides.<sup>4</sup> In Lewis they have a tradition that when these towers were being built a row of men reached from the dun to the shore, from whence the stones were passed from hand to hand; and that the towers being conical, they were built to such a height that only a single stone or flag was required to close the top.<sup>3</sup>

In all these stories the human chain element occurs. It may be that the lintels and slabs used for stairways were specially chosen and were handled to the site in the manner described.

<sup>1</sup> Dio states that Severus in his first campaign reached almost to the extremity of the Island (Cassius Dio Historia Romana, LXXVII: xiii, 3). For comments see Steer, K. A., Roman and Native in North Britain, edited Richmond, I. A., (1958), 96.

<sup>2</sup> P.S.A.S., LXXXIX (1955–6), 301.

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the Moine Schist of which Dun an Ruigh Ruadh was constructed, occurs in outcrops on

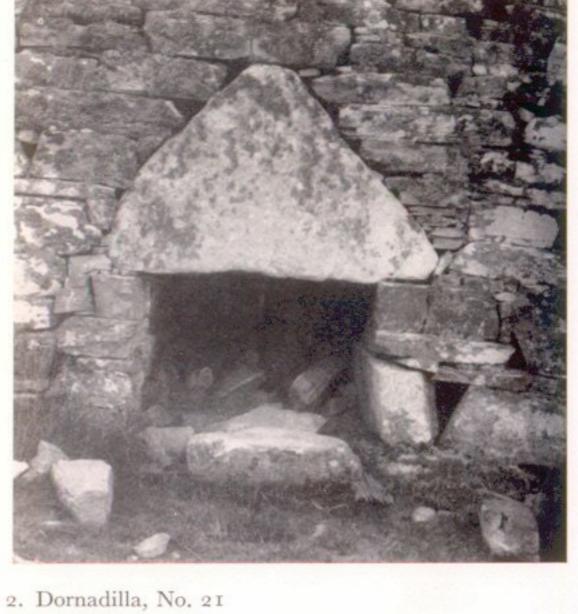
both sides of Loch Broom, though the name Lech Melm, on the east side of the loch means flat slab. Perhaps the flat slabs required for gallery and wall chambers came from the traditional source, see also P.S.A.S., LXXXIII (1948-9), 73.

4 Arch. Scot. v (1890), 387.



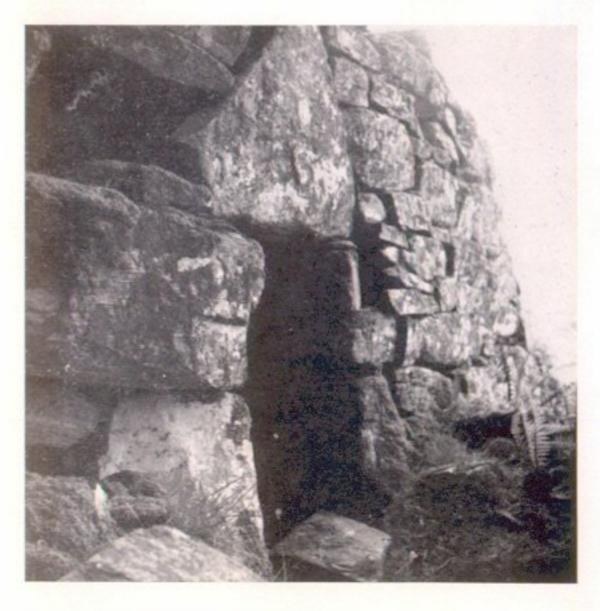
1. Culswick, No. 2

Crown Copyright

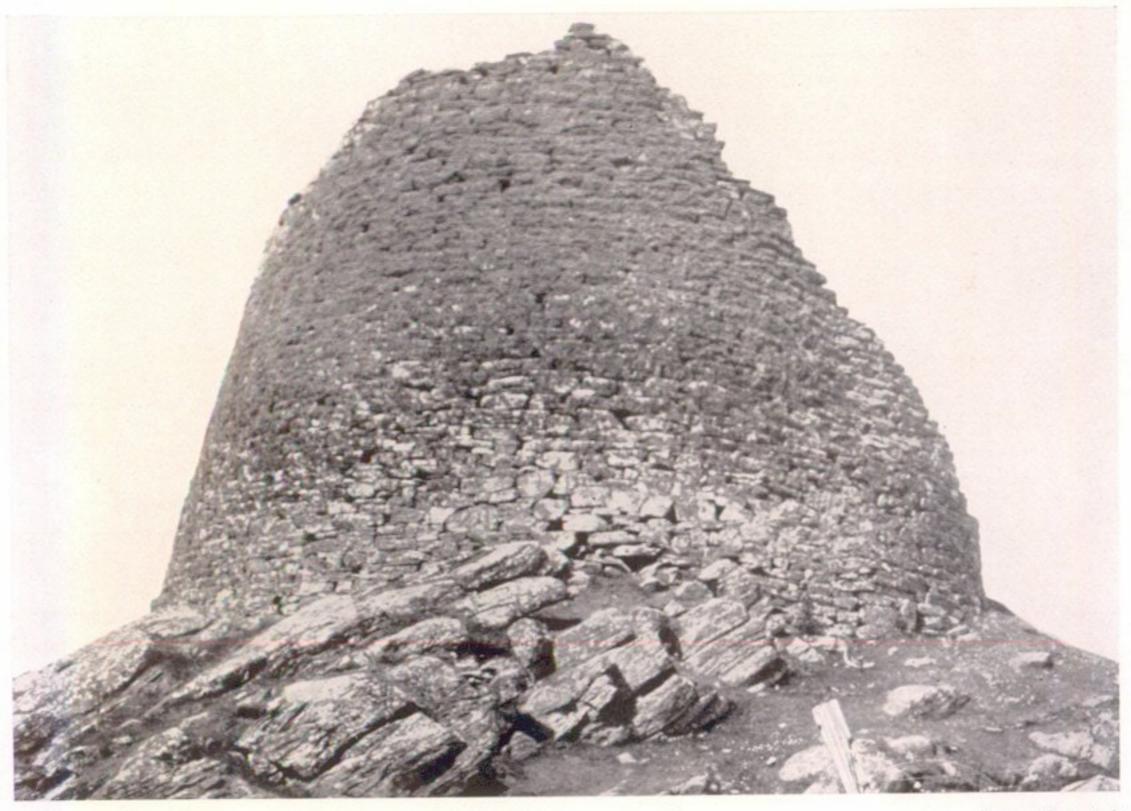




3. Clachtoll, No. 22

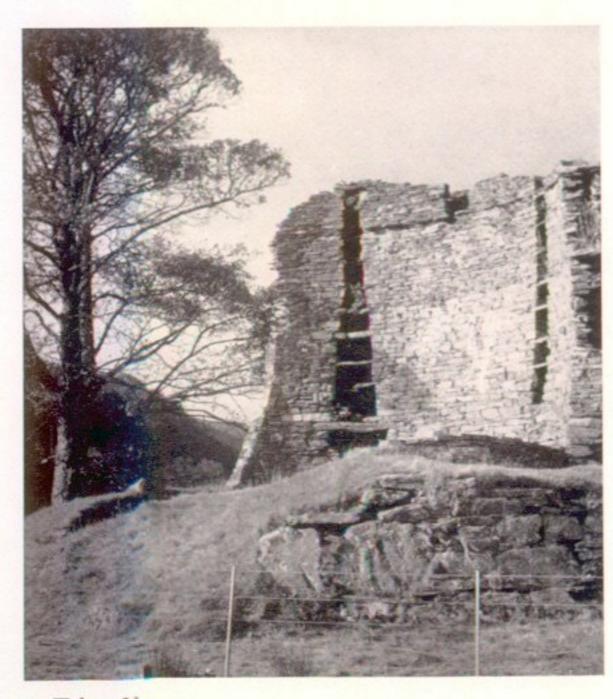


4. Caisteal Grugaig, No. 33



1. Carloway, No. 46

Crown Copyright



2. Telve, No. 34



3. Dornadilla, No. 21



1. Way of Forse, No. 20



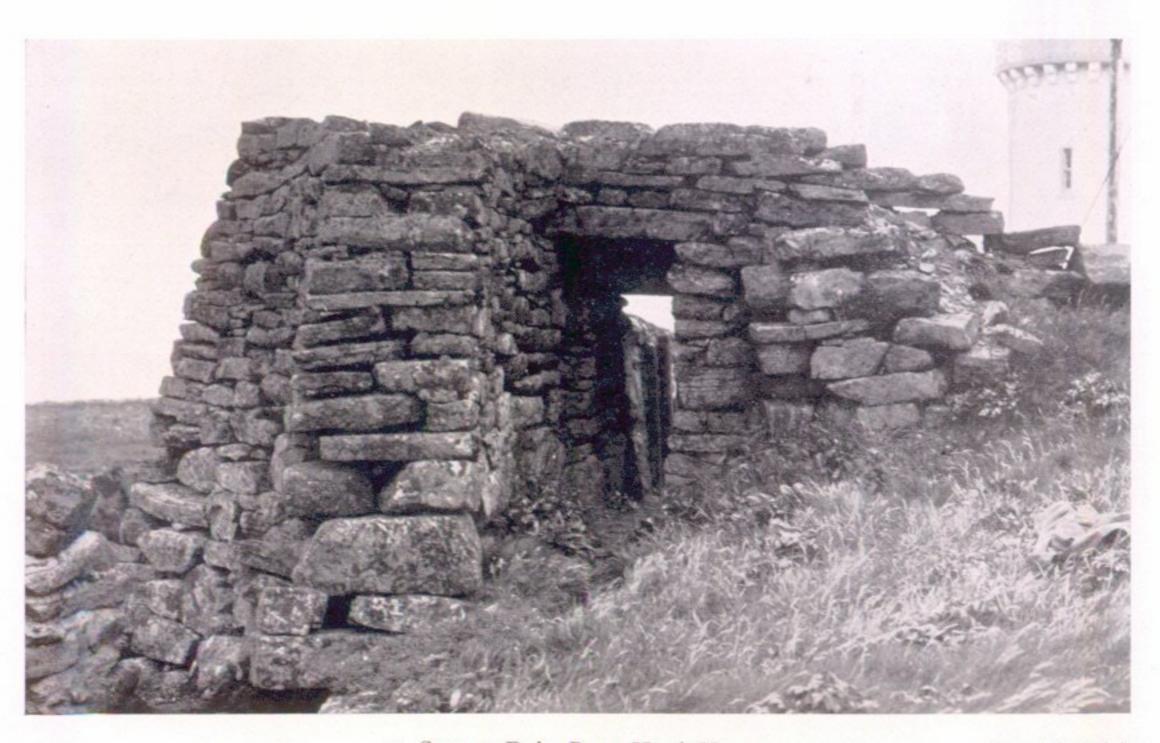
2. Burland, No. 3

Crown Copyright



1. Dun Grugaig, Skye, No. 45

Crown Copyright



2. Sron an Duin, Barra Head, No. 51

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