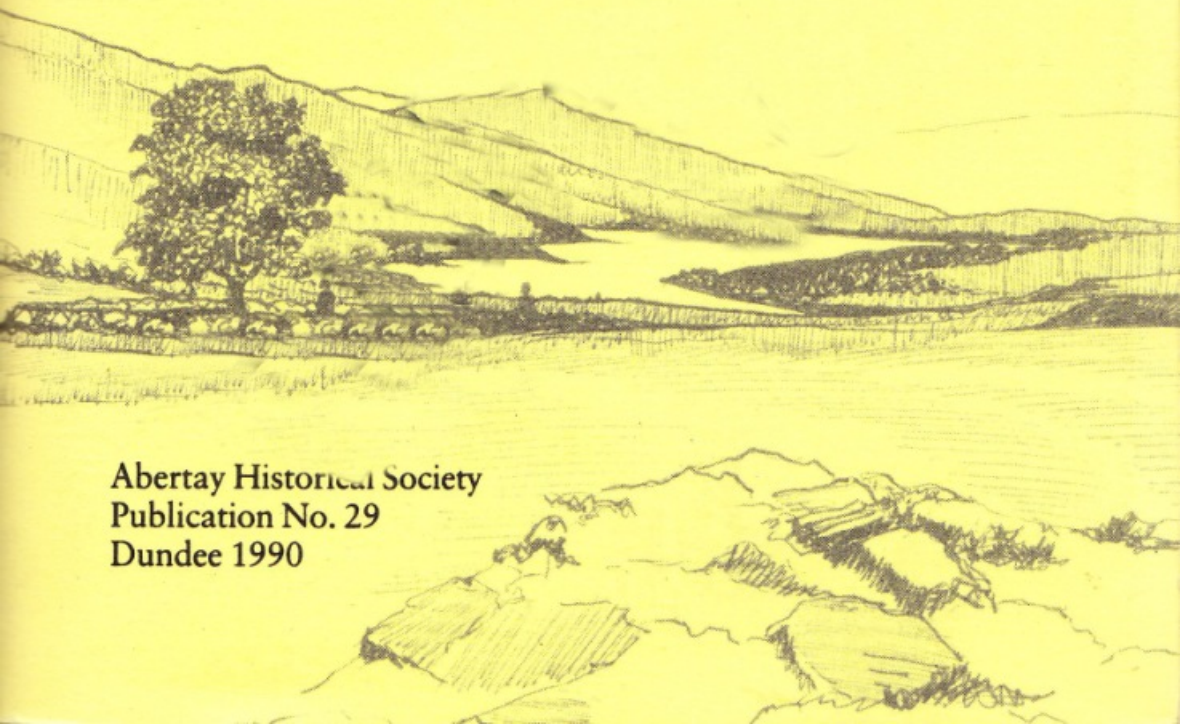


Circular Homesteads in North West Perthshire

D B TAYLOR



Abertay Historical Society
Publication No. 29
Dundee 1990

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Grants towards expenses were received from the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland, for Litigan and from the Forestry Commission for Queen's View. These are gratefully acknowledged. Appreciation is also due to the Forestry Commission, especially the staff of the former Tummel District, for their co-operation and active assistance at Queen's View and for making it possible to visit sites in a number of other plantations.

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Dr. John Bannerman provided salutary guidance on language questions raised in the last section of the report. His advice may not always have been followed to the letter but that is not his responsibility and does not affect the extent of the author's gratitude.

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The distribution and location maps are based on the appropriate Ordnance Survey sheets and are reproduced here with the permission of the Controller.

Finally, my wife has saved me from the worst of grammatical solecisms and, ably assisted by Miss Jean Forbes of Strathclyde University, provided the encouragement and stimulus - indeed, even stimulants - on the more energetic of the expeditions.

February 1989.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Campbell, <i>Garth and Fortingall</i> :	Campbell, D., <i>The Book of Garth and Fortingall</i> . Inverness 1888.
DES (with date):	<i>Discovery and Excavation in Scotland</i> (with date). The annual record of excavations and finds in Scotland published by the Council for Scottish Archaeology.
Feachem, <i>Fortifications</i> :	Feachem, R.W., 'Fortifications' in Wainwright (ed) 1955
Feachem, <i>Guide</i> :	Feachem, R.W., <i>A Guide to Prehistoric Scotland</i> . London 1963.
Gillies, <i>Breadalbane</i> :	Gillies, W.A., <i>In Famed Breadalbane</i> . Perth 1938.
Kenworthy, <i>Report</i> :	Kenworthy, J., <i>Report to the Forestry Commission</i> , (ms) 1977.
Mitchell, <i>Pitlochry District</i> :	Mitchell, H., <i>Pitlochry District -Its Topography, Archaeology and History</i> . Pitlochry 1923.
NMRS:	National Monuments Record of Scotland.
PSAS:	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
PSNS:	Proceedings and Transactions of the Perthshire Society for Natural Science.
RCAMS, <i>Fife Inventory</i> :	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. <i>Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan</i> . Edinburgh 1933.
RCAMS, <i>Argyll Inventory</i> :	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. <i>Argyll: an Inventory of the Ancient Monuments</i> vols 1-6. Edinburgh 1971-1988.
Stewart, <i>Highland Parish</i> :	Stewart, A., <i>A Highland Parish. The History of Fortingall</i> . Glasgow 1928
Stewart, 'Ring Forts':	Stewart, M.E.C., 'The Ring Forts of Central Perthshire'. <i>PSNS</i> 12 (1969) pp. 21-32.
Wainwright, <i>Picts</i> :	Wainwright, F.T., (ed) <i>The Problem of the Picts</i> . Edinburgh 1955.
Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913'	Watson, W.J., 'Circular Forts of North Perthshire'. <i>PSAS</i> 57 (1912-1913) pp. 30-60.
Watson, 'Circular Forts 1915':	Watson, W.J., 'Circular Forts in Lorne and North Perthshire with a note on the excavation of one at Borenich, Loch Tummel'. <i>PSAS</i> 59 (1914-1915) pp. 17-34.

INTRODUCTION

As a result of a series of adult education lectures and studies in Scottish archaeology led by the author in Dundee and Dr. Margaret Stewart in Perth, Aberfeldy and Crieff, a group of students emerged who wished to undertake further work in the subject. 'Ring-forts' seemed a suitable topic for such extended study; they were easily accessible while their function, origin and dating were the subject of much discussion. In due course fieldwork and excavation followed. Thus the list of possible sites contained in Appendix II began to take shape and the excavations at Litigan and Queen's View became possible.

Ring-forts in north-west Perthshire consist of a massive dry stone wall, 3m thick, with inner and outer faces of large boulders and a rubble core. This wall encloses a circular courtyard which varies in diameter from 15—30m. There are no defences other than the thick wall (Plate 1). Evidence from the few excavations conducted on these sites suggest that they had been built by a pastoral people and that they were dwellings with hearths and possibly roofed. Since none of the known sites could be regarded as being naturally defended, the term 'ring-fort' seems no longer acceptable - they are in fact farms or homesteads. Dating is also uncertain although an origin in the west is suspected, possibly linked with the movement of the Scots eastwards from Dalriada.

They are well known throughout the region where they occur and in many cases are still called 'Black Castles'. Their supposed origins and builders have become part of the folk legend of the area. Pennant, referring to Glen Lyon in 1769, quotes the translation of an unknown Gaelic poem "Twelve castles had Fionn in the dark, bent glen of the stones".¹ The writer of the Fortingal Parish Account in *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* refers to the legend that Fingal's heroes are said to have 20 or 21 castles scattered over the parish.² WJ. Watson surveyed known 'castles', drew plans of many of them and went on to excavate the site at Borenich in Strathtummel but without conclusive results.³ Gordon Childe also used the term 'castle', regarding them as examples of the general type of small dun or fort introduced from the west.⁴ Feachem followed Childe's lead and suggested a progression from simple freestanding forts through those with additional defensive outworks to a final stage where the ring-fort formed ascitadel within other defences.⁵ Dr. Stewart rejected the purely defensive role for one of refuge and shelter and, like Watson before her, linked them with access to the upland passes and pastures of the region.⁶ In recent editions of Ordnance Survey maps the terms "Fort" and "Dun" used to describe the ring-forts in north-west Perthshire have been abandoned and "Homestead" substituted, a term not altogether satisfactory but one which is used throughout the remainder of this report. Plainly, there was opportunity for further investigation.

The site at Litigan was excavated during two weeks in the summer of 1969 under the joint direction of Dr. Margaret Stewart, Dr. Fairhurst of Glasgow

University, who was also interested, and the author. In 1974 the opportunity to excavate the site at Queen's View in Allean Forest, Loch Tummel, was presented to Dr. Stewart during discussions with the Forestry Commission. The work was carried out over four seasons from 1974—77 under her direction. In both excavations the adult students provided the bulk of the volunteer labour force. Unfortunately Dr. Stewart died during the preparation of the present paper. As a consequence, both reports have been compiled by the author, in the case of Queen's View using Dr. Stewart's notes and plans. Both at Litigan and Queen's View the interpretation of the evidence was the subject of much discussion; what is expressed is largely a consensus but is entirely the responsibility of the author.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ Pennant, T., *A Tour of Scotland 1769*, London 1776.

² Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol 10, *Parish of Fortingal*, Edinburgh 1845, pp. 550-551.

³ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', 'Circular Forts 1915'.

⁴ Childe, V.G., *The Prehistory of Scotland*, London 1935, pp. 197-210.

⁵ Feachem, R.W., 'Fortifications' in Wainwright, F.T., (ed) *Thu: Problem of the Picts*, Edinburgh 1955.

⁶ Stewart, 'Ring Forts'.

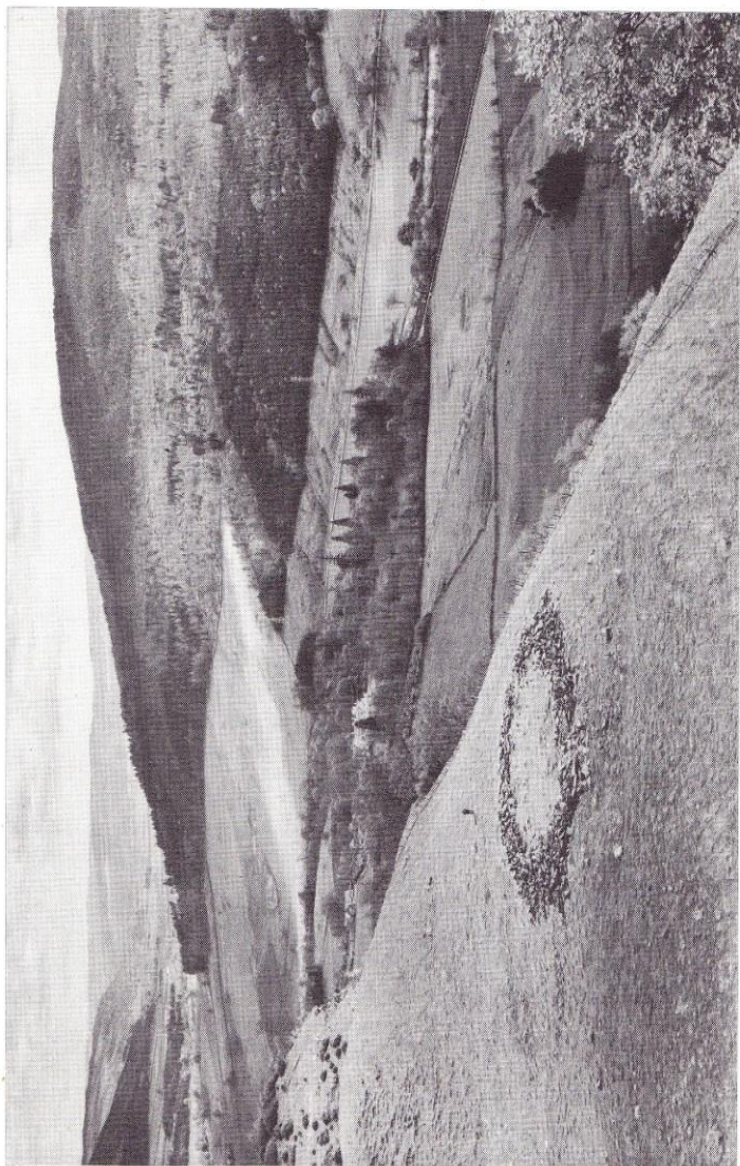


Plate 1. Dun Geal, Balnacraig, Glen Lyon.

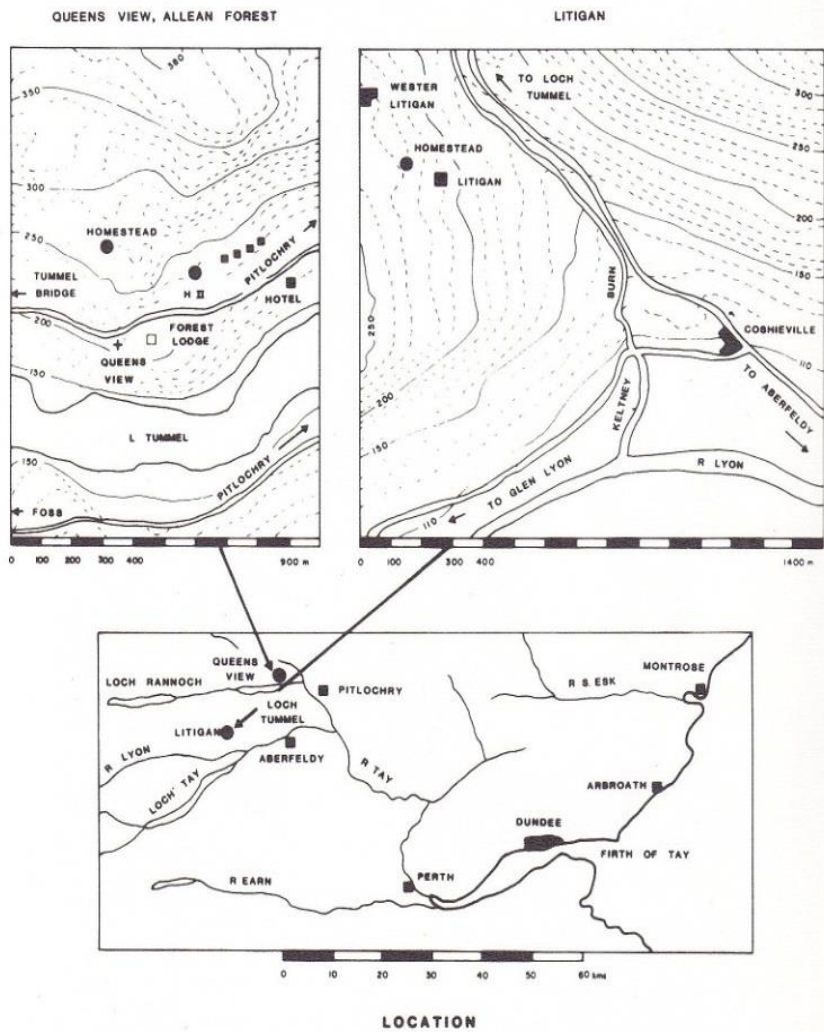


Fig. 1. Location Map.

CHAPTER 1

THE EXCAVATION OF THE HOMESTEAD AT LITIGAN, ABERFELDY

The homestead at Litigan, NCR NN 766497, is situated at 278m OD on the edge of a gently sloping terrace 30m above the Keltney Burn in the pass linking Glen Lyon with Strathtummel (Fig. 1). The site itself is overlooked by higher ground to the west and is surrounded by an extensive area of pasture. It is 9.7km west of Aberfeldy and 1.6km from the junction of the Keltney Burn and the Lyon. The homestead was reasonably accessible and, although overgrown with blackthorn and nettles, was thought to be complete (Plate 2).

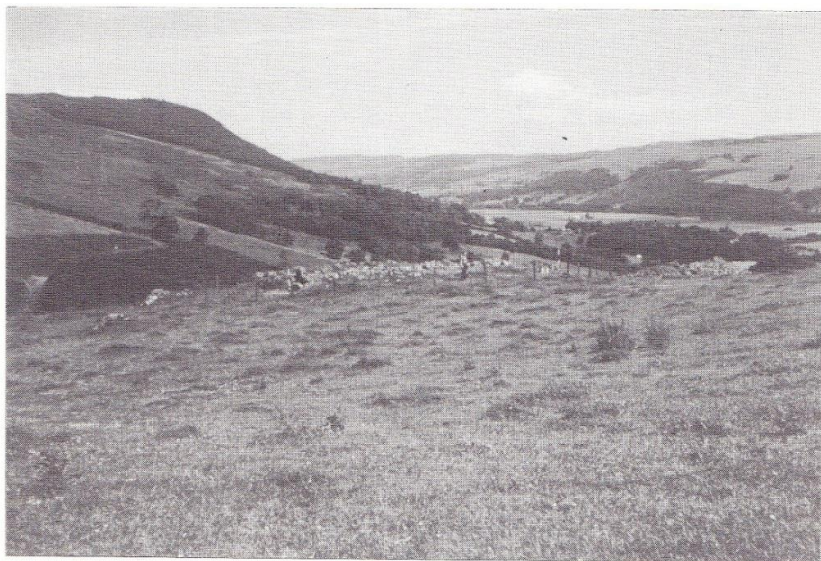
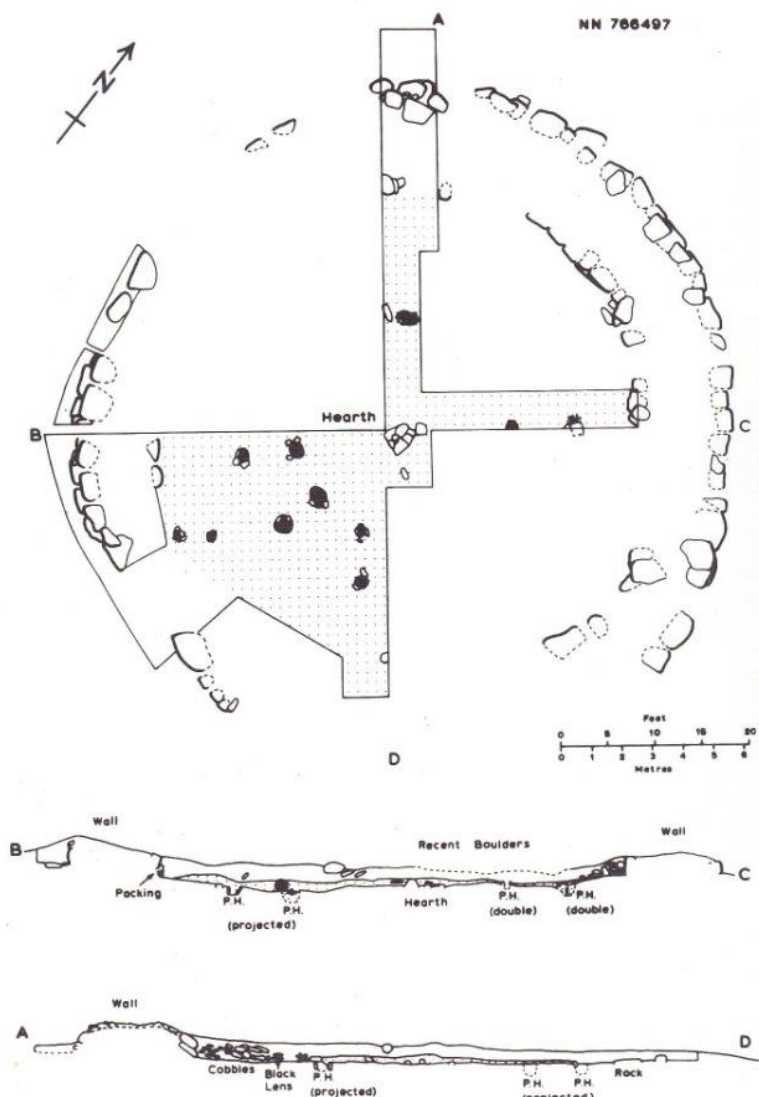


Plate 2. Litigan.

When the undergrowth had been cleared it became obvious that the wall had been extensively robbed and that part of the interior had been used as a dump for stones gathered from the surrounding field. Consequently, it was decided to write off the west quadrant and to concentrate on those areas that were relatively clear. There were surface indications of a possible entrance in the south quadrant so diagonals were laid down to permit the complete excavation of this area (Fig. 2).

LITIGAN-PERTHSHIRE



The outer wall-face was visible for most of the circumference but the inner appeared only as isolated stretches effacing stone (Plate 3). Where these faces were cleared, tumbled stone lay against them, none of any great size and extending for 1—3m from the wall itself. This was a uniform 3m in thickness throughout and had consisted of an inner and outer face of large boulders, some over 1m long and 0.5m broad, laid on footings of flat stones and pinned with smaller fragments. Between the faces the filling was made up of smaller boulders and rubble. A circular area, 15.5m in diameter, was thus enclosed and overall the structure measured 21.5m.



Plate 3. Litigan – External wall-face, south quadrant.

Of the possible entrance in the south quadrant little trace was found (Plate 4). The overburden here consisted of a mixture of brown earth and small stones with a few larger boulders but any trace of an entrance had vanished completely. Below turf level the underlying soil had been compacted although no actual floor could be identified and this lay directly on top of the undisturbed subsoil. Just inside the position of the expected entrance, two post-holes were found, 0.75 and 1.5m from the line of the inner face. This was the only part of the structure where a break in the stonework suggested an entrance and since a local tradition existed to the effect that the site had been used as a source of building material for the neighbouring farm steading, it seems likely that the entrance would have been the area most vulnerable to such robbing.

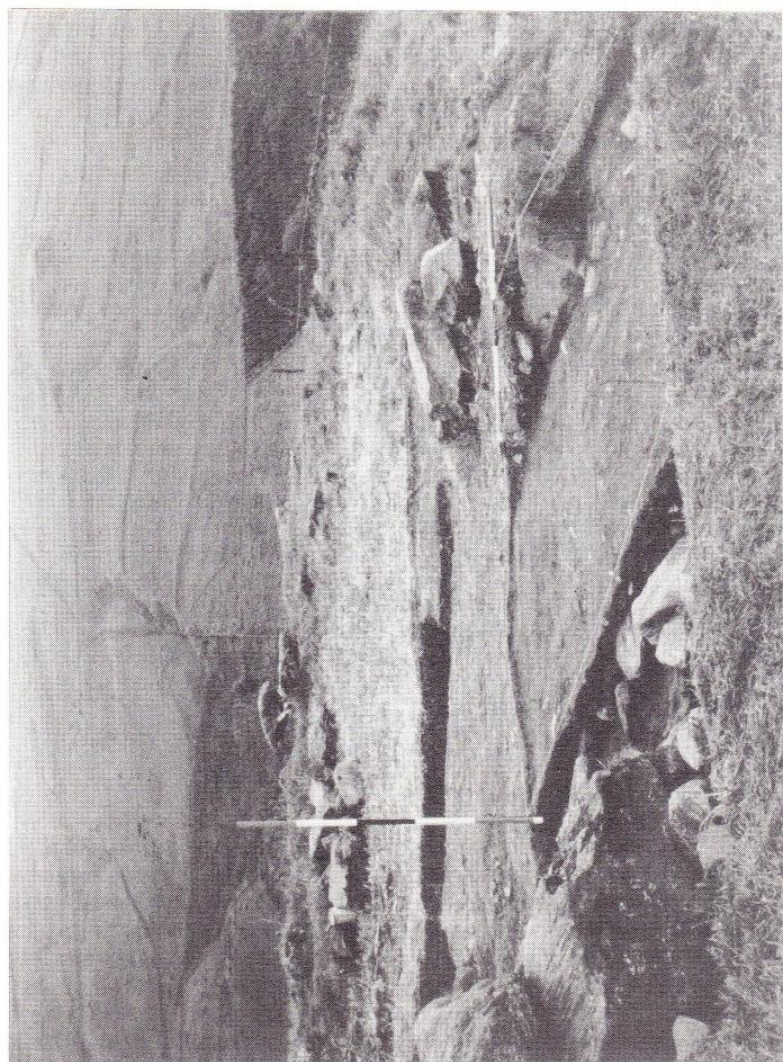


Plate 4. Litigan – Site of supposed entrance.

No recognisable floor was found in the interior. The top 0.3m or so of overburden consisted of soil and rubble, the latter particularly noticeable against the inner face. Below this layer the soil was darker and mixed with carbonaceous material which varied in depth from 0.2-0.3m. This lay directly on top of the bright yellow boulder clay of the subsoil. At one point, just within the inner wall-face in cutting AD, heavy black soil appeared under the wall tumble in a band 0.05m thick and lying on the undisturbed boulder clay. Over the whole of the interior, the ground level sloped gently upwards from the centre towards the inner face, presenting a well-defined dish appearance. On a radius of 2.8m from the centre a series of post-holes was uncovered, 0.25—0.35m in diameter, up to 0.35m deep and 1.8m apart. A further series of similar size but 3m apart was uncovered on a radius of 5m from the centre, both groups forming two concentric rings (Plate 5). The pattern was repeated in the trenches bordering the north quadrant. The post-holes were well constructed, filled with dark earth and were thus easily distinguished from the irregularities in the surface of the subsoil. In most cases also packing stones protruded to a height of 0.08—0.15m above the undisturbed, the tops of the small slabs possibly indicating the level of the original occupation floor. No fragments of wood survived in the infill but from their dimensions the holes must have supported sizeable timbers. The occurrence of the pattern throughout the interior suggests two rings of posts to support a roof.



Plate 5. Litigan – Interior, post-holes.

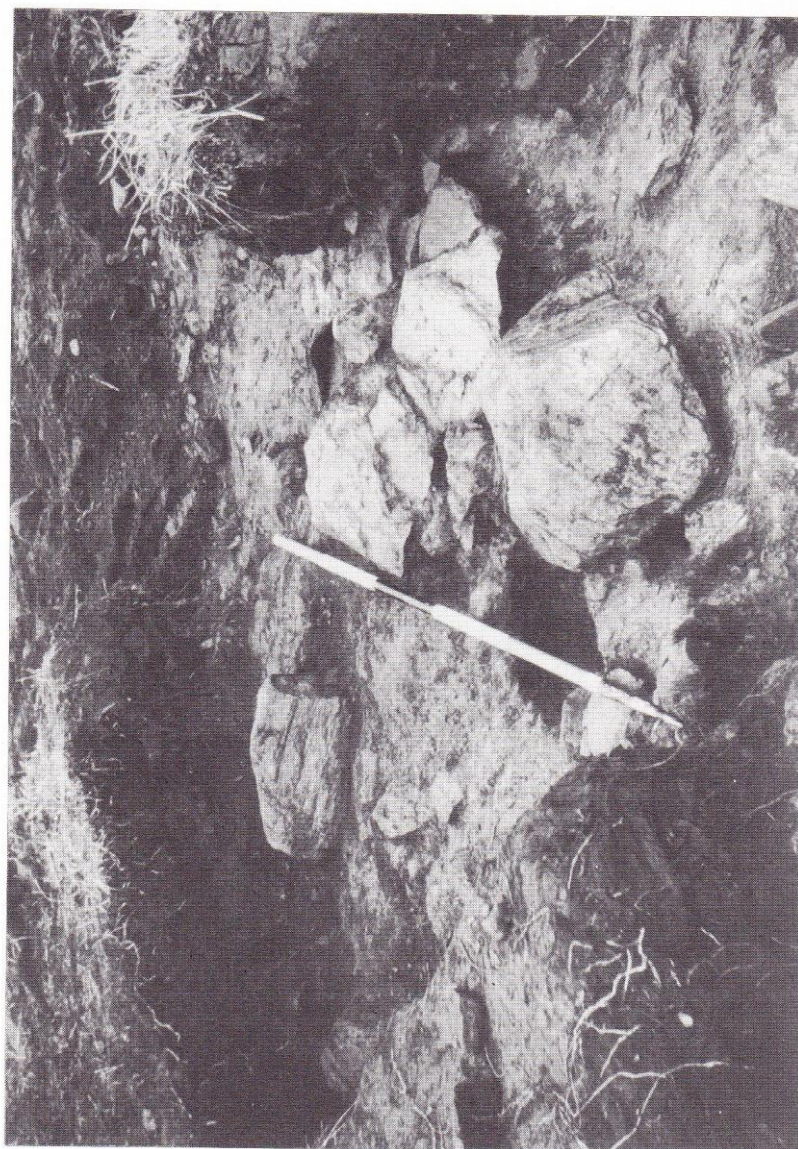


Plate 6. Litigan - Hearth.

In the centre of the interior a large slab about 1m square had been laid horizontally on a layer of earth 0.1m thick. It had been shattered, presumably by heat, although there was no sign of burning around it. A small stone block was deeply set in the subsoil. The flat slab had all the appearance of a hearth (Plate 6).

Finds were disappointingly few. Two small fragments of rotary quern, insufficient even to indicate size, seven pieces of iron slag, five water-worn pebbles — some fire cracked, two rough stone discs, a piece of modern pottery and an equally modern nail was the total. The stone objects were of local mica-schist and were entirely unstratified as were the pieces of slag, being found at various levels from just below turf to the subsoil. They gave no indication of date. A puzzling feature of the site, already mentioned, was the unstratified nature of the soil between turf and undisturbed boulder clay and the total lack of what could be called an occupation floor. Watson¹ found a similar situation at Borenich, Dr. Stewart at Queen's View (p. 21 below) and Fiddes at Chippermore III in Wigtonshire.² Since the finds, such as they were, appeared at all levels, it seems more likely that their deposition and the activity that created the disturbed layer went on at one and the same time during the original occupation of the homestead.

More interesting results were obtained from fragments of slag and charcoal. Samples of slag from the top of the subsoil were submitted to Dr. R.F. Tylecote, Department of Metallurgy, Newcastle-on-Tyne University, who commented as follows: "There can be little doubt that it is iron-smelting top slag and could date from any period from Roman to Medieval. Usually we find somewhat of a retrogression in the Dark Age Period and slags often tend to appear more like Early Iron Age pre-Roman slags and therefore I would be tempted to place this slag after about 1000 AD. The small piece could be a bit of furnace lining i.e. vitrified clay with a bit of iron in it. It is unlikely to be glass though this is not impossible".³

A sample of charcoal found just above the sub-soil at the north end of trench CX was submitted to the Institute of Nuclear Sciences in New Zealand with the following result:

Lab.No.R.2728/1 Charcoal, Litigan, ¹⁴C Age before 1950 1020 ± 90.

Error represents ± 1 standard deviation.

This simply means that the sample of charcoal was probably formed somewhere between 930 and 1110 years before 1950 i.e. between 840 and 1020 AD. However one such finding is quite insufficient to date a site with any certainty - there are too many factors which could affect the result. Even so this date along with Tylecote's opinion of the age of the slag can be regarded as at least a possibility - and an extremely interesting one.

The excavation proved disappointing in a number of respects and answered few problems. One of the most interesting discoveries was the double ring of post-holes suggesting that part at least of the interior had been roofed, a massive undertaking but by no means impossible. One excavated example cannot justify generalisations but Litigan certainly strengthens doubts expressed by a number of writers from

Watson onwards as to the function of these structures. From the evidence of the post-holes and hearth, it seems probable that they were lived in and served as refuges or homesteads. In such circumstances it is possible that a thick wall becomes necessary to carry the thrust and weight of roof timbers and thatch spanning an area over 15m in diameter. A careful examination of those parts of the wall tops fully exposed failed to reveal sockets or channels which might have supported roof timbers but much robbing had taken place. If the idea of roofing is accepted then the wall need not have been more than about 1.5m high, a possibility strengthened by the lack of large quantities of fallen stone, the debris from collapsed walls, here and on other sites.

While the hearth also suggests human occupation, no floor was recognised. As Watson discovered at Borenich⁴ the whole area below turf level was 'trampled by usage'; the finds, few as they were, appeared at all levels. This situation is difficult to explain since it suggests animals milling around inside, a state of affairs which must create difficulties for other occupants. It is possible that the vertical posts may also have been used for tethering or have supported a barrier to keep the beasts from the central area. Such segregation would be similar to that suggested by Bersu⁵ at Scotstarvit Covert where he also envisaged an extended roof. At Litigan, however, there was no difference in the nature of the floor on either side of the rings of post-holes which might have confirmed such segregation. The presence of animals in the homestead, especially cattle, would certainly have required a substantial enclosing wall; anything less would never have survived.

The finds were few and not very informative. Rotary querns and stone discs appear in contexts from at least the Early Iron Age onwards as does iron slag. Along with the evidence from Borenich, we can only assume with Watson that the people were farmers, pastoral and possibly arable, and that there is evidence of some industrial activity in the shape of iron working which could be secondary. The suggestion of a late date of around 1000 AD for the occupation of Litigan, certainly no more than a suggestion, has a far-reaching effect on the interpretation of both function and origin of these structures.

Thus at Litigan we appear to have a large round house, 15m in diameter internally, surrounded by a wall 3m thick and surviving to a height of 1.5m. It is likely that a roof of thatch or some such material was supported by a double ring of posts and that a hearth was built in the centre. The entrance did not survive but at Borenich, Queen's View (see below) and Chippermere III,⁶ it was about 1m wide and provided with door checks. The similarity with hut circles must be obvious but in round houses like Litigan and Borenich the area available is so much greater than in hut circles, implying a greater number of animals, greater wealth and therefore a likely date later than that suggested for hut circles.⁷ It is also significant that most of the Litigan-like homesteads are situated at or near the entrances to passes through the hills or leading to upland pastures, a fact commented on by both Watson⁸ and Stewart⁹ and discussed in greater detail below.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1915'.

² Fiddes, J., 'A "Fort" in Mochrum Parish', *TDGAS* 30 (1951-52), pp. 143-152.

³ Tylecote, R.F. in correspondence.

⁴ Watson, *op.cit.*

⁵ Bersu, G., "'Fort" at Scotstarvit Covert, Fife', *PSAS* 82 (1947-48), pp. 241-263

⁶ Fiddes, J., *op.cit.*

⁷ Fairhurst, H.. and Taylor, D.B., 'A Hut-circle Settlement at Kilphedir, Sutherland', *PSAS* 103 (1970-71), pp. 65-99.

⁸ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913'.

⁹ Stewart, 'Ring Forts'.

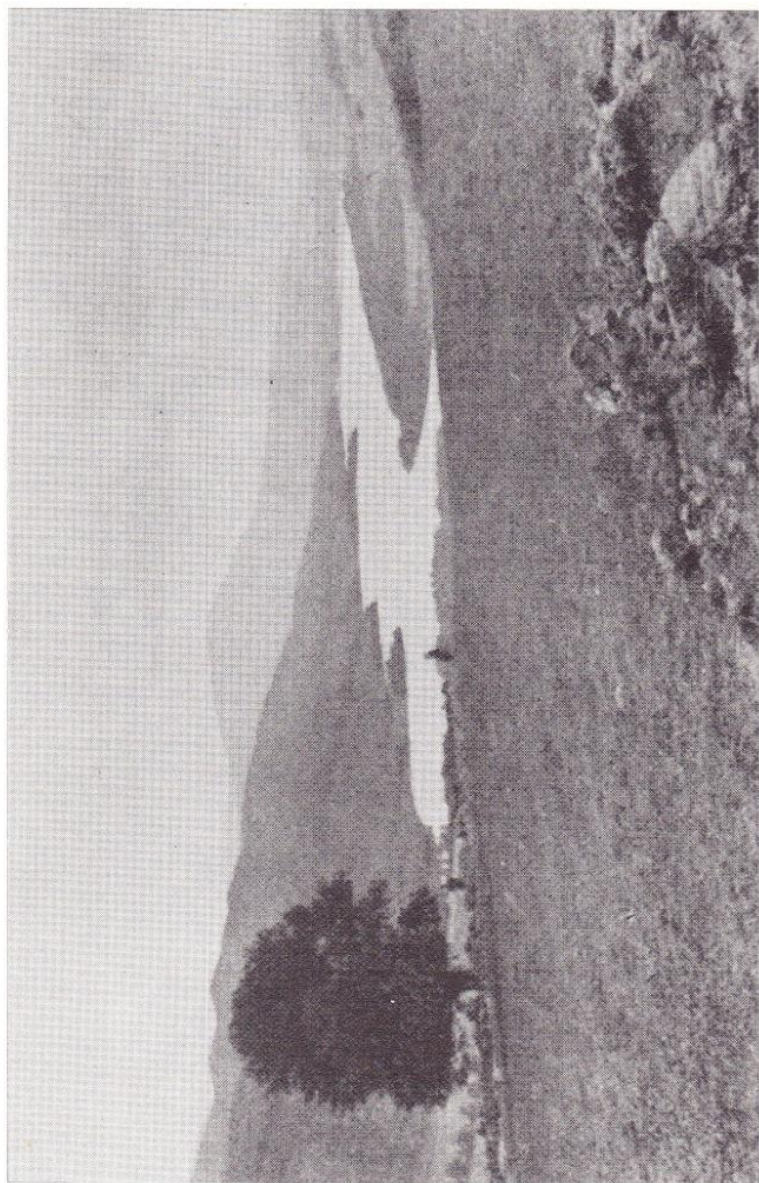


Plate 7. Queen's View—After Watson (1913). Note rowan tree and outer wall-face.

CHAPTER 2

THE EXCAVATION OF THE HOMESTEAD AT QUEEN'S VIEW, LOCH TUMMEL

The homestead above Queen's View, NGR NN 863602, is situated at 270m OD on a fairly level platform of ground which otherwise slopes steeply south and west towards Loch Tummel 120m below. It thus overlooks Strath-tummel which leads westward to Loch Rannoch. The site is open to the east, south and west and has no natural defences (Fig. 1).

Prior to excavation only the top course of the wall was visible above ground level. Nearly 1m of soil had accumulated against the outer face throughout the entire perimeter and the possible source of this material gave rise to much discussion. When it was removed, the difference in the colouration caused by weathering between the exposed and unexposed surfaces was such as to suggest that the soil had accumulated in antiquity and this to some extent was substantiated by Watson's photograph of the site before 1915. Dr. Bruce Walker has suggested that the build-up might well be the result of a series of thatch replacements, the old material being dumped against the outside face¹ (Plate 7). Whatever the explanation, it is unlikely that the accumulation resulted from an attempt to consolidate or buttress the wall — its massive nature would make this quite unnecessary.

The outer face of the wall consisted of large boulders, some of them 1.5m long, laid directly on the old ground surface (Fig. 3). No attempt had been made to level off the site prior to building and the wall footings followed the natural contours. Where necessary, flat slabs had been used to underpin the large blocks to prevent slippage and where the ground sloped away from the wall, especially in the southern sector, larger pinnings had been found necessary to give greater stability to the lower courses (Plate 8). This created the impression of a batter or slope on the outer face which was not, in fact, present throughout. The upper courses of the wall also consisted of large blocks with smaller stones filling the gaps between. The inner face was of less solid construction because of the use of smaller boulders and there had been considerable slippage at various points round the interior (Plate 9). A similar situation was remarked on by Watson when discussing his excavation at Borenich.²

With minor variations the wall measured 4m in thickness throughout except in the south-east where it narrowed to 3m and straightened out for a short distance. The only apparent reason for this narrowing was an outcrop of rock which had an irregular surface and which was avoided presumably to preserve stability. At this point also, ground level fell away and a corn-drying kiln, discussed more fully below, had been built against the wall. Both inner and outer faces survived to a

QUEENS VIEW, ALLEAN FOREST, PERTHSHIRE

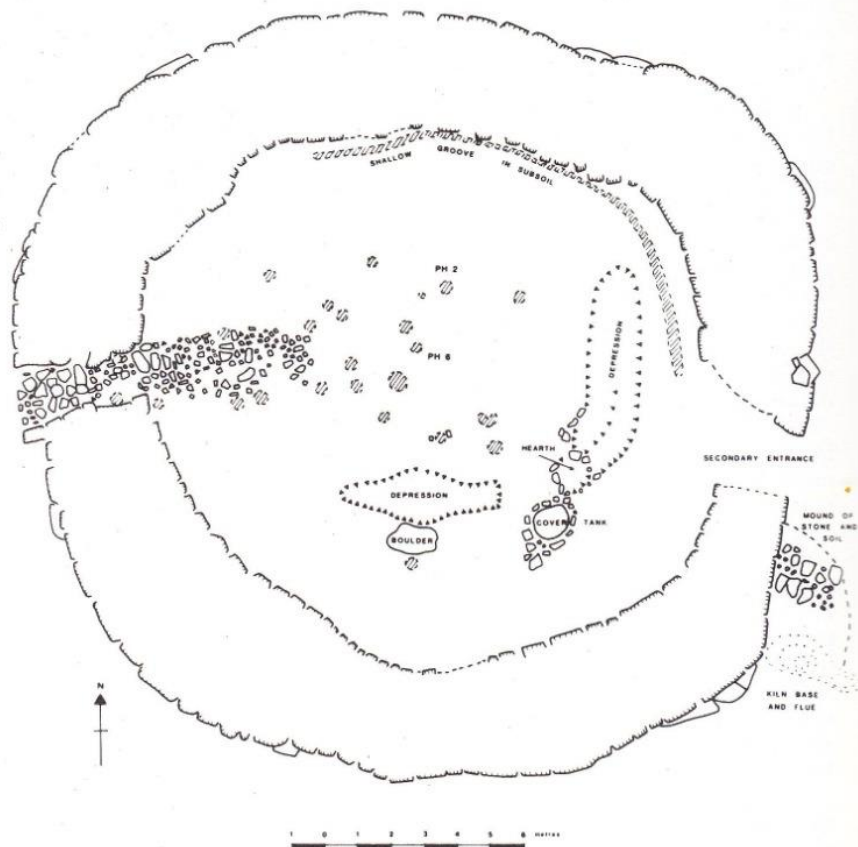


Fig. 3. Queen's View - Plan.

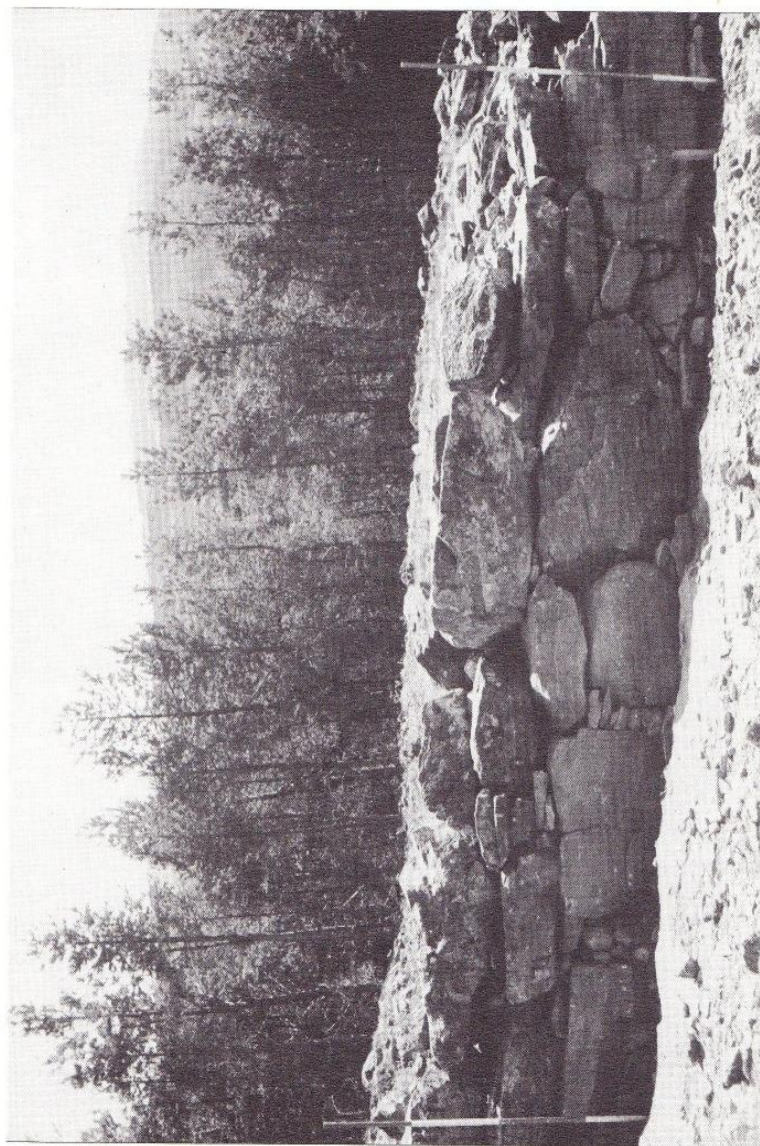


Plate 8. Queen's View – External wall-face.

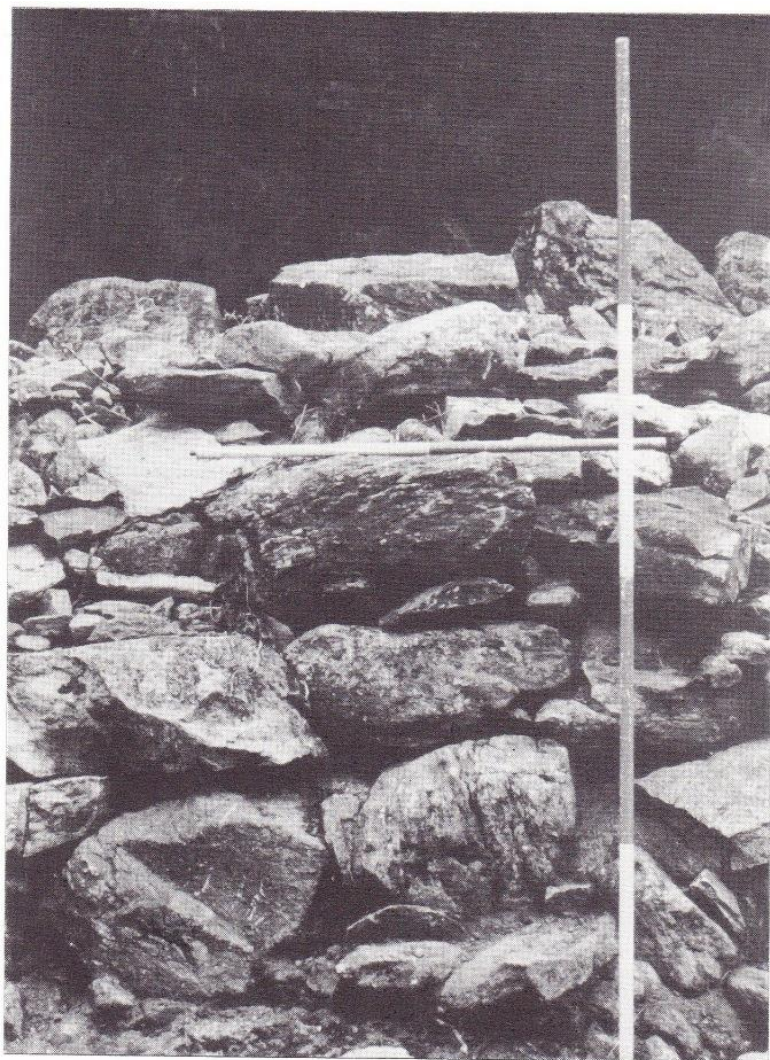
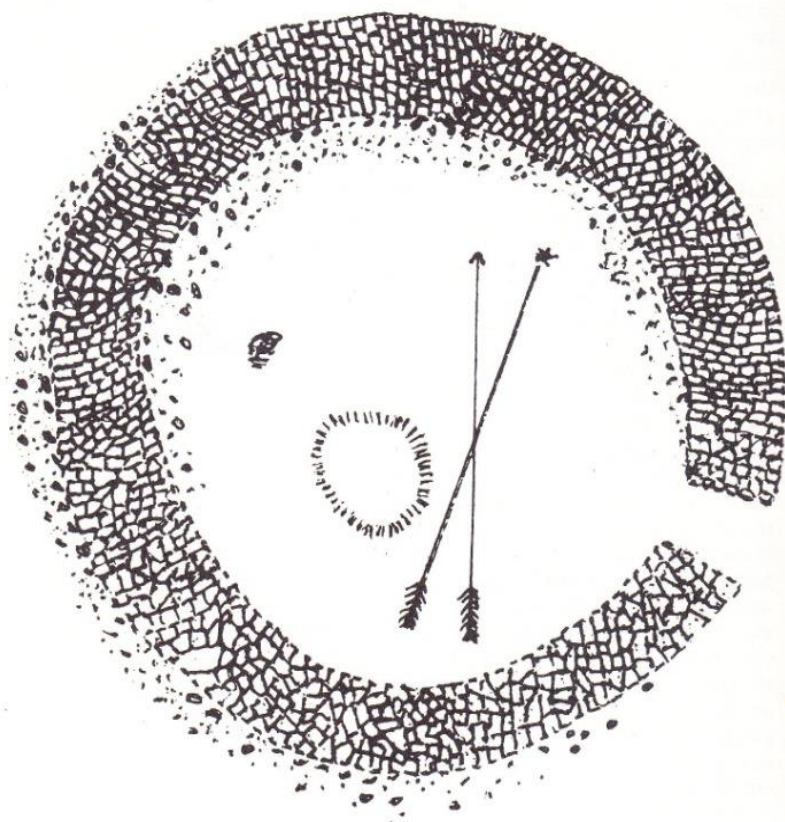


Plate 9. Queen's View – Internal wall-face.

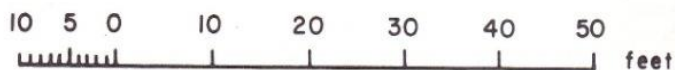
height of around 1.5m, again with the exception of the south where, as indicated, ground level dropped sharply and the outer face was 2m high. Build was uniform throughout and there were no structural features of note. The core consisted of smaller stones and rubble. Although there had been some slippage of wall material especially inside the inner face, at no point was this found in sufficient quantity to suggest that the wall had ever been much higher than appeared at present.

An entrance passage had been constructed through the western sector of the wall without, unlike Borenich, any increase in the width of the wall. Prior to excavation it had been almost entirely obscured by an accumulation of boulders and rubble, the result of what could only be deliberate blocking. Boulders from both sides of the passage had been disturbed including a slab which had been upright at the inner end of the north wall for which a socket and packing stones, fitting the base exactly, were uncovered. In a similar manner it was possible to locate the positions of other boulders in the passage walls. On Watson's plan of the Queen's View site (Fig. 4) the entrance is shown in the south-east sector, the position of the secondary entrance, indicating that at the time of Watson's survey, the original entrance was entirely obscured. When excavation and restoration had been completed, the entrance passage measured 4.01m in length on both sides, 1.5m in width at the inner and 1.75m at the outer ends. Curiously, however, the end boulders on the south side of the entrance protruded 0.86m beyond the outer face of the homestead wall (Fig. 3). There was much speculation as to the cause of this peculiarity but the reason finally became clear when the paving in the passage was lifted. At the point where the south side of the passage had been built, the surface sloped down towards the south-west and to provide a level base nearly 0.5m of packing had been laid at the outer end. The wall on the south side of the passage had then been built but what was intended to be the outside stone, an upright about 1m high, had no firm foundation and so, to maintain its position, a buttress of horizontally laid boulders, 0.86m in length, was built against it (Plate 10). It was this buttress which protruded beyond the end of the entrance and the outer face of the homestead wall.

The build of the entrance passage, especially on the south side, consisted of alternate horizontal boulders and vertical slabs which did not give the appearance of any great stability. A constriction of the passage, 2.5m from the outer end provided a door check but there was no evidence of bar holes although these would probably have disappeared during the disturbance that had taken place. It also seems likely that the inner corner of the north side had been displaced. The upright here, already mentioned, measured 1.10m x 0.68m tapering to 0.30m, and varied in thickness from 0.26 to 0.33m; it was subsequently replaced in position although not inserted on the plan. Two layers of paving were found in the passage and beneath the upper layer a post-hole, 0.25m in diameter and 0.2m deep with stone packing on the east side, was discovered on the south side against the wall 2m from the inner end. A similar post-hole was located on the north side of the passage. The paving extended into the interior for a distance of 4.9m and again an upper and lower layer could be



QUEEN'S VIEW FORT



From : Watson (1915) P22

Fig. 4. Queen's View - Plan after Watson.

recognised, separated by a narrow band of black sticky soil. Yet another post-hole was found under the upper layer. From this evidence there would appear to be two periods of paving, the second occurring after the post-holes went out of use and possibly involving the blocking of the entrance passage and the dismantling of the inner end.



Plate 10. Queen's View – South side of entrance passage. Note packing and buttress outside upright on right.

The encircling homestead wall enclosed an area, roughly circular, with a diameter of 16.5m. Round the edge of the inner face lay a mass of tumbled boulders extending towards the centre for a distance of 1-2m. When this had been removed the whole area was cleared down to the undisturbed subsoil which consisted of a yellowish brown boulder clay. Nowhere was there a recognisable floor or occupational level. In the northern sector a band of dark soil 0.15-0.20m wide followed the curve of the wall about 0.45m from it and it is suggested that this might mark the edge of a floor covering of heath or bracken which would be necessary in view of the uneven nature of the subsoil. A similar occurrence was observed at Litigan. Pollen from this band suggested an open, pastoral environment representing the period of construction and occupation of the homestead. In addition, in the north-west quadrant between the dark band and the wall base, a narrow groove, 0.20m wide was traced again following the outline of the wall (Fig. 3). Again its cause or function was obscure; it could have been the result of eaves-drip were it not for the fact that it seemed to be in the wrong position for this. The depth of material overlying

the subsoil was relatively thin, increasing slightly towards the centre immediately above subsoil the material was a dark brown loam intermixed with patches of black soil.

At the east side of the northern sector what appeared to be a collapsed stone feature was uncovered. When removed an oval depression was revealed, 7m in length and 1.5m wide, filled with black soil and stony fragments. A large amount of slag was recovered especially towards the end of the depression. Here a bowl-shaped hollow 1m in diameter was cleared and, alongside it, a second depression, outlined by small boulders and with an interior shaped like an inverted cone, measured 1.3m in diameter at surface level and 0.5m deep. A circular slab acted as a cover (Plate 11) and the hollow was filled with a black sticky material which grew wetter with depth. Around these two depressions the concentration of slag was considerable. Dr. R.F. Tylecote³ identified the slag as the result of smithing, the first of the depressions as a smithing hearth and the cone-shaped pit as a 'bosh' to hold water for cooling purposes.

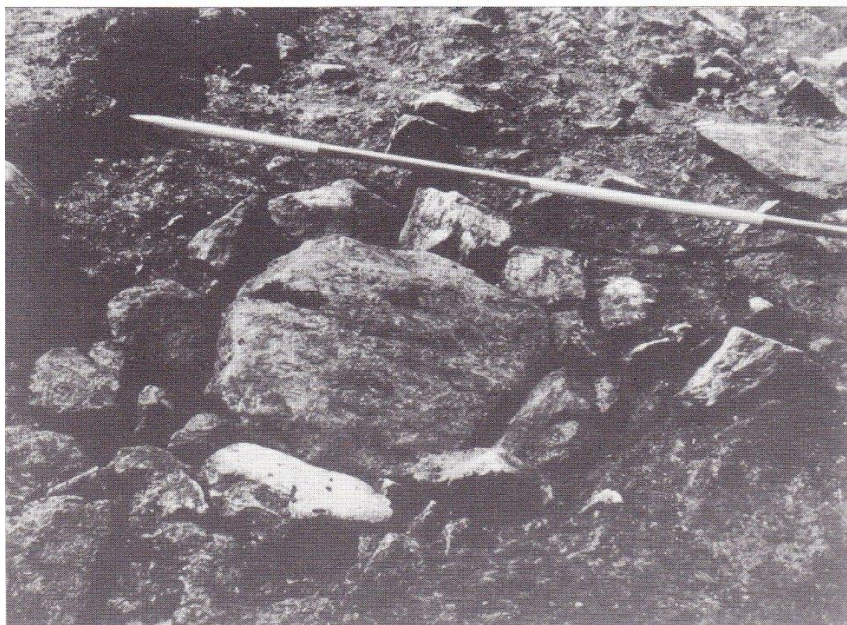


Plate 11. Queen's View – Cistern or 'bosh'.

Further west, just north of a large boulder, a scatter of stones suggested yet another feature and again there was a similar concentration of black soil with numerous pieces of slag, some with burnt clay adhering. Together, stones, black soil and slag filled a second depression, 2m long from east to west and 1.5m from

north to south in the centre, narrowing at the east and west ends to 0.5m (Fig. 3). Again the slag was identified most probably as the product of smithing rather than smelting. Surrounding this area an underlying rock surface, which appeared to have been abraded, showed through the subsoil west and south of the depression. Just north of this outcrop the black soil lay on top of a dark grayish layer, the two separated by small fragments of crumbled rock with one or two flat stones on top of the lower layer. Dr. Caseldine suggested (see Appendix I) that the dark gray layer might represent the original occupation level of the homestead, the black material being secondary. If so, this was the only part of the interior filling, either here or at Litigan, which showed any sign of stratification. If there had been a secondary occupation, which seems almost certain, nowhere else could this be distinguished from the original occupation apart from the layers of paving in the entrance passage and the interior beside it.

Twenty three post-holes were uncovered (Fig. 3). They were all fairly uniform in size, averaging about 0.3m in diameter and 0.2m in depth. A number still retained the surrounding packing stones. Two were found in the entrance passage and one immediately south of the entrance. The majority were in the northern sector of the homestead but one appeared just over 3m from the inner face in the southern sector. There is reference to another in Dr. Stewart's notes just in front of the secondary entrance but this did not appear on the plan. No pattern was readily recognisable although at least one rectangular structure was a possibility. On the other hand, when Watson described the site, he included a plan (Fig. 4) and noted that a large rowan tree was growing inside the wall. The plan and the accompanying photograph (Plate 7) indicate that the tree was growing near the centre of the southern sector and its growth and fall along with the iron-working activity must have destroyed some of the post-hole evidence. Part at least of the homestead must have been roofed, especially in view of the two sockets in the entrance passage. There was little sign of the very black soil in the filling of the post-holes and pollen analysis of that filling (see Appendix I) suggested an environment similar to that of the construction period. Thus it seems probable that the post-holes belong to the primary phase of occupation.

In the eastern sector a second entrance had been knocked through the wall by the simple process of removing the inner and outer faces along with the rubble core (Plate 12 - see p. 31). This left a gap of about 2m on the outside widening to 4m on the inside. A large mound of material outside the wall to the south of this gap was probably upcast from the operation. Wall filling had been removed to ground level but it appeared that small boulders had been laid as a rough cobbling to create a roadway through the wall and the intensely black soil which had been such a feature of the southern sector continued through this gap which thus appeared to be contemporary with the metal-working phase of the occupation.

During the first season of excavation, when using a J.C.B. to expose the outer wall face, an area of burning was noticed south of the secondary entrance where, as

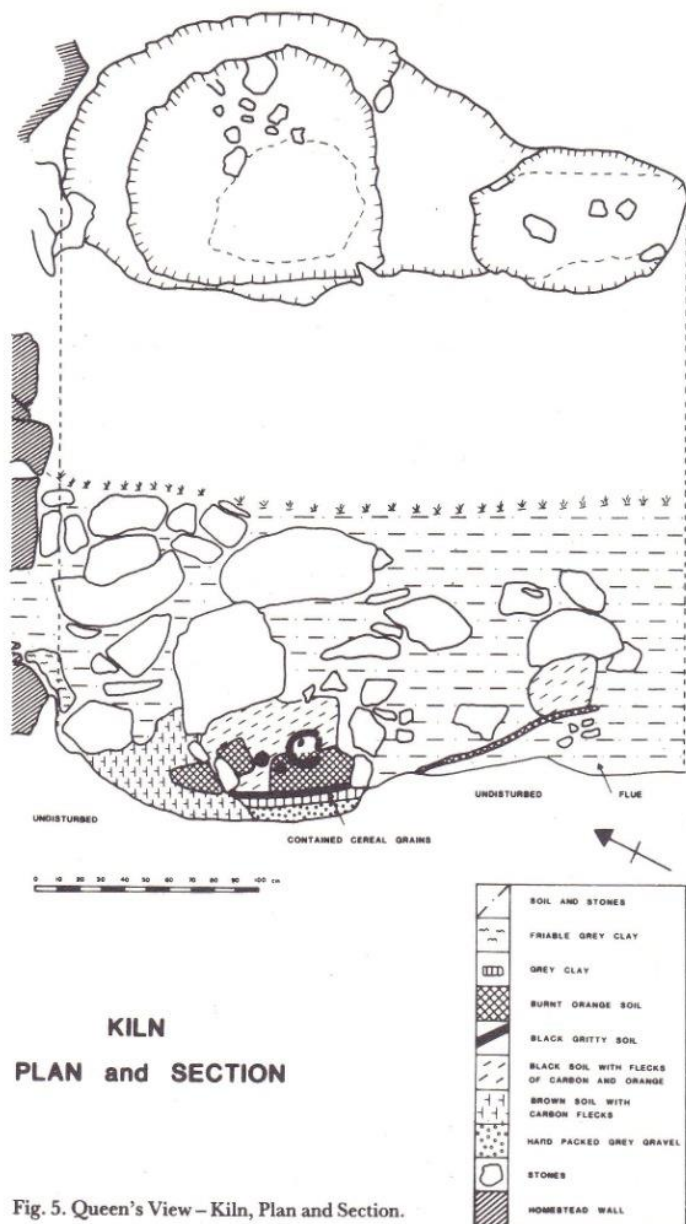


Fig. 5. Queen's View – Kiln, Plan and Section.

already indicated, there existed a mound of stones mixed with earth. When cleared, a face was exposed on the south of the tumble which looked as if it had been built above a circular, orange-red inset of clay. At the base of this inset, part of an unburnt clay lining was still in situ with a layer of carbonised grain immediately overlying it. A flue ran in a south-easterly direction at right angles to the outer wall face of the homestead and disappeared under the upcast created by the J.C.B. (Fig. 5). It was obvious that the conditions created by the drop in ground level, the proximity of the homestead wall and the mound of material removed from the secondary entrance had proved suitable for the building of a corn-drying kiln. When the top of the mound was cleared a stone platform was exposed lying above a mixture of turf, brown soil and loose stones with black staining and carbon flecks throughout. Five flat slabs slanted downwards towards the bowl of the kiln. There was no sign of bonding into the homestead wall. Further investigation revealed what appeared to be the rim of the kiln which, with its loading platform, was about 1.5m deep (Plate 13).

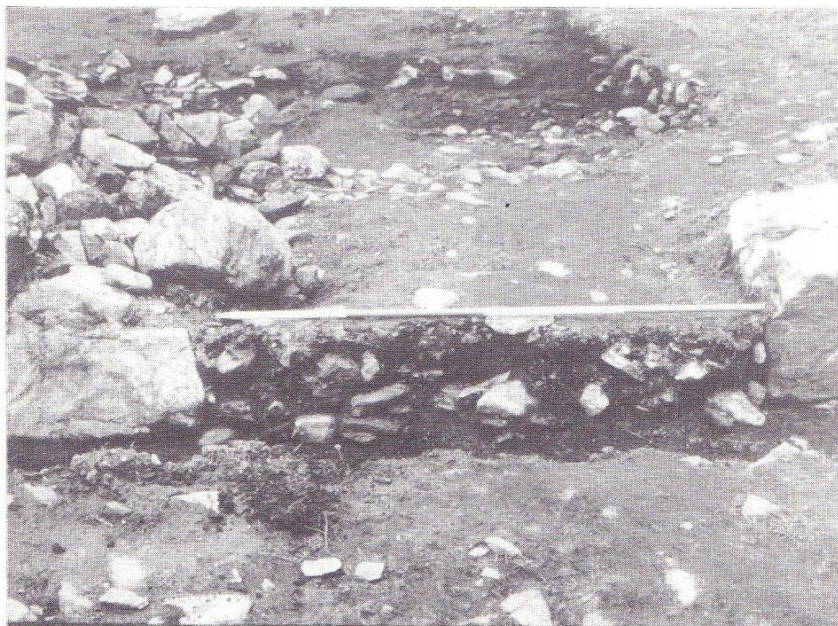


Plate 12. Queen's View – Secondary entrance.

It was confirmed by Dr. Caseldine (see Appendix I) that the stratification of the material into which the kiln had been inserted was entirely unnatural as were the results of the pollen analysis subsequently carried out. Results from the remainder of the site suggest that cultivation was unlikely to have taken place in the

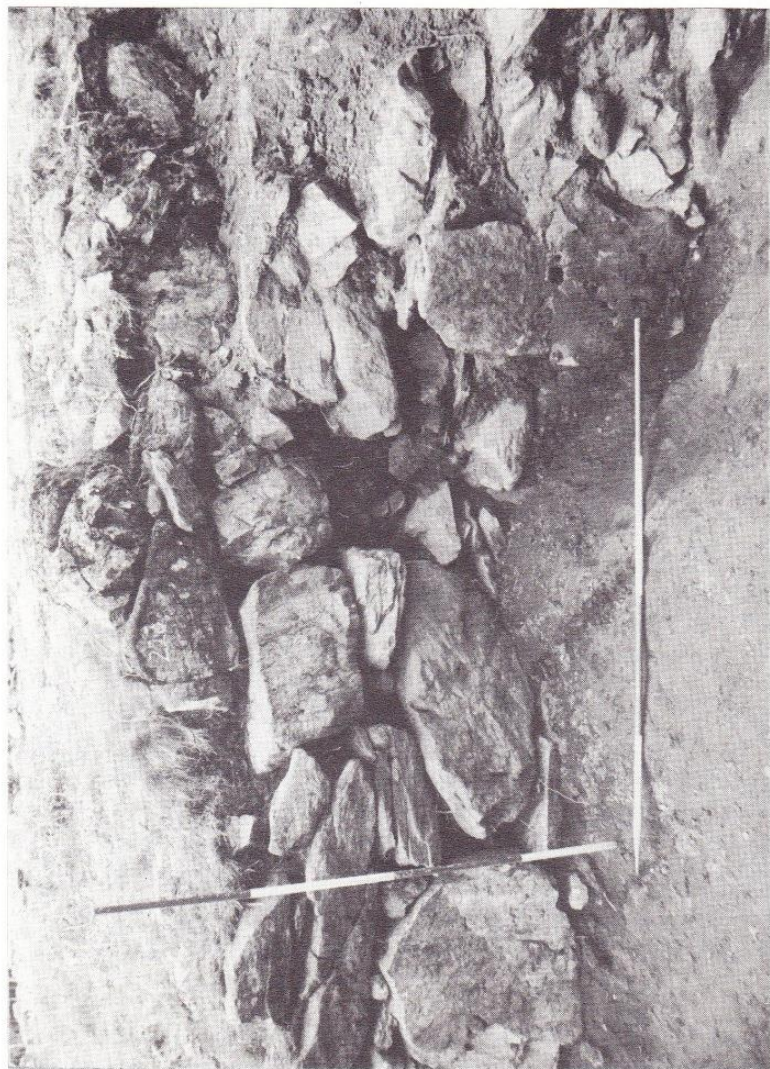


Plate 13. Queen's View - Kiln, flue and bowl. Homestead wall in background.

neighbourhood of the homestead and consequently the high level of cereal pollen found round the kiln must have been derived from elsewhere. The most likely explanation seems to be that contained in the report where it is suggested that the grain was brought in for threshing and that pollen was brought with it, originating at lower levels where alder rather than birch predominated.

Like all homestead sites excavated, the number of finds was relatively small. Some of those, referred to in Dr. Stewart's notes, cannot now be traced. Two stone discs, a worked stone shaped like a finger — possibly a hone — and a number of carbon samples are missing. However, the halves of two 'rotary querns, a stone cup and a small yellow bead are still in existence.⁴ Mention is also made of about 25kg of slag, some of which is in Perth Museum and the remainder the subject of comment by Dr. R.F. Tylecote and discussed below.

A translucent yellow bead, 1.2cm in diameter, 0.5cm in height with a perforation diameter of 0.3cm and with a slight flattening round the perforation, was found in a crevice among some tumbled stones, 0.6m from the inner wall-face in the southern sector. Mrs. Margaret Guido⁵ has confirmed a date in the range 700-900 AD and suggests that it shows signs of Anglian origin (Fig. 6).

A stone lamp was sitting on yellow subsoil on the north-west margin of the pile of boulders which overlay the depression in the centre of the southern sector. It measured 12.4cm over all and consisted of a shallow cup, 8cm in diameter and 3cm in depth with a wall thickness at the rim of 1cm. The cup portion was almost circular measuring 6 x 6.5cm. It was provided with a lug 4.5 x 5cm with an hour-glass shaped perforation measuring 2 x 5 1.5cm in diameter enabling it to be fixed in a sconce-like support⁶ (Fig. 6). Dr. K. Steer, surveying about 70 of these objects,⁷ was uncertain about their use, regarding some as cups and suggesting dates from the immediate pre-Roman centuries to the second or third centuries AD. R.B.K. Stevenson,⁸ however, referring to an examination of those in the Royal Museum by Longworth, had no doubts, identifying them as lamps and suggesting that none were likely to turn out to be pre-Roman. An example, similar to the Queen's View lamp but with a chevron ornament, was discovered during the excavation of a rath at Crossnacreevy, Co. Down, in a context which suggested a date in the 7th or 8th centuries AD.⁹ Another, very similar, of steatite and decorated, was found on Farleyer Moor, Aberfeldy, within a few hundred metres of the homestead at Shenavail¹⁰ and yet another on Turin Hill, Angus, now in the possession of the farmer. The distribution still remains as indicated by Steer, mainly north of the Forth and in Ireland and it would seem that the more sophisticated examples come later in the series.

Fragments of two rotary querns were found in positions that are not entirely clear but 'in the centre in primary occupation'. The first of these was about half of the upper stone of a disc-shaped quern made of micaceous schist; the lower surface has split badly and only an area 26 x 10cm survives of the original grinding surface; the upper surface is now rather uneven but would originally have been slightly

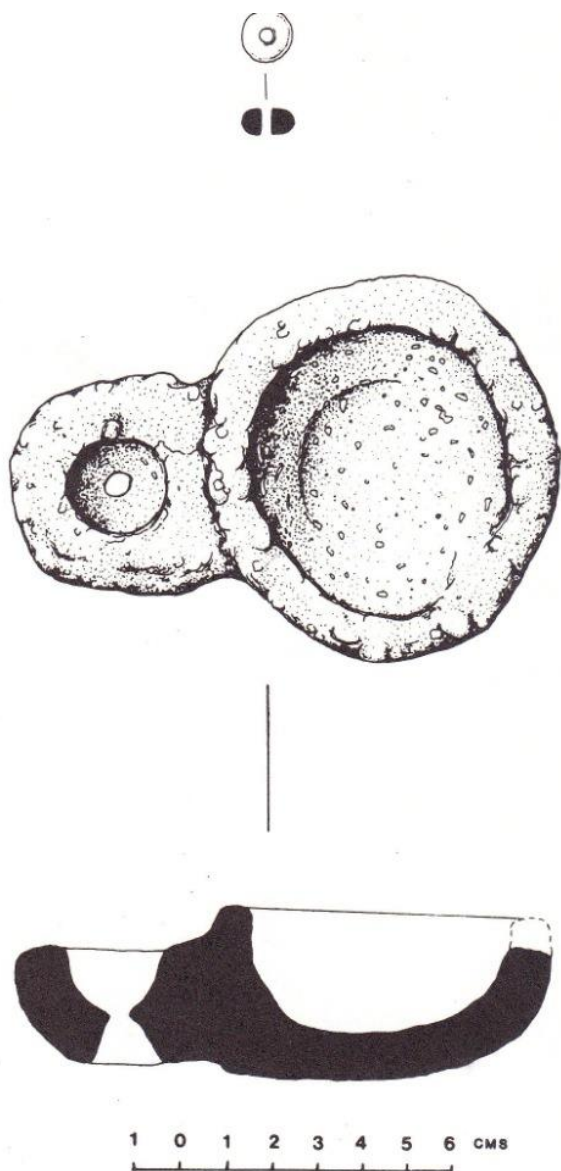


Fig. 6. Queen's View – Bead and Stone Lamp.

convex; some thinning towards the broken edge suggests that after breakage, the stone had lain in a position which led to uneven wear of the upper surface. A shallow hole has been cut or pecked into the upper surface 4cm from the circumference; the roughly triangular mouth of the hole is 3.5cm across and it is 1.6cm deep. The diameter of the central perforation of the quernstone would originally have been 8-9cm. The stone itself is 38cm in diameter and has a maximum thickness of 5-6cm. The second fragment was about half of the upper stone of a bun-shaped quern made of grey micaceous schist; the quern stone had originally a lateral projection to accommodate a perforation for a handle 2.2cm in diameter, but, perhaps as a result of breakage, a further shallow hole, 3.5cm across and 2cm deep, has been bored or pecked into the surface some 5cm nearer the centre. The central hopper would originally have been 11—12cm in diameter at the mouth narrowing to a central perforation 5cm from the surface. The underside of the fragment is slightly concave. The stone itself would originally have been about 32cm in diameter, with a maximum dimension of over 36cm on the axis of the projection for the handle, while it has a maximum thickness of 8cm (Fig. 7).

While rotary querns cannot be relied upon as dating material, it would seem from a study of existing and ongoing work that they are not out of place in the context of both bead and cup. McKie¹¹ has surveyed the development of both bun-shaped and disc querns while Campbell and Welfare are at present involved in a study of their characteristics. At the moment little more can be said.¹²

The excavation had thus revealed a courtyard 16.5m in diameter surrounded by a dry-stone wall 4m thick and standing to a height of 1.5—2m. Access to the interior was provided by a narrow, paved entrance in the west, 4m long, slightly splayed at the inner and outer ends where it measured 1.75 and 1.5m wide respectively with a door check 2m from the inner end. The outer face of the wall was built more substantially than the inner. From the lack of large quantities of fallen material both here, at Litigan and on other surviving sites, coupled with the fact that the inner face would not have supported a high wall, it seems likely that it was never much higher than it is now.

The occupation debris in the interior was marked by a complete lack of stratification apart from one small area. No floor was evident except in the presumably later iron-working phase of occupation and, throughout, the depth of material over the bright orange subsoil was very thin. Again these are features shared with other excavated examples. Numerous post-holes in the subsoil provided no certain pattern but for reasons already mentioned — the iron-working activity and the growth of a large tree in the interior — the pattern is unlikely to be complete. However, the question of roofing, over part of the interior at least, is strengthened by the two post-holes within the entrance passage suggesting a porch-like structure at this point (Fig. 3).

The cleared interior is very like that at Litigan but at Queen's View the metal-working activity creates a divergence. Only a small quantity of slag was found at

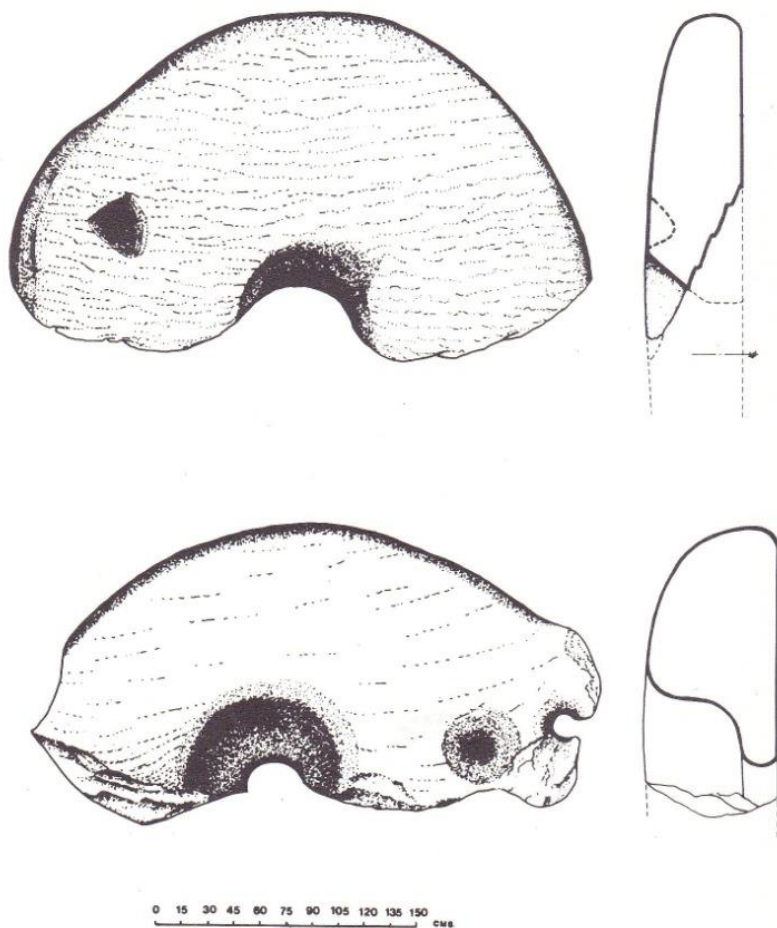


Fig. 7. Queen's View - Querns.

Litigan and there was no certain evidence of secondary occupation although the interior was only partially cleared leaving an incomplete picture. At Queen's View the two hearths uncovered were of a type common to iron-working sites in the area and in use over a long period of time, possibly until the 17th century.¹³ The complete absence from the site of any iron ore, the nature of the slag, the black, beaten surface surrounding the hearths and the pit for holding water for cooling purposes suggests smithing rather than smelting.¹⁴ While no tuyere remains¹⁵ were recognised, a forced draught would be essential and some burnt clay fragments with the slag might well represent the remains of such a provision. The amount of slag seems relatively impressive but is not enough to suggest other than a short-lived effort to meet local needs. Presumably the blooms of iron, the product of smelting elsewhere, were brought in along with fuel, almost certainly charcoal. No precise dating for this phase is possible but Tylecote thinks that it is late. In no case did the post-hole filling contain any sign of the black material associated with the metal-working and this, with the two layers of paving in the entrance passage and beyond strongly suggests that it represents a secondary use of the homestead. It seems likely also that the later entrance in the east was made during this phase to allow pack animals or small carts access to the interior.

A corn-drying kiln had been inserted into what appeared to be the debris from the cutting of the secondary entrance. From what has survived it seems to be paralleled by others built into similar homesteads at Ford, Garheugh and Chippermere (see below) and into earlier monuments of all ages.¹⁶ A settlement of 18th or 19th century date is situated about 300m east of the homestead and this would account for the placing of the kiln. It has also been suggested (p. 70 below) that the grain was not grown in the vicinity but probably originated in an area where alder was more prolific and therefore at a lower altitude. Just where that might have been is not immediately clear since even the floor of the valley below is above natural cultivation height today.

Thus from purely structural evidence the sequence of occupation appears to have been homestead, iron-working, kiln with the latter two possibly but not certainly contemporary. The implication of the results of the pollen analysis on the environmental history of the site is also illuminating. From this evidence it would seem that the homestead was built and occupied in an area of light woodland where birch and hazel predominated but with some alder. A number of boggy patches had developed. The main pastoral weeds were prominent, suggesting a grazing economy but this might well have been so intensive as to lead to the disturbance of soils to an extent where weeds associated with such disturbance began to appear. These are the weeds usually linked with arable activity. The absence of cereal pollen, however, makes arable activity unlikely and suggests that the presence of rotary querns does not necessarily imply cereal cultivation. The pollen assemblages from the post-hole filling suggests little change until after the homestead was abandoned. Thereafter birch may have regenerated slightly but never became

predominant and there is an increase in daisy and bracken pollen, the latter persisting until the present. The area round the homestead remained largely open with grassland, pastoral weeds and bracken rather than heather. Watson's photograph of the site shows just such a landscape (Plate 7). (See Appendix I.)

The finds do not date the site or its phases of occupation with any certainty. The bead, with a suggested date of c700-900 AD and found in tumbled walling could in effect belong to any phase. The stone cup, sitting on the undisturbed subsoil, is more likely to be associated with the primary occupation and, from similar finds elsewhere, could belong to the same date range as the bead. But the disturbed nature of the material overlying the subsoil casts some doubt here also. However, if the association of bead and lamp with the primary occupation is correct, the homestead is firmly placed in the early medieval period. Tantalisingly, the evidence from Litigan, while pointing in the same direction, does no more than that. The iron-working could be relatively late, even 17th or 18th century, and if this is so the finds at Queen's View must belong to the primary occupation. The querns cannot be used to confirm the date or otherwise but they don't contradict it. They could belong to any period between 100 BC and 1000 AD but are likely to be equally at home with both cup and bead.¹⁷ The slag at Queen's View and Litigan was thought by Tylecote to be late and a date after 1000 AD was mentioned but at Litigan no trace of iron-working hearths was discovered. Watson mentions iron at Borenich but doesn't say if it was slag. In an account of smelting hearths at nearby Rannoch and elsewhere, Aitken¹⁸ suggested that they could have been used as late as the 17th century. Whatever the date, it is difficult to see why the Queen's View homestead should have been used as a smithing site since it involved the transport of blooms and fuel. The suggestion that the metal-working was associated with the adjoining settlement on a convenient site may provide the answer.

Evidence for the function of the homestead is not clear. The pollen count from the primary occupation level and post-holes suggests a pastoral community and the absence of cereal pollen discounts the implications of the rotary querns; no domestic hearth was found, unlike Litigan, but later disturbance may well have destroyed this; the post-holes suggest roofing, partial at least, especially with the addition of those in the entrance passage. As at Litigan, Borenich and Chippermore III there is no sign of a floor but the nature of the 'trampling' as Watson so aptly described it may point to occupation by animals as well as humans; if so, the animals are almost certainly cattle although no animal remains were found - bones are unlikely to survive in the acid soils. Since the surrounding wall does not seem to have reached much more than 1.5m in height, the idea that the structure was a fortification can be dismissed; it was undoubtedly a dwelling and a refuge, possibly from wild animals, but it could never have been defended. The height at which the homestead was built may also be significant. Like those to the east and west of Queen's View it was well above the floor of the valley but it was also on the edge of a wide expanse of pasture to the north, still in use as such today. While there is no

evidence of prolonged occupation the size of the homestead and the massive nature of the building must surely discount only temporary or seasonal use. Those features, characteristic of Queen's View, will emerge again in the survey of similar sites which follows.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

-
- ¹ Dr. Bruce Walker, School of Architecture, Dundee, in conversation.
- ² Watson, 'Circular Forts 1915', p. 29
- ³ Dr. R.F. Tylecote in correspondence.
- ⁴ The finds are now in Perth Museum.
- ⁵ In correspondence.
- ⁶ Dr. J. McManus, Department of Geology, University of Dundee supplied the following note: 'Ben Lawers schist, widely developed in a band running from Ardrishaig Peninsula in the south-west probably into Banff and Buchan in the north-east. It is composed mainly of a chlorite-dolomite matrix - the often brown-filled cavities are the sites of the dolomite. Some small dark rods are amphiboles. This rod often occurs as garbenschieffer. It probably also occurs in Ireland in the northern and north-western counties. Soft by nature, it is quite easily worked and could readily be carved out either by stone or even metal grinding'.
- ⁷ Steer, K.A., 'An Early Iron Age Homestead at West Plean, Stirlingshire', *PSAS* 89 (1955-56), pp. 227-251.
- ⁸ Stevenson, R.B.K., 'Metalwork and some other objects in Scotland and their cultural affinities', in Rivet, A.L.F. (ed) *The Iron Age in North Britain*, Edinburgh 1966.
- ⁹ Harper, A.E.T., 'The Excavation of a Rath in Crossnacreevy Townland, County Down', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 36 and 37 (1973-74), pp. 32-48.
- ¹⁰ Close-Brooks, J., 'Two Steatite Lamps', *PSAS* 104 (1971-72), pp. 295-297.
- ¹¹ MacKie, E.W., 'English Migrants and Scottish Brochs', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 2 (1971), pp. 39-55.
- ¹² I am grateful to T.C. Cowie, Royal Museum of Scotland, for this information.
- ¹³ Aitken, W.G., 'Excavation of Bloomeries in Rannoch, Perthshire, and elsewhere', *PSAS* 102 (1969-1970), pp. 188-204.
- ¹⁴ Tylecote in correspondence.
- ¹⁵ 'Tuyere' - The nozzle through which a blast is forced into a furnace.
- ¹⁶ Marshall, D.N., and Taylor, I.D., 'The excavation of the Chambered Cairn at Glenvoidean, Isle of Bute', *PSAS* 108 (1976-77), pp. 1-39.
- ¹⁷ T.C. Cowie, Royal Museum of Scotland in correspondence.
- ¹⁸ Aitken, W.G., *op. cit.*

SUMMARY OF LIST OF SITES IN APPENDIX II

	Height OD	Shape			Interior Diameter			Wall Thickness				
	No. of Sites	200m -	200m +	Circular	Oval	15m -	15-20m	20m +	3m -	3m +	Settlement	Hill Pass
N.W. Perthshire	67	16	51	43	22	16	24	22	4	44	47	51
Angus	5	2	3	5			3	2	3	1	1	1
Loch Awe	5	5		4	1	2	3		2	3	3	4
Loch Fyne	4	4		1	3		3	1		4	2	3
Bute and Cowal	2	2		2				2	1	1		
Kintyre	4	4		2	2		2	2	1	3		
Ayrshire	3	3		1	2		2	1		3		
Wigtown	16	16		3	13	1	3	12	4	8	4	
Lismore	1	1			1	1				1		
Islay	1	1		1		1				1	1	
Total	108	54	54	62	44	21	40	42	16	69	58	59

1. 54 homesteads are situated below 200m OD and 54 above. All 5 in the Loch Awe group and the 31 in the west and south-west are in the former category.
2. 62 are circular and 44 oval.
3. 21 have an internal diameter of less than 15m, 40 between 15 and 20m and 42 over 20m.
4. 69 have walls 3m thick or over, 16 are below that figure while in the remainder it was impossible to obtain measurements.
5. 58 can be associated with possibly later settlement either inside the homestead or within 200m of it.
6. 59, mostly in north-west Perthshire, are situated in passes or beside tracks leading through the hills.

CHAPTER 3

DISTRIBUTION, FUNCTION, DATING AND ORIGIN

In 1969 when Dr. Stewart published her distribution map of ring-forts¹ there were some 40 known examples most of which had been included in the list published earlier by Watson.² It is a measure of his persistence and energy that although the list has now grown to over 100, the main concentration is still as he indicated, in north-west Perthshire. There are additions, widely scattered, in the west and south-west, additions which, although few, may be significant. The increase in numbers has largely resulted from the work by the investigators of the Ordnance Survey and Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland and also by the Forestry Commission who, increasingly, are carrying out surveys in advance of planting programmes.

When discussing distribution two questions arise. Are the limitations in the pattern of distribution the result of increased surveying activity in specific areas and are there other examples as yet unrecognised in areas not yet surveyed? Secondly are we looking only at those examples which have survived, others having been destroyed by agricultural, industrial or other activity? In accepting the validity of the doubts implied by the first question, it might still be expected that a few homesteads would have been noted in those areas which are apparently blank; they are massive structures and not easily overlooked or readily destroyed. Yet despite a careful search, no references have so far been found to sites north of Perthshire nor in south-east Scotland. Again destruction by agricultural or other process would leave little trace; the homesteads were built on the surface without the disturbance of foundations or ditches; remove them and nothing would be left. There can be no certain answer to this question. All that can be said is that the builders seem to have been mainly pastoralists and no homestead of the type under discussion has yet been found on predominantly arable sites. In presenting the evidence these qualifications have been very much in the author's mind.

For a summary of the details noted in the list of sites in Appendix II, see p. 40.

Typically, the homesteads are circular with an internal diameter of about 20m surrounded by a wall 3m thick with inner and outer faces of large boulders. Where visible, entrances were about 1m wide. Further building may have taken place within the interior although it is difficult to determine if this is contemporary with the homestead. Many are close to later settlements. In north-west Perthshire the homesteads are found mainly on high ground associated with areas of pasture and there most are situated beside tracks or at entrances to passes through the uplands. Low knolls or bluffs are often used (Plate 14) without natural defences and with

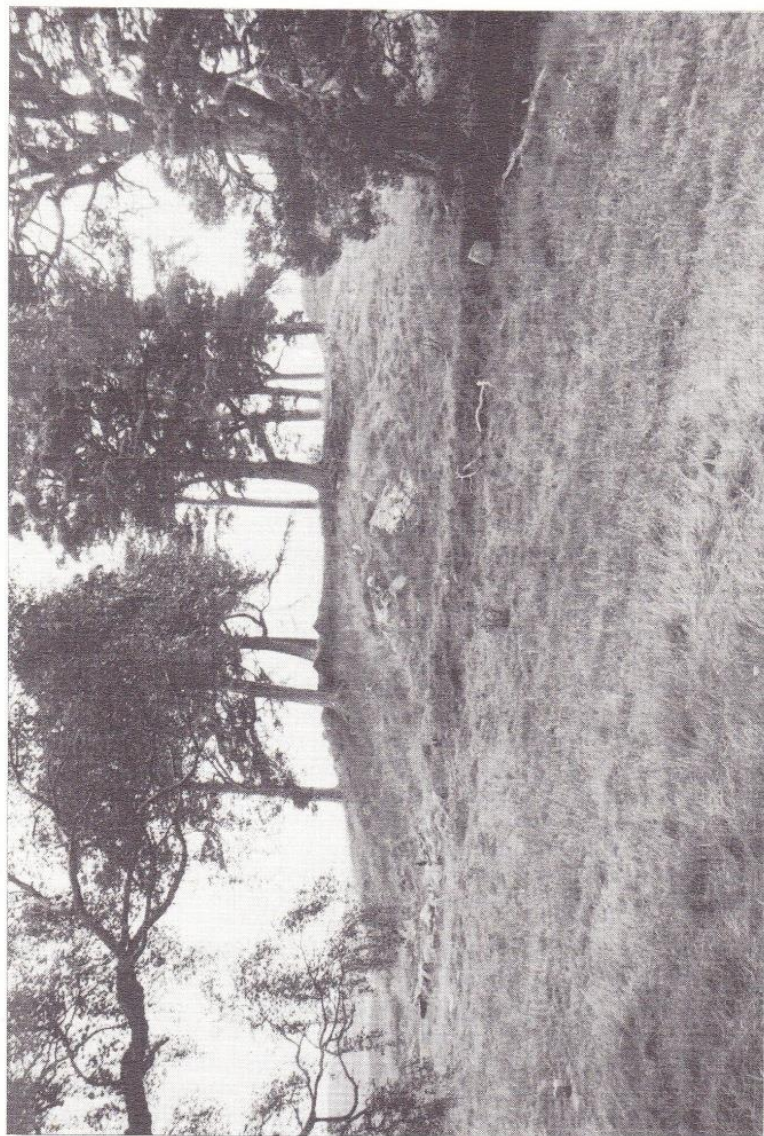


Plate 14. Tullochcroisk. Note field dyke at base of knoll.

easy access from at least one direction although many are on flat ground. Walls consist of inner and outer faces of large boulders with rubble cores and nowhere standing to a height of more than 1.5m.

Height is important. The use of the word 'castle' suggests height as does the substantial wall but in only two instances are there any implications of height. At Cashlie II in Glen Lyon (Plate 15) a large boulder, 7 x 3.5 x 3.5m was incorporated in the wall. To make use of such a boulder, 3.5m high, the wall must have reached that height, especially if the homestead was roofed. The second instance is to be found in a reference by Mitchell³ when he describes one of the 'castles' in the neighbourhood of Pitlochry, Castlebeigh, as being 10ft high when it was demolished (p. 85 below). Unfortunately Mitchell doesn't give his sources nor do any of his papers survive. There is thus no clear indication of the original wall heights. As suggested above, a thick wall may have been required to support roof timbers and possibly to withstand the wear and tear of penned animals. Moreover, large mounds of debris resulting from the collapse of high walls, as in the case of the northern brochs, are entirely lacking on homestead sites and although subsequent robbing may account for the disappearance of some of the stone, it is unlikely to have removed all the material from all the sites. Watson⁴ doubted also whether the poorer building of the inner face at Borenich would have supported any great height and this was borne out at Queen's View. On the whole it does seem fairly conclusive that homestead walls never reached more than their present height of 1-2m.

Without exception the sites under discussion have no defences, natural or artificial, other than the thick walls. Superficially, some would appear to be situated in positions of strength. Dun Geal at Balnacraig above Fortingall is situated on the edge of a cliff but is overlooked from a steep slope immediately to the north and has a wide expanse of flat land to the east (Plate I). Craig Odhar, overlooking Blair Atholl and Strathgarry, is in a similar position; built on a knoll at 408m OD on the edge of a steep descent to the valley floor, it is also on the margin of extensive upland pasture to the south (Plate 16). The homestead above Marble Lodge in Glen Tilt commands a magnificent view up the glen to the north (Plate 17) but not in the opposite direction and it too occupies a low knoll overlooking but in no way dominating an upland terrace of hill pasture still used as such today. From Beinn a' Chaisteil a wide panorama includes Loch Lyon to the east but the homestead is completely obscured from the north and west and is overlooked by the slopes to the summit of the mountain (Plate 18) (Fig. 12). The site on the appropriately named farm of Castles near Dalmally was built on a low platform at the entrance to Glen Strae and moved the investigator of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland to comment that the position was somewhat unusual in having little or no natural strength and had been deliberately prepared by digging into a slope, a technique rarely used by dun builders and hitherto unrecorded in the country⁵ (Plate 19). Finally four examples at Cashlie in



Plate 15. Cashlie II. Note large boulder in wall.



Plate 16. Strathgarry from Craig Odhar.



Plate 17. Glen Tilt. Looking north from homestead above Marble Lodge.



Plate 18. Loch Lyon from Beinn a' Chaisteil.



Plate 19. Castles, Dalmally.

Glen Lyon had been built on the river bank obviously without defensive intent (Plate 20). The sites in the west are also quite undefended, overlooking the Firth of Clyde or the open sea. The catalogue could continue but it must be clear from the above that when choosing a location the need for defence was altogether absent.



Plate 20. Cashlie III.

If defence was not important, a good outlook was, in most instances, an obvious advantage. The sites already mentioned emphasise this apparent desire for wide horizons. Indeed Marble Lodge and Beinn a' Chaisteil, at heights of over 400 and 700m with an outlook ahead but none behind, suggest that their builders were somewhat nervous of what lay in front and were ensuring that they knew what was happening there. Were they new settlers, wary of the welcome they might receive in an unknown area? But leaving these two sites aside, it is obvious that there was no attempt at concealment; these homestead builders wanted to see and be seen. An even greater consideration seems to have been the desire to choose locations in or at the entrance to glens, to passes through the mountains or to tracks leading to high pastures. Litigan, described above, lay just within the pass leading from Coshieville in Glen Lyon to Loch Rannoch and Strathummel. The homestead at Allt Bail a'Mhuilinn, beside the burn of that name, lay just below the junction of the passes Lairig an Lochan leading to Loch Tay and the Lairig Breislich leading to Glen Lochay. Where the Lairig an Lochan reaches Loch Tay is the site of a

homestead at Edramucky while the possible site at Dunchroisk is at the Glen Lochay end of the Lairig Breislich. In Glen Quaich, the two homesteads at Garrows lie at the entrance to the Lairig Mile Marcaidh leading to Kenmore and Loch Tay (Plate 21). On the farm of Strathgarry near Blair Atholl, the 'Black Castle' stands beside a track leading across pasture-land to Glen Fincastle. At Croftintygan on the north shore of Loch Tay the homestead stands on a grassy terrace beside a track leading over the shoulder of Ben Lawers to Glen Lyon. Further west, Mid Lix lies at the junction of Glen Ogle and Glen Dochart; Barr a'Chaistealain, overlooking Dalmally, is near the junction of Glen Orchy and Glen Lochy while Castles lies in the mouth of Glen Strae which leads north-eastwards to Glen Orchy. Further west, the association of homesteads with land routes is less obvious although Larach nan lobhairt is on the road from Loch Awe to Kilmelfort, Ford is on a track from Loch Awe to Salachary while those at Ottir Ferry on Loch Fyne are at the west end of the Bealachandrain, a pass leading to Glendaruel.



Plate 21. Garrows and Glen Quaich from Lairig Mile Marcaidh. Arrow marks site of homesteads.

Communication routes, then, seem important and this is most strikingly illustrated at the north end of the pass between Glen Lyon and Strathtummel, the route followed by the modern B846 (Fig. 8). Here the Church of Foss and the settlement of Kirkton lie at the centre of a gently undulating area of pasture no more than 2km square. This is surrounded by more steeply rising ground, rocky

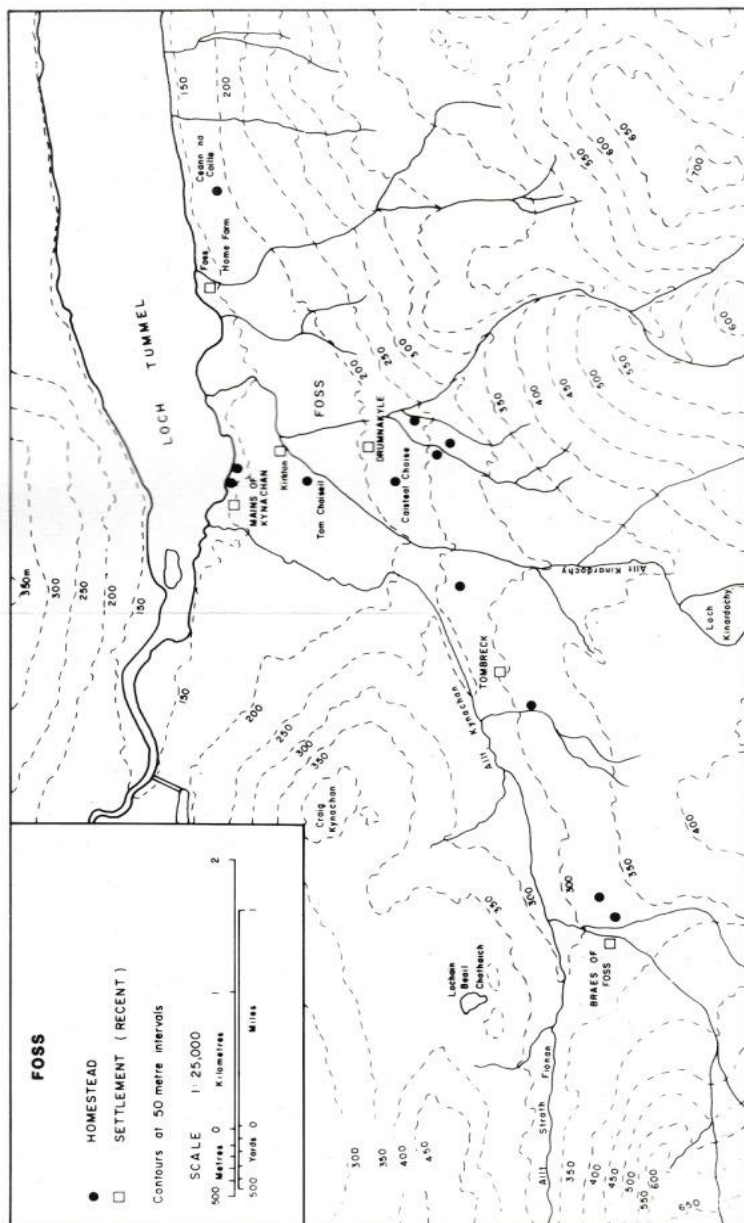


Fig. 8. Circular Homesteads – Foss.

and unproductive, and today largely coinciding with the land planted by the Forestry Commission at Drumnakyle and Kynachan. Within 1.5km of Foss Church are no fewer than 10 homesteads, all built on the rocky ground on the fringe of the pasture with a further three, two to the west at Braes of Foss and one to the east called Ceann na Coille, a little further away. Watson derives Foss from Gaelic *Fas* and goes on to describe it as 'a "stance" -a nice level spot such as a drover would choose as night quarters for his charges'.⁶ The true significance of this concentration of homesteads may not be clear but the association of pasture, homesteads, hill pass and Watson's derivation of the name is surely not just coincidence.

Sites regarded as favourable for settlement at one period tend to commend themselves to later folk also; 55 of the sites listed have additional structures, some obviously later, built into or within 200m of them. A track leading from the B846 near Foss to the secondary road to Loch Rannoch passes the modern farm steading at Tombreck. East of the steading a low knoll marks the site of the homestead Tombreck I which immediately overlooks a deserted 18th or 19th century settlement. The track continues on past a cross-marked stone, skirts the modern steading and then to the east of the homestead Tombreck II. Similarly in Glen Fincastle, a track leads from Fincastle Farm, the site of a homestead, across upland pasture to Carraig. The track is bordered by a field dyke which, although apparently old, does itself cross an earlier dyke running in much the same direction. When the track reaches Carraig, a deserted settlement lies at the foot of a low bluff on which a homestead has been built. Rhynaculig on Loch Tay and Mid Lix in Glen Dochart are in similar proximity. At Pitcairn what is known as the Ale House Croft has been built inside a circular homestead; at Tomtayewen only a fragment of the wall of a homestead survives surrounded by a later settlement (Plate 22) while at Duntaylor, the interior is filled with what appear to be dwellings. Barr a'Chaistealain, Allt Bail a'Mhuilinn, Tommacneil, Roro, Balnacraig, Ford, Largiemoire and Kilail all have traces of rectangular buildings inside them and there are others (Plate 23). In some cases old sunken tracks skirt round the homestead. A courtyard 20m in diameter and surrounded by a 3m thick wall would be a very desirable and sheltered site for a dwelling; add to that the impression of continuity in the use of sites and tracks and also the late dates suggested only for Litigan and Queen's View, then a link between the homesteads and later settlement becomes more of a possibility.

In north-west Perthshire these circular homesteads form a remarkably homogeneous group contained within a restricted geographical area. Here they are essentially domestic structures of the uplands (Fig. 9) and are confined mainly to Strathtummel, Strathgany and Glen Fincastle in the north and to Strathtay, Glen Lyon and Glen Quaich in the south. None are found east of the line Garry/Tummel/Tay except for the two in Glen Tilt and the three in the neighbourhood of Pitlochry and the latter are immediately on the east bank of the Tummel. Outside this main area, which accounts for 67 of the total number, there are five possibilities in Angus and 36 round Loch Awe and further west.

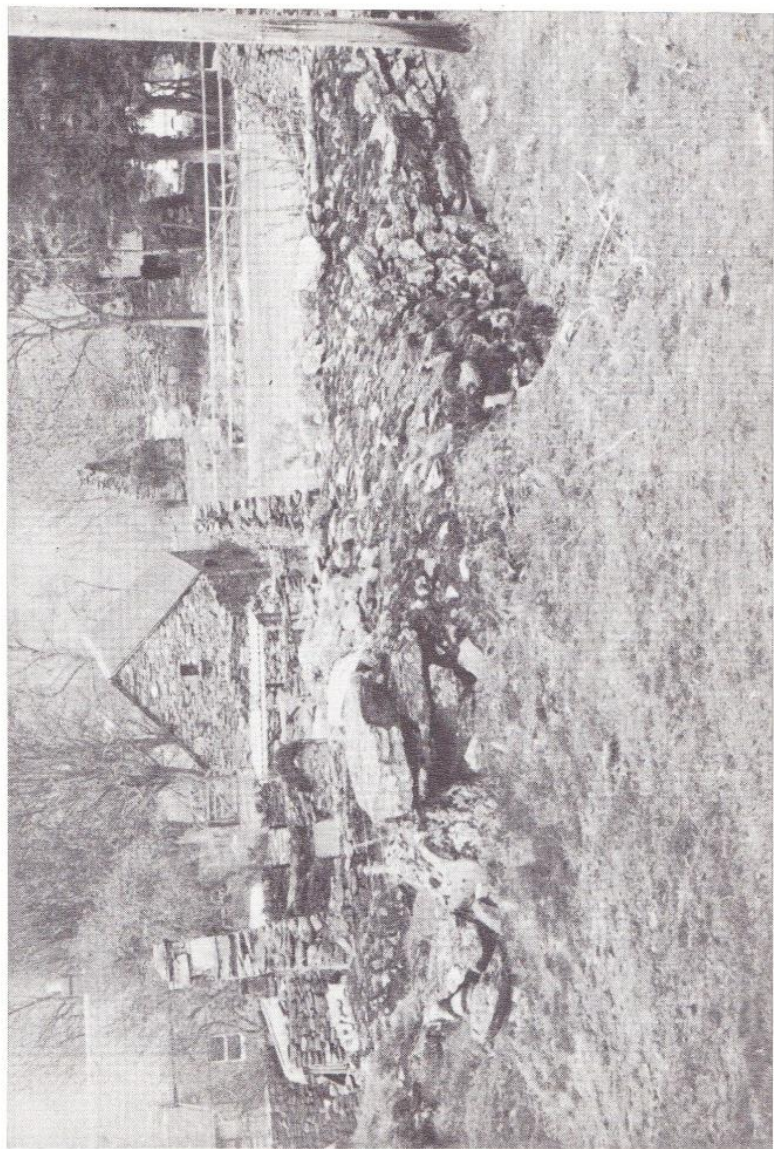
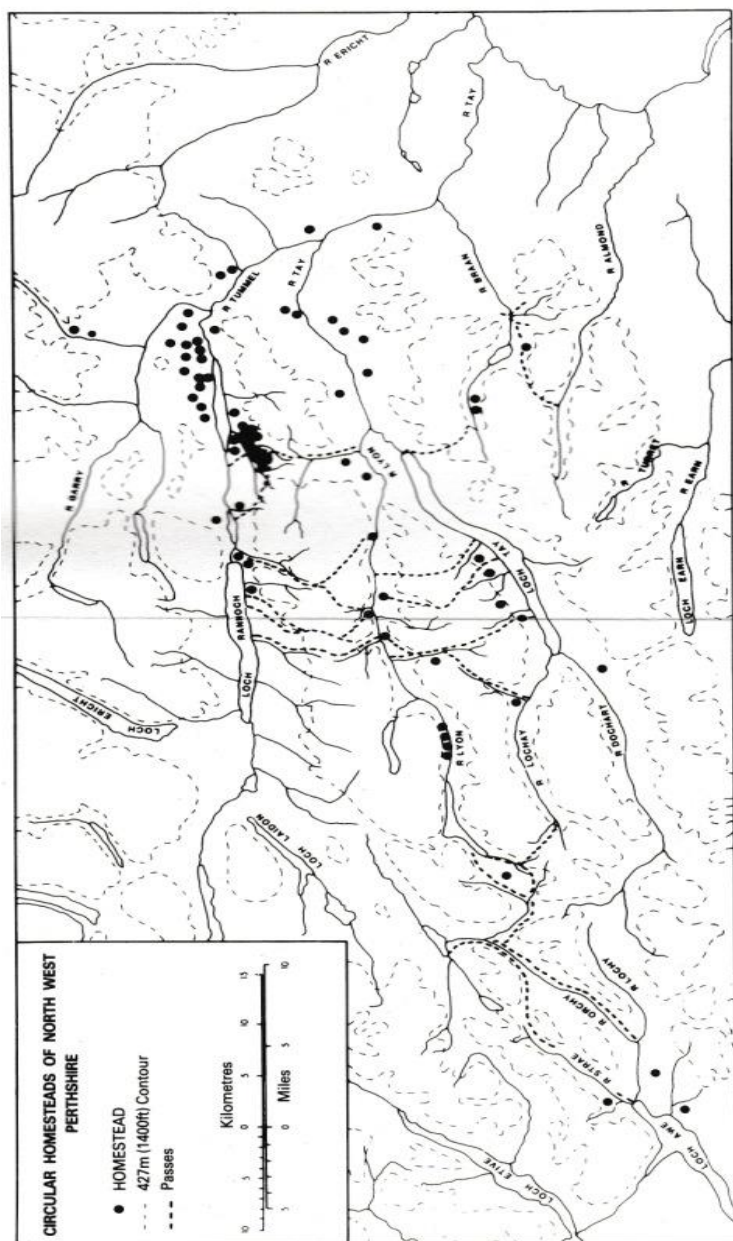


Plate 22. Tomtayewen.



Plate 23. Balnacraig. Rectangular building inside homestead.



The east end of Loch Rannoch and the whole of Strathtummel to Pitlochry, with the addition of Glen Fincastle and Strathgarry, has produced 30 examples (Fig. 10). All are situated beside tracts of pasture at heights of up to 400m and beyond and most if not all are near the entrances to passes or on ancient routeways. The concentration round Foss has already been commented on but the north side of Loch Tummel also has numerous examples. This is one of the age-old routes to the west, the Road to the Isles. Links between Glen Lyon and Strathtummel have already been mentioned and it might be worth looking for sites on the south shore of Loch Rannoch at Carie, Ball, Camghouran and Bridge of Gaur. In the triangle between Strathtummel and Strathgarry an interesting pattern emerges. From both valleys the land rises steeply for two or three hundred metres and then levels out into a wide undulating plateau which even today provides extensive pasture. Along the edge of the descent into Strathgarry are the homesteads of Tommacneil, Strathgarry Farm and Craig Odhar. Similarly along the edge of the descent into Strathtummel there are homesteads at Grenich, Balnabodach, Borenich and Queen's View. All of these are connected by a network of tracks while between them lies Glen Fincastle, wide and gently undulating, with homesteads at Balavoulin, Fincastle Farm and Carraig. By contrast on the south side of Loch Tummel the ground rises without a vestige of plateau or terrace and here no homesteads have yet been recorded between Foss and Ruath Chastle.

The Glen Lyon homesteads have been well documented and include Beinn a'Chaisteil beyond the head of the loch. Until recently the shores of Loch Tay have been strangely blank. However four have now been identified along the north shore, all connected with Glen Lyon (Fig. 9). There are also three possible sites on the south shore which cannot be positively confirmed. Beyond Kenmore, where the river flows out of the loch, the pattern is continued on both sides of Strath Tay. Five sites in the neighbourhood of Aberfeldy within a distance of three kilometres have the prefix "Dun" incorporated in their names and two have the foundations of homesteads nearby. It seems reasonable to suggest as Stewart did⁷ that the other three may also have been the sites of homesteads. However, it should be noted that apart from Dunchroisk in Glen Lochay, these are the only homestead sites to use the prefix "Dun". Beyond Aberfeldy sites continue on both sides of the valley. On the south side Tomtayewen and Pitcairn are followed by Kincraigie, the most southerly known example. It has been built on a terrace on ground sloping towards the river and is surrounded by arable rather than pasture land unlike most of the others. On the north side, Shenavail, Pitcastle, Tullypowrie and Eastertyre continue the southerly penetration down river from Aberfeldy. Again all are typical, commanding wide outlooks.

Three outliers are known in Glen Quaich, two within 15m of each other at Garrows on the valley floor at the entrance to the spectacular Lairig Mìle Marcaidh — 'the pass of the mile of riding' — leading to Kenmore (Plate 21). A third at Croftmill is built on a low bluff called Tom Orain in the mouth of the pass from Glen Quaich to Glen Almond via Glen Lochan.

The ring forts of Fife and Clackmannan have been discounted in this discussion since defence seems to be an important feature in their location and construction. In the case of the Angus examples, however, although no explanation can be offered for their appearance there, other than a gradual movement eastwards, the superficial evidence suggests closer affinities with those of north-west Perthshire. On the southern flank of Strathmore northeast of Forfar, two parallel ridges rise to heights of 200-250m OD. The most northerly ridge includes the site of the well-known timber-laced fort of Finavon. The east end of the ridge to the south is known as Turin Hill while the west end, 5km distant is called Pitscandly Hill. Below the summit of the latter stands Rob's Rede, a circular structure, 25m in external diameter (Plate 24). The wall faces are grass grown and nowhere clear but the interior is markedly dished in profile and there is no trace of additional defences, natural or otherwise. The site is surrounded by pasture and had it occurred in north-west Perthshire would have been included in any list of circular homesteads without question. The name 'Rob's Rede' was first mentioned in the New Statistical Account⁸ and "rede" is defined as 'a yard for animals'.⁹

The structures on Turin Hill have been described in Appendix II. The ring fort with an interior of 25m and a wall 3.5m thick would undoubtedly be included with the homesteads of this paper were it not for its situation within earlier defences (Plate 25). The site is on a broad summit terrace with a gentle approach from the north and a steep slope to the south reminiscent of Craig Odhar, overlooking Strathgarry, and Dun Geal above Glen Lyon. Given that the earlier ramparts had been slighted as they must have been before the building of the circular wall, the site has no other outstanding defensive characteristics. It is also relevant that it has been traditionally called 'Kemp's Castle' and so for these reasons has been included in the list. The two circles east and west of the homestead show no sign of stonework in the surrounding banks and they are not included.

In the grounds of Kingennie House on the outskirts of Dundee stands St. Bride's Ring occupying the level surface of a bluff or promontory with a steep drop of 15m all round except in the east where a gently sloping approach has no defences of any kind. The structure is circular, 22m in diameter externally with a wall 2—3m thick. The entrance 1m wide is on the east side. Again there is no reason to exclude it from the list of homesteads. The sites on Brankam Hill and at Balnagarrow on Meams Hill have also been included here since they display the same features as those further west. Balnagarrow shares with the sites at Garrows in Glen Quaich the possible derivation of 'garrow' from the Gaelic *garradh* — an enclosure.

Homesteads generally can often be indistinguishable, difficult to find and almost impossible to photograph. Those of north-west Perthshire have been known and have been referred to in the literature ever since Pennant¹⁰ but beyond that area they tend to have gone unnoticed. WJ. Watson surveyed the known examples in the early part of this century but it is only recently that investigators of the Ordnance Survey and the Royal Commission on the

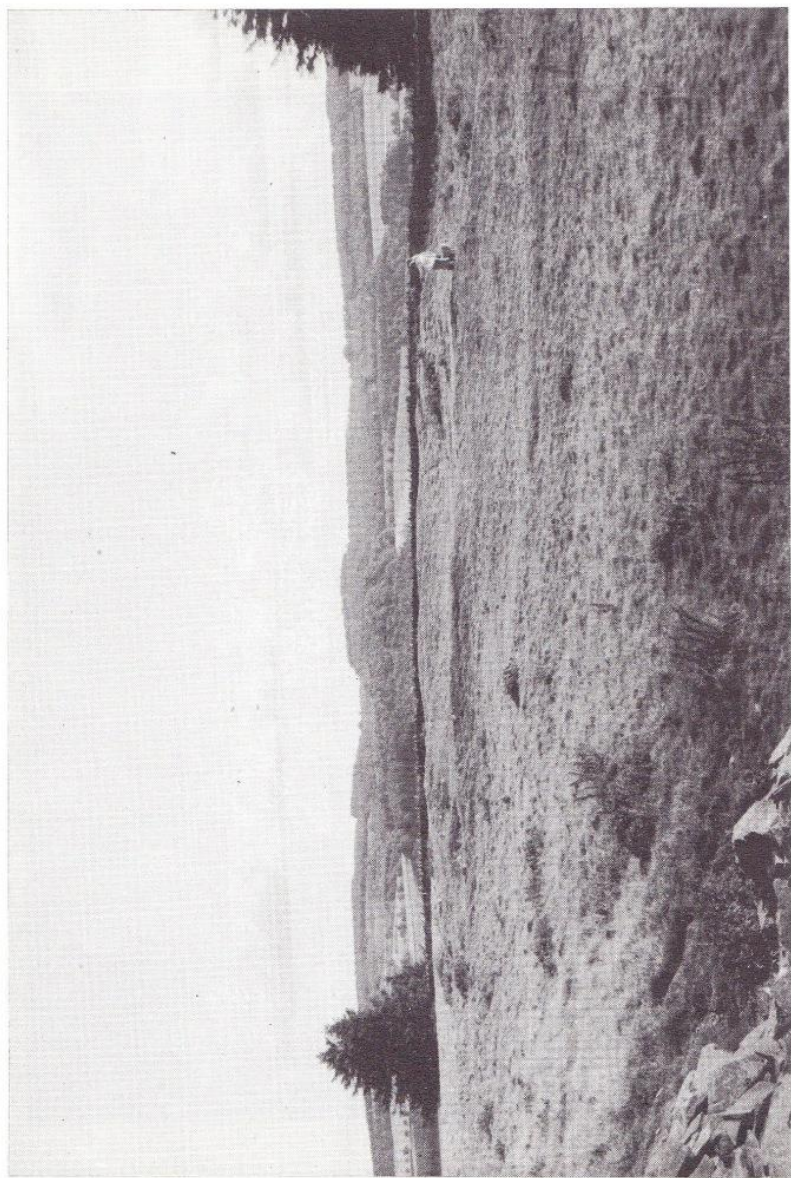


Plate 24. Rob's Rede, Pitscandly Hill.



Plate 25. Kemp's Castle, Turin Hill.

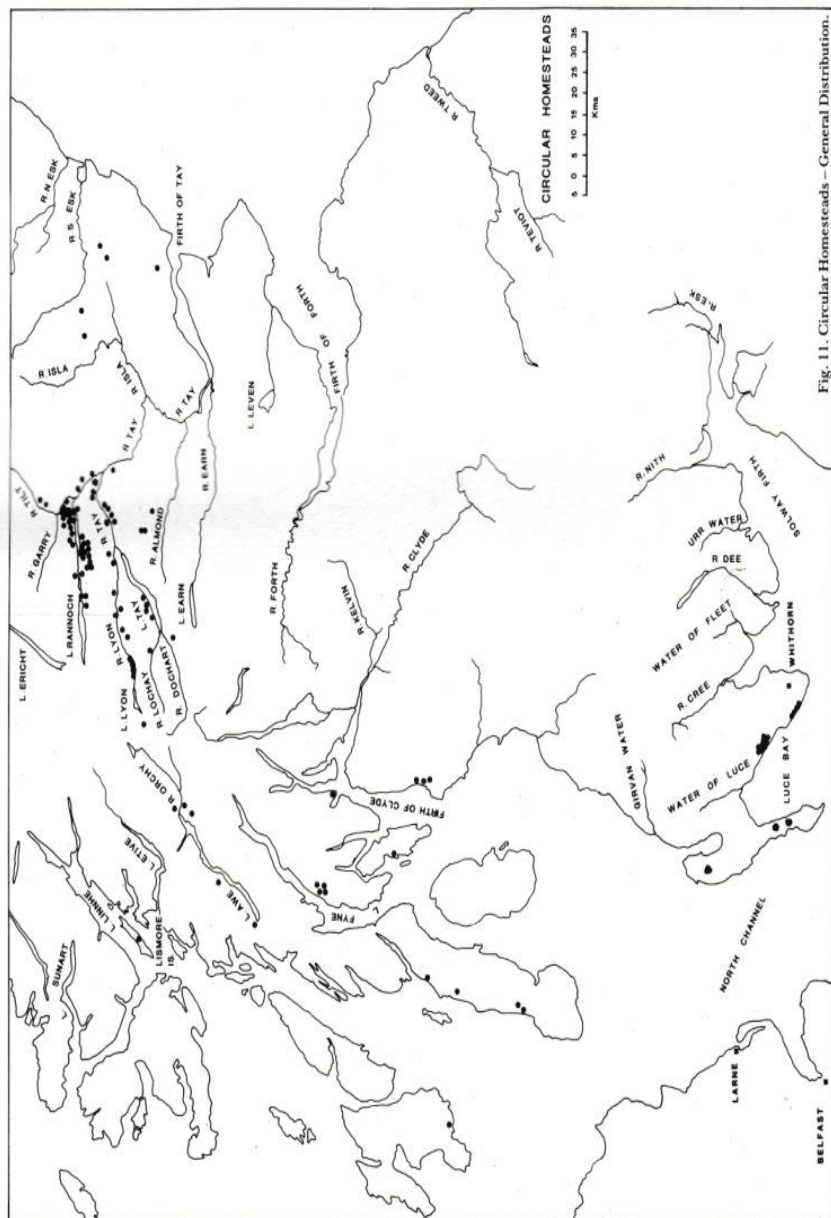


Fig. 11. Circular Homesteads — General Distribution.

Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland have been recording similar sites, recognising that they were not fortifications. They were called variously 'Homesteads' or 'Enclosures'. Both terms can be interpreted broadly and include structures other than the circular homesteads discussed here. However, as a result of this activity, a considerable number have been added to the total in north-west Perthshire and, perhaps more significantly, the similarities of over 30 have been recognised and confirmed beyond that area. These occur mainly in south-west Scotland and share the characteristics of size, wall thickness, lack of defence etc. of those already discussed. None have appeared in Scotland north of Perthshire; the 'Homesteads' of the Ordnance Survey in the north are something quite different. Nor have any been identified so far in the south-east. The distribution of the recent additions is intriguing (Fig. 11).

Watson recognised three sites in the neighbourhood of Dalmally near Loch Awe and these can be considered with the others further west. There is no reason to believe that they do not belong to the same category as those of north-west Perthshire nor are they completely isolated from them. Barr a'Chaistealain overlooks the junction of Glen Orchy with Glen Lochy; Glen Lochy leads into Glen Dochart and so to Loch Tay. Mid Lix, 2km from Loch Tay, stands at the eastern end of this route at its junction with Glen Ogle in the same manner as those found adjacent to other passes. Castles stands at the entrance to Glen Strae, giving access by way of Glen Fuar to Loch Tulla and the route north-eastwards through Rannoch to Strathtummel or by way of the Allt Choire Bhiocair into the upper part of Glen Orchy and so to the passes from Auch which follow the Abhuinn Glas and the Allt Chonoglais round the south and north flanks of Beinn a'Chaisteil to Loch Lyon and its glen. In the recent past this route was used by the folk of Upper Glen Lyon when making expeditions to Oban or Fort William. The name Beinn a'Chaisteil is derived from at least one homestead, described in Appendix II, but the Gaelic poet, Duncan Ban Macintyre,¹¹ writes of 'the place of the Fienn' and seems to locate that on the north side of the mountain. There may then have been two homesteads between Auch and Glen Lyon. The region round Loch Tulla along with the Moor of Rannoch and the shores of Loch Rannoch might also be worth investigation but here the bleak nature of the environment would have little to attract settlers at any period.

On the north-west shore of Loch Awe, the homestead Larach nan lobhairt is situated above Dalavich on the route Loch Awe — Kilmelfort following the course of the River Avich. At the south end of the loch behind the village of Ford is another site on a track which leads to Salachary. Thereafter there are four sites at Ottir Ferry on Loch Fyne, four on the west coast of Kintyre, two in Cowal and Bute, three above Fairlie on the Ayrshire coast and one each on Islay and Lismore. Furthest south of all there is a concentration of 13 sites on the eastern shore of Luce Bay all within about 4km of each other on either side of Port William and a further three in the Rhins of Galloway. Most of those are large, 13 with internal diameters in excess of 20m and 8

with walls greater than 3m in thickness (Plates 26, 27, 28). All of these sites differ from the others in that, apart from those round Loch Awe, they are coastal, within a few hundred metres of the sea and again commanding a wide outlook over the approaches. No doubt others remain unrecorded or unrecognised but to date, in these localities, no inland sites have been noted. Even with the possibility of further discoveries in mind, the distribution is interesting especially when considering origins.

Homesteads seem to be sited within predominantly pastoral backgrounds and such evidence as has so far been produced confirms this impression. Shelter for animals is perhaps the most likely explanation of size, the massive nature of the surrounding walls and the likelihood of roofing, totally or in part, as revealed at Litigan and Queen's View. But the existence of hearths and the discovery of slag, although this might be secondary, also indicate human occupation. They were undoubtedly homesteads not fortifications; they may have been refuges from cattle raiders but would not have been very effective in that capacity. Wolves and possibly bears existed until medieval times although there is little indication of their numbers and these may have been the main danger. Whatever the prime function, however, size alone suggests considerable wealth in kind. A homestead of 15m internal diameter would have a circumference of 47m which, at 2m intervals could house about 23 tethered cattle. Add to that the density of sites in certain areas and the impression is intensified even allowing for the fact that not all the homesteads would necessarily be occupied simultaneously. The evidence from the pollen analysis (see Appendix I) suggests a great deal of movement around the homestead while the proximity to mountain passes and tracks implies the movement of animals to and from upland pastures or by way of trade or even a little of the age-old pastime of rustling. From earliest times cattle have been a major form of wealth in the upland areas resulting in much traffic locally and, later, between Highlands and Lowlands. Haldane¹² summarises the evidence and points out that as early as the reign of Alexander II, travellers had a common law right to spend a night on common land through which the King's Highway passed 'saving corn and meadow'. Droving existed as early as 1359 and the area of north-west Perthshire has long been recognised as a focus of many of the later drove roads. All this activity is vouched for several centuries later than the period with which this report is concerned but the beginnings must have been much earlier than the recorded instances would indicate. Again in those areas beyond north-west Perthshire where the homesteads have been identified, pastoral activity is still the predominant occupation and there is no reason to imagine that they are anything other than the Perthshire type.

It is unfortunate that excavation has not yet produced satisfactory evidence of dating — a single C14 date, an impression gained from a sample of slag, a stone lamp and a bead both possibly late, form a somewhat flimsy base on which to build a case for placing the homesteads in the latter half of the first millennium AD but they do indicate the possibilities and these are strengthened by other evidence.

Twenty eight homesteads are called *Caisteal* even today and they and others have been given Gaelic names, some purely geographical, others more personal. They were obviously so named by Gaelic speakers - but when? Surely while they were still in use. *Caisteal* itself is a medieval borrowing of the English 'castle' but it has been suggested that *Caisteal* replaced an earlier *Caisel* which in turn was an early borrowing into Gaelic of the Latin *castellum*. This would certainly seem to be so in the case of the name 'Cashlie'¹³ and may also have applied to the others called *Caisteal*. The four homesteads at Cashlie are named respectively *Caisteal an Deirg* - 'the castle of the Red One'; *Caisteal an Duibhe* — 'the castle of the Dark One'; *Caisteal a' Chonbhacan* — 'the castle of the dog's keeper'; *Caisteal Mhic Reil*- 'the castle of MacNeil'. The 'Red One' would hardly have given that name to his own homestead but his neighbours might and only if he were in occupation. If that were so then it must be more than likely that the Red One was the builder of the homestead and spoke Gaelic. However, there is also the possibility that these names came to be given to the sites as a result of the association of the homesteads with the warriors of the Ossianic saga cycle, although the greater antiquity of the name 'Cashlie' makes this less likely. Equally illuminating and a stronger support for the earlier naming of the *Caisteal* sites is the name *Caisteal Dubh nan Cro* given to the homestead at Croftmill in Glen Quaich. 'The black castle of the folds' or 'pens' is most suggestive of the use of the structure when it was occupied rather than later and may also contain an explanation of the post-hole patterns at Litigan and Queen's View — supports for pens in addition to roofs.

An early date for the name of the homestead at Croftmill seems reasonable enough but a word of caution should be included here. Watson¹⁴ discussing the function and origin of the then so-called ring forts points out that they were called *Caisteilean nam Fiann* - 'the castles of the Fianna or Feinn' - bands of warriors traditionally under the leadership of Fionn, son of Cumhall, and other legendary heroes and are the only group of forts which had such a tradition. However, it is also a fact that any structure about which the people knew nothing tended to be seen in this light so that these Gaelic names, while indicative of the homesteads' antiquity, do not necessarily imply a particular period of time. Some, like the word *caisel* may be contemporary with their construction but no certainty can be applied to the others. Fortunately there are additional indications.

Watson¹⁵ also comments that two of the homesteads are called 'Pitcastle', 'Pit' being of Pictish origin and 'castle' Gaelic. Nicolaisen¹⁶ takes this further and explains that the Pictish *pett* was borrowed by incoming Gaelic speakers as being convenient and this use of Pictish words by Gaelic speakers would become possible from the ninth century onwards, notably after 843 AD. It is also of interest that a distribution map of 'Pit' names shows a cluster round the confluence of the Tummel with the Tay but none further west as if perhaps this was a region where Pictish and Gaelic speakers came into contact; both 'Pitcastles' are in this region. Moreover the area where the greatest concentration of homesteads is found

coincides with the old Pictish kingdom of Athol - 'New Ireland' according to Watson.¹⁷ Wainwright¹⁸ also discusses the origin of the name 'Athol'. As Athfotla it appears in the Annals of Ulster for 739 and as Fotla in a later document but obviously the region was thus known at an earlier date. Wainwright points out that the name would be acceptable only in the later stages of the Pictish kingdom when Irish settlers had moved in before 843 and had established themselves there.

The Columban Church and its culture must have spread its influence alongside the settlers and indeed a number of circular homesteads seem to be associated with early religious sites and traditions. The evidence was summarised by Stewart.¹⁹ Glen Lyon has long had associations with Iona. There is a persistent linking of Adamnan with the glen - his name appears in a number of place-names; there is a chapel site at the foot of Beinn a'Chaisteil in Auch Glen, early crosses at Dunchroisk in Glen Lochay, near Tombreck and at Shenavail and Celtic bells have been found at Innerwick, Fortingall and Balnahannait, all in Glen Lyon. An early cell is situated at Bunrannoch, the Chapel of St. Blane at Lassintullich near Tullochcroisk and an early chapel site at Tullypowrie. Other instances in Islay and in Bute can be added to the list. It is tempting to link the homesteads with the Christian movement originating in Iona but for the fact that there are few if any homesteads in the movement's place of origin.

All of this evidence suggests that these circular homesteads originated in the west. Known examples there are not numerous but their location has some implications. They occur only on the fringes of Dalriada; indeed apart from those round Loch Awe they are confined to the shores of what might be termed the Dalriadic Sea. The Loch Awe instances link them with the area of greatest concentration in Atholl and the whole distribution pattern suggests a gradual movement of people originating in Ireland and looking for new lands in which to settle (Fig. 11). In Dalriada they were among fellow Scots but found available land limited and already settled. In Atholl existing settlement was much more scattered and the Gaelic-speaking incomers found room for their homesteads and cattle. Beyond the frontiers, however ill-defined, of Dalriada, they may have been uncertain of their reception and this might well be the reason behind the siting of such forward-looking homesteads as those on Ben a'Chaisteil and above Marble Lodge. The fact that they did not extend their form of settlement into Strathearn but stopped short at the gateway, the entrance to Glen Ogle, suggests that this movement was independent of that which gave Strathearn its Irish associations.²⁰

Little is known of the dwellings of the Scots of Dalriada. It may be that the answer lies in some, at least, of the small duns of the west. The writers of the Introductions to volumes I and III of the Argyll Inventory²¹ suggest that some of them were occupied until the third century AD and later. Whatever they lived in it was certainly not the circular homesteads. If the speculative Irish origin of these is correct then similarities with the raths and cashels of that country must be considered. While both structures seem to share the same function, the raths were bounded by earthen walls created by the upcast from a surrounding ditch or ditches, the cashels being largely of stone without ditches. Both were in use

throughout the first millennium AD as farmsteads, mainly pastoral.²² According to Proudfoot²³ the sites occupied by raths and cashels are very similar to those of the circular homesteads and all seem to share the same function. It may be suggested that the site at Dunshelt in Fife, mentioned below, belongs to the rath tradition and some sites recently recorded as enclosures with banks and ditches may have a similar origin. But the circular homesteads with their massive stone walls and without ditches are more like the Irish cashels; certainly the distribution as it is known at present points to a possible origin in Northern Ireland especially in view of the concentration in Wigtown.

CONCLUSION

This report began as a simple exercise to record the results of two excavations at Litigan and Queen's View, to end the concept of fortification when applied to these and similar sites and to relate them to the known examples, mainly in north-west Perthshire. As the investigation progressed, however, intriguing little groups and isolated examples of sites began to emerge where size and location suggested that they belonged to the same homestead category as those in Atholl and which led to the speculation of the reason for the distribution outlined above. The evidence for function, dating and origin may still be regarded as inconclusive but such as it is, it suggests a Gaelic-speaking, pastoral people with origins ultimately in Ireland, forming one element at least of the people we call Scots and moving north-eastwards between 500 and 800 AD. Once established in Atholl, they formed part of what is called the Pictish Kingdom. The close association of homesteads with later settlement, the buildings inside them, the tracks and passes through the hills which are such a feature of the sites and the possible link-up with the early Christian movement, especially in Glen Lyon and possibly round Luce Bay, all require further investigation. They promise a clearer picture of these folk in their social background at a time when much is still obscure. In addition, the gap referred to by Morrison²⁴ that exists between the dwellings of the Iron-age farmers and the steadings of the 18th century and which remains tantalisingly difficult to fill with certainty might possibly be bridged in part by the homesteads of this report.

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- ² Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', 'Circular Forts 1915'.
- ³ Mitchell, Pitlochry District.
- ⁴ Watson, 'Circular Forts'.
- ⁵ RCAMS, *Argyll Inventory*, Vol 2, p. 161.
- ⁶ Watson, W.J., *Celtic Place Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1926, p. 498.
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- ⁸ Statistical Account of Scotland. 11, *Forfarshire -Rescobie Parish*, 1845, p. 606.
- ⁹ Robinson, M. (ed), *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, Aberdeen 1945.
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APPENDIX I

POLLEN ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL FROM QUEEN'S VIEW, LOCH TUMMEL

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Samples were taken by the author from several parts of the site and all contained minerogenic material requiring treatment in 40% HF and 10% HCL before the use of Erdtman's Acetolysis to remove organic material. All the samples were mounted on a Nikon Sk-t microscope at a magnification of 600x. With the exception of the post-hole infills (F and G), pollen preservation was quite good and a count of between 224 and 503 land pollen grains was made, although species identification was made difficult by the folding or crushing of pollen grains. Because of this no cereal species identifications were made and despite positive identification of both *Plantago lanceolata* and *P. media*/major pollen types, these are included in a single curve for *Plantaginaceae*. The results of the analysis are presented in Fig. 12, the samples being grouped according to their location on the site and it is suggested that the age of the samples decreases in the diagram from the bottom to the top, excluding the samples from the kiln (L, M and N) which are treated separately. The values of all taxa are expressed as a percentage of the total land pollen (T.L.P.) count.

Old Ground Surface. (A, B, C, D and E)

Samples from what was thought to be the old ground surface were taken from two locations on the site. Samples A and B came from a point in the north-west quadrant where approximately 4cm of homogeneous soil underlay stones on the inside face of the wall. Sample A represents material from the very base of this deposit and B from its top. Samples C, D and E were taken from a similar stratigraphy approximately one metre from the west of A and B where only 3cm of soil remained. Here C was taken from the boundary of the soil with the coarse parent material and D and E at 1cm intervals overlying it. It is assumed that these samples represent the land surface on which the wall was built, the depth of material reflecting either compression due to the weight of the wall or removal of material prior to construction. In both cases the pollen record should represent the vegetation of the site before the homestead was built, one a little earlier than the other.

A and B are characterised by low values for Arboreal Pollen (A.P.) (19.6% and 9.25%) chiefly consisting of *Betula* and *Alnus* which, with *Corylis/Myrica* at 13% and 8.6%, all show a reduction between the lower and upper sample. The Non-Arboreal Pollen (N.A.P.) count is dominated by *Gramineae* which rises from 30.9% to 40.4% with high counts also for *Plantaginaceae*, *Artemisia*, *Ranunculaceae* and *Caryophyllaceae*. There is also an increase in *Filicales* and *Sphagnum* is present in both at up to 3.8%. C, D and E show similar values for A.P. and shrub pollen though *Betula* is never found at less than 8.6%. The percentages for *Gramineae* decrease from 36.6% to 30% rather than increasing and the same herb assemblage is found except for higher values of *Plantaginaceae* (up to 14.2%). In all the samples except B cereal pollen grains occur but only at less than 1%.

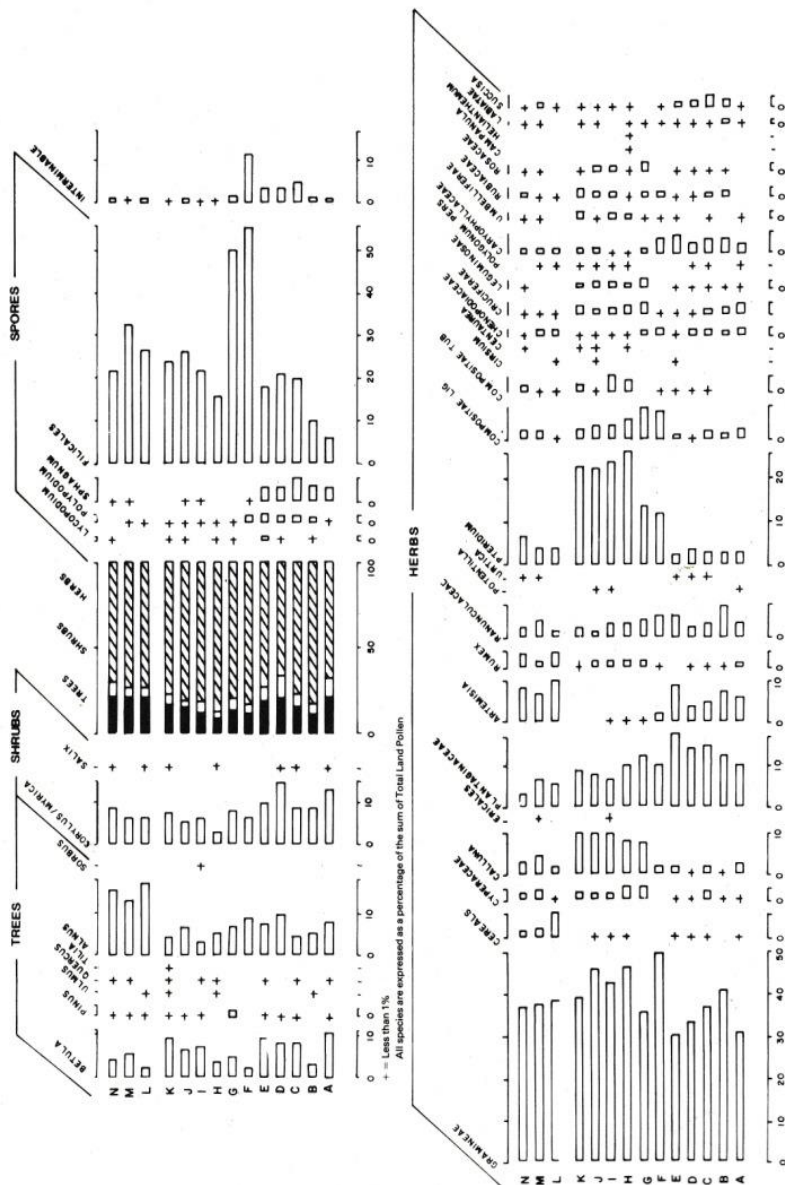


Fig. 12. Queen's View - Pollen Diagram.

Post-hole infill (F and G)

In both post-holes (F from post-hole 2 and G from 6) material for analysis was taken from near the base of the holes and they do both show somewhat similar pollen assemblages dominated by N.A.P., particularly *Graminaea* (49.1% and 35.2%). The remainder of the N.A.P. count varies little from that discussed above except that *Pteridium* is considerably higher, up to 13%, and so too are the values for *Compositae lig.* (Mainly *Taraxacum sp.*) Both F and G have high values for *Filicales* spores (55.4% and 49.8% respectively) but this may be due to resistance to corrosion, for it was here that pollen preservation was poorest.

Overlying Soil (H, I, J and K)

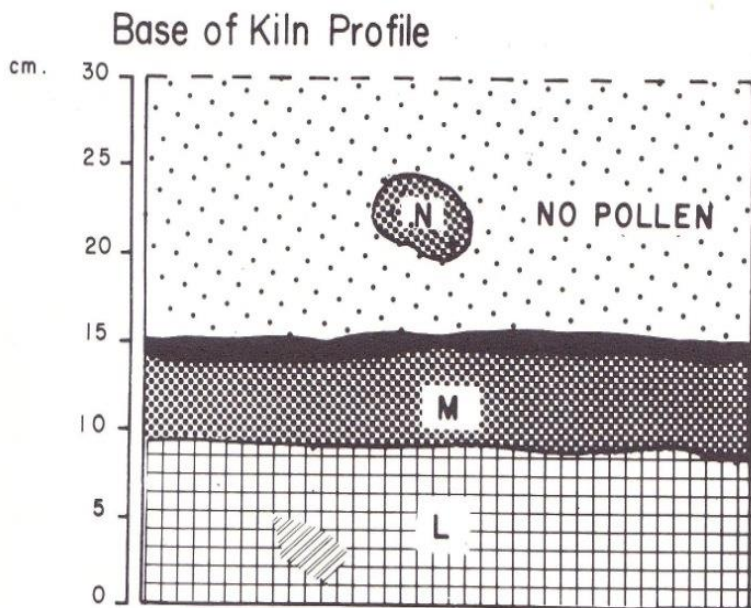
To check for the possible downwash of pollen from the overlying soil and also to look at the vegetation changes that have occurred since the homestead was abandoned, samples were taken at 4cm intervals from the overlying soil profile by one of the post-holes (post-hole 6, sample G). The lowest sample, H, was taken from the soil-parent material interface and shows an absence of any pollen assemblage comparable to that discovered below the wall. The samples show that despite an increase in *Betula* up the profile A.P. remains at 15% or less with lower values for *Corylus/Myrica* than in any other sample. In contrast to A-E, *Artemisia* occurs only spasmodically and apart from *Gramineae* the main N.A.P. pollens are *Plantaginaceae*, *Ranunculaceae* and *Compositae* Kg. with very high values for *Pteridium* (up to 26%) which was locally present as evidenced by the remains of root systems in the soil. *Calluna* is a further important element in the N.A.P. sum.

Kiln (L,M and N)

The samples taken from the kiln, from the section shown in Fig. 13, which represents the base of the main kiln profile (there being a change in the extent of the section available for sampling between the drawing of the main profile and the sampling time), have been set apart because of the difficulty in establishing the derivation of the material. Almost certainly the overlying sandy material is a secondary deposit or one which has suffered alteration, although the lens from which N was taken bore great similarity to the layer below the carbonised grain which contained M. It was possible that the layer below this, containing L, was in *situ* but may be mixed with infill material. The pollen records appear to confirm the hypothesis of comparable origin for M and N for they are both dominated by *Gramineae* (38.1% and 37.2% respectively) with *Artemisia*, *Rumex*, *Ranunculaceae*, *Plantaginaceae*, *Calluna* and *Pteridium* comprising the majority of the N.A.P. sum. Unlike other samples, the A.P. count is dominated by *Alnus* rather than *Betula*. In both M and N cereal pollen occurs at 2.2% and 1.8% and in the lowermost sample a percentage of 5.9 was obtained. With this exception, L shows an assemblage very like that of M and N (Fig. 13).

Environmental History of the Site

The samples taken do show the environment of the site both before and after the building of the homestead, those from below the wall showing the surface soil or, if cleared, a phase of landscape development previous to the homestead being built while the overlying soil from inside the wall shows vegetation development once the site was abandoned. Sandwiched between these is the post-hole evidence which reflects conditions presumably either immediately the homestead was left or when a phase of







-  Reddish/orange sand with carbon flecks 2.5 YR 4/6
-  Light grey clay 2.5 Y 6/2
-  Carbonised grain
-  Dark grey gravel with angular fragments 2.5 Y 4/2

Fig. 13. Queen's View - Kiln Profile.

occupation using the holes ceased. The pollen record from the former surface shows that the homestead was built in quite an open area within very light birch/hazel woodland in which alder was also a component. The presence of occasional cereal pollen grains does not necessarily suggest cultivation in the immediate vicinity as cereals are largely self-pollinating allowing little pollen dispersal. The origin of these pollen grains may well be from further down the slope although some very local cultivation cannot be ruled out. The figures for arable weeds in general are low and high values for *Plantaginaceae*, *Artemisia* and *Ranunculaceae*, the main pastoral weeds¹ suggest that the principal land use was grazing. The consistently high values (or *Artemisia*, which can be taken as an arable indicator, also imply that this grazing may have been quite intensive leading to disturbed soils. This is further emphasised by the low values for *Calluna* and *Pteridium* which would have spread on any cessation in the grazing pressure. The presence of significant amounts of *Sphagnum* spores indicates that there were sufficient areas where drainage was impeded for the moss to develop, a feature not found in the later samples and perhaps related again to the impact of animals.

There is little difference between the environment that existed before or contemporaneously with the homestead and that at the time of abandonment as seen in the post-hole pollen assemblages. The A.P. count shows some diminution in the local woodland cover but this was already low. The effects of abandonment are seen particularly in the increase in *Composite*[^] *Kg.* and *Pteridium* which would have spread over the floor of the homestead once it went out of use, bracken remaining a consistent feature of the local vegetation from this time. It is these samples which are the most poorly preserved as seen in the high counts for *Filicales*, probably due to oxidation of the infill. From the period of the abandonment onwards there is some evidence of a slight regeneration of the woodland, particularly birch, but woodland never really reasserted itself and the area remained largely open dominated by grassland rather than heather with plantains and other pastoral weeds and especially bracken.

Whereas the evidence from the pollen so far discussed is relatively straightforward in its chronology and implications that from the kiln is far more problematical. All three samples show very similar pollen assemblages and it does appear that M and N are derived from the same material as thought on the stratigraphical evidence. In the absence of any clear understanding of the origin of the deposit as a whole any discussion of its pollen content must be somewhat inconclusive. There are, however, some distinct dissimilarities between the kiln samples and all the other samples analysed. A.P. is higher, reaching 20%, and is composed mainly of *Abies* rather than *Betula* and in the N.A.P. *Artemisia* is high while *Plantaginaceae* remains low. The fundamental difference is to be seen in the very high percentage of cereal pollen. The pollen record of the rest of the site suggests that cultivation, at least on the scale shown in L, is unlikely to have taken place in the immediate vicinity of the homestead and thus the cereal pollen influx seen in the kiln must be derived from elsewhere. It is suggested that this could have occurred in one of two ways; either the deposit was brought in from another area bringing with it a different pollen spectra, or that the grain, as seen carbonised, was brought to the homestead for threshing, bringing with it pollen from where it was growing.²² Of these explanations the latter seems the more likely with cultivation taking place in a slightly different environment where alder rather than birch was the main tree species, possibly in a lower area where alder would have persisted as a waterside tree.³³

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<i>Alnus:</i>	Alder	<i>Gramineae:</i>	Grasses
<i>Artemisia:</i>	Mugwort, Wormwood	<i>Myrica:</i>	Myrtle
<i>Betula:</i>	Birch	<i>Plantaginaceae:</i>	Plantain
<i>Calluna:</i>	Heather	<i>Pteridium:</i>	Bracken
<i>Caryophyllaceae:</i>	Pink family including Campion	<i>Ranunculaceae:</i>	Buttercup
<i>Composite*:</i>	Daisy	<i>Rumex:</i>	Docks and Sorrels
<i>Corylus:</i>	Hazel	<i>Sphagnum:</i>	Moss
<i>Filicales:</i>	Ferns	<i>Taraxacum:</i>	Dandelion

APPENDIX II

LIST OF CIRCULAR HOMESTEADS

Sites have been identified by the name of the nearest settlement or feature but where they have been referred to by another name, locally or in the literature that too has been mentioned. In north-west Perthshire many homesteads have been and still are known as 'castle', often 'black castle', or its Gaelic equivalent and this too is noted. National Grid references and appropriate O.S. 1/25000 sheet numbers are given, a dagger (†) marking those sites named "Homestead" on the sheets. Heights OD or "above sea level" and dimensions are included where obtainable and the main literary references listed. In most cases sites have been visited by the author; where this has not been possible, that too is noted.

LOCH RANNOCH AND STRATHTUMMEL

- 1 **Allt Druidhe** NN 642574. NN 65/75. 215m OD. Circular. External diameter 18m, wall thickness not clear. 100m from the main road, immediately south of a bend to the right in forestry track. At north end of pass from Glen Lyon via Lairig Challabaich to Carie, Loch Rannoch.¹
- 2 **Bunrannoch I** Caisteal nan Dubh. NN 666580. NN65/75.† Circular. Internal diameter 11m, wall 3m. On north side of road on hummocky ground, clearance cairns and later buildings nearby. At north end of track Balintyre, Glen Lyon - Glen Sasun - Innerhadden Burn — Loch Rannoch.²
- 3 **Bunrannoch II** NN 665579. NN 65/75. † 210m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 20m, wall 3.5m. On south side of road with clearance cairns and later dwellings adjoining. On track as Bunrannoch I.³
- 4 **Dunalastair** NN 712594. NN 65/75.† 296m OD. Circular. External diameter 20m app. Ruinous and used as a tip. Good outlook westwards.⁴
- 5 **Tullochcroisk** NN 711578. NN 65/85.† 296m OD. Circular Internal diameter 21m, wall 3m. On low, tree-covered knoll without defences. At end of pass Glen Lyon via Keltney Burn and Strath Fionan to Kinloch Rannoch.⁵ (Plate 14)
- 6 **Kynachan I** Foss A. NN 787585. NN 65/75.† 150m OD. Oval. External diameter 21 x 16m, inner face not clear. On low knoll at end of pass Glen Lyon — Strathummel.⁶
- 7 **Kynachan II** Tom ant Sasunnaich. NN 785585. NN 65/75.† 150m OD. Oval. External diameter 19 x 15.5m, wall 3-4m. Poor defensive situation. At end of pass as Kynachan I.⁷
- 8 **Kynachan III** Tom Chais.el. NN 785580. NN 65/75.† 170m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 19m, wall 2.9m. On rocky knoll overlooking wide area of pasture. At end of pass as Kynachan I.
- 9 **Drumnakyle I** Caisteal Choise. NN 786573. NN 65/75.† 225m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 20 x 16m, wall 3m. On low bluff without defensive features overlooking Loch Tummel. At end of pass as Kynachan I.⁸

- 10 **Drumnakyle II** NN 790572. NN 65/75.† 240m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 19 x 13m, wall 3-4m. No natural defences. Adjoins later settlement. At end of pass as Kynachan I.⁹
- 11 **Drumnakyle III** NN 787571. NN 65/75.† 260m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 15 x 10m, wall 3-1m. No natural defences. Adjoins later settlement. At end of pass as Kynachan I.¹⁰
- 12 **Drumnakyle IV** Tom Donn nan Eun. NN 788571. NN 65/75. 260m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 11m, wall 3m. Near later settlement. On opposite side of burn from Drumnakyle III. At end of pass as Kynachan I.¹¹
- 13 **Tombreck I** NN 777569. NN 65/75.† 270m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 10 x 6m, wall 3m. On low knoll overlooking later settlement, occupies available summit of knoll, 350m from incised cross.¹²
- 14 **Tombreck II** NN 769565. NN 65/75. 300m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 12m, wall 3m. On low ground in wide area of pasture, 100m from modern steading. South-west segment destroyed.¹³
- 15 **Braes of Foss I** NN 753559. NN 65/75.† 330m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 22 x 19m, wall 3m. On low knoll. Later settlement nearby. In Strath Fionan, pass between Glen Lyon and Loch Rannoch.¹⁴
- 16 **Braes of Foss II** NN 755563. NN 65/75. 325m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 21 x 17m, wall 3m. On low knoll adjoining Kynachan Burn. Later settlement around and possibly within. In Strath Fionan, Glen Lyon - Loch Rannoch.¹⁵
- 17 **Foss Ceann na Coille**. NN 806586. NN 85/95.† 180m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 18m, wall 3m. Overlooks Loch Tummel. Not visited, approach through closely planted timber.¹⁶
- 18 **Grenich I** NN 804604. NN 86/96. † 310m OD. Circular. External diameter 32m. Overgrown. In area of extensive pasture with wide outlook over Strath-tummel.¹⁷
- 19 **Grenich II** NN 806605. NN 86/96.† 310m QD. Circular. Internal diameter 24m, wall 3m. Numerous clearance cairns in the vicinity.
- 20 **Balnabodach** Caisteal Baile nan Bodach. NN 816607. NN 86/96. † 330m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 22m, wall 3m. Later settlement adjoining. On track Tressait — Calvine in Strathgarry.¹⁸
- 21 **Borenich I** Borenich Upper. NN 839608. NN 86/96.† 310m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 23m, wall 3.5m. Remains of later settlement nearby. On track Strath-tummel - Bal nan Steuartach in Strathgarry.¹⁹
- 22 **Borenich II** Borenich Lower. NN 845601. NN 86/96.† 180m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 16 x 15m, wall 3m. Excavated.²⁰
- 23 **Borenich III** NN 834605. NN 86/96.† 280m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 14m, wall 3m. On low bluff with wide outlook. 400m west of Borenich I and on same track.²¹
- 24 **Ruith Chastle** An Caisteal Deirg. NN 887599. NN 85/95. 225m OD. Circular. External diameter 17m app. Extensive settlement overlies entire site with large pylon in the middle. Possible traces of circular wall.²²
- 25 **Queen's View I** NN 863602. NN 86/96.† 280m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 20m, wall 4m. Later settlement nearby. Overlooks pass into Strath-tummel. Excavated (see above).²³

- 26 **Queen's View II** NN 866601. NN 86/96.† 170m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 21 x 19m, wall 3m. 100m east of Queen's View I. Adjoins later settlement.
- 27 **Fincastle** Caisteal Dubh. NN 880608. NN 86/96.† 280m OD. Internal diameter 16 x 12m, wall 3.5m. On summit of low hill overlooking entrance to Glen Fincastle from Strathtummel.²⁴
- 28 **Drumchorrie** NN 933594. NN 85/95.† 225m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 27m, wall 4m, partly denuded. The interior now forms the site of a tee on Pitlochry Golf Course. Adjoins later settlement.²⁵
- 29 **Black Spout** NN 953576. NN 85/95.† 110m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 16m, wall 2m. On west bank of Edradour Burn below falls. Referred to by Pennant as 'the Black Castle of Edradour' but this is not the site so named on O.S. maps. The latter is a later structure.²⁶
- 30 **Pitcastle** NN 971533. NN 85/95.† 150m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 20m, wall 3-4m. Tree grown and surrounded by dyke. Overlooks Strathtummel.²⁷

GLEN FINCASTLE AND STRATHGARRY

- 31 **Balavoulin** Milton Lodge. NN 873616. NN 86/96.† 200m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 15m, wall 4m. Later settlement nearby. On route Strathtummel - Calvine, Strathgarry.²⁸
- 32 **Fincastle Farm** Caisteal Achadh a' Chaisteal. NN 866626. NN 86/96.† 330m OD. Oval. External diameter 30 x 27m, overgrown. Later settlement nearby. At junction of tracks Glen Fincastle — Strathgarry.²⁹
- 33 **Carraig** NN 852633. NN 86/96. 330m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 13m, wall 3m. Much denuded. On low spur overlooking more recent settlement. Extensive outlook westwards up Strathgarry.³⁰
- 34 **Tommacneil** NN 908625. NN 86/96.† 190m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 24m, wall 3m. At base of sheer cliff. Later building within.
- 35 **Strathgarry** Black Castle of Strathgarry. NN 890632. NN 86/96.† 280m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 21 x 16m, wall 3m. Overlooking Strathgarry on track to Glen Fincastle.³¹
- 36 **Craig Odhar** NN 876638. NN 86/96 † "Dun". 400m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 35 x 25m, wall 4m. By far the largest example but the site has no other defences either natural or artificial and is on the edge of an extensive plateau to the south with a steep slope down into Strathgarry in the north.³² (Plate 16)
- 37 **Auchgobhal** NN 893707. NN 87/97. 415m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 14 x 13m, wall 3m. Largely heather-grown but a few boulders of both inner and outer faces showing. On summit of steep slope above Auchgobhal but on the edge of a wide expanse of pasture to the east known as Fas Charaidh. Three deserted farmsteads surround this pasture.³³
- 38 **Marble Lodge** Caisteal Dubh. NN 904714. NN 87/97.† 440m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 21 x 14m, wall 3m. On low knoll without defences on edge of extensive terrace of pasture. Looks straight up Glen Tilt to the north but is hidden from the south. Steep climb from Marble Lodge. (Plate 17)

GLEN LYON

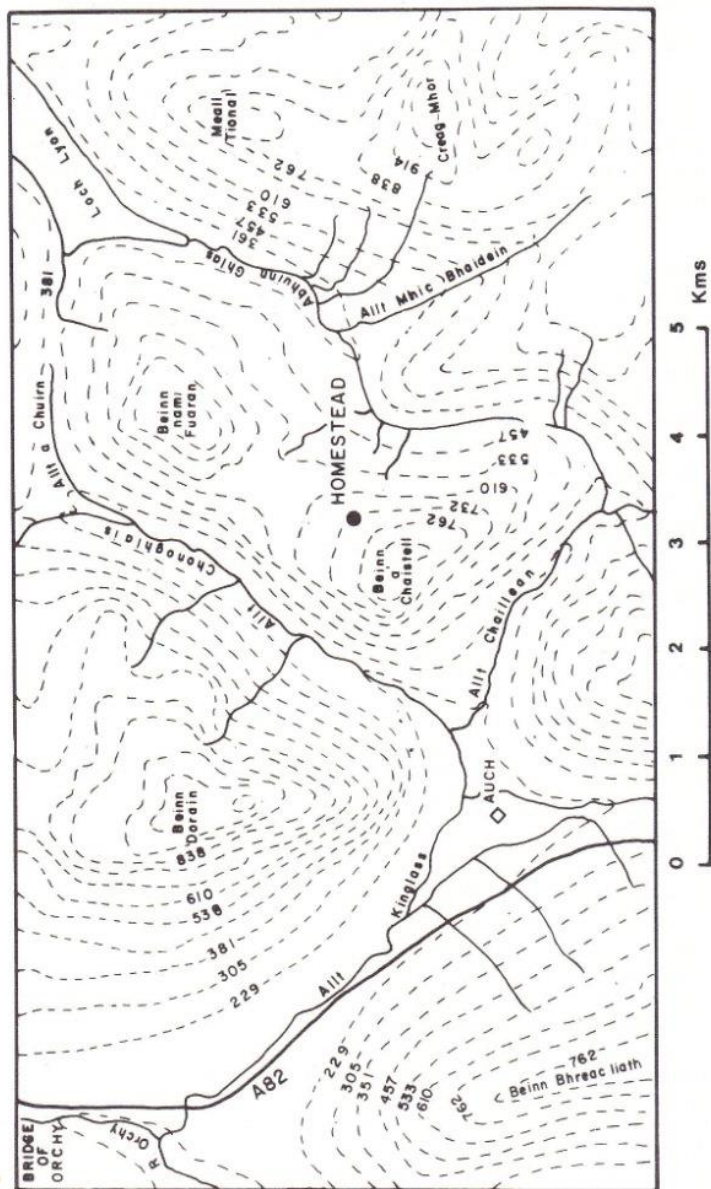
- 39 **Beinn a' Chaisteal** NN 352365. NN 23/33. 730m OD. No dimensions possible. The confirmation of the homestead's existence here was something of a problem. The name of the mountain appeared to be significant in view of the use of the term 'castle' to describe homesteads in Glen Lyon and elsewhere but the only authority for its existence appears to be Duncan Campbell of Fortingall,³⁴ all subsequent references in the literature deriving from his description. There was little reason to doubt his identification of the location since he was perfectly familiar with other 'castles' in Glen Lyon. The site was obviously important, forming a link between the homesteads of north-west Perthshire and those of Loch Awe and further west. It lies between Glen Orchy and Glen Lyon just north of Tyndrum.

In the event, Campbell's location of the site proved accurate enough. He placed it on a spur two miles south-west of Tomachoam, a farm now drowned by the enlarged Loch Lyon but whose position was obtainable from earlier editions of O.S. maps. He stated that it was nearly opposite the side glen of the Lairig Mhic Baidi formed by the valley of the Allt Mhic Bhaiden. This would place the homestead on the south-facing slopes of the mountain. Campbell also says that while the fort was very visible and very large in 1800, it was at the time of writing 'scarcely if at all distinguishable now'. He goes on 'The nearly total disappearance of it, however, is perhaps not so much due to early abandonment as to landslips from above, the breaking down of the fissile cliff on which it was placed and the digging of fox-hunters in its ruins'. He then describes how, after leaving the Abhuinn Glas which flows below the site of the fort, 'we now walk across the pass between Beinn a' Chaisteal and Beinn nam Fuaran. From the moment we turn the corner to the east of the fort, Ben Dorain towers up in front of us'.

However accurate the information, what was unexpected was the height at which the homestead was eventually found — over 700m. The slopes and summit were entirely grass covered, with a marked absence of heather but with occasional outcrops of rocks forming Campbell's 'fissile cliffs'. A number of rock slides had occurred creating isolated scree slopes and it was on one of these amid a welter of slabs and boulders, rather larger than most of the debris of the screes, that fragments of what appeared to be walling could be seen, well covered by varying depths of fallen rocks. The entire site appeared to have been overwhelmed. It proved impossible to obtain dimensions without removing a mass of material but the identification of the site was subsequently confirmed by Mr. Calum Macdonald, the Estate Manager at Auch, who mentioned that he too had seen walls on the site when 'digging for foxes'. There seems little doubt that the site of the homestead had been found.

It had been well placed. The northern slopes of the mountain descending into Auch Glen and the Allt Chonoglais are too steep to negotiate readily and are hidden from the homestead by the bulk of the mountain. East of the homestead the southern slopes are less steep, provide easy grazing and lead down into the valley of the Abhuinn Glas and so on to the shores of Loch Lyon, 2km distant. The position gives an uninterrupted view of both valley and upper reaches of the loch; anywhere else and Loch Lyon would have been completely obscured by Beinn nam Fuaran. The grass clad slopes and summit provide plenty of pasture even at that height and on the day of one of the visits in late September large numbers of sheep were grazing on the summit itself. (Fig. 14) (Plate 18).

HOMESTEAD SITE ON BEINN A' CHAISTEL



Contours at 100 feet, shown in metres

Fig. 14. Beinn a' Chaistel - Location of Homestead.

- 40 Cashlie I Caisteal an Deirg. NN 475416. NN 44/74. † 300m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 18m, wall 3-4m. Furthest west of group of four on river bank. Described by Watson under the name 'Cambuslai' but this latter is a conical mound called 'Sithean Cambuslai' near Pubil which he doesn't mention. The interior of the homestead contains stone foundations.³⁵
- 41 Cashlie II Caisteal an Duibhe. NN 479417. NN 44/54. † 300m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 16m, wall 3.5m. Incorporates in wall large boulder 7 x 3.5 x 3.5m.³⁶ (Plate 15)
- 42 Cashlie III Caisteal a' Chonbaican. NN 482416. NN 44/54. † 300m OD. Internal diameter 17m, wall 3m. On river bank.³⁷ (Plate 20)
- 43 Cashlie IV Caisteal Mhic Reil. NN 491418. NN 44/54. † 300m OD. Oval. Diameter uncertain but larger than Cashlie II, wall 3m, mutilated. In front of Cashlie Farm. The Cashlie homesteads are well placed for access to upland pastures to the north and thence on to Loch Rannoch and also for the Lairig nan Lunn and the Allt Chiorlich Burn to Glen Lochay.³⁸
- 44 Allt Baile a' Mhuilinn NN 569445. NN 44/54. 300m OD. Circular. External diameter 26m, turf covered. Later dwellings inside and around. On low bluff on left bank of burn below the junction of the Lairig an Lochan - Edramucky on Loch Tay and the Lairig Bhreislich — Duncroisk in Glen Lochay.³⁹
- 45 Kerrowclach Kerrowmore. NN 588469. NN 44/54. † 200m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 20m, wall 3m. Near later settlement. At entrance to Lairig a' Mhuic to Dall and the Lairig Challabaich to Carie, both on Loch Rannoch.⁴⁰
- 46 Camus Bhracuinn NN 620479. NN 64/74. 200m OD. Nothing visible. Destroyed when the U.F. Manse was built on the site but Watson states that foundations existed in living memory. At entrance to pass leading to Lairig Challabaich and Carie. Loch Rannoch.⁴¹
- 47 Roro XX 627468. NN 64/74. † 200m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 17m, wall 3.5m. Near later settlement and encloses ruins of former school. On track via Allt na Chobair to Carie, Loch Tay.⁴²
- 48 Balintyre Castal a' Chuirn Bhain. NN 683478. NN 64/74. † Circular, partly denuded, wall 4m. On track to Carie and via Glen Sasunn to Inverhadden, Loch Rannoch.⁴³
- 49 Balnacraig Dun Geal. NN 746476. NN 64/74. † 290m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 20m, wall 3m. On edge of steep drop to valley of Lyon but overlooked and with pasture to the north-east. Entrance 1m wide in west. Internal building.⁴⁴ (Plates 1, 23).
- 50 Litigan NN 766496. NN 64/74. † 230m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 15.5m, wall 3m. Later settlement nearby. Commands pass Glen Lyon - Kinloch Rannoch and Scrathtummel via Keltney Burn. Excavated (see above).⁴⁵

STRATH TAY

- 51 **Rhynachulig** An Caisteil. NN 615365. NN 63/73. 230m OD. Circular. External diameter 22m, grass grown. On east bank of the Allt a' Mhoirneas round base of pylon. Later settlement adjoining.⁴⁶

- 52 **Edramucky** Black Castle. NN 623367. NN 63/73.† 250m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 16m, wall 3m, ruinous. Near later settlement at entrance to the Lairig an Lochan to Glen Lyon. This site is referred to by Pennant as a 'Black Castle' north of the public road, but others seem subsequently to have confused his reference with the Castle of Edramucky, a later structure south of the road.⁴⁷
- 53 **Tombreck** An Caisteal. NN 639382. NN 63/73. 250m OD. Circular. External diameter 35m, inner wall face grass grown. On low mound in hummocky ground on east bank of Allt an Truim Bhric beside track leading to Upper Carie and on to Glen Lyon. Typical dished appearance.⁴⁸
- 54 **Croftintygan** An Caisteal Mor. NN 671394. NN 63/73. 250m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 12m, wall 3m. In field to west of that with the standing stone and on track across the shoulder of Ben Lawers to Roro, Glen Lyon.⁴⁹
- 55 **Mid Lix** NN 552301. NN 43/53. 200m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 15m, wall 2m. Grass grown. Extensive later settlement nearby. At junction of Glen Dochart and Glen Ogle. A possible second homestead lies immediately north of the modern steading.⁵⁰
- 56 **Shenavail** NN 835504. NN 85/95.f 300m OD. Oval. External diameter 25 x 20m. In heavily wooded plantation adjoining later settlement on track via Lairig an Laoigh and the French Burn to Loch Tummel.⁵¹
- 57 **Dun Taylor** NN 881484. NN 84/94. 140m OD. Circular. External diameter 30m, interior obscured by later buildings. 400m east of farm steading.⁵²
- 58 **Duntaggart** NN 874486. NN 84/94.† 200m OD. Circular. External diameter 27m. Grass grown with later buildings in and around. On low knoll.
- 59 **Tomtayewen** NN 886502. NN 85/95. 160m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 14m app., wall 2m. Only fragment of wall 10m long, .75m high, survives. Surrounded by later settlement. On track to Glen Cochill.⁵³ (Plate 22)
- 60 **Pitcairn** Ale House Croft. NN 890506. NN 85/95. 150m OD. Circular. Dimensions obscured by later dwelling inside homestead. Two segments of circular walling, 5m and 11m long are traceable but the wall thickness is nowhere clear. There is another deserted settlement nearby.⁵⁴
- 61 **Pitcastle** NN 906538. NN 85/95.f 190m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 16m, wall 3m. Modern settlement nearby. Track passes to west.⁵⁵
- 62 **Tullypowrie** NN 907541. NN 85/95.† 210m OD. Circular with dished interior. Wall face obscured by field boulders.⁵⁶
- 63 **Eastertyre** NN 951526. NN 85/95.160m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 15m, wall 3-3.5m thick, fragmentary but large basal boulders survive. Entrance probably in south-east. On edge of terrace, 20m above flat haughland along river bank, good pasture behind. Typical dished appearance.⁵⁷
- 64 **Kincraigie** NN 986493. NN 84/94. 100m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 23m, wall 3m. Later settlement adjoining. Dished interior.⁵⁸

GLEN QUAICH

- 65 **Croftmill** Caisteal dubh nan Cro. NN 867367. NN 83/93. 290m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 21 x 14m, wall 3m. On low bluff called Tom Orain overlooking Glen Quaich. Later settlement nearby. At entrance to pass Glen Quaich - Glen Almond.⁵⁹

- 66 **Garrows I** Black Castle. NN 826401. NN 83/93. 300m OD. Circular. External diameter 17m, inner wall face grass grown. 15m from Garrows II. At entrance to Lairig Mille Marcaidh to Kenmore.⁶⁰ (Plate 21)
- 67 **Garrows II** Druid Circle. NN 826401. NN 83/93. 300m OD. Circular. External diameter 15m, inner wall face grass grown. As Garrows I.⁶¹ (Plate 21)

ANGUS

- 68 **Brankam Hill** NO 302560. NO 25/35. 300m OD. Circular. External diameter 18.7m, wall 2m. Outer face of large boulders, some robbing, later building inside. Now used as feeding area for cattle.⁶²
- 69 **Balnagarrow** Meams Hill. NO 373572. NO 25/35. 260m OD. Circular. External diameter 19.5m. Massive outer kerb, wall thickness uncertain. Terraced into hillside. Overlooks farm of Balnagarrow.⁶³
- 70 **Pitscandly Hill** Rob's Rede. NO 491495. NO 45/55† "Dun". 170m OD. Circular. External diameter 27m, grass grown. Dished profile, no additional defences. At west end of ridge on edge of extensive pasture.⁶⁴ (Plate 24)
- 71 **Turin Hill** Kemp's Castle. NO 514535. NO 45/35† "Forts". 250m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 23m, wall 3.5m. On summit ridge overlying earlier defences, viz: I. Large enclosure, 300 x 140m, within two concentric ramparts. II. Oval fort with single rampart overlying the south-west sector of the inner rampart of I, 270 x 45m. III. On top of this rampart, the circular enclosure mentioned above. In addition, to the east, a second circular structure with two concentric banks forming rings 15 and 35m in diameter. Yet a third circle lies to the west. The site is discussed more fully dhow.⁶⁵ (Plate 25)
- 72 **Kingennie St. Bride's Ring**. NO 475354. NO 43† "Fort". 95m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 18m, wall 2m. Entrance in east. On low bluff, steep drop of 15m on all sides except east where approach is easy and undefended.⁶⁶

LOCH AWE

- 73 **Barr a' Chaistealain** NN 162270. NN 02/12.t 107m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 20 x 24m. wall 2.7m. On west end of ridge overlooking Dalmally, the west end of den Orchy and the north-end of Loch Awe. There are no defensive features and the interior is filled with the remains of secondary dwellings.⁶⁷
- 74 **Castles** NX 139295. NN 02/12.† 80m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 18m, wall 3m. On low platform without defences behind farm of same name at the entrance to Glen Strae. Turf covered. A possible second site does not appear to be that of a homestead.⁶⁸(Plate 19)
- 75 **Duchoille** Tom a' Chaisteal. NN 139247. NN 02/12.† 100m OD. Circular. Internal Diameter 11m, wal 2.3m. Entrance in east. On sumit of rocky knoll without defences.⁶⁹
- 76 **Dalvaich** Larach na Iobairte. NM 965142. NM 81/91.† 135m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 12.3 x 10.8m, wall 3m. On terrace overlooking valley of River Avich on route Loch Awe - Kilmeafort.⁷⁰

- 77 **Ford** NM 865039. NM 80/90. † 80m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 16m, wall 2m. On low ground in bowl-shaped area with stream on south and west sides. Other structures inside including possible corn-drying kiln in wall. On track Ford -Salachary.⁷¹

LOCH FYNE

- 78 **Largiemore** An Socach. NR 956860. NR 88/98. † 165m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 19m, wall 3m. Internal building. On old track Euynachan - Glendaruel.⁷²
- 79 **Euynachan** NR 948865. NR 88/98. 50m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 19 x 17m, wall 3m. On sloping field with wide outlook over Loch Fyne. No defences. On track to Glendaruel.⁷³
- 80 **Kilail** NR 938841. NR 88/98 † 70m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 22 x 17m, wall 3m. Entrance in south-west. Field dyke built on top of wall. At west end of Bealachandrain, Glendaruel — Ottir Ferry.⁷⁴
- 81 **Ottir Ferry** Tom Buidhe. NR 936840. NR 88/98. 70m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 27 x 20m, wall obscure. No defences. Tree felling in interior.⁷⁵

BUTE AND COWAL

- 82 **Nether Ardroscaidale** Bail Iodrach. NS 038629. NS 06. 30m OD. Internal diameter 21m, wall 3m. Poor defensive situation. Wide outlook. Dished interior.⁷⁶
- 83 **Strone Point** Cnoc nam Fiantem. NS 190811. NS 08/18. 90m OD. Circular. External diameter 27m, wall 3m. No defensive qualities, good outlook over Firth of Clyde. Interior now occupied by sixth green of golf course. Little now remains but the outline of the stone wall is still traceable round most of the circumference. This is not entirely consistent with the description of an excavation at the site in 1971 where the excavator refers to a regular rectangle enclosed by a rampart of turf on a cobbled base 4.3m wide with heavy boulder kerbs. The entry in the Inventory for Mid-Argyll mentions an earthwork about 30m in diameter. Certainly, from surface indications, the structure seemed circular to the author.⁷⁷

KINTYRE

- 84 **Ballochroy** NR 735526. OS 1/50000 62. 105m OD. Circular. External diameter 24.5m, wall 3m, now grass covered. Denuded in south-west. Good outlook over Sound of Gigha, no defences.⁷⁸
- 85 **Beachmeanach** NR 695424. OS 1/50000 62. 135m OD. Circular. External diameter 27.5m, wall 2.4—3m. Grass-grown but inner and outer faces visible. Entrance in south-west. Good outlook over Sound of Gigha.⁷⁹
- 86 **Balnagleck** NR 683253. OS 1/50000 68. 120m OD. Oval. External diameter 21.5 x 26m, wall thickness not clear. Extensive robbing. Possible entrance in east.⁸⁰

- 87 **North Craigs** NR 688239. OS 1/50000 68. 75m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 33.5 x 25m, wall 2.4—3m. On low knoll' overlooking Aros Moss and Machrihanish Bay. Heather and bare rock in interior. Heavily robbed, no additional defences.⁸¹

AYRSHIRE

- 88 **Castle Hill** NS 208526. NS 23/25. † 60m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 17m x 20m, wall 4m. On bluff overlooking Glen Burn but approach easy. No additional defences.⁸²
- 89 **Kelburn** NS 214563. NS 23/35. † 40m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 20m, wall 2.5m. Entrance in north-east, no defences.
- 90 **Glenside Black Hill**. NS 213528. NS 23/25. 140m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 21 x 18m, wall 3m. Turf covered but faces visible. Entrance in north-east. Outlook over Clyde Estuary.

WIGTOWN

- 91 **Garheugh** NX 276506. NX 25/15. † 100m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 34 x 18m, wall 2m. Later building inside, possible huts in wall.⁸³
- 92 **Corwall** NX 291494. NX 25/35. † 125m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 35 x 20m, wall 3m, turf covered. In hollow on south of hill.⁸⁴
- 93 **Chippermore I** NX 291482. NX 25/35. † 90m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 29 x 26m, wall 3m. On top of ridge, badly defaced with rectangular structure inside. Crossed by modern dyke.⁸⁵
- 94 **Chippermore II** NX 295484. NX 25/35. † 100m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 32 x 26m, wall 5m. Obscured by stones from field clearance. Built into gentle, south-west facing slope with wide outlook over Luce Bay. Field dyke skirts perimeter.⁸⁶ (Plate 26)
- 95 **Chippermore III** NX 296483. NX 25/35. † 100m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 23.5 x 22m, wall 2.7m. Excavated. Inner and outer faces of stone, careless filling. Entrance in south-east, 1.6m wide, paved in layers 30cm deep, secondary blocking. Lowest wall-course built on sub-soil. Paved areas and some post-holes in interior. No recognisable occupation levels.⁸⁷ (Plate 27)
- 96 **Changue** NX 299481. NX 25/35. † 70m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 40 x 28m, wall 3m.⁸⁸
- 97 **Airyolland I** NX 308478. NX 34/44. † 95m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 25.5 x 24m, wall 2.5-4.5m. Inner and outer faces visible in places. Very typical.⁸⁹ (Plate 28)
- 98 **Airyolland II** NX 311479. NX 34/44. † 110m OD. Oval. External diameter 36 x 30m, wall 4m app. Covered by clearance stones.⁹⁰
- 99 **Elrig** NX 324481. NX 34/44. † 85m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 20 x 19m, wall 4m, grass grown. Obscured by field clearance stones but decidedly dished in profile.⁹¹



Plate 26. Chippermore II, Luce Bay.



Plate 27. Chippermore III, Luce Bay.

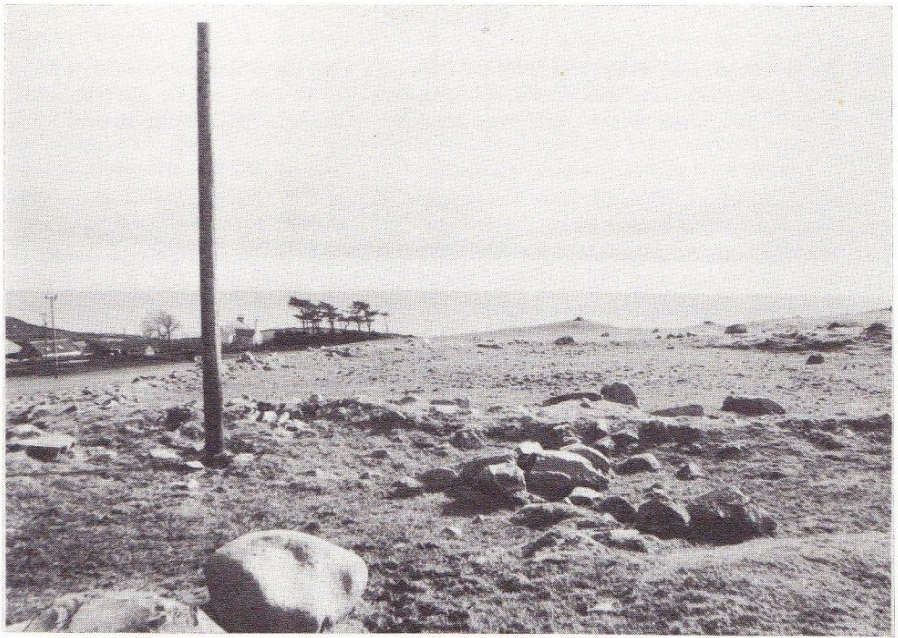


Plate 28. Airyolland I, Luce Bay.

- 100 **Knock I** NX 374394. NX 33/43† 'Enclosure'. 45m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 22.5 x 18m, wall 2.5m. Partially destroyed in the west and east by later track. Good outlook.⁹²
- 101 **Knock II** NX 375396. NX 33/43 † 'Enclosure'. 55m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 17m, wall 2.5m. Good outlook, no defences.⁹³
- 102 **Cairndoon** NX 379387. NX 33/43.†75m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 20 x 18.5m, wall 2.5m. At end of rocky spur, no defences. In east a stone 'seat' has been built into and above the wall with material probably from the wall. This is a square pillar 3m high with a slab seat built into each face. Good outlook.⁹⁴
- 103 **Carleton** NX 391376. NX 33/43.†65m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 20 x 16m, wall 3m. Field dyke cuts off south-west segment. Wide outlook, no defences.⁹⁵
- 104 **Balgown** NW 999694. NW 95/96/97. 65m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 14.3 x 13m, wall spread to 4.7m. Entrance on south-east, No defences.⁹⁶
- 105 **High Clachanmore** Barrack Knowe. NX 089464. NX 03/04. 45m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 33 x 30m, wall spread to 7m, overlain by field dyke. Possible building in interior but obscured by field clearance stones.⁹⁷
- 106 **Kirkbride** NX 119404. NX 03/04. 35m OD. Oval. Internal diameter 27 x 25m, wall spread to 8.5m and up to 1.5m high. Building on east side of interior and immediately outside, said to be the remains of a church. Locals regard the site as a burial ground, a number of horizontal slabs are visible.⁹⁸

LISMORE

- 107 **Balliveolan** NM 838412. NM 84/94.70m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 13.4m, wall 3.4m. No additional defences. The entrance is indicated by upright slabs. Interior occupied by outcrops over a quarter of its area. Wide outlook over Loch Linnhe.⁹⁹

ISLAY

- 108 **Portintruan** Sruthan na Cille. NR 378457. 1/50000 Sheet 60. External diameter 19m, wall 3.5m, outer face of large boulders. Later structure inside. No defences, overlooked by ridge to north-east.¹⁰⁰

In addition to the above a number of possible sites have been mentioned in the literature. They have not been included in the list because they cannot be positively identified but they do not materially affect the distribution or the functional evidence to be discussed.

Clagh-gil-Andreas Blair Atholl. This site is referred to in the Old Statistical Account as being situated on the west bank of the Tilt where it falls into the Garry. "About a quarter of a mile up the same bank is one of these round castles." Subsequent references repeat only the above. While the site is a likely one in view of the homesteads already identified in the neighbourhood, there is now no visible evidence for such a structure.¹⁰¹

Strathgroy Blair Atholl. A further reference in the same parish account mentions two other 'castles' in Strathgroy, a mile to the east of the Tilt. Recent excavation here has shown these to be a fortified site with ditches and banks enclosing a drystone wall. In the post-occupational debris an eighth or ninth century brooch was found.¹⁰²

Dun Athach Loch Awe. NN 144258. This is a low, steep-sided knoll overlooking Loch Awe near Dalmally and is the site of the memorial to Duncan Ban MacIntyre, the Gaelic poet of Glen Orchy. The New Statistical Account refers to the knoll as a dun on which a fort or castle stood. Christison¹⁰³ describes the structure as being 47 feet in diameter while the Lome Inventory¹⁰⁴ comments that all that can be seen is an arc of grass-grown debris. The fact that the site was chosen for the monument to Duncan Ban might lend credence to its identification with one of the 'castles' with which he was familiar but there is certainly little sign now of any structure earlier than the monument. Moreover the site has the characteristics of a western dun rather than of a homestead. The steep sides all round give the appearance of defence.

Dalchiorlich Glen Lyon. Watson¹⁰⁵ mentions this as the site of the fifth of the Cashlie homesteads on the south side of the river a little to the east of the farm of that name. He saw no remains. Stewart¹⁰⁶ merely repeats Watson. When the site was visited in 1986 the farmer was aware of the tradition but had no knowledge of any possible location. The existence of a very typical low knoll occupied by the ruins of 18th or 19th century dwellings but with no trace of a circular wall along with the fact that the nearby Allt Chiorlich provides a route via the Lairig Liaran into Glen Lochay may be significant. For the moment, however, it cannot be regarded as a definite homestead site.

Gallin Glen Lyon. Campbell¹⁰⁷ records the fact that there was a six-mile gap between the

'castles' at Kerrowclach and Cashlie and, following Pennant's quotation that there were 12 'castles' in Glen Lyon, that only 11 of the 12 had been accounted for. On that basis he suggested that Meggernie Castle displaced a Celtic fort and adds that the 'Sithean' of Gallin was not far from it. Watson¹⁰⁸ repeats the tradition and locates the site of the missing homestead at what is now the factor's house at Gallin at the end of the track leading to Lochs Daimh and Giorra and thence by the Lairig Meachdhain to Camghouran on Loch Rannoch. He saw no trace of any structure and none can be seen today. **Duncroisk** Glen Lochay. NN 43/53. There is a tradition of a homestead site at Duncroisk at the entrance to the Lairig Breislich which leads to Glen Lyon. The name Dun Croisk is certainly suggestive of such a site as is that of the burn, Allt Dhuin Croisg, and the hill to the east, Meall Dhuin Croisg, but despite a thorough search nothing definite has been found. A possible site at NN 531365 in a boulder-strewn area north of the modern farm steading contains one or two arc-shaped stretches of what appears to be walling but it cannot positively be identified as a homestead.¹⁰⁹

Achmore Loch Tay. NN 610334. Caisteal Braigh an Radhaire, Casteal Bareyra, Caisteal Baraora. Continuing references have been made to this site in the literature under all of the names mentioned. Watson¹¹⁰ quotes Pennant, giving the position but he did not see it himself. However he makes the useful comment that "it is not the great fort OB die adjoining height". Feachem¹¹¹ gives the dimensions of the large fort. Finally the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments¹¹² describes the two sites adjoining each other — the large fort already mentioned and another, Castle Baraora 2, which is situated to the north-east of it, is roughly oval in shape and is surrounded by a single wall of dry none, largely quarried away. When the site was visited (1985) No. 1 fort was confirmed but No. 2 was in an area so densely planted as to be virtually impenetrable. The site then cannot be confirmed as that of a homestead and is certainly not typical of the usual homestead location, being built on a hilltop with a steep drop all round.

Callelochan Loch Tay. Gillies¹¹³ refers to a homestead site at Callelochan, west of the barn called Allt an Duin, 200m above Loch Tay at a point where the hillside takes a sharp bend to the south. Callelochan is not named on the OS 1/25000 sheet NN 64/74 but its XGR is NN 719423. Gillies also mentions two features in the vicinity - Tom a' Chaisteil and Leod a' Chaisteil. The area is heavily wooded with mature timber, almost impenetrable, and the site of the homestead could not be located. The Forestry Commission have no record of the site but since Gillies is usually reliable in his descriptions, the location of a homestead here is probably correct.

Dunacree, Dunskiag and Duntruim Strathtay. On the southern slopes of Strathtay to the east and west of Aberfeldy are five farms, the three named above along with Duntaylor and Duntaggart. The last two are the locations of homesteads and are listed as Nos. 58 and 39. The prefix 'Dun' is unusual for the name of homestead sites and Stewart¹¹⁴ thought that the three mentioned were also those of homesteads although nothing now remains.

Castlebeigh Pitlochry. Mitchell¹¹⁵ mentions two 'Caisteals' in the immediate vicinity of Pitlochry, one near Black Spout, (No. 29), called by Pennant 'the Black Castle of Edndour', and one near the Pitlochry Hydro at a house called 'An Lamrig'. Mitchell explains that the latter 'Caisteal' was destroyed when the house was built. However, it seems that the original name of 'An Laimrig' was 'Castlebeigh' and when the house was sold recently the name reverted to 'Castlebeigh' and it became a hotel. There are no visible remains of a homestead in the vicinity but the name 'Castlebeigh' adds to the credibility of Mitchell's statement. It should also be noted that what is now named the Black Castle of Edradour on

OS maps is in fact a square keep of a date much later than that of the homesteads.

Fort Burn Kintyre. NR 615060. OS 1/50000 62.105m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 10.5m, wall 1.8m. This site is on the southern tip of Kintyre with an outlook to the coast of Northern Ireland about 16km distant. Although it has all the appearance of a circular homestead, its size suggests a hut circle and for that reason it has not been included in the list of confirmed sites. The problem here, however, is that few other hut circles have been recorded in Kintyre.¹¹⁶

Gleckavoil Bute and Cowal. NS 025758. NS 07/17. 70m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 10m, wall 2m. On gently sloping ground overlooking Kyles of Bute. No defences. Like Fort Burn it is more reminiscent of a hut circle.¹¹⁷

Mid-Argyll In the Inventory for Mid-Argyll¹¹⁸ under the heading 'Enclosures' there are over 20 circular and oval structures with stone built walls. Some have dimensions similar to those of the circular homesteads under discussion and six have been included above, nos. 78-83. The remainder are smaller, in some cases markedly so, and are more slightly built, reminiscent again of hut circles. An interesting group of seven are located near Crinan, one of which, at NR 787911, overlies an earlier dun, a fact which must have dating implications. Rightly or wrongly they have not been included in this report but inevitably raise the question of what should be included in the term 'circular homestead'.

Fife and Clackmannan Three other sites, two in Fife and one in Clackmannan, remain to be mentioned if only because, like the Angus examples, they have been called ring-forts.

Dunshelt NO 246102. NO 21/31. 150m OD. The main enclosure, 32 x 30m and containing a smaller enclosure 15m in diameter, is surrounded by four well defined ramparts with intervening ditches. The entrance faces south-east, is 10m wide at the outer and 6m at the inner end. The ramparts measure 1.5m high.¹¹⁹ This appears to be similar to an Irish multivallate rath.

Dunearn NT 212873. NT 28. 230m OD. On crest of hill, roughly circular but ruinous. External diameter 40m. This wall overlies an earlier rampart enclosing a fort 200m x 70m. The later ring fort gives the appearance of a citadel with two sets of walling seemingly more integrated than those on Turin Hill. Again the site is more obviously defensive.¹²⁰

Castle Craig Tillicoultry, Clackmannan. NT 912977. 180m OD. Circular. Internal diameter 26m, wall 3.5m. On low spur with steep slopes except in north-west which is protected by a rock-cut ditch. The ring fort and ditch seem contemporary. Quarry working has now destroyed the site.¹²¹

Since defence seems to be the main characteristic of the sites at Dunearn and Castle Craig, they have not been included in the list of homesteads.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

-
- ¹ Stewart, 'RING forts', p.30.
- ² Stewart, *Ibid*, p. 30; NMRS Record Card NN 65 NE 7.
- ³ Stewart, *Ibid*, p. 30; NMRS Record Card NN 65 NE 7.
- ⁴ DES 1969, p. 34.
- ⁵ Stewart, *Ibid*, p.32.
- ⁶ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1915', pp. 26-27.
- ⁷ DES 1975, p.62.
- ⁸ Watson, *Ibid*, pp. 26-27.
- ⁹ DES 1975, p. 63; Kenworthy, *Report*.
- ¹⁰ DES 1975 p. 63; Kenworthy, *Report*.
- ¹¹ Kenworthy, *Report*
- ¹² DES 1975, p. 62
- ¹³ DES 1978, p. 33
- ¹⁴ Watson, *Ibid*, p. 26; Feachem, *Guide*, p. 184.
- ¹⁵ Kenworthy, *Report*.
- ¹⁶ Watson, *Ibid* p. 27; Feachem, *Guide*, pp. 183-184.
- ¹⁷ Watson, *Ibid*, pp. 25-26.
- ¹⁸ Watson, *Ibid*, pp. 23-25.
- ¹⁹ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', pp. 47-52; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1915', pp. 23-24.
- ²⁰ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', pp. 52-53; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1915', pp. 28-32.
- ²¹ DES 1972, p. 62
- ²² Watson, 'Circular Forts 1915', p. 27; Mitchell, *Pitlochry*, p. 74.
- ²³ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', p. 53; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1915', pp. 21-22; Feachem, *Guide*, p. 183.
- ²⁴ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1915', pp. 21-22.
- ²⁵ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', pp. 53-54; Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- ²⁶ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', p. 55; Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Dixon, J.H., *Pitlochry Past and Present*, 1925, p. 84.
- ²⁷ Watson 'Circular Forts 1913', p. 55; Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
- ²⁸ Watson 'Circular Forts 1915', pp. 20-21.
- ²⁹ Watson 'Circular Forts 1915', p. 20.
- ³⁰ DES 1976, p. 79.
- ³¹ Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Childe, V.G. and Graham, A., 'Some notable prehistoric and medieval monuments recently examined by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland', *PSAS* 77, (1947-48), pp. 31-19; Feachem, *Guide*, p. 184.
- ³² DES 1976, p. 79.
- ³³ Mr. John Wilson, Dundee, drew my attention to this site.
- ³⁴ Campbell, *Garth and Fortingall*, p. 44.
- ³⁵ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', pp. 34-35; Stewart, *Highland Parish*, p. 29.
- ³⁶ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', pp. 34-35; Stewart, *Highland Parish*, p.29; Feachem, *Fortifications*, p.71.
- ³⁷ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', pp. 36-37; Stewart, *Highland Parish*, p. 29.
- ³⁸ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', pp. 36-37; Stewart, *Highland Parish*, p. 29.
- ³⁹ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', p. 38.

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- ⁴⁰ Campbell, *op. at.*, p. 25; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', p. 39; Stewart, *Highland Parish*, p. 26.
- ⁴¹ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', p. 39; Stewart, *Highland Parish*, p. 25.
- ⁴² Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', pp. 39-40; Stewart, *Highland Parish*, p. 24; Feachem, *Guide*, p. 183.
- ⁴³ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', pp. 39-41; Stewart, *Highland Parish*, p. 21.
- ⁴⁴ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Hutchison, A., 'Notes on the stone circle near Kenmore and of some hill forts in the neighbourhood of Aberfeldy', *PSAS* 23 (1888-89), pp. 356-357; Christison, D., 'The forts, "camps" and other fieldworks of Perth, Forfar and Kincardine', *PSAS* 23 (1899-1900), pp. 356-357; Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', pp. 41-45; Stewart, *Highland Parish*, p. 34; Feachem, *Guide*, p. 183.
- ⁴⁵ Watson, 'Circular Forts 1913', p. 45.
- ⁴⁶ Gillies, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
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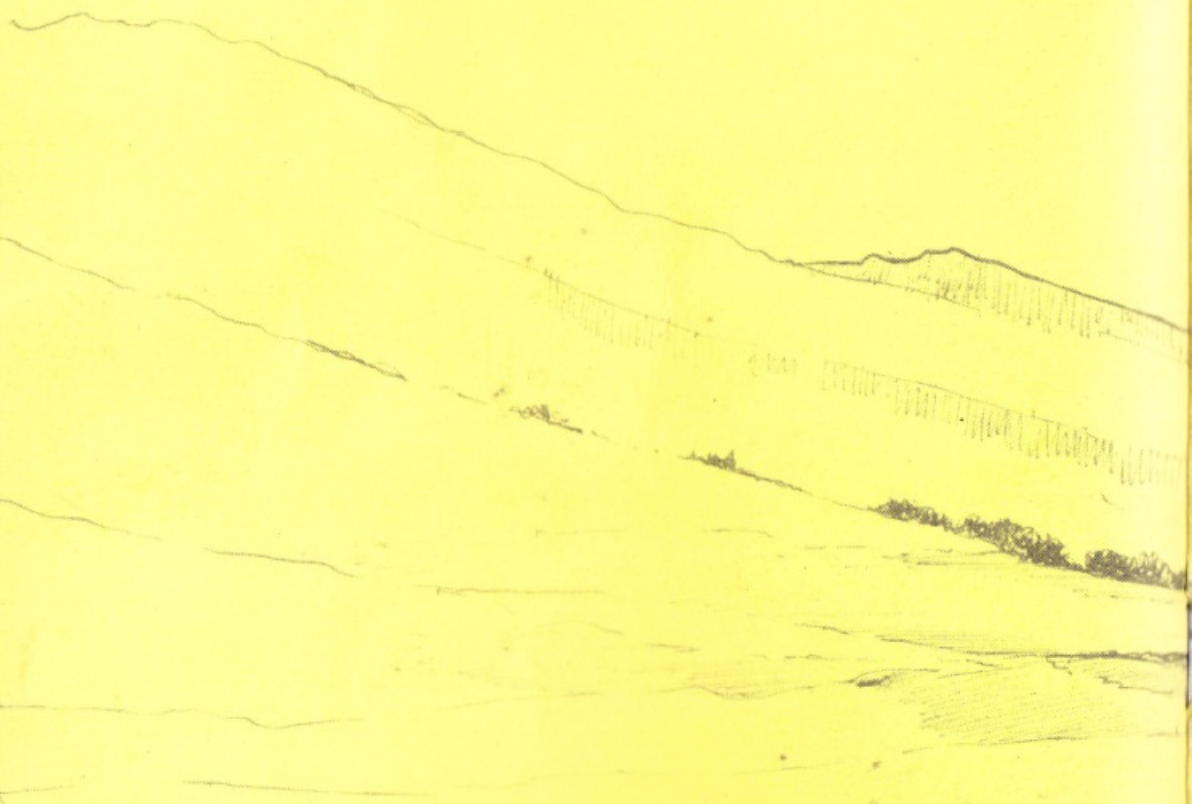
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