THE PALISADED SETTLEMENTS AT HAREHOPE, PEEBLES SHIRE. EXCAVATIONS, 1960


I. INTRODUCTION

These structures are situated at a distance of 700 yds. NE. of Harehope farm-house and at a height of 1100 ft. O.D. on the gentle E. slope of Crailzie Hill, a part of the ridge forming the watershed between the Flemington and Meldon Burns, 4 miles NW. of Peebles. An earthwork of generally similar appearance lies 1,100 yds. to the SSW., and another the same distance to the NE. (fig. 1). The open, well-drained land in the vicinity of these monuments is all under grass pasture, in contrast to many comparable hillsides within view upon which heather predominates. The settlements were chosen for excavation during the preparation of the Inventory of Peeblesshire by the Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland because they are typical examples of a class of earthwork of unknown affinities that has been recorded throughout southern and eastern Scotland. Typically, a structure of this class is a sub-oval enclosure — often with a suggestion of the subrectangular — formed by a shallow ditch on either side of which is a low earthen bank. The banks meet round the heads of the ditch at the entrance or, occasionally, two entrances. In greater Tweed-dale alone 23 such structures survive (fig. 2). While three times as many earthworks of unknown date and purpose are in addition recorded in the same area, none conform closely enough with the above specification to warrant their inclusion here. This is not to say, of course, that some of them may not belong to the same period, but no evidence will be available until excavations have been carried out.

The Commissioners decided that the excavation of the Harehope earthwork might help to throw some light on this widespread type of structure, and the work was done in July and August 1960. I am indebted to the Commissioners and to members of the staff for support and assistance. All the recording and drawing were undertaken by Mrs R. W. Feachem, whose work I acknowledge with particular gratitude. Permission to excavate and to have daily access to the site was readily given by the proprietor, Mr A. Boyd, and a grant towards the expenses involved, and tools with which to work, were generously provided by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The excavations will be described in the following section, and the various features will be discussed and interpreted in Section III.

1 These earthworks, the average internal dimensions of which are 200 ft. by 160 ft., are as follows: Inventory of Roxburghshire, numbers 52, 53, 159, 1608, 165, 323, 647, 865(4), 865(6), 865(7), 874, 943, 948, 959, 1000; Inventory of Selkirkshire, 149, 143, 147; in Peeblesshire, Quarter Wood Side, Harehope, Lyne Burn and Nether Stewarton, for which see Inventory forthcoming; in Berwickshire, Over Hartside.
II. The Excavation

The appearance of the settlements can be seen from the plan (fig. 3). It is clear that two successive structural phases are represented, each formed by a ditch with a bank on either side but one considerably smaller than the other. While their entrances almost coincide, the defences diverge on either side of this point until they become completely separated. It is also clear that the smaller structure is the later, as its outer bank overrides the inner one of the larger. When the two structures are separated, they appear as in fig. 4.
A section taken on the surface from E. to W. from the entrance right across the interior and out over the defences on the opposite side showed a rise of 25 ft. over the whole site. This line was used as a base from which two systems of 10-ft. squares with 2-ft. baulks were laid out. One of these enveloped the S. side of the entrance and the other was placed well within the interior in the hope that traces of internal structures, none of which were visible on the ground, might be discovered. This latter system, called Site A, is described first.

(i) Site A (fig. 5)

When the turf was removed the roots of the grass were found to extend to the natural crushed rock surface some 6 in. below. Three contiguous sherds of medieval pottery (fig. 8, 1) came from the grass-roots. When the turf had been removed, various settings of stones could be seen as well as areas of concentrations of stones and boulders laid flat which could be described as coarse paving. It soon became clear that the settings of stones were chock-stones in a palisade trench, and that the coarse paving represented an attempt to make part of the natural rocky 'floor' less uneven. In the event, three separate successive structures, all in contact with each
other, were disentangled from the palisade, the paving, and 22 post-holes, and it will be convenient to describe them in the order of discovery.

House 3 (fig. 6). A circular timber-framed house 36 ft. in diameter, the foundations of which were formed by six post-holes (numbers 10 to 15) and a continuous palisade trench, was the latest of the three structures. The five post-holes numbered 10 to 14 were all much the same size, varying between 6 and 8 in. in depth below the uneven natural surface and about 9 in. in diameter outside the chock-stones. Where the latter were still in place their disposition suggested that the posts they originally held may have been about 6 in. in diameter. The only fragments of charcoal found on the site came from post-hole 13. The sixth post-hole, number 15, lay in the outer trench of House 2, described below, and its dimensions were not accurately estimated.
The enclosing palisade trench measured about 1 ft. in width and about 8 in. in depth. A good many chock-stones were still in place, and, particularly in the NW. arc, it was noted that flat stones had been rammed down firmly along the inner side of the trench and that the rest are not spaced out as if they had held a regular row of posts. This indicated that the wooden outer wall of the house had been composed of a screen of contiguous split timbers, rather than of a series of posts connected by wattles. The entrance, in the W. arc, was well defined. The whole of the E. arc, however, was found to be missing, the N. and S. arcs fading gradually
away onto an eroded slope. It is difficult to suppose that this was due to natural erosion, and the explanation may lie in the reported trench 'dug across the site' by A. O. Curle about 25 years ago.\(^1\)

The only other features attributable to this house are the little trench T which forms a traverse 9 ft. within the entrance, and the post-hole numbered 16. It is possible that another post-hole, shown on fig. 6 as a dotted ring, may have existed 3 ft. N. of 16. But this position was confused by the filling and paving blocking post-hole ii (see House 1 below), and its existence was not proved beyond doubt.

Nevertheless it is probable that trench T, post-hole 16 and the postulated post-hole supported and formed parts of a structural feature designed as an interior entrance hall — there was no external porch. The rough paving already described was concentrated for the most part in the aisle between the post ring and the wooden outer wall. No hearth was definitely recognisable. Four odd post-holes, numbers 17 to 20, were found within the house. A remarkably worn part of the conical upper stone of a flat bee-hive rotary quern (fig. 9) was found on the paving at a point 6 ft. S. of the S. end of trench T.

This house is discussed in Section III below.

House 2 (fig. 6). The SSE. arc of the trench carrying the outer wall of House 3, and some of its paving stones, were found to overlie in part two lengths of shallow curving trenches or depressions cut into the rocky surface. The trenches varied in depth from about 3 in. to about 10 in. and in width from 1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 in. One formed an arc 30 ft. in length which faded out in the E. (like the palisade trench of House 3) after running half way round the circumference of a circle 20 ft. in diameter. The other trench formed an arc about 15 ft. in length opposite the former and on a course about 3 ft. inside it. This trench also faded out in the E. A post-

\(^1\) Information from Mr Angus Graham, F.S.A.
hole (7), 8 in. in depth and 1 ft. in diameter outside the chock-stones, was situated at the N. end of the longer trench, and two others (8 and 9) of similar proportions were found, one in the NW. and the other in the SE. sectors of the interior. A setting of half a dozen large flat stones in the N. sector, not far from the centre of the house, was probably a hearth.

These remains were recognised as those of a small house of the ring-groove type first described at the Hayhope Knowe settlement, comparable in size to the one marked 'X' on the plan. The house is discussed in Section III below.

House 1 (fig. 6). The remains of this structure consisted entirely of six large post-holes, numbers I to VI. In all cases but IV they were entirely obscured by the rough paving in the aisle of House 3, while V was in addition, in the first place, overlain by the shorter trench of House 2. When excavated, these holes were found to contain both several large, wedge-shaped chock-stones and one or more large boulders. Emptied, they measured in numerical order 16, 16, 15, 18, 22 and 22 inches in depth, and had an average diameter of 20 in. They form a circle 24 ft. in diameter. They had been so rammed full of stones and boulders that it was concluded that this must have been done at the time when the posts, or their remains, were pulled out or had completely rotted away, leaving large, gaping pits. This must have been done when House 2 was built; and the paving of House 3 eventually overlay both the original fillings and the trench of House 2 where this overlay the filled post-hole V.

Three of the unattached posts – 17, 18, 19 – fall within the ring formed by post-holes I to VI; but there is no evidence to show whether they belonged to House I or to House 3, or to neither.

This house is discussed in Section III below.

Other Post-holes. Apart from the four unattached post-holes 17, 18, 19 and 20, two others came within the excavated area of Site A. These, 21 and 22, lay close together near the brink of the eroded slope. The former was 10 in. deep and as many in diameter, and its filling contained the only piece of prehistoric pottery to be found (fig. 8, 2). The latter was 7 in. deep and 9 in. in diameter.

(ii) The South Side of the Entrance (fig. 7).

Six squares, each 10 ft. by 10 ft. and with baulks 2 ft. wide between them, were laid out along the base-line to cover all the visible remains of the S. side of the entrance, and were extended where necessary. The two consecutive structural phases which can be seen on the plan (fig. 3) were revealed in this excavation, and it will be convenient to describe the earlier first.

Phase I. The larger enclosure (fig. 4) which constituted the first cultural phase was mutilated near the entrance not only by the construction of Phase II but by later ploughing. It can be assumed that originally the banks were of reasonably uniform size all round; but for a distance of 150 ft. to the S. of the entrance and 300 ft. to the N. of it the outer bank of Phase I has been almost obliterated, only the slightest intermittent traces still remaining. In addition, the sections of the banks

1 P.S.A.S., lxxxiii (1948–9), 47, fig. 2.
HAREHOPE
ENTRANCE

PLAN

SECTION

FIG. 7
which flank the entrance were removed and shovelled into the heads of the shallow ditch by the builders of Phase II, to clear the approach to their gateway.

The excavation revealed that a continuous palisade trench ran along the crest of the inner rampart of the Phase I defences. This appeared at the W. side of the cutting and ran N. to curve NE. for 12 ft. before dying out at the place where the rampart in which it was seated had been dug away into the ditch. The very lowest few inches of this bank could be traced a little further as it began to round the end of the ditch, but beyond that point no vestige of it remained within the limits of the excavation. No sign of the gateway was found, but an estimate of its probable position is shown in fig. 4.

Phase II. In contrast to the remains of the earlier structure, those of the later one were found to be comparatively well preserved and quite undisturbed except by decay.

Here, once again, the settlement was found to have been enclosed by palisades set in low mounds on either side of the shallow ditch. In this case, however, the arrangement of the palisades and other features at the gateway could be fully understood. The palisade on the outer bank turned out a little as it approached the entrance from the W., and then curved back through N. and NW. to terminate in a post-hole. After a gap of 2 ft. 6 in. another post-hole formed the termination of the inner palisade, which ran thence NE. to curve round through N. and NW. and so run off W. along the inner mound. The narrow gap between the two termini gave access from the entrance passage to the semicircular space formed by the curve of the outer palisade. Within this space were four post-holes, set at the corners of a rectangle measuring 7 ft. from E. to W. by 4 ft. transversely. The two southern post-holes were joined by a palisade trench.

The gate itself, represented by two large post-holes 9 ft. apart, one on either side of the roadway, was joined to the palisades on the outer mounds by a fence which ran up from the gate-posts to the semicircular curves. The roadway was metalled with fine cobbles.

When the turf was removed from the bank flanking the S. side of the entrance passage, there was at once revealed a great quantity of stones of moderate size. Most of these were dislodged, and many had fallen down onto the road; but at one place, on the curve at the inner mouth of the passage, a number of stones were found in position, forming a capping to the earthen bank. From this it follows that originally the rest of the stones formed such a capping to the rest of the bank, at least as far as the fence at the gate.

(iii) Finds (figs. 8 and 9)

Pottery. One sherd was found in post-hole 21 (fig. 8, 2). It represents part of the wall of a large vessel, possibly of flower-pot shape. The slight groove along one of the longer broken edges is structural. The paste is reasonably smooth and the grits of moderate size, while the surface of the outer side is encrusted with sooty deposits. At present, little more can be said about this sherd than that it is characteristic of the local native pottery in use in the pre-Roman Iron Age.
Three contiguous sherds of late medieval pottery were found in the grass-roots in Site A (fig. 8, 1).

Stone. The very worn part of the upper stone of a flat beehive rotary quern (fig. 9) must originally have appeared as restored in the illustration. It was then very closely comparable to one found at the Iron Age Settlement at Huckhoe, Northumberland,\textsuperscript{1} for example.

A chipped stone disc 2 in. in diameter and up to a quarter of an inch thick (fig. 8, 3) lay on the surface of the bank, under the cobble layer, just outside the N. arc of the semicircular termination of the outer palisade.

The natural rocky 'floor' of Site A was composed either of exposed living rock or of chips and coarse mud of the same shaly substance. A few broken pot-boilers were found when the area was cleared, and also two pebbles of flattened spherical shape, each measuring about 2 in. along the longer axis and 1\frac{1}{4} in. along the shorter. One was apparently natural and the other fabricated. While it is unlikely that such objects would occur naturally at that place, there is no evidence to show whether they were selected and kept for any serious purpose, such as for use with the sling.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{III. INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION}

Since the autumn of 1946, field-work and excavations carried out both in Scotland and in the North of England have led, amongst other results, to a great increase in the number of the recorded remains of early timber structures. While preparing the

\textsuperscript{1} Arch. Ad., 4 ser., xxxvi (1959), 270 and fig. 14, 2.

\textsuperscript{2} cf. P.S.A.S., lxxxiv (1949-50), 122 and fig. 6,6.
Fig. 9
programme of field-work to be done by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland during the 1947 season, Dr Kenneth Steer observed on air-photographs of the National Survey indications which he thought might well be the surface traces of palisade trenches forming part of the earliest defences of the settlement on Hayhope Knowe, Roxburghshire. This interpretation was proved to be correct by a small trial excavation during the summer of 1947; and once the possibility of the surface recognition of palisade trenches had been discovered and established, the Commission's officers noted nine other structures of the same sort within the county. Meanwhile two other palisaded enclosures were recorded in Roxburghshire, both being found by chance during the excavation of later structures that had obliterated them — a method which until now was the only one available. Since that time many more such structures have been found, particularly in County Durham, Northumberland, Peeblesshire and Dumfriesshire. The enclosing palisades take various forms, and the round timber-framed houses that are found within many of them also show a great variety in construction.

Prior to excavation, there was no indication that the Harehope earthworks, too, were palisaded structures. They were representative of a type not previously examined, and appeared on the surface as a simple two-phase structure, each phase consisting of an enclosure formed by a shallow ditch flanked on either lip by a low mound. The lack of any visible ruins in the interior suggested that either any structure it might ever have contained had been of timber, and so had completely disappeared, or none had ever existed. Excavations showed that the enclosure did, in fact, contain the foundations of circular timber-framed houses; and that the low mounds held palisades or fences. Earthworks of which the surface remains appear to be closely comparable to those of the Harehope examples occur widely, as demonstrated in fig. 2. But the principle of the slight bank which, though never itself a serious obstacle, becomes one when it carries a palisade, may have a much wider distribution. It has often been observed, for instance, that the 'defences' of some structures the size and position of which puts them into the hill-fort class, or that of large settlements, are equally inconsiderable; and in many such cases it is reasonably certain that neither the removal of stones nor any other form of mutilation can be blamed for their weak condition. The same, of course, applies to the many other as yet undated earthworks the surface appearance of which differs in some degree from those of the Harehope class.

It is possible, therefore, that this technique was at one time widely used. At Harehope, a very few of what are now known to be the chock-stones of the main palisades protrude through the turf near the crests of the low mounds; it may be that, on occasions, such stones have been wrongly attributed to a revetment.

During excavations at the hill-fort on Bonchester Hill, Roxburghshire, a section through the outer defences (Cutting VII) included what was interpreted as a rebuilt rampart, the second phase of which was faced both within and without with stone

1 P.S.A.S., lxxiii (1948–9), 64 f. The two not then listed were Shoulder Hill (Inventory No. 670) and Steer Rig (No. 1044).
3 P.S.A.S., lxxiv (1949–50), 113 f.
blocks and topped with two rows of stakes. In this case, however, the widely-placed stakes topping a stone-faced rampart 14 ft. in width bear little or no relationship to the principle practised at Harehope, but correspond more closely to a well-known arrangement found, for example, at Hollingbury.  

Defences of settlements or small villages consisting principally of close-set twin palisades are not now so rare in the record as they were when the defences of Hayhope Knowe were first recognised. For instance, an example almost identical with Hayhope Knowe has been discovered on Morton Mains Hill in Nithsdale, Dumfriesshire, while a smaller example crowns Potholm Hill in Ewesdale, in the same county. At Huckhoe, already cited, the same phenomenon occurs, while it is also known in small homesteads such as Gray Coat, in Teviotdale, Roxburghshire, and at Brandon Moor, County Durham. In none of these examples, however, is the palisade planted in a low mound on either side of a shallow ditch – all the palisades are, on the contrary, set in trenches dug into the rocky subsoil. With this reservation, however, it may not be unreasonable to infer a comparatively close relationship between the two types. The more elaborate gateway at Harehope may suggest a later date than the simpler style adopted at Hayhope Knowe.

Among the earthworks generally similar in appearance to Harehope is one which, if correctly identified, may throw further light on the broad dating of the group. At Tamshiel Rig, Roxburghshire, an earthwork of two ramparts with a median ditch, enclosing a suboval area measuring about 220 ft. by 190 ft. internally, is overlaid by a small walled settlement of round stone houses of a type dated to the second century A.D. Such a succession is described as a common phenomenon and it may be inferred that the earlier structure belongs to the pre-Roman Iron Age.

The design and, presumably, the execution of the defences at Harehope show a certain degree of technical ability and imply a substantial measure of corporate effort, as indeed is found elsewhere at comparable places. At Hayhope Knowe, for example, no fewer than 1,600 posts, each about 8 in. in diameter and six or seven feet in length, must have been required for the twin fence alone, and timber in quantities of this order at the least would have been necessary for each phase at Harehope. Here, in addition, the hooked ends of the outer palisade contain settings of four post-holes which probably formed the framework of little towers – the space between the two settings, one on either side of the road, is too great to have permitted the erection of a gantry spanning the road. The scale of the whole structure is still small, even though the work is elaborate, while the fine cobbling of the entrance road suggests a degree of orderliness not always recognised, or credited, in such native structures. A tentative reconstruction of part of the second phase works at Harehope is shown in fig. 10. The palisade trenches were dug into the made ground of the low bank, and this may have something to do with the fact that no distinct post-holes were distinguishable in their filling. On the other hand, they may have held a split-timber fence.

1 *Ant. J.*, xi (1932), 1 f.  
2 Plan as yet unpublished.  
3 Plan as yet unpublished.  
4 *Inventory*, 994.  
5 *Arch. Ael.*, 4 ser. xxxvii (1959), 224, and forthcoming excavation report.  
6 *Inventory*, 943.
HAREHOPE - CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Fig. 10
THE PALISADED SETTLEMENTS AT HAREHOPE, PEEBLESHIRE

It may be remarked that while Hayhope Knowe and many other palisaded settlements were built in the commanding position proper to a hill-fort, the great majority of the Harehope-type earthworks lie on indefensible gentle slopes and the small minority on inconsiderable ridges. It is almost as if the former class may have been the works of pioneer settlers while the latter were those of communities expanding in settled country.

The three houses found in Site A include two of recognisable types, but the earliest one is less easy to parallel. At West Plean, Stirlingshire, Dr Steer recorded a house which consisted of a ring of twelve post-holes but with a central post, whereas House 1 at Harehope has no central post. However, in this case the great size of the post-holes suggests that the roof could be supported on them alone, without the need of a central one. It may be concluded that House 1 could be of a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age type which can be placed early in the second half of the first millennium B.C., and that it could have been the whole or a part of the initial, possibly unenclosed, occupation of the site.

House 2 is related to the type first recognised and described at Hayhope Knowe, and since recognised from surface traces at many other places in Greater Tweeddale. The trenches are intermittent and the ground between the various sections is undisturbed. Likewise, the post-holes are few and conform to no recognisable or recurrent plan. That such houses should be so comparatively common, however, implies that they were considered to be serviceable, and although reconstruction is difficult, the picture achieved in fig. 11 of the definitive paper cited above serves as well as any.

A house which appears to be a somewhat advanced version of this type was found in the Tofts, Stanwick, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Here, after the absence of a unitary scheme among the post-holes had been noted, it was observed that 'light timber anchored in the mixed surface of boulder-clay is unlikely to leave a complete imprint'.

It is probable, then, that House 2 belongs to a second occupation of the site — phase I of the Harehope defences. The type occurs in several hill-forts and settlements in the vicinity, and it is possible that a close parallel to this phase of occupation may exist in the settlement on the NE. slope of White Knowe, Roxburghshire, where at least 11 houses of this type are enclosed in very slight mounds flanking a median ditch.

House 3 conforms closely if not exactly to a type first recorded at the homestead at West Plean. While the earlier house there was considered to be of Late Bronze Age style, its successor was found to be of the pre-Roman Iron Age. It was, of course, impossible to guess how long the Late Bronze Age style of house-building carried on through the first millennium B.C., and at what point the later house was built, but it was suggested that no gap may have intervened. The second house was presumed to have lasted possibly until the arrival of the Romans in the middle of the 80's of the first century A.D., but no longer.

1 P.S.A.S., LXXXIX (1955-6), 227 f.
2 Wheeler, The Stanwick Fortifications (1954), 8, fig. 3 and Pl. VIII G.
3 Inventory, 159.
While the wall of the West Plean later house consisted of posts set at intervals of 3 ft. in a palisade trench, that of House 3 at Harehope was formed by continuous rows of flat timbers. Both houses measure 36 ft. in diameter. The only point at which the two plans differ substantially is at the entrance. At West Plean the trench of the outer wall of the house turns out on either side of the entrance to form a porch, while at House 3 there was some kind of an internal entrance-hall, defined at the inner end by a little wooden partition (Trench T). In this, House 3 recalls the houses at Scotstarvit, Fife, which, although larger and more elaborate in design, had internal entrance-halls. House 3, then, represents a variety combining some of the features of West Plean II, some of Scotstarvit and some new ones of its own. It probably dates, as do these others, from an undetermined time in the later years of the pre-Roman Iron Age. It may represent one of several put up by the builders of the Phase II defences. The quern-stone probably belongs to this final period of occupation.

In every case the problem of dating the timber structures recorded in pastoral North Britain is very great, owing to the invariable scarcity of datable small finds. The excavations at Braidwood, Hayhope Knowe, Scotstarvit, West Plean, Glenachan Rig and Harehope have between them produced hardly any objects of undisputed date, and none of these in positions where their evidence would be of full value. Lacking such necessary aids, the several authors have been forced to use judicious mixtures of negative evidence and inference to produce tentative assessments of probability. In places where palisaded structures have been found beneath later walls or earthworks, such as Hownam Rings or Huckhoe, the sequence, at least, is certain; but lack of datable material, added to the extreme shallowness of the soil between the grass-roots and the undisturbed natural rock or earth, has once again prevented close dating of the earlier structures. It is, however, most probably safe to assume that, in perhaps most cases if not all, the succession of walls or earthworks to palisades may have been carried out without a break in occupation; this must surely have been the case at such places as Hayhope Knowe and Huckhoe. The same is probably demonstrated by the palisaded hill-fort on the summit of White Hill, in western Peeblesshire, where an enclosure measuring 400 ft. in length within two widely-spaced palisades is in part surrounded by an incomplete system of three ramparts the innermost of which has obliterated short stretches of the outer palisade.

It must be observed, however, that as yet comparatively little excavation has been done at such places. Large numbers of forts and settlements defended by walls, ramparts or palisades exist in which there are the surface remains of timber-framed

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2. P.S.A.S., LXXIII (1948-9), 1 f.
4. Inventory, forthcoming.
5. A considerable number of incomplete forts and other enclosures formed by walls or ramparts and ditches is now recorded. What may be an incomplete palisaded enclosure, however, occurs on the summit of Yeavering Bell, in Northumberland. The summit is surrounded by an irregular ditch too large to be the surface indication of a palisade trench but equally difficult to explain in terms of any other convention. Dr Steer has suggested in conversation that it might possibly represent a palisade trench that was abandoned before it was filled with posts. The hill-fort in which it lies is formed by a stone wall, and contains 'platform' houses.
houses of one type or another. It will be necessary to carry out excavations at some of these to determine whether walls or ramparts were original, or whether they succeeded palisades. But, even so, the likelihood of discovering useful small finds in such places is remote. It will be necessary to carry out large-scale excavations at some such site as Traprain Law before the whole picture can begin to appear very clearly.

To sum up, it is suggested that the earliest occupation of the Harehope site may have been in the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age transitional period, some time after the middle of the first millennium B.C.: that Phase I of the palisades, and House 2, followed after an unknown length of time, probably towards the end of the first millennium B.C.: and that Phase II, the last occupation, which includes House 3, followed immediately after this, possibly even as late as the beginning of the first century A.D.