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Reader R (2012) Over the ditch and far away: Investigating Broxmouth and the landscape of South-East Scotland during the later prehistoric period. PhD Thesis. University of Bradford.

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Chapter 2. Previous Research

2.1 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the meanings underlying the construction of enclosed sites during later prehistory in southern Scotland. From the establishment of the three age system in the 19th century, studies of the Iron Age have seen a gradual shift from the dominance of specific artefact types to categorise this period into specific settlement types, as noted by Poller (2005). This is especially true of Scotland and north England where the relative paucity of artefacts led to a north/south and highland/lowland divide within all aspects of Iron Age studies. As a result, there has been a particular focus on the hillfort in parts of Scotland and monumental stone architecture in others, especially the Atlantic region. This chapter examines the influence of archaeological schools of thought on Iron Age settlement studies. In particular, it examines how interpretations of hillforts have changed, their gradual incorporation into wider settlement considerations and how recent theoretical developments in landscape-based studies can be used to examine the social meaning of creating, maintaining, using and abandoning enclosed sites.

2.2 Hillfort studies to the 1960s: Culture history, classification and typologies

Hillforts were often interpreted as a result of inter-tribal warfare, with Hawkes for example seeing them as a result of "tribal bickering" (1931, 76). By the late Iron Age, hillforts were thought to have been built in response to the Romans and a new form of warfare, based around the use of the sling (Wheeler 1943, 49). The so-

called 'caches' of slingstones found at Maiden Castle, and subsequently at Danebury informed this interpretation. Wheeler used his own military background to examine the ramparts and assess their ability to defend their occupants (Armit 2007, 26-27). The 'war cemetery' victims found at the east entrance of Maiden Castle were seen as massacre victims, who defended themselves against the invading Romans (Wheeler 1943, 61-62). Similar deposits from Cadbury Castle and Spettisbury Ring were interpreted in a similar light, sealing the image of hillforts as deliberately defensive constructions.

The first attempt to classify hillforts was by Hadrian Allcroft (1908) although David Christison's regional surveys (1891; 1893; 1895; 1898) were important in developing the hillfort classification system by identifying upstanding Iron Age sites in southern Scotland. The term 'hillfort' however was cemented by Christopher Hawkes in his 1931 *Antiquity* paper. Although the term has always lacked firm definition, his was the first attempt to classify and categorise this class of monuments and place them in a chronology for the Iron Age. He described their various construction techniques and constructed his 'ABC' scheme (see Figure 2.1), envisioning successive waves of invasions responsible for different building techniques (e.g. multivallation), with the earliest located in the south-east of Britain (Hawkes 1931). For the first time, hillfort distributions were produced and attributed to different phases (Harding 1974, 54).

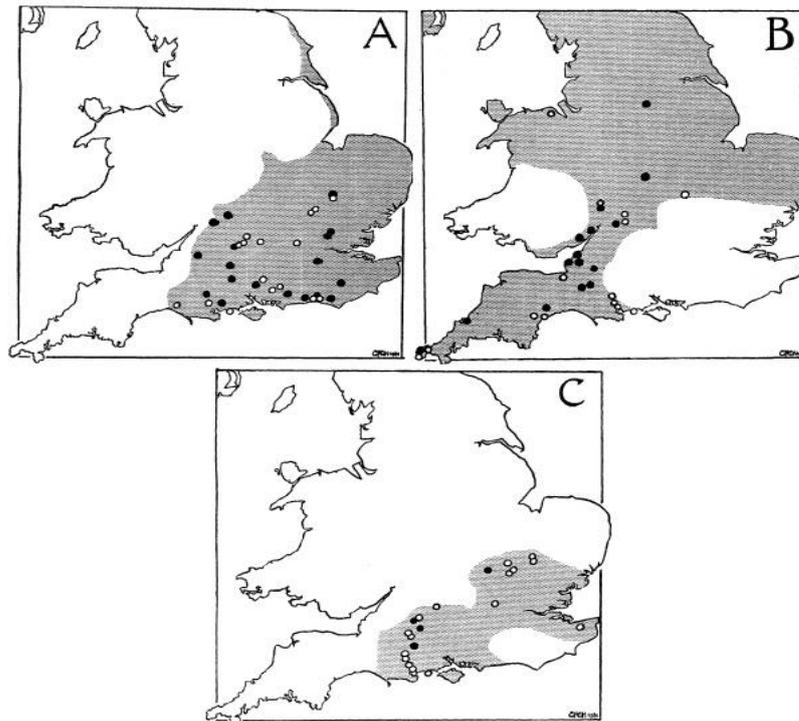


Figure 2.1 Hawkes' ABC scheme. The stippled areas represent the maximum extent of 'invading' cultures in successive time periods (after Hawkes 1931, 63; 78; 91). Note that this scheme did not extend to Scotland

Hawkes's study was strictly confined to southern Britain and partially Wales although the RCAHMS were using the term in their early inventories, including the East Lothian one (1924). Early excavations at Burnswark (Christison *et al* 1899) revealed a chronological distinction between Roman and 'Native' forts and subsequent excavations helped to shape understanding of Scottish hillforts, such as Traprain Law (Cree 1923; 1924; Cree and Curle 1922; Curle 1915; 1920; Curle and Cree 1916; 1921) and Castle Law (Childe 1933; see Table 2.1 for other examples). Childe's 1935 *The Prehistory of Scotland* was one of the first attempts to place Scotland in a wider context, against a background of British and European developments (Cunliffe 2005, 15). He noted that the lack of finds hindered dating but still managed to place forts into types, notably Gallic, vitrified and hilltop towns. The rest were simply called small forts (Childe 1935, 190-208), clearly placing the emphasis on a smaller number of 'complex' forts.

Name	Grid Ref	Location	Date of Excavation	References
Spottiswoode	NT6025 5014	Berwickshire	1870	HBNC 1904, 105
Edin's Hall	NT77240 60310	Berwickshire	Pre 1879	G. Turnbull 1857; J. Turnbull 1882
Torwoodlee	NT4655 3847	Selkirkshire	1891	Curle 1892
Burnswark	NY1860 7870	East Dumfriesshire	1898	Christison <i>et al</i> 1899; Jobey 1966b
Bonchester Hill	NT59500 11700	Roxburghshire	1906	Curle 1910
North Berwick Law	NT5564 8422	East Lothian	1907?	Richardson 1907
Traprain Law	NT5800 7470	East Lothian	1914-15	Curle 1915; Curle and Cree 1916
Traprain Law	NT5800 7470	East Lothian	1919-23	Cree 1923; 1924; Cree and Curle 1922; Curle 1920; Curle and Cree 1921
Whitefield	NS702 308	Ayrshire	1913-25	Fairbairn 1927
Earn's Heugh	NT89210 69130	Berwickshire	1931	Childe and Forde 1932
Castle Law	NT22900 63870	Mid Lothian	1931-32	Childe 1933

Table 2.1 List of Scottish hillfort excavations, prior to Childe's *Prehistory in Scotland* (1935), compiled by the author. The distinct lack of excavations is apparent although the focus on Traprain Law is noticeable

Scotland was generally seen as peripheral due to being far away from the hub of influence on Iron Age artefacts and settlement styles in continental Europe. Lack of scientific excavation on Scottish hillforts also meant that they could not be envisioned in a wider scheme. Many excavations consisted of trenches across ramparts, occasionally exploring the interiors (with the notable exception of Curle and Cree's excavations on Traprain Law). The lack of finds, particularly pottery, also hindered attempts to construct a cultural-historical scheme for this area, whereas Hawkes had more material to work with from southern Britain (1931, 61). He lamented the situation in Scotland by saying that the progress of fortifications was obscure and only Burnswark in Dumfriesshire warranted a mention (1931, 87).

Name	Grid Ref	Location	Date of Excavation	References
Traprain Law	NT5800 7470	East Lothian	1939	Cruden 1940
Crock Cleugh	NT83401 17645	Roxburghshire	1939	Steer and Keeney 1948
Chester Hill, Hundleshope	NT2368 3606	Peeblesshire	1939	Keef 1948
Kaimes Hill	NT1315 6655	Mid Lothian	1940	Childe 1941
Hayhope Knowe	NT85980 17603	Roxburghshire	1947; 1949	C.M. Piggott 1951
Craig's Quarry	NT5082 8349	East Lothian	1949	Piggott and Piggott 1954
Castle Law	NT22900 63870	Mid Lothian	1948	Piggott and Piggott 1954
Braidwood	NT19280 59630	Mid Lothian	1940; 1947-48	Stevenson 1951
Hownam Rings	NT79040 19390	Roxburghshire	1948	C.M. Piggott 1950
Torwoodlee	NT4655 3847	Selkirkshire	1950	S. Piggott 1953
Bonchester Hill	NT59500 11700	Roxburghshire	1950	C.M. Piggott 1952
Braidwood	NT19280 59630	Mid Lothian	1951-55; 1958	S. Piggott 1960
Eildon Hill North	NT55450 32800	Roxburghshire	1952-53	Steer 1954
Craig's Quarry	NT5082 8349	East Lothian	1954-55	S. Piggott 1960
Stanhope Dun	NT1172 2915	Peeblesshire	1959	MacLaren 1962
Glenachan Rig	NT1066 3278	Peeblesshire	1959	Feachem 1961
Harehope	NT2034 4485	Peeblesshire	1960	Feachem 1962
Lour	NT1795 3570	Peeblesshire	1959-60	Dunbar and Hay 1963
Mossfennan	NT1120 2974	Peeblesshire	1961	Steer 1961
Helm End	NT1098 3532	Peeblesshire	1962	RCAHMS 1967, vol 1, 120-121
Hangingshaw	NT4029 3004	Selkirkshire	1962	Marshall 1969
Kaimes Hill	NT1315 6655	Mid Lothian	1964-72	IAM 1969; P.R. Ritchie 1970; Simpson 1969; 1971; 1972

Table 2.2 Hillfort excavations, post Prehistory in Scotland and prior to Broxmouth, compiled by the author. The increase after World War II and the dominance of the Piggotts' excavations are noticeable

Hillfort excavations came 'thick and fast' after Hawkes first published his scheme in 1931 (Cunliffe 2005, 11) and the pace of research on hillforts also began to increase in southern Scotland after World War II, thanks primarily to Stuart and

Margaret Piggott. They undertook numerous hillfort excavations (see Table 2.2) and using Hawkes' ideas, C.M. Piggott devised a scheme based on the excavation at Hownam Rings (1950; Armit 1999a; Table 2.3). This regional framework melded Hawkes' ABC scheme with evidence from the Piggotts' excavations, primarily in Roxburghshire, and was subsequently applied to the Borders and Lothian area (Armit 1999a, 65).

Phase Number	Description
I	Palisaded, small stockade enclosure. Approx. second/first century BC
II	"Wall fort" phase, ended shortly before the arrival of the Romans. First century BC to 1 st century AD
III	Construction of multiple ramparts, began in the second half of the first century AD as a response to the threat of Roman invasion
IV	Open settlement, houses over abandoned ramparts. Later Roman Period

Table 2.3 The Hownam Sequence (after C.M. Piggott 1950; Armit 1999a)

Margaret Piggott's ensuing excavations at Hayhope Knowe (1951) and Bonchester Hill (1952) did not contradict the Hownam sequence and led to its increasing acceptance (Armit 1999a, 67-8). The Hownam sequence thus underpinned interpretations in south east Scotland (e.g. S. Piggott 1966, 8-9; A. Ritchie 1970, 54) through to the 1970s and similar sites included in the RCAHMS 1956 Roxburghshire survey were also influenced by the model (Armit 1999a, 68). For the first time, the excavations could be placed in regional and chronological contexts. There were attempts, particularly by Stuart Piggott, to then define a 'Hownam culture' between the Tyne and the Forth, using Hawkes' model as a template. He envisioned different cultures in four different provinces in Scotland (see Figure 2.2 below). However this scheme had limited support (Armit 1999a, 68) perhaps due to the general weakening of invasionist thought at this time.

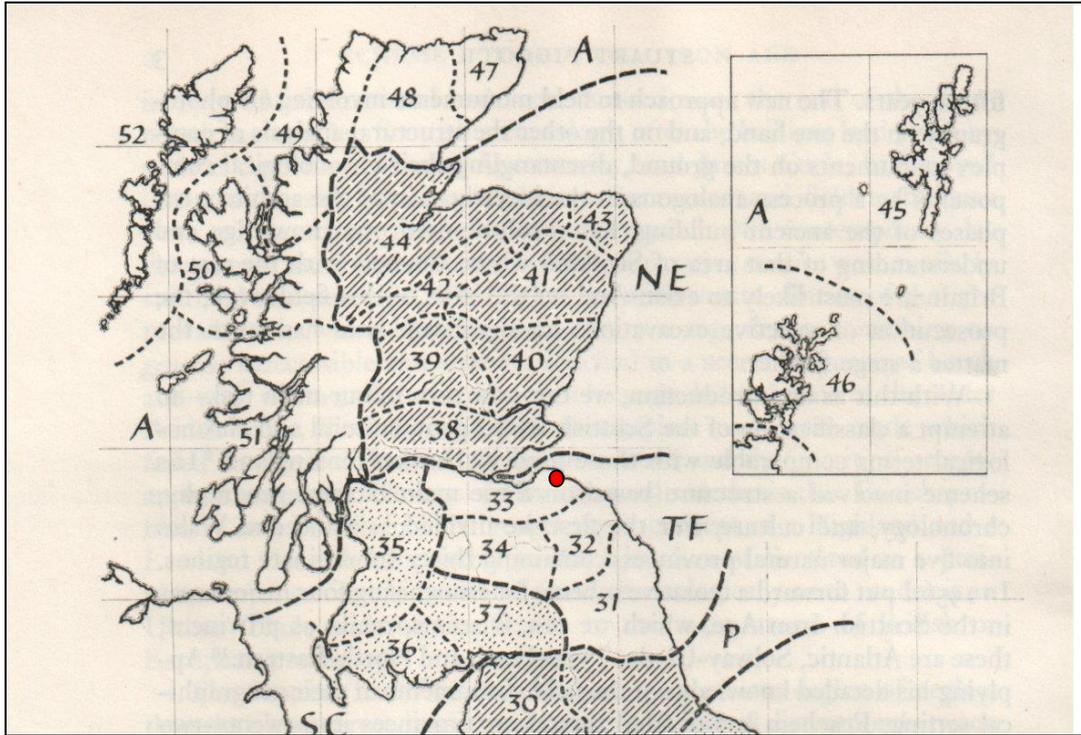


Figure 2.2 Stuart Piggott's Scottish provinces with Broxmouth marked in red. TF = Tyne-Forth (the Hownam culture), SC = Solway-Clyde, NE = North-East (the Abernethy culture) and A = Atlantic Scotland (after Piggott 1966, 4)

2.3 1960 - 1977: Increasing Complexity

There was a steady increase in hillfort excavations after Hawkes' original scheme was devised, but as new excavations took place and radiocarbon dating was implemented, the scheme had to be progressively modified (e.g. Hawkes 1959). Stuart Piggott's Scottish scheme was modified by Euan MacKie in 1969, who argued that the nature of indigenous culture did not change dramatically at Hownam Rings despite each phase supposedly being built by immigrants (1969, 15-16). MacKie still supported the theory that a wave of immigration came to Scotland around 700BC, from across the North Sea (1969, 19), and still believed that different cultures had occupied different regional areas. However this revised scheme did not solve the original problems of Stuart Piggott's scheme and the results of the Hownam Rings excavation still dominated (Armit 1999a, 68). These schemes

however were increasingly convoluted (see Figure 2.3) and could not sustain the constant addition of new data, eventually falling out of favour.

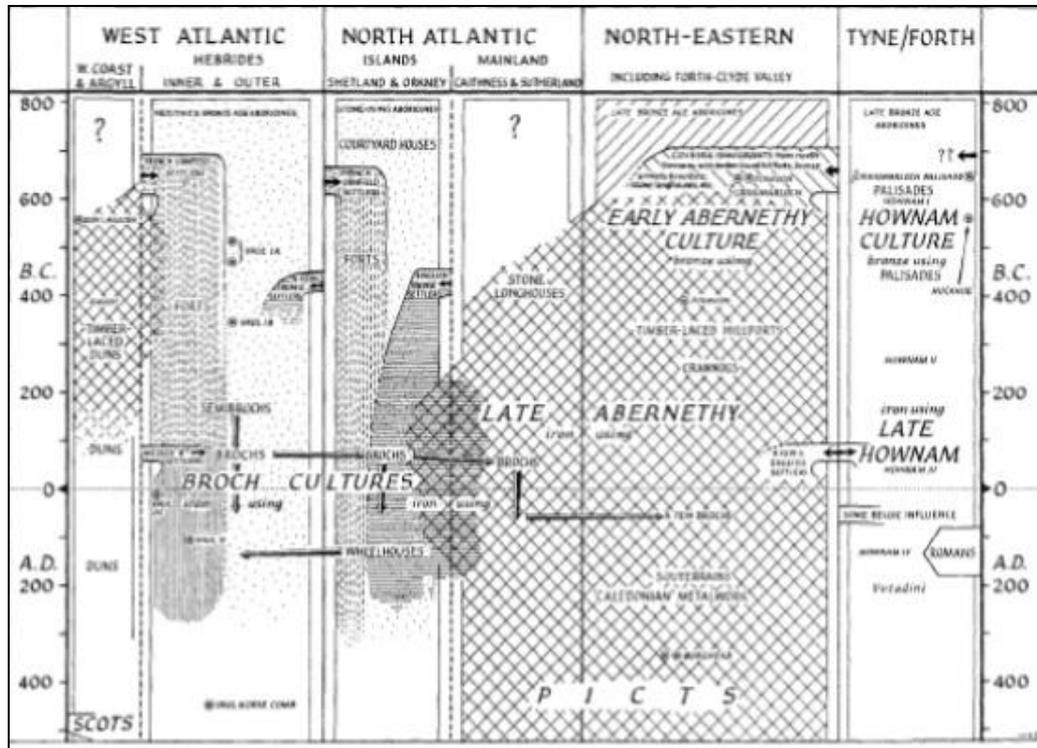


Figure 2.3 Mackie's revised scheme for Scotland (1969, 20). This exemplifies the increasing complexity of these kinds of cultural historical schemes as the quantity of data increased

Poller argues that, particularly for Scotland, the study of Iron Age was deeply associated with architectural forms, rather than material culture (2005, 23). The Iron Age was not just categorised by iron, but by bronze objects too, as evidenced from Finavon hillfort, Angus where they were dated to the third and second centuries BC (Childe 1935). Instead, changes in 'types' of settlement characterised the Iron Age (Poller 2005, 23) and Bersu was the first to recognise a division between forts and enclosure at Scotstarvit (1948), which was not obviously located in a 'defensible' position. This also influenced the RCHAMS categorisation of sites which shaped future inventories of Iron Age sites and studies (Poller 2005, 17-19).

2.4 The 'Classification' era (1970s)

Hillforts however were still accepted as a separate class of monument and were still the main focus of research, however archaeologists began to break them down into more detailed site-types. Harding's book (1974) represents a common theme during this period (see also Forde-Johnston 1976; Hogg 1975) of rejecting the invasionist theories and criticising the classification of hillforts based on superficial observation (Harding 1974, 55) as opposed to interpretation of excavated sites. Detailed descriptions were provided of the two principal ways of constructing ramparts: 'dump' or 'box'. Hillforts were broken down according to topographical location, morphology and area size, particularly by Forde-Johnston (1976).

In Scotland however, the term 'hillfort' was only applied to a small number of the upstanding sites attributed to the Iron Age. The majority of hillforts in Scotland are much smaller in comparison to their southern counterparts and Feachem believed that the term should only apply to large sites, which Scotland generally lacks (1965, 138). Jobey's seminal work south of the border focused on a wide range of sites in Northumberland, which arguably had more influence on Scottish than English studies (e.g. 1960; 1962; 1964; 1965; 1972) due to the similarity in size and nature. Numerous categories and sub-categories were applied to different sites including palisaded settlement, homestead, enclosure, unenclosed platform settlement (Poller 2005, 24) and scooped settlement. These terms arose not only with the number of excavations but also the increase in data from aerial photography. The terms were widely adopted in RCAHMS inventories, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. RCAHMS 1978; RCAHMS 1980). However Scotland still lagged behind southern Britain and many of the influential studies largely ignored the Scottish evidence (e.g. Forde-Johnston 1976). The appreciation of the

potential of cropmark data and the threat of development thrust many new excavations into the spotlight and created the opportunity for new research.

During the 1970s, excavation strategies changed reflecting wider changes in archaeological theory. Rampart excavation provided a good structural history (as Harding recognised – e.g. 1974, 56), but the hillfort interiors provided excavators with the opportunity to search for evidence of social and economic systems.

Therefore attention turned towards hillfort interiors, which archaeological practice had poorly served in the past due to the emphasis on ramparts and entrances.

Various excavations of the 1960s and 1970s sought more detailed interpretation of rampart constructions and details of interior, for example at Moel Y Gaer (Guilbert 1973). New surveys of hillforts also moved towards interpreting the function of interiors (e.g. Alcock 1965), inevitably leading to challenges of purely defensive interpretations of hillforts. Barry Cunliffe's excavations at Danebury from 1969-88 (e.g. 1983a; 1984; 1995) was the epitome of this. The 57% excavation (Cunliffe 1983a, 36) at Danebury was unprecedented and no site had received such intensive excavation nor would one site dominate future studies the way that Danebury has. The excavations uncovered occupation evidence over a period of approximately 450 years (Cunliffe 1983a, 88-89).

Cunliffe built a picture of Danebury in the Iron Age, interpreting the site as a 'developed hillfort' redistributing grain and wool as surplus (1983a, 152-3). This led to a shift in emphasis away from the defensive character of the hillfort, to the social and economic factors and the people who once lived at Danebury. Cunliffe still interpreted the ramparts as defensive, although he hinted that they also represented the prestige of the occupants (1983a, 75). Building on Danebury as

the prime example, Cunliffe constructed a core/periphery model to explain the function of hillforts and classed Danebury (alongside Maiden Castle and Cadbury Castle) as a 'developed hillfort'. These hillforts had evidence for dense occupation and Cunliffe suggested that they had central place functions. They occupied dominant positions in the landscape and there was evidence for numerous grain storage structures, which could be interpreted as surplus storage and rare materials such as iron, bronze and salt would have been brought in from outside the immediate territory for manufacture (Cunliffe 2005, 388-393).

2.5 Integrating the Information: Rescue Excavations and Aerial Survey (1977 onwards)

The emphasis on the interior at Danebury permeated through to Scottish excavations and traditional settlement models began to crumble, in part due to the focus and detail of subsequent excavations. The excavation at Broxmouth was particularly integral to the collapse of the Hownam sequence. Previous excavations had generally elucidated an evolutionary sequence, from simple to complex and in the case of Hownam, from unenclosed through to multivallation and back to unenclosed. However the site of Dryburn Bridge in East Lothian developed from palisaded to unenclosed (Triscott 1982; Dunwell 2007), essentially 'skipping' the complex phases. Broxmouth had the potential to demonstrate the Hownam sequence but revealed that although the palisade was first, the site fluctuated between univallate, bivallate and unenclosed phases (Hill 1982b; Armit and McKenzie in prep). The excavation of numerous threatened later prehistoric sites also included Candyburn, Peeblesshire (Lane 1982; 1986) and the Dunion, Roxburghshire (Rideout 1992), which again revealed complicated development

sequences. The explosion of data overwhelmed the simplicity of the Hownam model and with the increasing appreciation of cropmark data, there was a burst of research, exemplified in conference proceedings on the south-east Scottish Iron Age (Harding 1982a). Thanks to the exceptional preservation at Broxmouth, themes such as animal husbandry (Barnetson 1982) were discussed, as well as the implications of this in the wider landscape (Halliday 1982). The data on roundhouses were synthesised (Hill 1982a) and the implications for wider resource consumption, in particular timber, were also discussed (Reynolds 1982). This research exemplified the concern to understand society and economy during the later prehistoric period and also the wider landscape.

Aerial photography was also having a marked effect, revealing more sites across the areas devoid of upstanding earthworks i.e. East Lothian and offered a wider context for the excavated sites above. However it was realised that this was a growing dataset which was yet to be fully interpreted or integrated into wider debates over the nature of society and economy in later prehistory. The 1980s saw the opening of a new debate over categorisation and use of the data to try and establish chronological patterning. Although categorisation could generally place sites within chronological periods, it was not a foolproof technique as exemplified through the identification of Balbridie, Aberdeenshire as an early Medieval hall which, on excavation, dated to the Neolithic (Maxwell 1983, 45; Reynolds 1980, 53-9).

The vast majority of cropmarks fell into the later prehistoric period and one suggestion for approaching the data was objectivity; categorising sites based on their morphology, grouping them into local concentrations of distribution and comparing with excavated sites (Maxwell 1983, 45). Therefore based on the

excavated data (see above), palisaded sites (e.g. Dryburn Bridge) and ditched sites (e.g. Broxmouth) were interpreted as Iron Age constructions. Primarily, these fell into curvilinear and rectilinear morphologies and although there were no dated rectilinear sites in South-East Scotland, Jobey's excavations in Northumberland showed that they (e.g. West Longlee and Riding Wood – 1960) also belonged to this period, but were potentially later within it. Although Roman military works were also rectilinear, the Iron Age examples were distinguished from these sites as they were more irregularly shaped and tended to be smaller. Less clear was the classification of isolated houses, which have been interpreted alternatively as round barrows (Hale and Cowley 2009, 256) or gravel extraction pits (Triscott 1996). The overall emphasis however was that aerial photographic classification was meant to be arbitrary and did not necessarily imply differences in function (despite classifications still named 'homesteads') (Maxwell 1983, 47). The excavations served to confirm that the majority of these sites were likely to have been constructed in the Iron Age.

Although discussion on classification frameworks was rigorous (e.g. Ralston and Shepherd 1983), little was offered in terms of interpretation or discussion of the patterning. The exception to this was Macinnes's work on the east coast areas, north and south of the Forth (1982; 1983b; 1985) which attempted to explain the patterning of sites. Macinnes made use of the burgeoning cropmark data and the results from the recently excavated sites. However there was still an emphasis on the fort/enclosure division (Macinnes 1985), with larger sites seen as ways that elite groups maintained authority (Macinnes 1989), recalling Cunliffe's interpretations of hillforts as central places (Macinnes 1985).

The timing of this discussion on 'objective' classifications was at loggerheads with the shifting theoretical background in wider UK archaeology. The 1980s saw the move into post-processual archaeology and the acceptance that, as opposed to the scientific rigour and objectivity of processual archaeology, archaeological interpretation was subjective (Poller 2005, 34). Attempts to marry the objective classifications of aerial photography with wider theoretical discussions were notably absent. MacInnes was an exception and argued that whilst aerial photography needed to maintain its objectivity, it also needed to be incorporated within current archaeological knowledge (1983a, 60). However, despite an initial burst, research during this period reached a dead-end and little new research was stimulated (Armit 1999a). Final reports of some of the excavations from this rescue archaeology boom stalled, due to numerous constraints and it was not until the mid 1990s was action taken to try and halt the increasing backlog (Barclay and Owen 1995).

2.6 Perspectives on hillforts and enclosures

As research languished in Scotland, continuing excavations at Danebury contributed to a new interpretation of Iron Age society; a hierarchical one with large sites at the top, surrounded by smaller ones (see above). However there was dissatisfaction with economy driven and overtly hierarchical explanations like Cunliffe's and in the 1980s and 1990s, new interpretations were put forward (e.g. Bowden and McOmish 1987; 1989; J.D. Hill 1995a). The traditional military interpretations were criticised (Armit 2007, 25) and were largely replaced by 'symbolic' interpretations. Bowden and McOmish argued for ramparts and ditches being symbolic creations, akin to Neolithic monuments such as causewayed enclosures. They suggested that sites like Maiden Castle were not defensively functional and instead, occupants created

social isolation through multivallation (1987, 77). Hingley agreed that boundaries of enclosures could have been for social exclusion, indicating status or could have been ritually significant (1984a; 1984b; 1990).

This argument developed into a debate over the dichotomy of social exclusion vs inclusion and Hingley argued that enclosed settlements showed that the community was isolated (1984b, 24). Equally other studies have focused on enclosures being a proponent of social inclusion (e.g. Hingley 1992; Bowden and McOmish 1987; 1989; Chadwick 1999). Ditches were often regarded as passive, static features (Chadwick 1999, 155-156), yet the construction of enclosed settlements would have involved the labour of many people. Sharples argues that the household within the settlement would have been able to call in debts of labour which may have built up over several years (2007, 179). The construction process was therefore related to gifts of resources and labour, as well as the conspicuous consumption of resources, where people would have gathered for seasonal events or festivals (Sharples 2007, 180) and would have been important to maintaining social cohesion.

Within these debates, there was no real discussion on warfare, partly as a reaction to the framing of warfare in the invasion hypothesis before the 1960s (Sharples 1991a, 79). As the invasion hypothesis was rejected, so was warfare and it was not reframed in post-processual thought. Armit has recently stated that proponents of military and symbolic interpretations tend not to engage with each other in print and that the debate thus, remains unresolved (2007, 31). Warfare, as an explanation, is no longer considered in publications but a purely symbolic or purely defensive stance is "incompatible with more nuanced understandings of the ritual and symbolic role of hillforts..." (Armit 2007, 32). There are problems in identifying

what indicates warfare in the archaeological record, therefore interpretations are limited and it is often viewed as a detached and disembedded activity, rarely integrated into Iron Age social practice (Armit 2007, 32).

Post-processual theories created a series of dichotomies: warfare vs. symbolism and social exclusion vs. social inclusion. Sites like Danebury, Maiden Castle and Broxmouth were clearly occupied over centuries however, suggesting that the meaning and function of the site would have changed over time. Too often, sites have been seen in their final form and subsequent labels, like hillfort and interpretation have been placed on these sites (cf Lock and Gosden 2005, 133).

2.7 Hillforts within the landscape: from passive to active

This thesis recognises that enclosure boundaries leave a mark on the landscape and that categorising a range of factors including topographic setting, number of boundaries and entrance placement can inform us on how people interacted with and within the landscape. Processual archaeology saw the beginnings of sites being considered within wider landscape settings, although this was generally restricted to quantifying the landscape in terms of human behaviour. Cunliffe's application of central place theory to Danebury was the epitome of this. Consideration of the wider landscape, however, was generally restricted to distribution maps and regional types (e.g. Hogg 1975, 37). Landscape is no longer seen as a blank canvas to be inscribed upon by human activity (e.g. Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Ingold 2000), rather it is something that cannot be disentangled from people's everyday's experiences. Early hillfort excavations before the advent of processual archaeology rarely took into account the wider landscape. Studies, like those of

Allcroft's and Christison's were simply inventories which provided a useful base for future studies.

Processual archaeology of the 1960s saw the development of "highly empirical landscape archaeology", which involved classifying traces of human habitation as "quantifiable phenomenon" (Chadwick 2004a, 4). Archaeologists quantified links between economic and ecological conditions and human behaviour conditions through the use of site catchment analysis and central place theory (Chadwick 2004a, 4; Reader 2008, 6). Hillforts were only considered in relation to their neighbouring landscape in terms of economic production and potential for food and resources (Ralston 2006, 38). Human habitation was essentially seen as "quantifiable phenomena" (Chadwick 2004a, 4).

Landscape studies specifically related to Iron Age sites began with Cunliffe's work around the hinterland of Danebury. Using Palmer's seminal work interpreting aerial photography and creating maps of monuments according to different periods, Cunliffe targeted several areas for geophysical survey and excavation between 1989 and 1996. The Danebury Environs Research Project (D.E.R.P.) (Cunliffe 2000) provided a benchmark for future hillfort hinterland studies (e.g. Tabor 2008, 16-17), including the South Cadbury Environs Project (Tabor 2008) and work carried out in Munster, Ireland (Grogan 2005a; 2005b). Work has also been carried out in the Northumberland National Park focusing on hillforts (Oswald *et al*/2006; Frodsham and O'Brien 2005; Frodsham *et al*/2007), as part of a larger project investigating the National Park's archaeology (see Frodsham 2004).

In general though, Iron Age landscape studies have not fully embraced the recent theoretical developments in landscape archaeology. The focus of such studies has

tended to be more on the upstanding site evidence and it is difficult to apply methodologies and practices from these studies to the cropmark landscape of East Lothian. However recent PhD theses have utilised recent theoretical developments, moving away from typological approaches to Iron Age sites and embracing the wide range of evidence, including material culture and settlement within a wider landscape study (e.g. Giles 2000; Poller 2005). Ralston has commented on some of the issues which can be addressed in Iron Age landscape studies; such as the ways in which the landscape was perceived and the issue of intervisibility (2006, 38). Hamilton and Manley have utilised phenomenology to study hillforts in SE England (1997; 2000). This work provides a mainly descriptive account of hillforts, with Hamilton and Manley providing descriptions of the topographic settings of sites and the characteristics of the rampart circuits enclosing these sites. There is a certain amount of interpretation, for example pointing out that the early univallate hillfort ramparts are 'delineators' rather than 'barriers' (2000, 13) but this does not take into account the fact that sites are subject to 2-3000 years of erosion and that the ramparts today may not stand at original height. The problem also is the emphasis on visual rather than the active engagement of people, sites and landscapes, which has been an overarching criticism of phenomenology.

2.8 The Indivisibility of Landscape

"I believe that the experience of place is of fundamental significance"
(Tilley 1994, 74)

Geographers have long recognised the meaningful constitution of the landscape (Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 3), going back to Carl Sauer who conceptualised the idea of a 'cultural' landscape fashioned from a natural one (1925). He also insisted

that cultural landscapes were beyond quantifiable analyses and were ultimately subjective (1963; Chadwick 2004a, 5). Geographers were essentially concerned with 'place' rather than 'space' (e.g. Seamon and Mugerauer 1985; Relph 1985) and much of this work was heavily influenced by phenomenology (Chadwick 2004a, 5), which eventually permeated into archaeology. Many theories strived to move away from early, environmentally-deterministic views on the landscape and the 'blank canvas' perspective.

Phenomenology has been highly influential in recent approaches to landscape archaeology, as exemplified by Tilley (1994) and Thomas (1999). There are three main influences on phenomenology within geography and archaeology: Edmund Husserl (1970), Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962) and Martin Heidegger (1962). Although each philosopher's interpretations of phenomenology are slightly different, they all investigated "...how the world is given to us, and thus the conditions that are necessary for consciousness" (Barrett and Ko 2009, 277) Rather than being 'self aware' and deriving our meaning from our biological make up or our soul (*cf* Descartes), people derive meaning from engagement with the world, in other words, *being-in-the-world*.

It was argued that people had an embodied experience of the world, which was a challenge to the Cartesian split of culture from nature (Bender 1998, 37), derived from René Descartes' theories on dualism. Rather than humans being detached observers of the world, they were seen as *being-in-the-world* and familiarity came from accumulating ready-to-hand (*zuhanden*) objects to gain a completeness in knowledge (Barrett and Ko 2009, 282), which would never be grasped from objectifying a world assumed to be pre-given with meaning (*cf* Husserl 1970, 109).

It is through reference to other things and actually manipulating a thing that we begin to theorize about our behaviour. Heidegger uses the example of a hammer and states that by itself, it is ready-to-hand whether we have prior knowledge of the hammer or not. It is when we begin to theorize about its use, i.e. with reference to certain materials, that working the hammer becomes possible. This not only applies to the materials that the hammer is used for, but also the materials that the hammer consists of (metal, wood etc). This has also meant phenomenology being capitalised on in materiality studies (e.g. Pollard 2004, 47; Jones and MacGregor 2002; Knappett 2007). Being-in-the-world is historically and therefore socially also, constituted and as archaeologists, our concern is how humanity was historically constituted through different conditions of material practice (Barrett and Ko 2009, 279).

Phenomenology has been particularly popular in interpreting earlier prehistoric landscapes (e.g. Tilley 1994; Bender *et al* 2007; Cummings 2000; 2002), moving away from seeing the landscape as quantifiable and seeing it as essentially qualitative. Hamilton and Manley (1997; 2000) however applied it to the Iron Age landscape, carrying out a phenomenological study on the hillforts of Sussex, visiting forty-four sites and arguing that the location of hillforts changed throughout the Iron Age from more open, visible locations to hidden, closed locations.

To understand what motivated prehistoric people in their decision making, Tilley argued that the landscape had to be experienced by the archaeologist *first-hand* (1994, 12-13). Phenomenology has become primarily a visual inquiry however we learn little as to what guided the selection of the location of the monument (Barrett and Ko 2009, 283-4). The location of sites appears, to Tilley, to be only important

in relation to other features and the types of views they commanded and Fleming has taken issue with this subjectivity (1999, 121). Monuments are essentially seen in their final form and the complex process of becoming, the subtleties of the site and the changing perception, function and meaning over decades, centuries and even millennia are lost. There is a frequent lack of explicit methodology (Fleming 1999; 2006) with Tilley's methods apparently changing in each study area with no explanation as to why. The nature of phenomenology means that it cannot be fitted into a neat method, but this is a methodological choice in itself and needs justification (Hamilton and Whitehouse 2006, 35). There are also issues with the presentation of results, especially as photographs present a static image of a decontextualised monument. Cummings rightly points out that the reader needs the opportunity to interpret the evidence themselves; however static images of the landscape do not lend themselves to interpretation, unless the study itself is framed within a standard archaeological enquiry.

Some have also argued that human interaction with the landscape does not extend to the consideration of the implications for social systems. Llobera has been critical of these 'decontextualised narratives', stating that the way elements interact within the production and reproduction of social systems has not been sufficiently tackled in landscape studies (2001, 1005).

Barrett and Ko (2009, 287) have argued that "to recognize the form of a cultural expression is all very well, but to enquire as to how it was possible to bring that cultural expression into existence is the more profound question". There is a need to move beyond "imagination [and] insight obtained through fieldwork" as these approaches can easily be criticised and dismantled (Llobera 2001, 1005-6) (*cf*

Fleming 1999; 2006). Building is an engagement which changes the way the place is experienced and interpreted in the future, which recognises the emphasis on building monuments during early prehistory (Thomas 1999, 35) and equally applies to the construction of enclosed sites during later prehistory. There is a need to move beyond seeing sites in their finished form, as is often done (e.g. Tilley 1994; Thomas 1999) and consider the process of becoming and the continuing engagement with the site (cf Lock and Gosden 2005, 133). There is also a need to move beyond the dichotomies of natural and cultural and instead understand the indivisible relationships between people and landscape, and how social relationships were played out in later prehistoric South-East Scotland.

One way of understanding the people-society-landscape-time relationship, is through Ingold's concept of taskscape (1993). A taskscape is an array of related tasks that are qualitative and heterogenous so you can ask what a taskscape is like, but you cannot count it (Ingold 1993, 158). Within a taskscape, dwelling, human acts and temporality are all linked and 'tasks' (defined as "any practical operation, carried out by a skilled agent in an environment, as part of his or her normal business of life") are literally carried out in the landscape. The quantifiable aspects in this case are the enclosed sites themselves, which can be engaged with at different levels. One is an overall quantification of sites based on their morphology, number of ditches, entrances and area size and the other is the excavated data itself, revealing patterns of creation, maintenance, abandonment and utilisation of the site.

The excavated data give us the dimension of time and allow consideration of how sites came into being, through decisions of where they were located, to the

different ways the land was appropriated and worked upon to create enclosure boundaries. In other words, constructing the 'biographies' (Kopytoff 1986; see chapter 4) of these enclosed sites. Sites should be seen as being continually modified, rather than just slotted into discrete phases, so that they can be compared across the landscape to observe similarities and differences across sites of similar dates (Lock and Gosden 2005, 133). Integrating this within a taskscape explores the qualitative aspects to consider factors including who may have been involved in the construction, what resources were required and what social structure may have existed to create the record we see today.

Previous research, as already stated, has focused too much on the cultural landscape and within the taskscape, people have an intimate relationship with trees, plants and animals. The theory of taskscape recognises the role of agency within a landscape and agency itself has been debated and theorised over the years (e.g. Barrett 1988; 1989; Latour 1993). Latour's Actor Network Theory proposes that humans are enmeshed within network webs or relational agency networks, which can extend to the 'natural' landscape as well. Whilst non-human agency has been emphasised (e.g. Law and Hassard 1999; Murdoch 1995; 1997), it is important to recognise that non-humans do not have agency in the same sense as humans, rather non-human agency should be thought of in *relational* terms (Jones and Cloke 2002, 49; Chadwick 2008, 72-74). In an orchard, pruning maximises and controls growth of trees and can be seen as human imposition on the tree to maximise profitability. However the acquisition of pruning techniques is the product of relational achievement and these are adapted to how the tree grows and bears fruit, *shaping pruning as a practice* (their emphasis Jones and Cloke 2002, 129-130). Recognising the role of the 'natural' landscape in a relational sense allows

understanding of how people shaped and were shaped by their surroundings during later prehistory.

This equally applies to the enclosure boundaries themselves, as building these sites is multi-scalar; they involve the individual, the group/community and the wider social network (Lock and Gosden 2005, 134). During construction and once constructed, they became part of the landscape and their presence in the landscape became integral to how people perceived them and went about their daily lives. Ditches are an ubiquitous feature across later prehistory and despite being well recorded, we rarely question why ditches are dug in the first place. They are seen as passive, static and functional (Chadwick 1999, 155-156), however the taskscape framework demands that we ask why these were created and their creation ultimately affects how people then act towards the sites, whether people leave them be, maintain them or completely reconstruct them.

2.9 Conclusion

Settlements form a large part of the knowledge base for south-east Scotland, however many of the debates of hillforts and their contemporary landscapes have been divorced from the area and focused on southern Britain. With the recent resurgence in research however, particularly in East Lothian, the time is right for a fresh theoretical engagement with the evidence. Enclosure boundaries are a potent symbol of the British Iron Age and the debate over their functions and uses will continue to rage. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, with Broxmouth placed at the heart of the enquiry, allows an engagement with the evidence in a new light and seeks explanations of the social significance of

enclosure boundaries and their impacts on the landscape. Ultimately it is the people who built these sites that matter and we have to consider how they affected and were affected by their surroundings and participations in social networks. We can then explore how the phenomenon of enclosure began, prospered and ultimately declined during the later prehistoric period.