HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND | ÀRAINNEACHD EACHDRAIDHEIL ALBA

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STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

DUN TELVE

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HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND
STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

DUN TELVE BROCH

CONTENTS

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1. SUMMARY

1.1 Introduction

The tall-standing remains of Dun Telve broch stand on level ground towards the lower end of Gleann Beag, Kyle. The well-preserved broch of Dun Troddan is situated only 500 metres to the east.

Dun Telve and Dun Troddan were both taken into State care in 1885 under a Guardianship agreement. Clearance and consolidation works were undertaken in 1914; while the site was not formally excavated, some finds were recovered during clearance and are now in the collection of the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh.

The site, which is unstaffed, is reached by a single-track road from the village of Glenelg, and the pair of brochs are often collectively referred to as the 'Glenelg Brochs'.

Visitor numbers are not currently counted, but were estimated at 1,200 for 2018-2019.

1.2 Statement of Significance

Brochs are an Iron Age phenomenon; they were first constructed (on current evidence) at a date between 400 and 200 BC and are a prehistoric building type unique to Scotland. They are typified by a circular internal ground plan with massive drystone walls capable of rising to tower-like heights. The largest among them are believed to have been the tallest prehistoric stone structures in North Western Europe, though very few have survived to any great height.

Dun Telve is of national importance as one of the tallest-standing brochs. Its remaining fabric, much reduced in historic times, still stands over 10 metres tall for about one quarter of its circumference, making it the second-tallest surviving broch after **Mousa**[1] in Shetland. It is thus one of a very small group of examples upon which inferences can be based regarding the uppermost structure and possible roofing of brochs.

No direct dating evidence has emerged so far for Dun Telve, but on analogy with more recently excavated sites, a date of construction in the last few centuries BC seems most likely. It is not known if Dun Telve was built before or after the nearby **Dun Troddan**, but the occupation of the two almost certainly overlapped.

Outside the broch's entrance are some apparently later structures, including an outward extension to the entrance passage built of massive boulders. It is possible that the present-day form of these features, part of which seems to be the

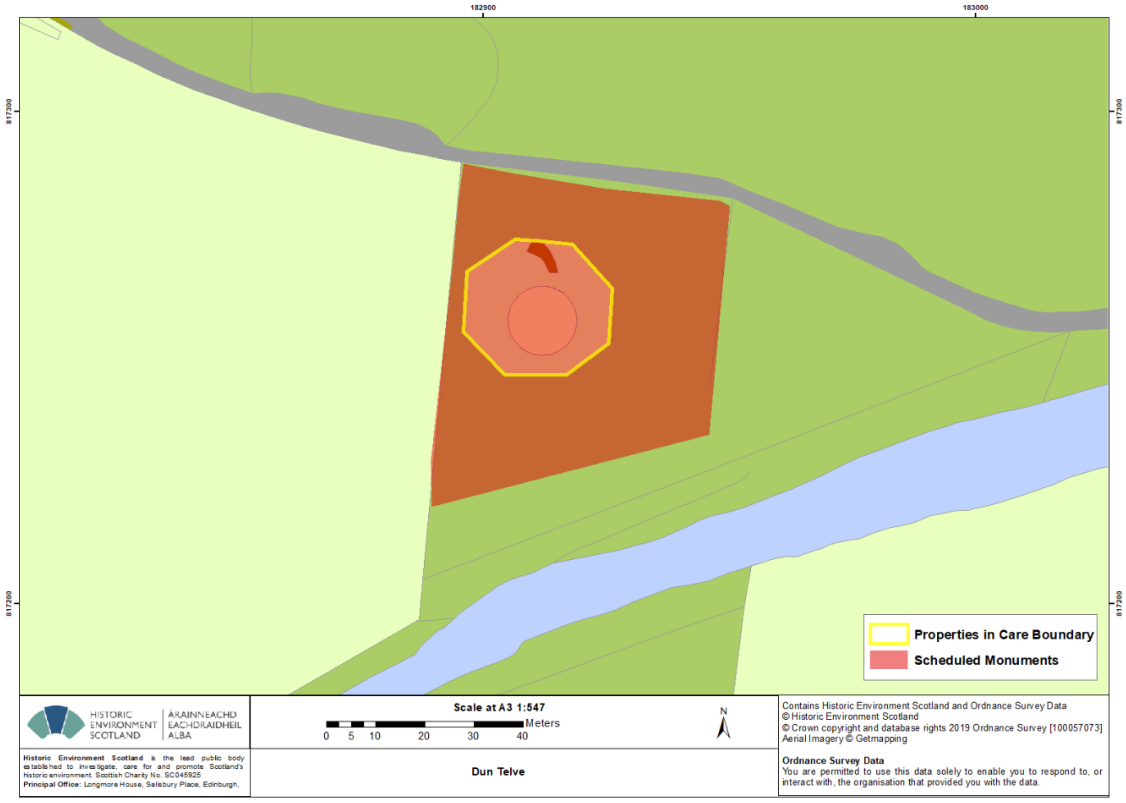
[1] Throughout the text, site names in **bold** are managed by Historic Environment Scotland and are publicly accessible. Access information can be found at: www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/

remains of a building with an irregular, sub-rectangular plan, may be to some extent an accident of excavation and consolidation.

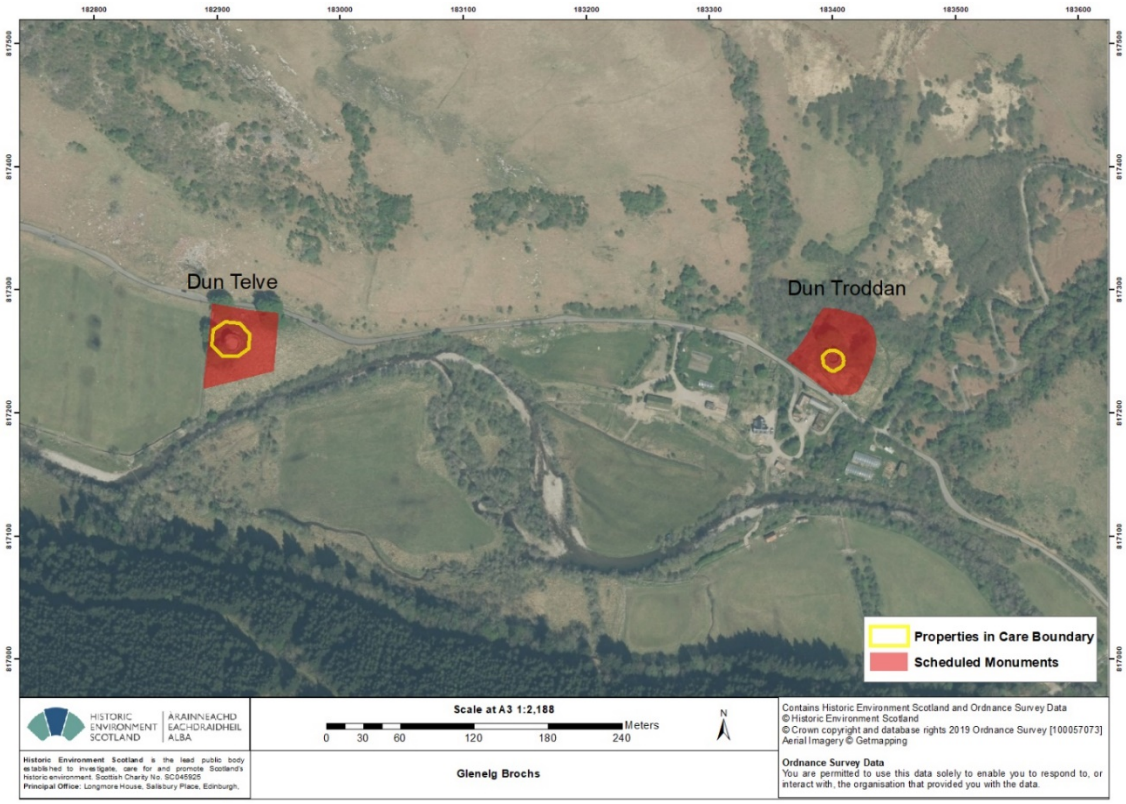
Key aspects of the Dun Telve's significance include:

- The remarkable height of the surviving structure, particularly the surviving details of the upper parts of the double-skinned broch wall – these show marked differences from Mousa (the only other example to survive to this height), and also from nearby Dun Troddan.
- Located on the mainland and close by a road it is relatively straightforward to access (compared, say, to Mousa); this allows a first-hand appreciation of the scale of the structure.
- The presence of two scarcement ledges on the inner wall-face, which has implications for our understanding of how brochs may have been fitted out internally, presumably in wood. The upper scarcement is the nearest we have to definite architectural evidence for a roof in any broch.
- The history of antiquarian and archaeological investigation at the site.
- The very small but interesting finds assemblage from unsupervised excavation in 1914.
- The potential for surviving archaeological deposits and clarification of the date and character of the external structures.
- Its context, siting and relationship to other archaeological and landscape features as compared with other broch sites; the degree to which it typifies, or is exceptional to, the generality of brochs and how it has been referenced in developing theories of Iron Age architecture, society and economy. Its close proximity to another broch has to be accommodated into any such theories.
- Its use and presentation as an Ancient Monument: Dun Telve was taken into State care in 1885, making it one of the earliest Guardianship monuments.

The following pages give a fuller background to the site and go on to discuss the various aspects of its significance. A range of Appendices includes an overview of Brochs – theories and interpretations at Appendix 4.



Dun Telve scheduled area and PIC boundary, for illustrative purposes only. For further images, including site plan, see Appendix 2.



Location of Dun Telve and Dun Troddan – the 'Glenelg Brochs'.

2. ASSESSMENT OF VALUES

2.1 Background

2.11 Introduction – Brochs

Brochs have been the subject of much study and attempts to understand them have given rise to numerous theories about their genesis, purpose, context and relationships to other Iron Age structures. The best-preserved examples are striking and distinctive sights.

Broch towers are characterised by their conformity to certain design elements which make them seem a very cohesive group (near-circular ground plan, hollow or galleried wall construction, a single narrow entrance passage, a staircase within the wall thickness, stacked voids and tower form). Dating evidence is scarce and most reliable dates relate to periods of occupation rather than construction.

However, recent radiocarbon dates from sites in South Uist and Shetland (sampled within walls or beneath the structure) indicate construction before 100 BC and between 200 and 400 BC respectively.[2] It is generally thought that the small number of brochs in the Scottish Lowlands and Southern Uplands are late examples, and some, at least, seem to have been built in the second century AD.

Brochs are acknowledged as one of the only building types unique to Scotland; their remains occur most frequently in the north and west, and rarely in the south. As it is not known how many brochs were built, much depends upon survival rates and upon adequate investigation. Estimates for potential broch sites range from 150–600 sites; however, most have not been investigated and criteria for assessing the sites vary. It is generally agreed that about 80 known sites meet the definition for broch used here, though there may be many more which might be proven, if sufficiently investigated.

There are many competing theories as to the social context which gave rise to brochs, and their use and meanings for Iron Age society. As yet there are no agreed conclusions and a fuller account of these themes is given at Appendix 4.

The distribution, location and frequency of brochs varies markedly between different regions. The two Glenelg Brochs (along with the nearby Dun Grugaig, a galleried dun which shares several broch-like architectural features) occupy an outlying position in the generally sparse distribution of brochs on western mainland Scotland. Brochs are mainly concentrated to the north and west of the adjacent Isle of Skye, while they are almost

[2] Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999, 355: Dockrill et al 2015, 59-60

absent on the mainland for a considerable distance to the south, until Argyll and its islands are reached.

2.12 Descriptive overview

Note: A more detailed site description is provided at Appendix 3.

The impressive remains of Dun Telve stand on level ground on the flat floor of a small valley. It commands the flat ground around it, but its longer distance views are more restricted.

The broch is 18.3 metres in average external diameter and 9.84 metres internally. The interior is almost perfectly circular, the exterior slightly less so. The entrance is from the west, with an elongated “guard chamber” in the thickness of the wall opening off to the right of the narrow entrance passage, at a point just inward from a pair of upright stone slabs which probably formed the seating for a door. Only the outermost lintel of the entrance passage survives.

Within the broch, a single entrance from the north side of the central space gives access to a stair which rises clockwise for a short distance before it reaches the surviving wall-head at the level of the first gallery. This may originally have continued up towards the top of the wall.

Only the north-western part of the original double-skinned wall now survives, reaching a height of 10.2m above ground level. Above the solidly-built lowest level are the remains of five superimposed galleries. The uppermost is only partially preserved. The gallery walls converge markedly as they rise upwards: only the first and second galleries are wide enough to have served as passageways around the broch’s hollow wall. The first gallery is, however, blocked by two sets of spaced stone bars which prevent access to a short portion of the gallery: access to this was presumably from the gallery above.

Two elongated vertical apertures, or “voids” occur in the inner wall-face. Spanned by lintels, these connect the galleries within the wall to the interior space and extend to the top of the surviving wall. One void, over the entrance passage, may have had a landing and access door to the interior at its foot (the level of the first gallery floor) and also at the level above. The second void is much narrower and does not begin until the level of the second gallery.

At the same level as the first gallery floor, a ledge or “scarcement” runs around the interior wall-face, while a second runs along the surviving wall fragment at the level of the fifth gallery floor. The lower of these may have supported a raised floor of wood, with the upper one supporting a roof.

The majority of the broch's wall circuit survives to a much lower height, standing less than two metres tall. The stonework of the outer wall-face is reduced to little more than a single course in places.

Outside the broch's entrance is a short extension of the line of the passage, formed of extremely large blocks of stone. It stands apart from the broch, with narrow passages leading off to left and right between it and the broch's outer wall. To the north of this are what appear to be the lower walls of an irregular sub-rectangular building though what this "structure" represents is uncertain.

Small concrete blocks mark the corners of the Guardianship area: inscribed "VR" (for Victoria Regina), they were installed shortly after the site was taken into state care, in 1885. The guardianship area is surrounded by a fence. There are currently two interpretation panels on site, providing information for visitors.

A few finds from excavations in 1914 are in the National Museum of Scotland collections in Edinburgh [3].

2.13 Antiquarian interest and early descriptions

Dun Telve, along with Dun Troddan, attracted attention from travellers and early antiquarians, especially after the area was linked to the military road network, in the years after the 1715 Jacobite Rising, by the construction of the road from Glenshiel over the Mam Ratagan pass.

Alexander Gordon visited in 1720 and his description[4] is especially valuable, since the two brochs were extensively plundered for stone only two years later[5]. This damage occurred in 1722, during the building of the nearby Bernera Barracks[6]. Thomas Pennant visited in 1772, and provided a more detailed description[7], including the much-quoted statement that "in 1722 some Goth purloined from the top seven and a half feet, under the pretence of applying the material to certain public buildings". It is not known why the removal of stone ceased – the building of the nearby Bernera Barracks could easily have absorbed the entire fabric of Dun Telve.

[3] The catalogue can be searched at: https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/search-our-collections/
[4] Gordon 1726, 216-8 [Quoted extensively in MacKie 2007, 1404-5]
[5] Pennant, 1774 [Quoted in Curle 1916, 241]
[6] Tabraham and Grove 1995, 62, places this episode into its national context - while Pennant does not specifically identify the barracks, his "certain public buildings" leaves little doubt, as these were finally erected (after some contractual difficulties) in 1722, the year he cites.
[7] Pennant 1774 [Quoted extensively in MacKie 2007, 1405]

It would be interesting to know who, or what circumstances, intervened to prevent the entire broch being carted away.

Both Gordon's and Pennant's descriptions are open to a range of interpretations, but it is clear that in 1720 both brochs stood much more complete and (Dun Troddan at least) possibly much taller – though how much taller has been a matter of debate for many years[8]. Even at Pennant's time, the wall still stood tall for almost three-quarters of its circuit, whereas by the time it was recorded by Dryden in 1871 almost three quarters of the circuit had been reduced to less than head height.

It is also clear that the interiors of both brochs were filled with rubble to at least the level of the first gallery floor (about 2.5m above ground level) with rubble also piled up outside at the time of Pennant's visit, though the entrance had been located and dug out, and the inner passage lintels removed, allowing him to crawl inside and up over the internal rubble to explore the structure.

By the time of Dryden's drawings[9] (examples included in Appendix 2), the interior fill had been reduced to about one metre in depth and some crude repair work seems to have taken place in the outer stonework above the entrance passage. It is possible this took place between Dryden's 1871 and 1873 drawings: further archival research might confirm or refute this.

Before his first visit, Dryden had access to a plan and an elevation sketch of Dun Telve, possibly dating from 1733. These may have been copied from Gordon. Dryden carefully copied these and re-drew the section schematically as a block diagram, adding a hypothetical "seven and a half feet" (2.4m) to the top to reflect Pennant's statement. In doing so he set in motion a probable mis-understanding which has persisted, reappearing in writings by Graham[10] and MacKie amongst others. On inspection of the surviving remains, it seems likely that the "seven and a half feet" was removed from the top of that portion of the broch wall which was already rather lower, and which has now almost completely disappeared, rather than from around the entire circumference or from the highest-surviving

[8] Both Graham 1947 (p 81-6) and MacKie 2007 (p 856) have attempted to establish Dun Telve's height in 1772 by comparing the illustrations in Pennant with the broch as it stood in 1914. MacKie's conclusion is that it probably stood not less than two metres taller than today, so 12.2 metres tall, rather than the greater figure favoured by Graham of around 14 metres.

[9] Sir Henry Dryden visited Glenelg in 1871, 1872 and 1873. In 1871 he drew Dun Telve, returning to finalise his drawings in 1873 (possibly after some repairs had been undertaken). He later prepared watercolour sketches of both brochs (1876) based on his drawings. His originals were deposited with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland but, unlike those of many other broch sites which appeared in the Society's occasional series *Archaeologia Scotica*, the depictions of Duns Telve and Troddan do not seem to have been published until much later.

portion only. This would have minimised effort for the workmen who removed the stone, for use in building the nearby Bernera Barracks.

When Dryden actually visited his careful drawings were much better than anything which had been produced before, but even so they were still somewhat schematic, possibly influenced by his preliminary sketches. In particular, they fail to depict the very different character of the inner faces of the different intra-mural galleries. The lower two galleries have relatively smooth internal faces, while those above are faced with very irregular stonework, yet Dryden represents all with an identically smooth line. It also seems to be the case that Dryden idealised Dun Telve's profile slightly, giving it a smoother line than appears in photographs of 25 years later.

2.14 Clearance, structural consolidation and later work

Dryden's section drawing of the entrance to Dun Telve is annotated, with an area marked "Modern repair" including the massive outermost lintel and the walling immediately above it, and also "Possibly modern repair" on the stonework where the first gallery enters the space above the original entrance passage. No other record has been located of any pre-1873 repair works, and it may not be possible to establish if Dryden's words merely reflect observation, or of he had contact with someone who was able to tell him of an episode of repair. If such took place, it must have been by, or with the approval of, the landowner, and would mirror similar late Victorian "private" repairs at Mousa and at Dun Dornaigil. Such repairs may even have been sparked by Dryden's first visit.

In 1885 the landowner passed the Glenelg Brochs into State care under a Guardianship agreement, at least partly in recognition of structural problems at Dun Telve. No records have been located for the earliest works undertaken by the Office of Works, but photographs by Erskine Beveridge taken in 1897[11] show massive slanting baulks of timber propping up the inside walls, and also rather hasty cement patching of the stonework at the exposed ends of the tall section of wall. The timberwork looks very fresh in these photographs, suggesting that this work was done around 1895.

These measures were not revisited until 1914, when the stonework was more thoughtfully consolidated under the supervision of J. Wilson Paterson, the Office of Works' Senior Architect. The surface cement work was removed and replaced with hidden cement grouting. A short description of the grouting method was published by the somewhat

[11] Photographs in National Record of the Historic Environment – examples included in Appendix 2

eccentric author M. E. M. Donaldson[12] – who was clearly very taken with Paterson and his work. Her words are worth quoting in full:

"When, on my first visit to Glenelg [1914], I arrived at the first of the two brochs, that of Dun Telve, the larger, which stands in a field on the right, entered by a white gate, I found a mason at work on the initial stages of restoration. The details of the work so successfully carried out are not only intensely interesting, but they afford so admirable an example of true restoration as opposed to ruinous rebuilding operations miscalled "restoration" that I give them as kindly detailed to me by the young architect to whose art, approaching genius, and ingenuity the broch's preservation is due. He found that the ends of the broch had been pinned up in cement, and promptly cut away this obstruction and negation of the distinctive feature of drystone buildings. In such danger of falling was this broch that it had been shored up with heavy timbers, and, after careful examination and prolonged consideration, it was resolved to consolidate the building by grouting in cement that part which was in the greatest danger of collapse. But in order that there might appear no trace of the use of cement, the joints of the section to be grouted were previously carefully packed with clay. Thus, when the cement was poured in at certain points, it found no outlet, and when the clay was thereafter washed away, there was no outward indication anywhere visible of the extremely clever and most artistic method of restoration adopted. Then, when the shoring could safely be removed, the broch was excavated; and, besides foundations of some outbuildings being brought to light, several stone cups and whorls were discovered.

Several years after [?1919], on returning to Glenelg, I saw this perfect restoration completed, as well as that of the second broch, untouched when I had previously seen it; and whenever I think of these fascinating works of art, the delight which I experienced in hovering about them at once returns to me."[13]

Overblown language apart, this represents a very rare description of the practical methods deployed in the consolidation of drystone masonry structures in the early 20th century, since official reports of such work tended to concentrate on outcomes rather than methods.

The 1914 consolidation allowed the timber propping to be removed. A number of changes to the masonry also seem to have occurred at this time including the consolidation of the "rectangular structure" outside the broch, out of what was probably no more than a residual heap of rubble. Judging by photographs taken before this work, it also seems likely that

[12] Dunbar 1979 offers an affectionate account of Donaldson's life and work

[13] Donaldson 1921, 214 [dates added by Noel Fojut: 1914 is certain, 1919 probable – based partly based on internal evidence and partly on J T Dunbar's 1979 biographical sketch: *'Herself' – The Life and Photographs of M E M Donaldson*. Edinburgh (Blackwood).]

the lowest-surviving sector of the wall circuit (on the east side opposite the entrance) was built up slightly on the inside and possibly on the outside.

Unfortunately, the consolidation work in 1914 was followed by the near-complete removal of the surrounding and infilling rubble and any associated deposits, without any archaeological supervision and recording. A few artefacts were retrieved and given to the National Museum. This excavation was presumably undertaken to allow the consolidation (and in places rebuilding) of the lowest portion of the broch's wall-faces. Alexander Curle, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, was invited to describe the now-consolidated site, which he did in 1916[14].

Since the 1914 work, occasional repairs have been undertaken when necessary, including rebuilding of sections of wall-face (including additional cement grouting), individual stone replacement and work to maintain the turf capping on the lower portion of the wall-head. Scaffolding has been erected on several occasions to allow inspection and, where necessary, consolidation to the upper sections of the wall. Where shattered stones have had to be replaced, this has been done on a "like-for-like" basis.

The main threat to the integrity of the site is the accidental displacement of stones by visitors clambering onto the structure.

2.2 Evidential Values

The evidential value of Dun Telve is exceptionally high: for what its constructional details, physical fabric, location and setting can tell us about settlement during the Iron Age; and for its potential to yield further information through ongoing research.

Dun Telve is a good example of a "solid-based" broch of slightly smaller-than-average diameter and with slightly thicker walls than is the norm – these factors may indicate that it originally stood taller than most brochs. As it stands, it is the second-tallest of all surviving brochs. Its plan shows broad similarities to other brochs in the Western Highlands and Skye, for example elongated "guard chamber" and wall-foot chambers, but interestingly it is rather different from its close neighbour, Dun Troddan, most notably in having the "guard chamber" set to the right-hand side of the entrance passage looking inwards, whereas at Dun Troddan this lies to the left of the entrance passage.

While recognising that upstanding structural remains have been altered in detail during various episodes of conservation, there is no evidence that

[14] Curle 1916 – it is interesting that Curle passes over the unsupervised emptying of the interior deposits without critical content.

the broch has been heightened, or that the tall-standing remains have been so modified as to be unrepresentative of the original. That said, there is evidence that some changes were made prior to 1871 (possibly including the rebuilding of a portion of the outer wall-face above and around the outer end of the entrance passage) and perhaps in 1914[15].

It can be argued that Dun Telve's primary importance derives from the survival of a sufficiently large section of its upper walling to near-original height. This allows the visitor to gain a clear impression of how impressive brochs must have been when newly built. Dun Telve also contains architectural details which are rarely preserved (due to the paucity of tall-standing brochs) which are of great importance in theories about the origin, development and functioning of brochs. The fact that these details contrast with those observed at the only near-complete broch, Mousa in Shetland, but appear to be in accord with the few other tall-surviving broch fragments (Dun Troddan, Dun Carloway and Dun Dornaigil) may be of great significance, and may support the idea that Mousa is an exceptional structure rather than a typical broch.

Two further factors are of importance: the location of Dun Telve so close to another broch, and the potential for undisturbed archaeological deposits to survive within the broch and outside it, near to its entrance.

Despite the unrecorded late 19th century and 1914 interventions, the site retains considerable archaeological potential:

- The structures outside the broch, near to its entrance, are imperfectly understood and could possibly be clarified by additional study. In particular, the sub-rectangular "building foundation" may be spurious, the result of older digging into a mound of rubble, which has then been conserved "as found" as if it were a structure in its own right. This mound may be the last vestiges of an outer rampart which has otherwise been removed, with the extremely large upright boulders representing its entrance-way. Whether or not it is the case, these remains are likely to overlie undisturbed deposits of Iron Age or later date. Small quantities of apparently undisturbed debris also survive on the north side of the broch.
- Within the broch, the central space appears to have been cleared, but may still contain some thin undisturbed deposits. In addition, features which were dug into the ground surface may survive, such as a ring of postholes similar to that found at Dun Troddan
- Much may survive beneath the massive wall of the broch, potentially including evidence to date the broch's construction: securely-

[15] MacKie 2007, 851-6 discusses in detail changes which may have been made in 1914, basing his analysis on the account given by Pennant, but seems not to have noticed the annotations showing "modern repair" on Dryden's drawings of 1871/3.

contexted construction dates for brochs remain rare and thus of high archaeological value.

The finds from the abovementioned excavations completely lack stratigraphic context, but all seem most likely to date to well after the broch's construction and first use. Three aspects of the assemblage merit particular note:

- All of the quern-stones which were retained are rotary (it has been suggested that the change to rotary querns happened relatively late in the middle Iron Age).
- A fragment of a decorated cup-shaped vessel is made of steatite (soapstone), possibly from the outcrop not far to the north[16] – the incised decoration resembles that on "Hebridean" Iron Age pottery.
- Several cup-shaped stone lamps (presumably for burning oil derived from marine mammals or seabirds), are made of local micaceous schist rather than steatite, which was widely used for such items elsewhere at this time.
- One small fragment of wheel-made pottery, which Curle thought might be early medieval, was identified by Professor Robertson as Roman Coarse Ware, possibly of 2nd-century AD date[17] (demonstrating that, like communities at many broch sites, the people living at Dun Telve had access to material from far afield).

2.3 Historical values

2.31 Archaeological narratives and interpretations

The primary historical importance of Dun Telve, as with all brochs, is its ability to contribute to evidence-based narratives describing how society in Iron Age northern Scotland may have operated, and changed, during the middle Iron Age. It also offers evidence to support considerations of how that society related to its own heritage, in respect of re-using sites.

At the centre of such narratives, the appearance of the broch is a particular source of fascination. Brochs are such striking and singular structures that it remains a constant frustration that, despite an abundance of theory and interpretation (see Appendix 4), we do not actually know much for certain about who built these structures or why. Consequently, their value for the development of explanatory narratives is a collective one. No individual broch, however closely investigated, would be capable of answering all of

[16] Wilson 1946 (the outcrop was at Ardintoul, on the north side of the Glenelg peninsula, not far from the broch of Caisteal Grugaig).
[17] Robertson 1970, table 2

the questions which might be posed, and for many purposes data from a large number of sites is necessary. However, due to its great surviving height and architectural details, Dun Telve occupies a particularly prominent place in broch studies.

Its most interesting structural features are:

1. The high upper scarcement ledge, which has been interpreted as a support for the outer edge of a conical thatched roof,
2. The way in which the galleries in the hollow wall reduce in width much more rapidly with height than is the case at Mousa.

The possible significance of these features is discussed further below (under Architectural and Artistic values).

The location of Dun Telve, within 500 metres of a second broch at Dun Troddan, has long excited comment. However, small clusters of brochs are not particularly unusual: there is a group of three within similarly close distance at Midhowe in Rousay, Orkney; there are four within similar range of each other at Keiss in Caithness and also four at only slightly greater distance apart at the southern end of Shetland, including that at Jarlshof. It is not impossible that such clusters are sequential, with only one broch inhabited at any one time, but this would contradict current thinking on the appearance and adoption of the broch form, and also seems unlikely given the sheer effort involved in assembling stone and building. That said, the current theory which favours most brochs being built over a limited time-span[18] has not been proven, and may never be. In any case, the existence of broch clusters such as that at Glenelg constrains how brochs can be interpreted.

As has been remarked, Gleann Beag is not particularly promising in agricultural terms[19]. It is possible that the unusual concentration of sites is related to an ancient routeway leading from the interior to and from the short crossing to Skye at the Kylerhea narrows. In post-Medieval times, young cattle reared on Skye were swum across the narrows and then driven overland to markets in central Scotland, often resting at Glenelg village before passing through the glen. This practice had largely ceased by the mid-19th century, being replaced by shorter droves towards shipping points and, in later times, railheads. It is possible that the glen already served as a routeway during the Iron Age. This might have given the inhabitants of the brochs a potential source of wealth, in supplying, or exacting tribute from, travellers. (The much later location of the Hanoverian barracks at Glenelg after the 1715 and 1719 Jacobite Risings similarly recognised the strategic importance of controlling an important locality, where sea and land routes met.)

[18] Barber 2018
[19] Curle 1921

2.32 Folklore and traditional narratives

A traditional Gaelic rhyme cited in Gordon's 1726 account explains the neighbouring sites at Glenelg as forts built and possessed by brothers[20]:

"My four sons, a fair clan
I left in one strath:
My Malcolm, my lovely Chonil,
My Tellve, my Troddan."

Taking this at face value, Chonil may be associated with the galleried dun further up the glen, now called Dun Grugaig. Malcolm (*Chalman* in Gaelic) would be represented by Caisteal Chalamain, the remains of a small fort or dun on a high point overlooking the lower strath and with a clear view out to the sea. Dun Telve, Dun Troddan and Caisteal Chalamain are inter-visible.

The *Statistical Account* of 1845[21] records a tradition that the Glenelg brochs were constructed by a pair of giants, and that the two structures were connected by a subterranean passage which also provided access to the neighbouring river. A further story, collected by Young from a local resident in the late 1950s, tells that the stones used to build the two brochs were passed from hand to hand from a quarry further up the glen, and that their route could be followed by a trail of chippings[22]. Some of the blocks weigh well over a ton!

2.4 Architectural and artistic values

The details of broch architecture have been much studied and discussed (see Appendix 4 for an extended account).

Dun Telve is slightly more massive than average in terms of its wall-thickness as a proportion of total diameter. Its internal space is almost perfectly circular in plan: it is possible that its very level site aided the setting out of the pre-construction plan on the ground. It falls into the category of solid-based brochs, which are somewhat less frequent in the west compared to ground galleried brochs. This has been read by some as suggesting a colonisation of Glenelg by incomers from the north, but this would be stretching the evidence too far. In fact, the somewhat elongated

[20] Gordon 1726 cites the verse, translated from the Gaelic by a Mr MacLeod. (In 1722, Glenelg was still part of the estates of the MacLeods of Harris and Dunvegan.)
[21] *A*ccessible at: https://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/viewer/nsa-vol14-Parish_record_for_Glenelg_in_the_county_of_Inverness_in_volume_14_of_account_2/
[22] Young 1962, 198.

plan of the “guard chamber” and the stair-foot chamber may hint at affinities with the ground galleried form more typical to this area.

As noted above, Dun Telve’s tall surviving wall section displays features which make it of particular interest in efforts to understand broch architecture.

The upper scarcement ledge, nine metres above ground level has been interpreted as a support for the outer edge of a conical thatched roof. This seems more likely than it being the support for the upper edge of a ring-shaped, inward-sloping, pent roof. At this height above floor level, a function as the outer support for a raised floor or attic seems rather unlikely. Few other brochs possess second scarcements, and the clearest example, at Mousa, sits much lower down in the tower. On balance, it would be reasonable to state that the upper scarcement at Dun Telve is the nearest we have to definite architectural evidence, in any broch, for a roof.

As the hollow wall rises upwards, the intra-mural galleries reduce in width more rapidly than is the case at Mousa. This renders the galleries in the wall useless as living or storage space above the level of the second gallery, and tends to support the suggestion that the primary reason for such galleries within broch walls is as a structural device. This feature is more pronounced at Dun Telve than at Dun Troddan, where the lowest three galleries would have been passable. Dun Carloway in Lewis has galleries which narrow almost as sharply with height as at Dun Telve. Dun Telve survives to a greater height than Dun Carloway, and in its highest portion the external wall becomes more nearly vertical, giving the structure a “cooling tower” profile not dissimilar to that of Mousa. It seems quite clear that this is a feature of Dun Telve as constructed rather than the result of subsequent compression and partial collapse of the stonework, as has been suggested for Mousa. (The earliest depictions of Dun Telve do not show this tapering profile, but they are to a degree schematic.)

By contrast with Mousa, the uppermost galleries of the wall are so narrow that the intra-mural stair could only have provided access to the wall-head if the vanished portion of upper walling, into which the surviving portion of the stair leads, was markedly broader than the portion which survives, with sufficient space between the inner and outer walls to accommodate the upper levels of the stairway. Such a degree of asymmetry seems unlikely, but in the absence of the relevant portion of the broch, cannot be entirely ruled out. It seems more than possible – perhaps probable – that Dun Telve is more typical and that Mousa was always the exception: it is possible that only Mousa had a parapet walkway extending around its top, and that other brochs did not.

The massive blocks of stone outside the broch which form the extension of its entrance passage are an unusual feature, although such extensions do exist elsewhere, for example at Carn Liath and at Gurness. They appear, at

least to modern eyes, calculated to give a monumental character to the approach to the broch entrance.

The structure to the north west of the broch entrance is poorly defined, to the extent that there is some doubt if it is, indeed, the lower walling of a sub-rectangular building as opposed to a heap of rubble into which exploratory digging had taken place, accidentally "fossilised" during the 1914 consolidation exercise

2.41 Design

The internal ground plan of Dun Telve is a near-perfect circle, which argues in favour of brochs all being built to a standardised plan. Brochs seem to display regional styles, though the significance of this is not clear[23]. In that sense, Dun Telve and Dun Troddan, in their general appearance and relatively solid proportions, have led some observers to suggest that they would be more at home further north and east.

It has been suggested that the construction of solid-based brochs arose from a desire to make the tower taller than was easily achieved with a ground galleried plan: thus, ambition, rather than origin, may be the key to the choice of plan. This would tend, however, to place solid-based brochs later in time than ground galleried brochs, perhaps with the most massively built (and tallest surviving) brochs built last of all. This idea, formerly vigorously argued by MacKie[24], is currently less favoured, and it is not supported by the current dating evidence for brochs of different plan forms, though this is limited.

2.42 Construction

The broch is constructed of a mixture of large and small blocks of metamorphic gneiss and schist, all available quite locally. The latter weathers much more rapidly. Due to its slabby character, schist has been preferred for lintels. Much of the stone appears to have been quarried for the construction of the broch rather than gathered in the form of glacially transported boulders. The apparent randomness of the material gives the stonework a rather inelegant appearance, though the large blocks

[23] MacKie 1965 (and later publications) explores broch "styles" and metrics in depth
[24] MacKie 1965

incorporated in it are impressive: the broch is well constructed within the limitations of the available material[25].

2.43 Artists' representations

A selection of images of Dun Telve is included in Appendix 2.

The illustration of Dun Telve which appears in Gordon's Tour is one of the earliest known depictions of a broch: although it is somewhat schematic it is recognisably Dun Telve, and illustrates just how much of the structure was soon to be lost. Pennant also illustrated the broch, helpfully placing the depictions in the same plate as Dun Troddan, and the change from Gordon's illustration is stark.

Thereafter, the next clear depictions appear to be those made in 1871 and 1873 by Sir Henry Dryden. His carefully measured and hand-coloured plans, elevations and sections form a very informative baseline against which the broch as consolidated in 1914 can be compared.

Good early photographic images of Dun Telve exist, notably those taken by Erskine Beveridge in 1897.

In preparing this Statement, no instances have come to note of the use of Dun Telve as the inspiration for creative artworks.

2.5 Landscape and aesthetic values

Dun Telve and Dun Troddan are particularly attractive monuments, and well worth the journey to visit, the last part of which is over single-track roads. There is a sense that any visit is a voyage of discovery, as it necessitates a steep and twisting drive over the Mam Ratagan pass from Glenshiel, with spectacular views toward the head of Loch Duich and the rugged Five Sisters mountain ridge, or a crossing (Easter to October) on the small privately-operated vehicle ferry from Kylerhea in Skye to Glenelg pier, or both.

The location of the Glenelg Brochs, in their steep-sided and well-wooded glen, has been appreciated by visitors since the start of antiquarian

[25] Young 1962, 187 refers to "rather careless choice of material" – this seems unnecessarily harsh, as many brochs in the west had to make the best of geology which did not offer the most promising building stone. It has been suggested that the deliberate incorporation of very particularly large blocks in the facing of the broch may be a deliberate design choice, intended to impress (Tanja Romankiewicz, personal communication and in Romankiewicz 2011).

interest. Even the normally sober archaeologist Alexander Curle was moved:

"There can be few if any more beautiful valleys in the West Highlands of Scotland than that of Gleann Beag. It is not a broad glen, and the restricted meadowland on its floor, through which a little river meanders, could never have maintained a large population. The steep sides as they rise to the higher level of the moorland are clothed with a natural growth of hazel and alder, the haunt of numerous buzzards, which soaring upward fill the air with their harsh laughter-like cries..."[26]

The setting has changed little in the years following Curle's sketch of bucolic bliss. The single-track road which gives access to the glen ends a few miles above the broch, so traffic consists largely of the very few local residents plus visitors to the brochs. On fine summer days, the available parking spaces can fill quickly, but even then, it unusual to have to walk any great distance to Dun Telve.

Dun Telve appears quite suddenly, since it is partly cloaked on the approach side by a small groove of tall sycamores. These serve to emphasise the height of the well cared-for masonry and provide an attractive backdrop for photography, though they can make it difficult to capture a clear image of Dun Telve from its up-valley neighbour, Dun Troddan.

The site is also photogenic from the air, and oblique aerial views of various dates have been published and are held in the National Record of the Historic Environment. Appendix 2 contains an example.

2.6 Natural heritage values

The land around Dun Telve is not currently designated for the protection of species or habitats[27].

Visitors to the site will park beside a lightly wooded hillside and make the short walk to the broch past and below a few mature sycamore trees. Beyond the boundary fence are flat fields of mixed grasses, occasionally cut for hay.

A range of typical woodland edge and meadowland birds will make themselves seen or heard, according to season. In early summer the call of the cuckoo *Cuculus canorus* is often be heard, as well as that of the skylark *Alaudia arvensis*. Common buzzards *Buteo* are frequently seen overhead, and more rarely peregrines *Falco peregrinus*. Eagles are not infrequently seen flying high above the glen, both golden eagle *Aquila chrysaetos* and the white-tailed, or sea, eagle *Haliaeetus albicilla*.

[26] Curle 1921, 83
[27] SNH website, visited 26 August 2019

The only mammals likely to be seen on site are rabbits *Oryctolagus cuniculus,* although deer may be encountered nearby the early morning or late evening (both red deer *Cervus elaphus* and roe deer *Capreolus capreolus)*.

2.7 Contemporary/use values

Much of the value of the Glenelg Brochs for contemporary communities lies in their pleasant site and surroundings, and as a destination for those interested in Scotland's prehistoric heritage. The effort required to reach them offer something of a "safe adventure". They are a popular side-visit with visitors taking the seasonal ferry to/from Skye.

They are valued by local residents as elements of the area's rich heritage, and also for their role in attracting tourists as potential customers: a seasonal cafe operates in Gleann Beag itself, a short distance up-valley from Dun Troddan, while Glenelg village supports year-round facilities: a shop, several bed and breakfast establishments and an inn with restaurant and accommodation.

Images of both brochs have been widely used in specialist archaeological guides and general reference works, and feature in general guidebooks. They have also appeared in television programmes.

On-site interpretation is provided by simple interpretation boards, and the route to the site from the roadside car-parking space is level and short. On-line reviews are largely positive highlighting: the amazing state of preservation; ingenuity of the builders; views and atmosphere. Many also note visits to the other associated sites in the glen.

3. MAJOR GAPS IN UNDERSTANDING

There are a wide range of unanswered questions surrounding brochs in general, despite two centuries of excavation, study and theorising (see Appendix 4). Dun Telve has already contributed to the existing body of broch knowledge, but retains the potential to contribute further. That said, its history of repeated disturbance and consolidation means that it would not necessarily be the first choice of broch site to investigate in search of additional knowledge about brochs in general.

Nonetheless, Dun Telve retains some potential to address the following questions, most of which might be asked in similar terms about any broch:

- When were brochs first constructed, and how did they relate to pre-existing architecture and settlement patterns?
- Was the broch built by or for incomers, or was it created by the existing holders of the site? Due to extensive excavation in and around the broch, this might be difficult to answer: evidence might take the form of distinct

differences in the artefacts firmly associated with the broch as opposed to what came before. Simply identifying deposits of the appropriate date(s) would be challenging but perhaps not impossible.

- How does the broch structure at Dun Telve relate to the construction date and pre-construction history of other local brochs? This cannot be addressed without answers to the previous questions, and also dating evidence from more brochs. The presence of at least one Roman-period artefact does not help here, as this item is not securely stratified, and might be a later casual loss rather than a broch-contemporary object.
- Is what we see at Dun Telve today representative of what was built? While the remains seem not to have been radically altered in the course of excavation and consolidation, there do appear to have been a number of significant changes to the stonework of the broch[28], to the extent that the details they appear today are not an entirely reliable testimony to the original, or even pre-1914, appearance. In particular, there is a distinct possibility that later structures within the broch may have been removed un-noted, and that the low surviving portion of the walling may have been "improved". Paradoxically, the taller-standing fragment appears to have been less altered during consolidation.
- What can be said about the social and territorial organisation of those who lived at Dun Telve? Much can be said, but little can be proved – like most brochs, it offers mute testimony rather than substantive evidence. Most researchers would support the existence of an elite within Iron Age society, who would have directed the activity of each group (including the building of brochs) and conducted relationships with neighbouring groups and perhaps further afield. It has been suggested that this evolved into a "chiefdom" type of society, perhaps analogous to later Highland clans, with a chief and a few senior individuals leading a "client group" bound by kinship ties, living in multiple locations across a substantial area of land. In the case of Dun Telve, such narratives must account for the close local cluster of Iron Age sites that may have been in use at the same time.
- How did the people associated with brochs survive day to day, in terms of subsistence? We know from excavations in various locations that farming was the main source of food and probably of wealth throughout this period, although Dun Telve itself has produced little evidence of such activity, except for artefacts associate with grain processing (querns) and spinning (spindle whorls). There is some evidence to suggest that farming was more heavily based on ranch-style cattle raising in the earlier part of the Iron Age and gradually acquired a larger arable component as time went by, but this is by no means proven to be universal. Each site would have had its own particular mix of resources, largely determined by its location in the landscape. In the case of the Glenelg Brochs, it is possible that cattle-rearing, and possibly trading, may have been particularly important elements of the subsistence package. However, this would be difficult to confirm or deny with existing research techniques, and must remain a supposition.

More general questions remain, regarding:

[28] MacKie 2007, 851-6

- The appearance of the roof and upper levels of this and other brochs.
- The social organisation of those building and using the broch, and how they disposed of their dead.
- The nature and appearance of the contemporary landscape and vegetation surrounding the broch.
- A more precise chronology: no scientific dates currently exist.

4. ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES

4.1 Associated properties managed by HES

- Dun Troddan (broch, Highland) – only 500 metres away from Dun Telve
- Mousa (broch, Shetland)
- Carn Liath (broch, Highland)
- Clickimin (broch and associated remains, Shetland)
- Dun Carloway (broch, Western Isles)
- Dun Dornaigil (broch, Highland)
- Dun Beag (broch, Highland)
- Edin's Hall (hillfort, broch and settlement, Scottish Borders)
- Gurness (broch and associated remains, Orkney)
- Jarlshof (broch and associated remains, Shetland)
- Midhowe (broch and associated remains, Orkney)
- Ness of Burgi (fort, Shetland)

4.2 Other associated sites

There are, at time of writing, no restrictions on visiting the privately-owned galleried dun of Dun Grugaig [29]. This is a small sub-rectangular stone-built fortification with some features also found in brochs. The site lies higher up Gleann Beag and involves a walk of about one kilometre up the track from the gate which marks the end of the public road, and then a short walk across rough grassland. The dun is perched on the edge of a steep wooded slope: care should be taken.

Also worth visiting while in this part of Scotland is the broch of Caisteal Grugaig [30]

[31] . This lies on publicly-owned forest land overlooking the junction of the (sea) Lochs Alsh, Long and Duich. Access is along a track which leads a

[29] https://canmore.org.uk/site/11772/dun-grugaig-glenelg
[30] https://canmore.org.uk/site/11812/caisteal-grugaig
[31] *Grugaig* occurs in the names of several Highland sites – it is a Gaelic word meaning grim / forbidding.

further 1.5 kilometres from the end of the narrow public road from Ratagan to Totaig[32].

Visitors to these sites should pay attention to any signage and requests, and observe the Scottish Outdoor Access Code. Dogs should be kept under close control.

5. KEYWORDS

Broch; Iron Age; Intra-mural stair; Guard chamber; Entrance passage; Galleries; Scarcement; Roofing

[32] https://forestryandland.gov.scot/learn/heritage/prehistoric-sites/caisteal-grugaig-broch accessed 27 August 2019

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Note: Footnotes throughout the text offer page numbers where appropriate. If no page number is given, this indicates that reference is being made to the general thrust of the publication cited rather than a specific point of detail.

Further Resources

Canmore ID: 11798

Site Number: NG81NW 7

NGR: NG 82913 17256

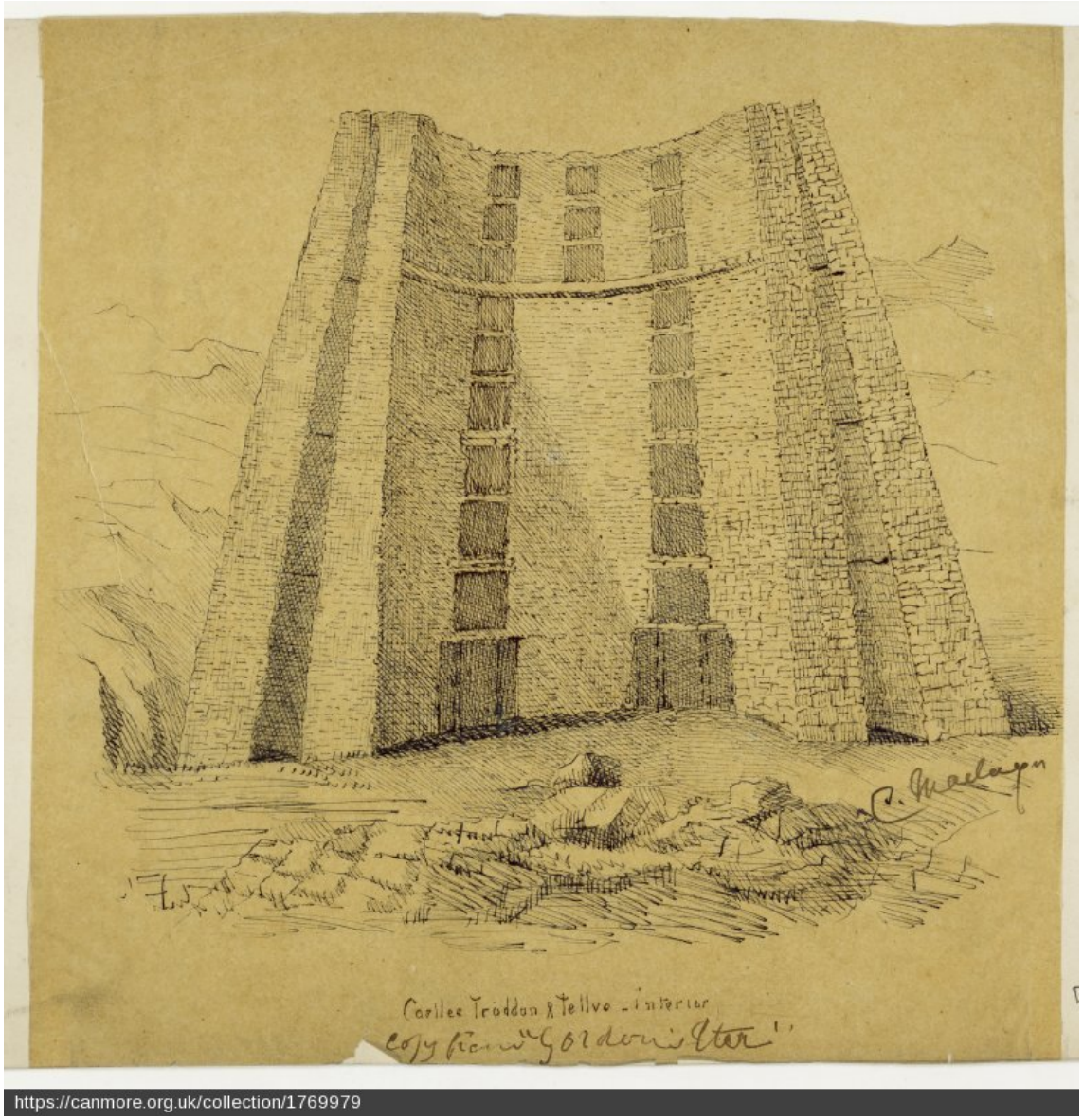
Scheduled monument description (with Dun Troddan):
http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/SM90152

APPENDICES

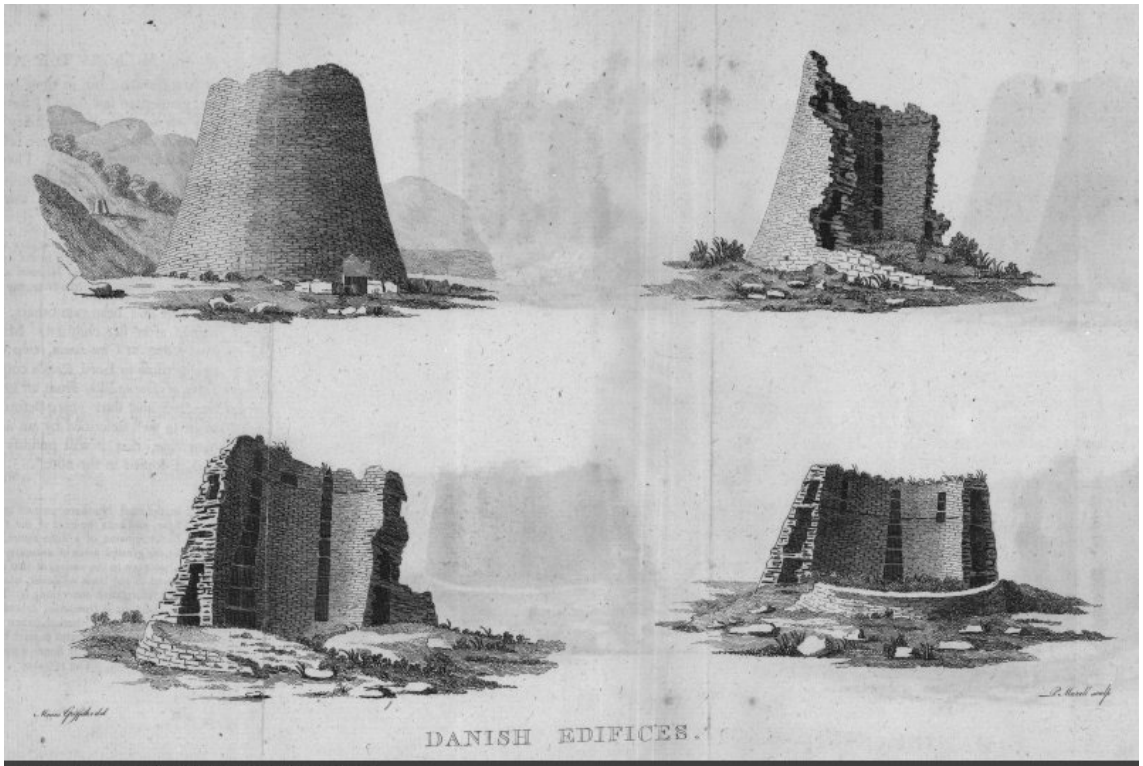
APPENDIX 1: TIMELINE

Iron Age (mid) - 1	Construction of broch.
Iron Age (mid) - 2	Elaboration of entranceway outside broch.
Iron Age (mid-late)	Construction of structures outside broch (including the now largely removed potential "rampart").
1720	Visit by Gordon.
1772	Visit by Pennant.
[?1860s]	Some limited repair work (marked on 1871-3 drawings).
1871-3	Visit by Dryden: measured drawings made.
1885	Site taken into State care under Guardianship agreement.
c. 1895	Cement applied to secure exposed wall-ends and large timbers erected to prop precarious inner wall-face.
1914	Extensive consolidation, removal of timber propping, clearance of interior and exterior areas.
Unknown dates	Stonework repairs and refreshment of signage on several occasions.
c.2010	Fence repair and new signage.

APPENDIX 2: IMAGES

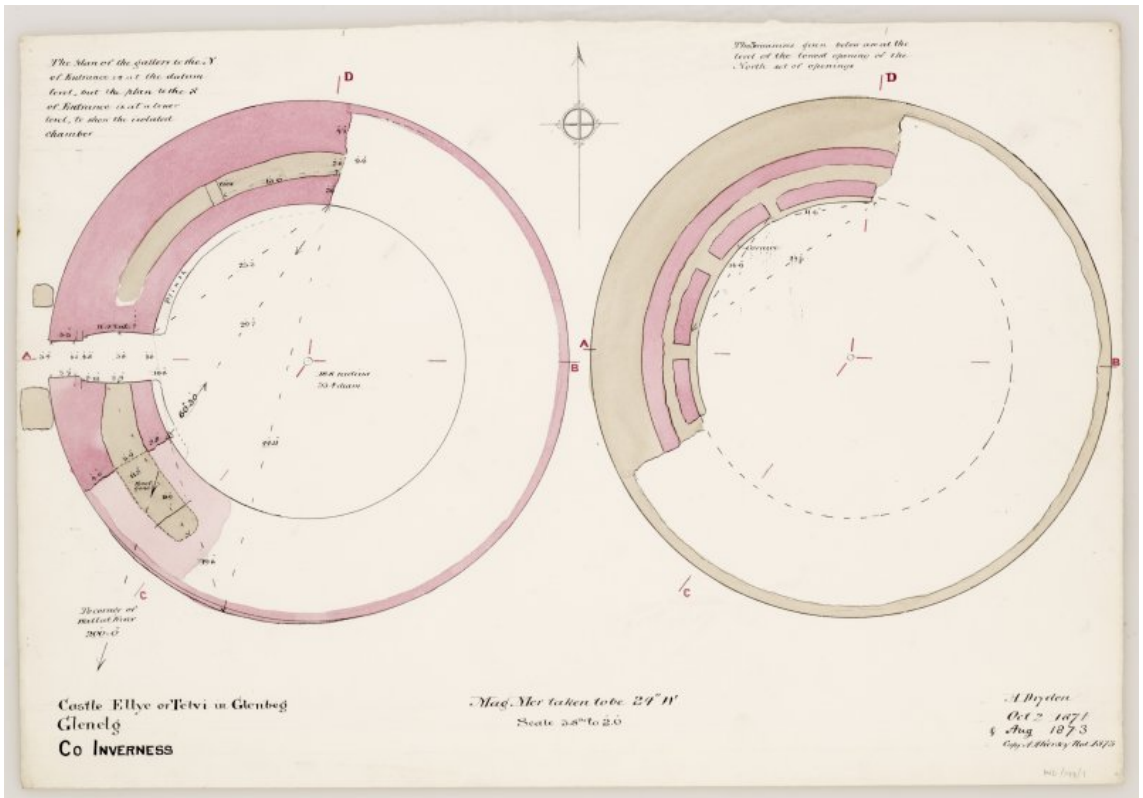


Copy by Christian Maclagan c.1875 of plate from Gordon's Tour (1726)



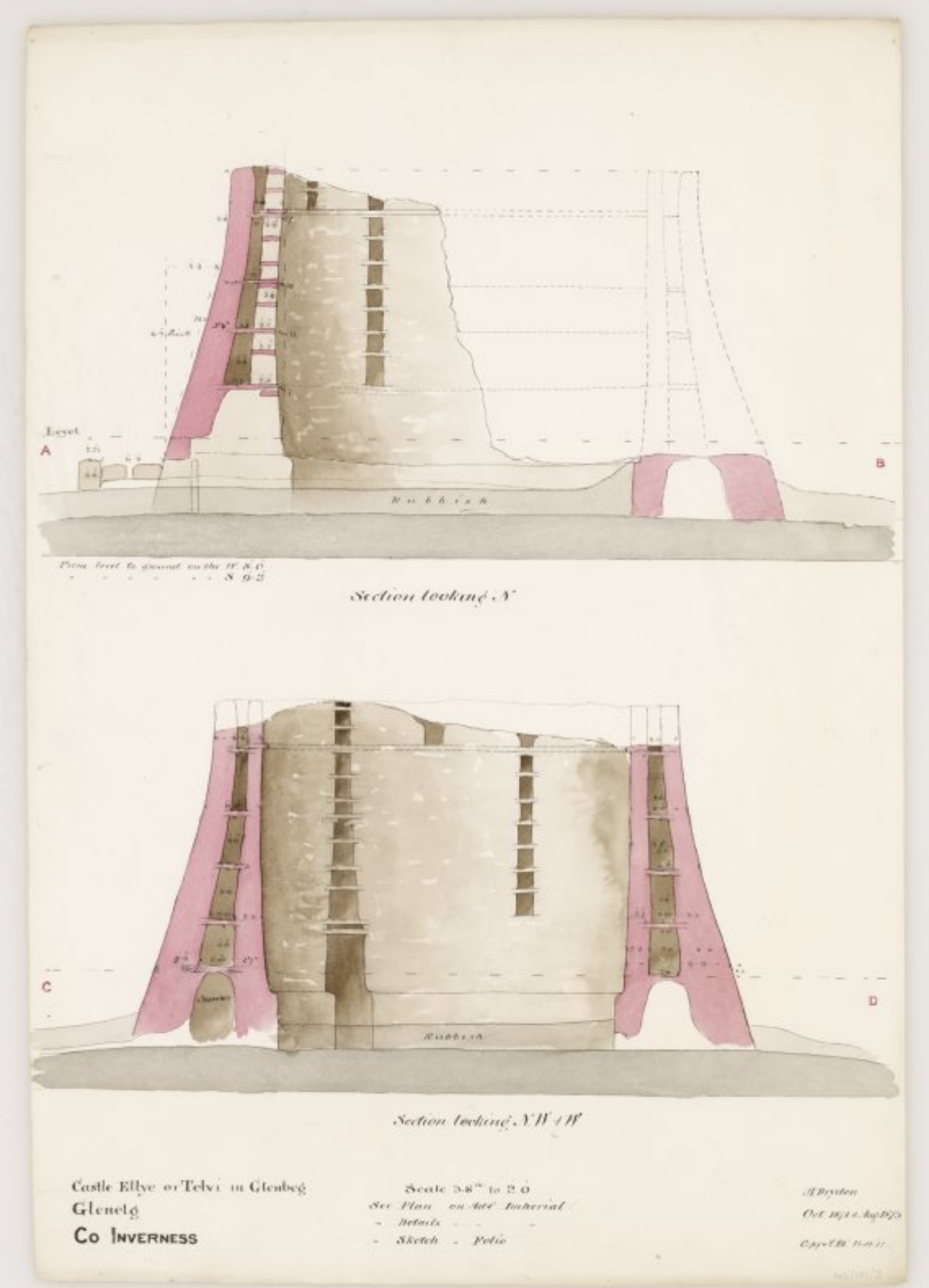
https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1009604

Drawings of Dun Telve and Dun Troddan from Pennant's Tour, 1774



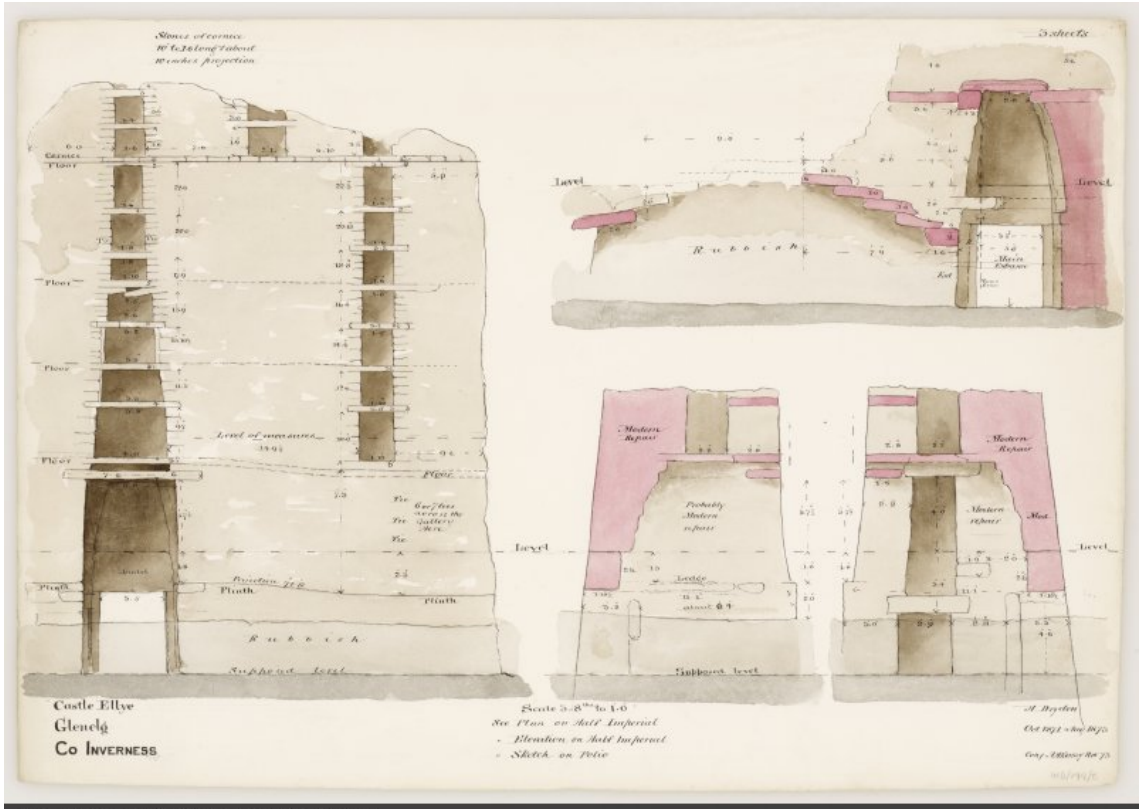
https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1490687

Plans drawn by Dryden, 1871-3



https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1490688

Sections drawn by Dryden, 1871-3

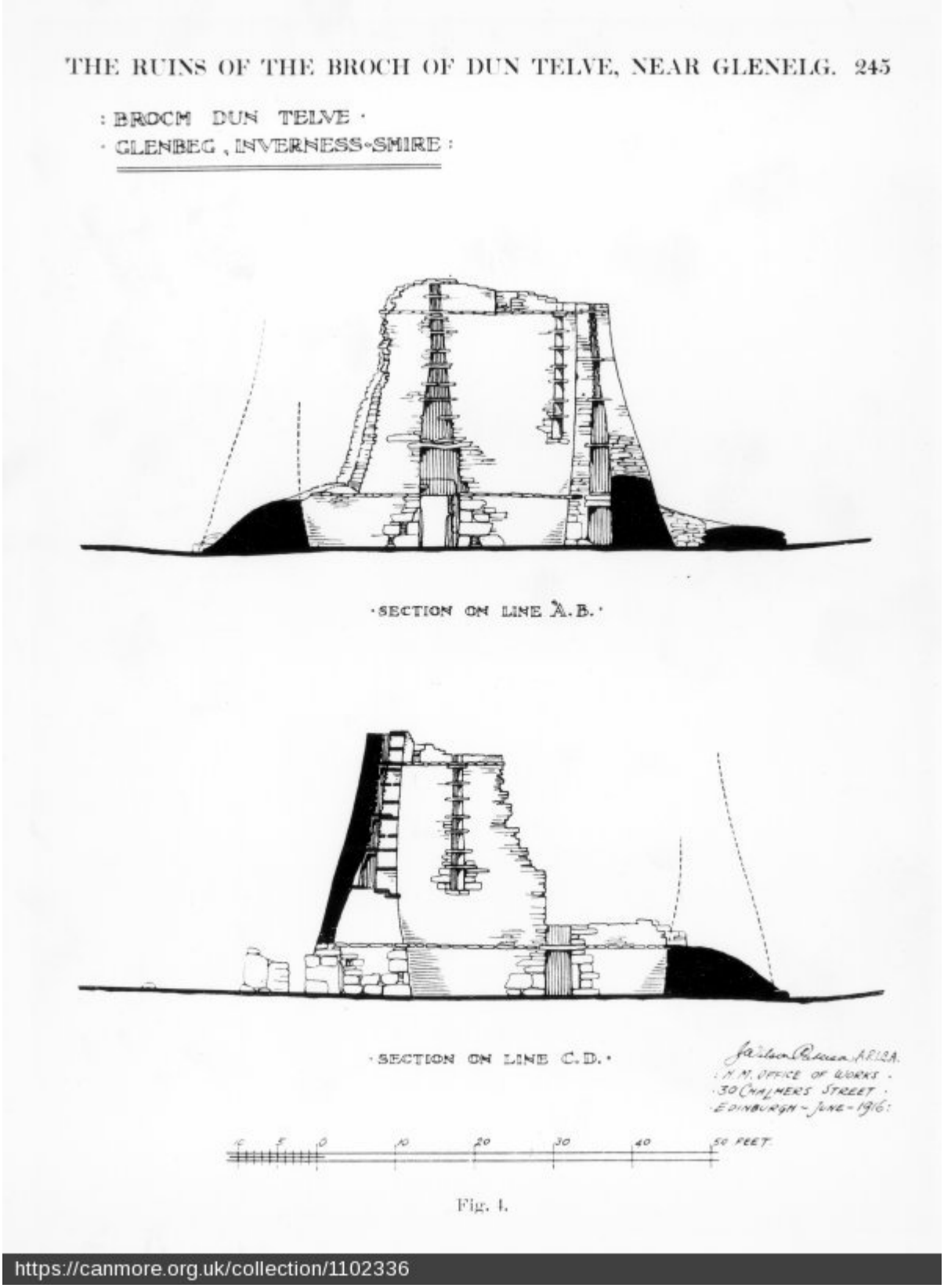


https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1490689

Detailed section of entrance by Dryden, 1871-3. Note area marked “modern repair” over outer lintel

https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1113135

Photo taken by Erskine Beveridge c. 1897, showing timber props and cement patching of wall-ends



https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1102336

Sections by J. W. Paterson after consolidation (published in Curle, 1916)

Vertical aerial view: Telve near top of frame, left of centre, Troddan towards bottom, left of centre

Entrance from outside, showing lintel and massive stones of added outer structure

Distant view from up-valley, with trees behind

Inside wall face

Head of surviving part of intra-mural stair

Section of tall surviving portion of wall

APPENDIX 3: DUN TELVE: DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Dun Telve, together with nearby Dun Troddan, are often referred to collectively, as the Glenelg Brochs, after the nearest village.

The impressive remains of Dun Telve stand on level ground on the flat floor of the small valley of Gleann Beag. The broch commands the flat ground around it, but its longer-distance views are more restricted by the steep sides of the winding valley. The site itself has no natural defensive advantages, but stands at a narrow point between the rocky valley side and the river, suggesting control of access to the upper glen. In former times the valley offered a routeway linking the interior of this part of the West Highlands to the coast, and the narrowest crossing to Skye and this may be significant in the siting of the two brochs and two other Iron Age forts in its lower reaches.

At ground level, Dun Telve is 18.3 metres in average external diameter and 9.8 metres internally. The interior is almost perfectly circular, the exterior a little less so, with the wall-base being slightly thicker on the south-west arc. The entrance is from the west, with an elongated “guard chamber” in the thickness of the wall opening off to the right of the narrow entrance passage, at a point just inward from a pair of upright stone slabs which probably formed the seating for a wooden door-frame. The lintels which originally roofed the entrance passage have been snapped off, with the exception of the one in the outer wall-face. It is possible that the outer stonework above the entrance (perhaps including the massive outer lintel) was rebuilt at some point in the mid-19th century, before 1871.

Within the broch, a single doorway opening from the north side of the central space gives access to a chamber within the wall thickness, from which a stair which rises clockwise for a short distance before it reaches the surviving wall-head at the level of the first gallery. Before the broch was reduced in stature, this stair may have continued upwards to the top of the wall.

Only the north-eastern part of the original double-skinned wall now survives above the first-floor level, reaching a height of 10.2m above ground level. (This makes Dun Telve the second-tallest of all surviving brochs. Above the solidly built lowest level are the remains of five superimposed galleries: the lintelled roof of each forms the floor of that above. The uppermost gallery is only partially preserved. The uppermost level has been reduced since 18th-century drawings were made, at which time the wall stood at least 12 metres tall, possibly a little more. The galleries become much narrower with height: only the first and second galleries are wide enough to serve as passageways around the broch’s hollow wall, and it is noteworthy that the inner stonework is more regular in the two lowermost galleries.

Two elongated vertical apertures, or "voids" occur in the broch's inner wall-face. Spanned by lintels, these connect the galleries within the wall thickness to the interior space and extended to the top of the surviving wall. One void, over the entrance passage, appears to have had a landing and access door to the interior at its foot (the level of the first gallery floor) and at the level above. The second is much narrower and does not begin until the second galleries level. Early depictions show several more voids in the now reduced high-standing part of the wall.

At the same level as the first gallery floor, a ledge or "scarcement" runs around the interior wall-face, while a second such feature runs along the surviving wall fragment at the level of the fifth gallery floor. The lower scarcement is believed to have supported a raised floor of wood, with the upper one helping to support a wooden roof-frame.

The majority of the broch's wall circuit survives to a much lower height, standing less than two metres tall, and in places the stonework of the outer wall-face is reduced to little more than a single course.

Outside the broch's entrance is a short extension of the line of the passage formed of extremely large blocks of stone. It stands a short distance from the broch, with passages leading off to left and right between it and the broch's outer wall. To the north of this are what appear to be the low, turf-covered walls of a sub-rectangular building. However, it may be that this rather amorphous feature is no more than the remains of exploratory digging into the accumulated rubble outside the broch, which is also represented by several large blocks of stone lying to the north of the broch. A small separate area of turf-covered rubble survives against the north-east face of the broch.

Small earth-fast concrete blocks mark the corners of the guardianship area: inscribed "VR" (for Victoria Regina), they were installed shortly after the site was taken into state care, in 1885. The guardianship area has been surrounded by a fence for many years. The most recent replacement of the fence took place in 2010. There are two interpretation panels on site, providing information for visitors.

A few finds from excavations in 1914 are in the National Museum of Scotland collection: they include spindle-whorls, stone lamps, several rotary quernstones, a fragment of decorated pottery and a small fragment of wheel-made pottery, which may be of Roman provenance[33].

[33] Robertson 1970, table 2

APPENDIX 4: BROCHS: THEORIES AND INTERPRETATIONS

Defining brochs

For the purpose of this and other similar documents, the term "broch" is used to refer to what some researchers have called "fully formed" or "tower" brochs. There is no way of knowing exactly how many such structures once stood to heights approaching Mousa's 13 metres plus, only that the visible surviving remains of many sites do not rule this out.

Dryden first attempted to define brochs in 1872:
"A broch is a circular tower formed of wall 10 to 16f thick at the base, enclosing a court from 24 to 38f diameter, with one entrance from the outside into the court. The usual thickness of wall is about 15f, and the usual diameter of the court about 28f. All were in outline truncated cones – that is, the outside of the wall "batters" or inclines inwards. The wall is also decreased in thickness towards the top by set-offs inside. The chambers of the broch proper are in the thickness of the walls, but there are usually partitions in the court of later construction. The original height of these towers of course varied, and except Mousa, we have no broch more than 20f high, but Mousa is still 40f high and was somewhat more. No mortar was used in them, but probably the chinks were stopped with moss or mud just as in modern Shetland cottages."[34]

There have been a number of definitions over intervening years, of which, that by MacKie in 1965, refreshed in 2002, remains the most influential. MacKie offered a tight definition of brochs, to distinguish them from other drystone structures of broadly similar date. For MacKie, for a structure to be classed as a broch required five essential characteristics which must all occur in combination: (1) a circular ground-plan, (2) a thick wall, (3) large size, (4) a ledge (or scarcement) on its inside wall face and (5) at least one "hollow wall feature" from a list of four: (5a) an upper gallery (that is, a hollow wall at a level higher than the ground level), (5b) a chamber over the entrance passage, (5c) a void or voids in the inner wall-face and (5d) an intra-mural stair at an upper level.

MacKie noted that some "classic" features of brochs, such as their narrow and well-built entrance passages, occur in other types of structure. He also excluded from broch-defining characteristics the possession of a hollow wall at the ground level only, and also the possession of a stair which starts at ground level unless it rises to a much higher level.

As MacKie noted, relatively few of the c.600 sites referred to as brochs can be shown to possess this set of features, and he proposed that "probable" brochs could be defined as possessing features (1) to (4) but not

[34] Dryden 1872, 200

demonstrably possessing any of the hollow wall features, with possible brochs having "no diagnostic features exposed but which seem likely from their situation to be brochs"[35].

The features of MacKie's "brochs" and "probable brochs" are known to be present at no more than 15 percent of the 600-plus suggested broch sites in Scotland, and there is no knowing how many of the remainder might, or might not, reveal such features on excavation. This means that Scotland is known to possess at least 80 brochs but could in fact possess many more, not to mention sites lost or destroyed over the centuries before antiquarian interest.
Stepping back from technical structural definitions, it is common practice, where a broch has proved on excavation to be surrounded by a complex of smaller structures and sometimes also by outer walls and ditches, to refer to the entire site simply as a broch – Edin's Hall falls into this category, where the broch acts as signifier for a larger and more complex site.

Brochs are unique to Scotland, and one of Scotland's few "endemic" prehistoric architectural forms. Their greatest concentration is in Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and East Sutherland, with more examples scattered rather more thinly across the Western Isles, Skye and the adjacent mainland. Edin's Hall is one of the few examples located outside the Highlands and Islands.

A brief account of broch studies

Brochs have been the subject of more research and discussion than perhaps any other type of ancient monument. It is necessary to review these antiquarian and archaeological debates in some detail, because the significance of Mousa (and other brochs in State care) lies to a considerable extent in how each site offers, or could offer, evidence in support of competing definitions of "broch-ness" and towards competing narratives about the origins, date, nature and purpose of these enigmatic sites. The outcome of a huge amount of study appears to be that very few of the key questions about brochs have been resolved, while at the same time new and even less answerable questions have been stimulated. All narratives rely to some extent on assumptions, and the most which can be hoped is that these are made explicit.

The word "broch" was being used by antiquarians alongside "brough", "burgh" and "Picts' House / Castle" by the early 1800s, and the "broch" spelling was formally adopted by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in the early 1870s, though older usages lingered for a generation. Initially it signified a structure which was either, like Mousa, a tall-standing tower, or which had a lower height but showed sufficient structural detail for its

[35] MacKie 2002, 1-2

similarity with surviving tall-standing examples to be asserted with confidence.

It is worth noting in passing that "broch" does not seem to have been in popular usage for this class of structure: the only pre-1800 use of "broch" was in relation to the town of Fraserburgh, where Scotland's first planned "new town" was created in the late 1500s and early 1600s, and referred to as "Fraser's broch" or "Fraser's burgh" [36], suggesting that broch was a northern synonym for burgh. The nickname Broch is still in popular use today, especially in local newspapers, where it allows for a larger typeface and more striking headlines than does Fraserburgh[37]. And in the Western Isles and wider Gaelic-speaking area, the term "broch" was not used locally, even though the Old Norse root "borg" appears as "barp"- and "borve" in many place-names. The word dùn, a generic Gaelic word for fort, was used exclusively for all man-made prehistoric sites which appeared to be of a defensive nature.

As archaeological research and fieldwork progressed, the number of "possible" broch sites has risen to about 600[38], although as time passed, the majority of sites so designated were usually no more than large grass-covered mounds of masonry of approximately the right dimensions, which in their physical appearance and siting appeared to informed observers less like a large burial cairn and more like a broch – a rather unsatisfactory approach, but one which persists in modern research.

A recent estimate is that only about 150 of 600+ "possible" broch sites show any details of built masonry at all, with about half of these, 70 or 80, either surviving as towers or showing sufficient structural evidence to suggest they could once have achieved such a height.[39] That said, when "possible" broch sites have been tested by full or partial excavation, or otherwise disturbed, they do prove more often than not to reveal features allowing them to be counted as brochs[40]. Additional "possible" sites continue to be added, and in some cases demonstrated to be brochs[41]. In summary, Scotland has at least 80 brochs, but may have many more.

It has been accepted from the early days of serious study that few other brochs had ever stood quite as tall as **Mousa** and the other partially surviving towers such as **Duns Telve**, **Troddan** and **Carloway**, though

[36] Oram et al, 5
[37] One memorable headline from the Press and Journal, in 1980: "Broch man told lies to gain credit"
[38] Armit 2003
[39] Barber 2018
[40] E.g. Cloddie Knowe, trial trenched in 1988 (MacKie 2002 p 82)
[41] E.g. Channerwick, revealed in winter 2013/14 http://scharp.co.uk/shoredig-projects/channerwick-broch/ accessed 6 September 2018 (illustration also shows Mousa used as the archetype of a broch)

views vary radically as to just how many were towers at all. Scott in 1947 argued that only a dozen or so tall towers had ever existed across Scotland, with the rest simple solidly built low-rise farmhouses[42]. Graham immediately disputed this, based on data from Royal Commission surveys, and his view, that the majority of brochs were tall enough to be imposing, if not as lofty as Mousa, has tended to prevail since then[43].

Attempts to define "true" or "tower" brochs as distinct from a wider class of drystone forts and duns have tended to centre on the presence of specific constructional features: near-circular ground plan, hollow or galleried wall construction, single narrow entrance passage, staircase within the wall thickness, a wall thick enough to have supported a sufficient height to act as a defence, etcetera[44].

Although early commentators tended to agree that brochs were originally unroofed towers, over time, opinion has shifted to the extent that most commentators, while disagreeing about details, accept that brochs contained significant internal fittings, typically including one or more raised floors and some form of a roof, and that timber was the major component of these "now vanished" elements. However, such features are in all cases inferred, based on what makes best sense of surviving stone-built features, such as scarcement ledges. Initially, it was suggested that broch roofs were "obviously" annular, lean-to structures leaving the centre for the inner space open to the sky (for light and smoke to escape)[45]. More recently, broch reconstructions have tended to feature conical roofs sitting on the wall-head or just below it, with the weight taken by stout posts[46]. Fojut (sceptically) and most recently Romankiewicz (more optimistically) are among those who have recently published on possible roofing structures[47].

Physical evidence for such features is extremely rare amongst excavated broch sites, and even at the only two brochs where evidence of really substantial floor-set timber posts has been found, Dun Troddan (Highland)[48] and Leckie (Stirlingshire)[49], these cannot conclusively be confirmed as having been constructed at the same time as the brochs[50]. The need for caution is emphasised by the substantial post-rings found at

[42] Scott 1947
[43] Graham 1947a and 1947b
[44] MacKie 2002, 1-2
[45] Curle 1921, 90-92
[46] For example that by Alan Braby, widely reproduced, e.g. in Armit and Fojut 1998, 15
[47] Fojut 2005b, 194-6; Romankiewicz 2016, 17-19
[48] Curle 1921, 90-92
[49] MacKie 2007, 1312-3 (see also MacKie 2016 for more detailed account)
[50] Fojut 2005b, 192-3

Buchlyvie (Stirlingshire)[51] and Càrn Liath (Highland – Sutherland)[52] which in both cases can be shown to relate to pre-broch roundhouses[53].

If all brochs were indeed fitted out in timber, this would have interesting implications for wider relationships and poses the question of how quality timber for construction was obtained by those living in relatively treeless areas such as Shetland or the Western Isles.[54] The earlier view, that brochs as first constructed were not intended to be roofed, still has adherents, who offer an alternative view of brochs as a network of defensive lookout towers built in response to the threat of raiding or invasion. Smith has recently re-opened this debate by suggesting that Mousa and some other (although not all) brochs were never intended to be roofed[55].

Broch origins

The date and antecedents of brochs have been pushed progressively earlier. The idea that brochs were built by the Danes or Vikings[56] persisted for some decades, despite the outright rejection of this idea by Scandinavian antiquarians as early as 1852[57]. The alternative view, that they were built by the native population as watch-towers against the Vikings, was also popular[58] and led to them being called "Picts' House" or "Pictish Castle". However, by the 1880s, it had become generally accepted that brochs were somewhat earlier, dating to what had come to be termed the Iron Age and constructed at a time when the Romans were actively expanding their Empire, further south[59].

As the discipline of archaeology developed, and in the absence of direct dating evidence, efforts were made to fit brochs into wider perspectives. The idea of a series of "cliff castles" along the west coast of Britain, originating in Cornwall and gradually spreading north as they increased in architectural sophistication and complexity, was proposed[60], and led to the dominance of various "diffusionist" models, in which brochs were seen as the strongholds of an incoming elite[61]. Elaborate "family trees" of Iron Age fortification across western Europe were drawn up, culminating in the broch, and these carried some influence well into the 1980s.[62]

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[51] Main 1989, 296-302
[52] Love 1989, 165
[53] In this respect, the conjectural plans offered by MacKie for Dun Carloway are perhaps unhelpful. MacKie 2007, 1204
[54] Fojut 2005b, 196-9
[55] Smith 2016, 15
[56] Fergusson 1877, 630-9
[57] Worsaae 1852, 233
[58] Stuart 1857, 191-2
[59] Anderson 1883
[60] Childe 1935
[61] Scott, 1948
[62] Hamilton 1968, 51

The discovery, in excavated broch sites, of some types of artefacts with similarities to those found in southern England and Brittany was held to support this idea, with any thought that their presence might have arisen through trade being rejected. Clarke and others warned that many of the artefact types cited were much more broadly distributed and in some cases near-ubiquitous[63] in the middle Iron Age, and could not be relied upon to demonstrate large-scale invasion. That said, most would accept that there were contacts between Iron Age communities living along the European north-western seaboard, so ideas might have been shared, and individuals may have moved from area to area.

The observation has been made that brochs are unlikely to have arisen locally in north and west Scotland because the preceding local Bronze Age seems poor, but this may well be a mis-reading of the evidence: a lack of monumental building does not necessarily imply an impoverished culture. The fundamental problems for the immigration/invasion hypothesis as an explanation for the appearance of brochs, are (a) why the arrival of people from an area which held no structures anything like brochs should lead to their construction in their new homeland, and (b) why the limited amount of "exotic" pottery which is held to mark their arrival in the area (supposedly at Clickimin) might not have been obtained by trade or by gift exchange.
The idea that brochs were built by "warlike chieftains" to "overawe a subject population", remained popular[64], although not with all commentators. Stewart in 1956 was typically concise in this respect with regard to his homeland:
"Shetland at its best had two feudal castles, and all the local lairds of later times (very small fry *indeed) would not have added up to the fraction of her hundred brochs, so it is useless to think of a lord controlling a group of serfs… We have a form of life based on a group much larger than the family, and a communal effort to meet some unprecedented sort of danger."*[65]

The older, alternative view, that brochs were a unique local invention, began to be revived in the 1950s, notably in Shetland[66]. Broad contemporaneity with the Roman presence was still supported, but now with the added idea of brochs as refuges against slave-raiding, possibly by the Romans or by war-bands selling slaves into the Roman Empire. The persistence of immigration, if not invasion, as a stimulus was maintained, with the invention of brochs, probably in Orkney, by a "mixed" population[67]. At the same time, the idea was revived that brochs were built

[63] Clarke 1971
[64] RCAHMS 1946 (visited/written 1930), 48-55
[65] Stewart 1956, 15
[66] O'Neill 1954
[67] Stewart 1956, 15-16

over a very short period and then abandoned or converted into non-defensive structures.[68]

The period of broch construction was still assumed to be in the last century BC and the first century AD (largely on the basis of a few Roman artefacts found in and around brochs). This theory allowed for several centuries of experimentation to "perfect" the broch, wherever it first emerged in its ultimate expression as a tower, although there was a tendency to push this date a little earlier, perhaps into the second or third century BC, with an increasing preference for local invention over external inspiration. There was general agreement that brochs as well-built as Mousa came late in any sequence of structures[69].

The search for the architectural antecedents of brochs produced two competing theories. A 'western origin' school saw brochs developing from simpler D-shaped enclosures with some broch features which occur in Skye and the neighbouring mainland, and which MacKie termed semi-brochs, via the "ground galleried" brochs of the west into the "solid-based" brochs of the north[70]. A competing northern origin school of opinion saw brochs arising in Orkney or Caithness (or even in Shetland, where a small number of so-called "blockhouse forts" contain broch-like features, such as wall-base cells, stairways and scarcement ledges)[71]. Dating evidence emerged in Orkney during the early 1980s for a few thick-walled roundhouses (such as that at Bu, near Stromness, dating to 600 – 500 BC) which some claimed as forerunners to brochs[72], although these possessed few, if any, of the classic defining features of brochs.[73] Nonetheless, this led some to believe that brochs might go back as early as 600 BC[74].

Until recently there have been few secure radiocarbon dates for the actual construction of brochs, since few excavators had dug under their massive walls. Almost all dates from broch sites related to deposits within and around them, and almost by definition later than the construction of the brochs on each site – and usually later by an unknowable length of time. This changed with the dating of Dun Vulan (South Uist) from carbonised grain within the matrix of the wall. Taken with other material nearby, this suggested a construction date in the late 2nd or the 1st century BC. Slightly less securely, the construction of a broch at Upper Scalloway (Shetland) appeared to have taken place in the 1st century AD[75].

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[68] Stewart 1956, 15
[69] Fojut 1981, 226-7
[70] MacKie 1992: also MacKie 2007, 1094,
[71] Lamb 1980, Fojut 1981
[72] Hedges and Bell 1980, Hedges 1987
[73] Armit 1990 p 195
[74] Fojut 1981, p 34
[75] Parker Pearson et al 1996; Sharples 1998

The radiocarbon dating of the construction of a fully-formed Shetland broch to the period 400 – 200 BC, at Old Scatness in southern Mainland[76], has forced a radical re-thinking of broch origins. The date, from well-stratified animal bone which was fresh at the time of its burial and lay directly under the well-built primary wall of the broch, has confirmed the growing suspicions that brochs were a considerably earlier development than had generally been supposed, at least in the north.

This has not entirely banished an attachment to the idea of immigration as a stimulus for changes in society which led to the appearance of brochs, although its continuing adherents now place the hypothetical arrival of the supposed highly skilled incomers into northern Scotland much earlier, perhaps even at the start of the local Iron Age (around 700 – 600 BC), the new date MacKie has suggested the arrival of the supposed high-status southern immigrants to Shetland[77].

The arguments for this are problematic in the extreme, due to the disturbed nature of the structures and deposits at Clickimin, which Hamilton largely failed to take into account[78]. At Clickimin, key pottery forms with internally fluted rims and sometimes black burnished exteriors, were held by both Hamilton and MacKie to mark the arrival of southern immigrants well before the broch was constructed. It was suggested as early as 1980 that these particular forms of pottery appear not before, but in fact well after, the building of the broch at Clickimin and probably elsewhere in Shetland[79].

This interpretation has now gained strong support from the extensive excavations at Old Scatness, where these pottery characteristics consistently appear from the 1st century BC onwards – long after the construction of the broch. A similar date has been ascribed to comparable pottery at Dun Vulan in South Uist. This change – which may or may not mark the arrival of incoming settlers – is therefore no longer relevant in terms of dating the first appearance of brochs, either in Shetland or in the Western Isles.

MacKie's recent suggestion that brochs were invented first in the north, possibly even in Shetland, and then later reinvented in the west[80] seems improbable, and the scenario suggested by Parker Pearson and collaborators more likely[81], with the broch tower invented in the north and only spreading to (or being adopted in) the west considerably later. This is

[76] Dockrill et al 2015, 168-171
[77] MacKie 2008
[78] Smith, 2014, 4
[79] Fojut 1989, especially 29-31 (first discussed in unpublished PhD thesis 1980)
[80] MacKie 2008, 272
[81] Parker Pearson et al 1996, 58-62

consistent with the fact that in the west brochs are fewer in number and occur interspersed with other small stone forts which were unlikely to have stood as tall. The dating evidence from Clachtoll broch in West Sutherland, currently (2018) under investigation, should shed light on this, occupying as it does what might be seen as a step on the journey from north to west (or vice versa).

Reinforced by the new dating evidence, and following detailed architectural and engineering analysis, plus his own work at Thrumster broch and other sites in Caithness, Barber has suggested that, in the north at least, "classic", "fully-formed" or "tower" brochs such as Mousa may in fact all be of relatively early date and built over a short span of time short duration ("perhaps only a single, say 35 year, generation…in the early fourth century BC"[82]), often being reduced in height not long after their construction and in some cases incorporated as the cores of more extensive settlements. This latter phase of conversion Barber sees, with many caveats, as being already underway in Caithness by 200 BC and continuing perhaps until AD 200[83].

So, while the date of origin for some brochs has been pushed earlier, there remains good evidence that some were still being built around the turn of the millennia in Shetland, and possibly built for the first time then in the west. There is also some evidence which may suggest direct contact with the 1st – 2nd century AD Roman occupying forces in central Scotland on the part of the inhabitants of Leckie in Stirlingshire, one of the "outlying" brochs which have always proved problematic to fit into the mainstream of broch theories. These have tended to be regarded as among the very last brochs to be built, and the broch at Leckie appeared to have been recently built at the time of the suggested Roman contact[84]. Edin's Hall falls into this grouping geographically, but has not so far produced demonstrably Roman artefactual material.

The wide span of dates now available suggests that the narrative which best fits the evidence is that the broch was a successful structural form which was first developed in the north, where it was quickly built in sizeable numbers. Brochs continued to be built in the north in appropriate circumstances over several centuries, and the architectural form was adopted further afield in later centuries. The artefactual evidence from Dun Vulan does not suggest the Western Isles were colonised in force from the north, being instead more consistent with limited contact. The idea that Shetland may have been taken over by Orcadian broch-builders, as floated by Stewart in 1956, similarly lacks artefactual support. But this returns us to the core of the problem; that we still have next to no excavated evidence

[82] John Barber pers. comm. August 2018
[83] Barber 2018
[84] MacKie 2007, 1314-5 (See MacKie 2016 for more detailed discussion)

for Iron Age culture at the point of broch building, but only from later centuries.

That is probably as much interpretation as the available evidence can currently support, and debate will continue as to exactly what the "appropriate circumstances" were which made building a broch a suitable response.

How special are brochs, and what was their purpose?

Many writers, including MacKie[85] and more recently Barber[86], have emphasised the combination of architectural features which they felt pointed towards what Barber has termed "canonicity" – the intention of the builders of each broch to conform to a model which was clearly defined closely resembled other such towers so far as geology would allow. MacKie posited a "professional" architect cadre[87] while Barber has recently pointed to the engineering knowledge involved in constructing so close to the physical limits of buildability[88].

Others have seen brochs simply as one end of a much wider spectrum of enclosed drystone structures which were all intended to serve the same broad purpose, presumed to be that of a defensible and impressive dwelling[89]. Armit developed the idea of the "Simple" and "Complex Atlantic Roundhouses" to emphasise similarities within a larger class of approximately circular structures[90], while Romankiewicz has since taken this further to include all thick-walled structures, regardless of plan form, which contained intra-mural spaces and could have been roofed[91], though to refer to such a wide range of structures as brochs seems unhelpful[92].

These contrasting views are interwoven with debate and with assumptions about how brochs "worked" in practical and social terms: about whether they represented the communal homes of whole communities or only of landlords or chieftains; whether they were defensive at all, or solely intended to demonstrate status[93], and also about how and when the tower form emerged: possibly early and as a brilliant stroke of creative genius, or possibly late and as the product of a gradual process of experimentation. (Although, as Barber has recently observed, the frequent use of the term

[85] MacKie 1965
[86] Barber 2018
[87] MacKie 1965
[88] Barber 2018
[89] Barrett 1981, 207-17
[90] Armit 1991
[91] Romankiewicz 2011
[92] Romankiewicz 2016
[93] Armit 2005b

"evolution" is inappropriate in a Darwinian sense – ideas may evolve but structures cannot.)[94]

Brochs and Iron Age society

A further source of continuing debate has been the nature of contemporary society, ranging from early visions of a near-feudal society with immigrant overlords and their armed warriors living in brochs and levying rent and other support from subservient native, peasant farmers[95], through one of embattled local communities seeking to defend themselves against raiders or invaders[96], to one of peaceable, hierarchical farming communities building brochs not for defence at all, but as a symbol of their possession of the land, their prestige, and safe storage of accumulated wealth in the form of surplus grain[97]. Several commentators have observed that many brochs occupy locations where large-scale arable agriculture seems unlikely to have been any more viable in the Iron Age than it would be today[98] and the assumption of grain surplus is not certain.

Almost all of the dated evidence for life in and around brochs relates to their occupation in primary and subsequent forms, and not to their construction, and this is likely to remain the case. We have no way of knowing whether society at the precise time brochs were built was similar to that in subsequent centuries, from which most of our excavated evidence derives.

The explanation for the regional distribution pattern of brochs probably lies in the nature of Iron Age 'tribal' groupings, but there is insufficient evidence to provide a satisfactory explanation. The types of artefact found in broch excavations also occur on non-broch sites and also beyond the so-called "Broch Province", and brochs do not appear in some adjacent areas where physical conditions suggest they might, for example, in mid and south Argyll or Arran. In short, brochs do not align with a single distinctive "material culture". Stuart in 1857 expressed things pithily: "there must have been something peculiar in the circumstances of the inhabitants to have given rise to these peculiar erections."[99] We are still far from understanding what this peculiarity might have been.

It seems likely that each broch represents the work of a substantial community, larger than a single extended family, which controlled a distinct area of land (and perhaps sea) and that the broch represented a visible token of their possession, willingness to defend that holding, and the

[94] Barber 2018
[95] Scott 1947, 1948
[96] O'Neill
[97] Hingley 1992, 19; Dockrill 1998, 493-7 et passim; Armit 1996, 129-130
[98] Smith 2014
[99] Stuart 1857, 192

social status of the group or at least its leaders. People must also have continued to make their living from the land and sea, so access to resources would have been a constant concern. However, how their society was organised is not self-evident, and the unanswered question remains: what combination of circumstances led to the building of a broch?

So far as can be ascertained from excavated evidence, Iron Age society at the time of the brochs appears to have been relatively "flat"; composed of largely self-sufficient groups, which over time became associated into wider regional groupings that might loosely be termed "chiefdoms". These various groups doubtless interacted, both productively (trade, social exchange and agreed marriage) and negatively (raiding to steal livestock and perhaps to take prisoners, and even to take over territory). Brochs presumably provided enough defensibility to offer a degree of deterrence against the less desirable forms of interaction which might be expected locally, though they would not have withstood prolonged siege warfare – which in itself says much about how the builders perceived their wider world.

It is possible to imagine economic models for communities living in and around brochs, and while this might have been possible in the more favoured parts of Orkney or Caithness (both of which exported grain in late medieval times), neither the Western Isles or Shetland seem likely to have been able to support a subsistence economy founded principally on the cultivation of grain, though what grain could be produced would have been a valuable resource. Reliance on pastoralism and on the use of coastal and marine resources would have balanced such an economy more broadly, especially if exchange or barter operated between nearby communities with access to different resource bases[100].

However, the feasibility of theoretical economic models is inter-twined with the particular model of social structure which is assumed. Primitive communalism, client-elite relationships, inter-group collectivities (very close to a chiefdom society), a proto-feudal or even a full-blown feudal system have all been suggested at various times. Each would have made subtly, sometimes radically, different demands upon the resources available. The sole indisputable fact remains that each broch must have been built by a locally-available workforce, sustained by locally-available resources for at least as long as it took to build.

Once built, brochs may well have served a variety of functions, or at least acted as bases for a mix of activities which varied widely from site to site and from time to time. Some brochs went on to become the cores of more extensive settlements, while others seem to have been abandoned not long after they were constructed. Many brochs undoubtedly served as

[100] Fojut 1982a

farmhouses in later years, but whether any brochs were built primarily as farmhouses is likely to remain an open question. It is hard to escape the impression, especially when standing next to a broch such as Mousa or Dun Carloway, that brochs were originally defensive, if only in that they were intended to offer outward vantage, impress the viewer and suggest the invulnerability of their possessors, and that thoughts of agrarian domesticity were not paramount in their builders' minds. On the other hand, the broch at Edin's Hall gives much more of an impression of having been influenced by broch architecture but remaining rooted in a different tradition of very large wooden roundhouses – though if Edin's Hall's "broch" was roofed, which has been doubted, it would have been one of the largest roundhouses ever identified in northern Britain.

Conclusion

In conclusion, despite two centuries of study, most of the basic facts about brochs, beyond physical measurements of surviving structures, remain conjectural, with interpretations usually based upon a very small sample of evidence, selectively interpreted, fitted to "off-the-shelf" social models. The revision of explanatory narratives will continue as new evidence emerges and as old evidence is reviewed: every few years brings another brave attempt to present a unified and coherent account of the issues discussed here[101] [102] [103] only to see each effort, rather than unifying the field of study, simply add fresh fuel to debate.

It remains true, as Stewart sagely remarked in 1956, that "it is easier to guess why the broch came into being than how"[104]. But neither question has yet been answered conclusively.

[101] Hedges and Bell 1980
[102] Armit 2003
[103] Most recently, Romankiewicz 2016.
[104] Stewart 1956, 21