

Society in Scotland from 700 BC to AD 200

Richard Hingley*

ABSTRACT

This paper considers the evidence for Iron Age society in Scotland. In the first section the limitations of past research are considered, and it is argued that the new perspectives which are currently developing are vital if we are ever to attain a comprehensive understanding of past society. In the second section a thematic approach is used to review some useful recent work. This approach considers the evidence from Scotland for the organization of the household, of the community, and for the nature of production, exchange and deposition. The information reviewed suggests that some understanding of Iron Age society in Scotland exists, and that the high quality of recent work and the excellent preservation of the evidence promise a very healthy future for the subject.

INTRODUCTION

The intention of this article is to consider evidence for society in Scotland during the period from 700 BC to about AD 200. The chronological limits of this discussion are arbitrary: 700 BC marks the approximate start of the Iron Age in Scotland, while AD 200 has been chosen because I wish to avoid discussion of the Picts.

It should be emphasized at the outset that the present concept of Scotland has limited analytical value. The confederacies that arose to oppose Roman expansion may have involved broad geographical areas (Breeze 1989b, 6), but we have no idea how extensive or inclusive these were (Breeze, pers comm). There is a variety of evidence which shows that Scotland was not a single 'cultural continuum' during the Iron Age, and which also suggests that the Scottish Iron Age (or Iron Ages) differed from the Iron Age of England, Wales and Ireland. This does not invalidate the exploration of similarities and differences between the archaeological record for northern, eastern, western and southern Britain. It will be argued below, however, that Scottish prehistory requires a range of original models tailored to the particular needs of its Iron Age communities.

No distinction will be drawn here between the pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman Iron Age. Clearly the Roman military presence and its effect on the 'native' societies cannot be ignored (Maxwell 1985; Macinnes 1989, 108; Breeze 1989a; Hanson & Breeze 1991), but the limited extent of this influence suggests that it is not appropriate to categorize all the Iron Age communities across the whole of Scotland in relation to short-term military intervention. This article will not consider the presence and actions of the Roman army (for a recent review see Hanson & Breeze 1991), although the response of some of the native communities to contact with the Roman Empire will be discussed.

* Historic Scotland, 20 Brandon Street, Edinburgh

A site list is provided at the end of the paper giving published references for each site mentioned. References to publications concerning individual sites are not given in the narrative section of the article. A map (illus 1) shows the location of each site mentioned in the text.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TO THE PREHISTORIC PAST

Past attempts to synthesize the available evidence for this period (eg Childe 1946; Fairhurst 1954; S Piggott 1966; MacKie 1971; MacGregor 1976, 1–6; Ralston 1979; Ritchie & Ritchie 1981; S Piggott 1982) require critical reassessment (DV Clarke 1980, 79; Champion 1987). At an earlier time, Childe and Stuart Piggott provided particularly important summaries of the evidence. Childe's framework of 1946 was soon undermined by the quantity of new evidence for the Scottish Iron Age; S Piggott's work (1965, 1966, 1968), however, remains influential. His model for four 'provinces' provided 'useful geographical labels' for Ralston's synthesis of the evidence for the Scottish Iron Age (Ralston 1979, 448). Despite a recent increase in the excavation of sites of this date, there has been no thorough attempt to synthesize the data for the whole of Scotland since the publication of Ralston's review.

This discussion of past work will consider firstly the intellectual background to Piggott's provinces/regions approach and then the failing of the diffusionist theories prevalent until recently.

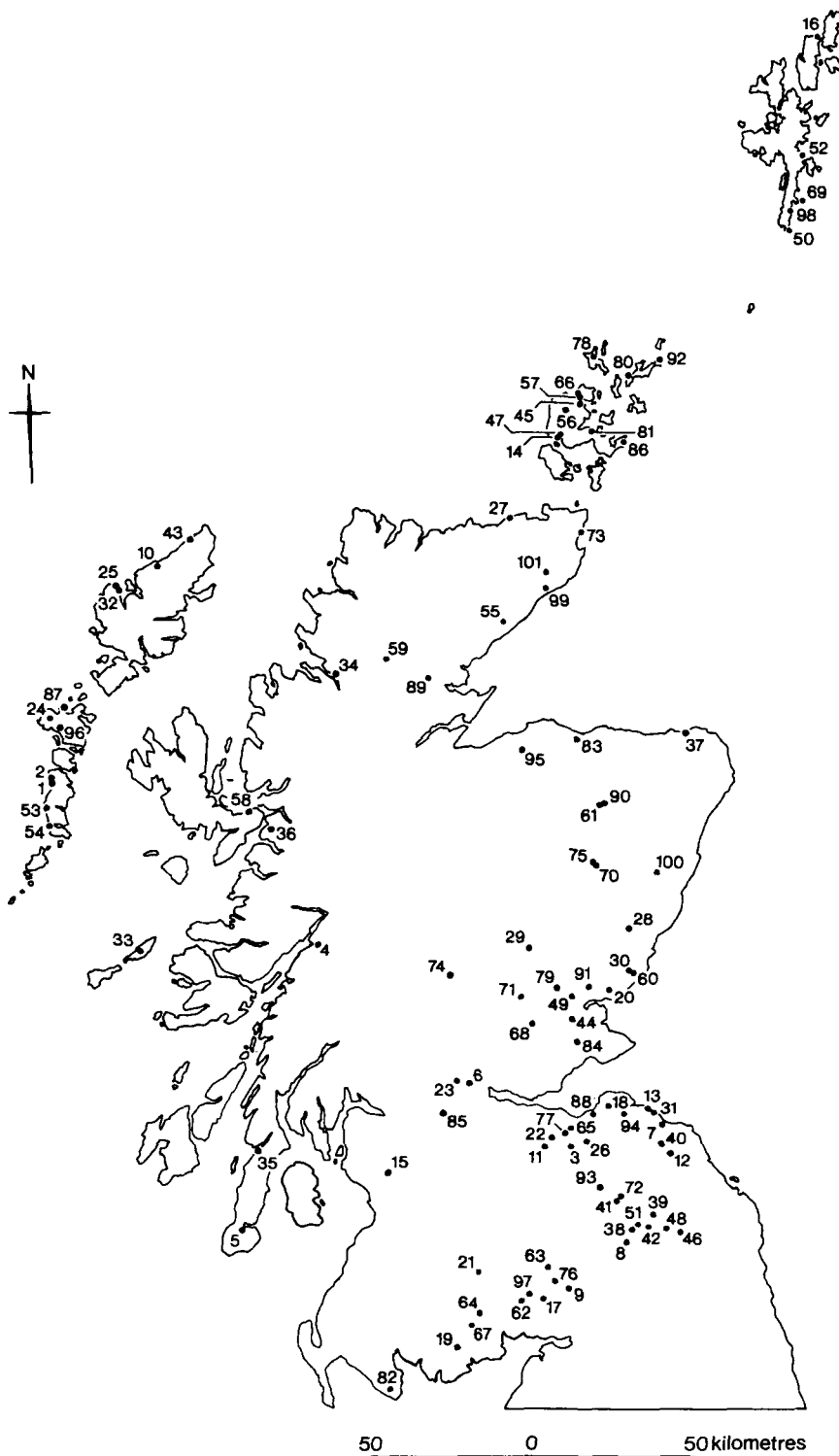
Provinces and regions

Stuart Piggott attempted to produce 'an ordered system' for Scottish Iron Age studies by extending Christopher Hawkes' provincial model for England and Wales to cover Scotland (RCAHMS 1956, 15–16; S Piggott 1966, 13). To create this system S Piggott concentrated on the spatial organization of society. He defined four provinces: Atlantic, North-Eastern, Tyne-Forth and Solway-Clyde. An attempt was made to further subdivide these provinces into a large number of 'regions' (S Piggott 1966, fig 1). The system also defined a chronological scheme for each province, involving four periods for the Iron Age. The lack of pottery for the Scottish Iron Age meant that the 'ordered system' was based on studies of the morphology of settlement sites (Feachem 1966) and also on the consideration of 'exotic' objects (RBK Stevenson 1966); exotic objects are defined by Clarke (1971) as imports, or as indigenous copies of imports.

The general significance of Stuart Piggott's work is indicated by the number of citations of his articles in recent works on the Scottish Iron Age, although Piggott himself never directly considered the validity of his ordered system in the Scottish context. Were regions and provinces just convenient analytical units, or did they signify relevant social units – were they distinct ethnic, social, or political groups? In addition does the archaeological evidence support the model of regions and provinces? A review of the evidence now available suggests that they do *not* form convincing archaeological units (Ralston, Sabine & Watt 1982; Harding 1982, 1–2; P Hill 1982a, 21); the organization of Iron Age society appears to have been far more complex.

Diffusionism

Stuart Piggott's 1966 paper and works by other authors demonstrate an approach to material culture on which Iron Age studies were largely founded (see CM Piggott 1950; RCAHMS 1956, 15–16; Young 1964; RBK Stevenson 1966; MacKie 1971, 1983; MacGregor 1976, 1–6; S Piggott 1982). The chronology of cultural development was established by examining the cultural origins of 'exotic' objects, based on the assumption that such objects, and also new ideas, were introduced



ILLUS 1 The location of sites and findspots mentioned in the text. For a key to the numbers, see the Appendix

by invaders and settlers. This was a pragmatic philosophy at the time; it provided a framework within which the dating of archaeological deposits in Scotland seemed possible by analogy with areas (to the south and east) where there was a better established chronological framework (Harding 1982, 2).

Over recent years a number of authors have contested this diffusionist model (D V Clarke 1971; Harding 1982, 2–3; Barrett 1982). Clarke and Harding have reviewed the weaknesses of the argument in much of this work, while Lane has recently provided a full critique of the application of the model to the Hebridean Iron Age (1988).

It can be argued that past approaches to the archaeological record have been conditioned by assumptions about the Scotland of the recent past and the present. These views are built upon a long tradition which dates back to the Graeco-Roman world and which defines barbarism in relation to civilization (Shaw 1985; Chapman 1982). The intellectual framework visualizes Britain as dependent on the Continent, and Scotland as dependent on southern Britain. All innovations therefore pass from the South northwards and westwards, brought either by invasion/immigration or by contact; but southern Britain is always seen as the donor and communities in Scotland as the recipients. Additionally, it has often been considered in the past that ‘outmoded’ social and economic practices survived longer on the ‘Celtic fringe’ of Britain (see, for instance, Piggott’s comments on crofting patterns as an expression of an ancient social practice and Parman’s critique of these views; S Piggott 1982, 92; Parman 1990).

Recent works of social theory argue that concepts of cultural dependency are invalid (see comments by Beveridge & Turnbull [1989] about Scottish agricultural history), and the available archaeological evidence demonstrates the same point. The scale and complexity of the brochs of Orkney, Shetland and Caithness and the monumental elaboration of the souterrains of Angus indicate a degree of social complexity among the Iron Age communities of Scotland, with which there is little to compare in Wessex or the Upper Thames Valley.

New perspectives are required to explain the evidence for the Scottish Iron Age in terms of the organization of society in Britain and northern Europe as a whole. Barrett and Fitzpatrick have argued that Iron Age communities in Scotland had a greater level of sophistication than is usually allowed (Barrett 1982; Fitzpatrick 1989, 31). Thus ‘external contact’ in Iron Age Scotland should not be seen in the context of ‘exotic’ objects which passed from ‘complex’ to ‘primitive’ societies, but in terms of relationships such as marriage and kinship through which alliances between families and communities were established and maintained (Barrett 1982, 214; Fitzpatrick 1989, 31). In addition, this network of contacts should be viewed as balanced rather than consisting of a southern/eastern core and a northern/western periphery.

THE APPROACH FOLLOWED IN THIS PAPER

It should now be possible to progress beyond the cultural dependency model and characterize Scottish communities more fully. It is true that, as elsewhere in Britain, some social groups in Scotland were isolated and conservative, but others had far-flung links and were culturally innovative. It is also likely that there was a temporal dimension to this and that in some periods there was a greater take-up of new ideas than in others (eg Ralston 1979, 479–84).

One aspect of society which will receive detailed analysis here is its organization in terms of households and communities (see Hingley 1984, 1989). The study of households and communities should enable the archaeologist to progress beyond the material evidence towards an understanding of the people who created the remains. How were these types of social group defined within society and how did these various groups (at differing levels of scale) operate and relate to one another?

A 'household' is defined as a group of people who reside in a single dwelling or in a very closely related series of dwellings. In many societies the family and household are not identical groups (eg Bender 1967) and the relationship between family and household therefore requires detailed social and historical analysis, as does the internal organization of the household in terms of any gender-related or age-related groups (Moore 1988, 54). Some households can be very large in scale, and forms of kinship organization may be diverse and complex. Nevertheless, in most societies groups of households form larger-scale communities. As is the case with the household, the extent and nature of the community varies from place to place and through time.

Important aspects of social organization include the actions of the individuals who made up the households and other relevant social groups, the significance of age and gender groups, and the constraints placed on sub-groups by the household and community. The ways in which social groups at various levels of scale related to production (both agricultural and industrial) and to the environment is important; as is the nature of exchange systems involving the exchange of objects – raw materials as well as exotic objects – and also kin – daughters and sons – within and between communities. The role of ideology and ritual in supporting and contradicting dominant structures are also vital topics for study, leading to a comprehension of the creation and reproduction of social structure by individuals and groups (Barrett 1989a; 1991a; 1991b).

Barrett has provided a useful summary of the nature of ideology in early Bronze Age Wessex and the transformations which occurred during the early/middle Bronze Age, late Bronze Age and early Iron Age (1989a; Barrett & Corney 1991). During the early Bronze Age rituals of death and burial fixed an order among the dead which functioned as part of the future political strategy of those still living. In contrast, during the middle to late Bronze Age and the Iron Age the significant factor was the action of the living in relation to the daily activity of agricultural production (Barrett 1991b, 225). According to Barrett, major social distinctions were structured through agricultural labour and drew upon the symbolism of fertility and the agricultural cycle (Barrett 1989a; Barrett & Corney 1991, 240).

Barrett's ideas are derived from work undertaken in southern Britain, specifically Wessex, and in this paper their value in the context of Scotland will be assessed. One particular point concerns whether models which stress the centrality of agricultural production are applicable in the context of the more extreme climatic zones of northern Britain.

THE EVIDENCE

The attempt to impose a provincial model was criticized above. Here, Scotland will be divided into two areas for ease of discussion. Initially, the evidence for 'Atlantic' Scotland will be discussed. This was one of Piggott's provinces and other authors have subsequently argued its validity (Harding 1982, 1990). Research into the Iron Age settlement record has been stronger in the Atlantic area of Scotland than elsewhere. Does the available information suggest that this area forms a coherent archaeological entity? There is evidence, as will be shown, for a variety of differing patterns in Atlantic Scotland.

The second area comprises southern, central and eastern Scotland, including the south-west and much of the north-east. It will be shown that research in these areas has been piecemeal, but that some of the models developed for Atlantic Scotland have value. In other words, it appears that the Atlantic area of Scotland is not fully distinct from the rest of Scotland. Indeed, a range of more complex and subtle interpretations will be required for the whole of Scotland if we are to attain a realistic interpretation of society in the Iron Age.

'ATLANTIC' SCOTLAND: THE NORTH AND WEST

The database

The area considered here is that from Argyll in the west, through western Inverness to Wester Ross and Sutherland, and thence into Caithness, including all the Western Isles and Northern Isles. The inconsistent and partial nature of available information for this area makes it difficult to discuss certain aspects of the archaeological record. There is a relative wealth of evidence for Orkney, where there has been a long tradition of excavation on broch sites (J Hedges 1985), but even here there is very little understanding of other contemporary types of houses and settlements, field systems and burials. In Shetland there has been relatively little recent work, although numerous brochs and non-broch sites have been investigated (B Smith [ed] 1985; Fojut 1985). In Caithness and Sutherland there are some very impressive field monuments but, although recent survey work has been undertaken, there has been only limited excavation during the past 40 years. In the Western Isles there is a long tradition of archaeological work (Armit 1990b) and in recent years a number of important excavations have been carried out, particularly on west Lewis (Armit 1990c; Harding & Armit 1990). This work is building up a picture of a range of settlement sites, but archaeological understanding of the Western Isles remains incomplete (Armit 1990b, 3). There has been very little excavation in Wester Ross, western Inverness and Argyll, although Argyll has been surveyed comprehensively by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS).

Interpretations

In spite of the absence of adequate evidence for all areas under discussion, various interpretations of the available information have been put forward over the past few years, particularly for Orkney (Barrett 1982; Sharples 1985; J Hedges 1985, 1987, 1990; Foster 1989a, 1989b) and the Western Isles (Armit 1988a, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d; Lane 1988, 1990; Topping 1986, 1988). These interpretations require critical assessment, but also enable a range of ideas to be developed for the western and northern areas of Scotland – ideas which are particularly relevant to today's archaeologists because they are post-diffusionist in perspective.

The household

Recent discussions of the Iron Age in northern and western Scotland usually identify a particular society, or range of societies, which built substantial circular houses in a complex range of forms.

Brochs have long been thought to be central to an understanding of northern and western Scotland, and recent accounts demonstrate that this is still the case (eg Barrett 1982; Foster 1989a; Fitzpatrick 1989; Armit 1990a). Scott argued in 1947 that brochs were merely exaggerated versions of the round houses which typify the British Iron Age record. Although this idea did not find favour at the time, it has become the dominant view over the past decade. There is growing evidence for the total roofing of many, perhaps most, brochs (eg Barrett 1982; Fojut 1982; Harding 1984; Armit 1990c), and domestic features (hearths and partitions) have been identified in the interiors of recently excavated brochs. This evidence suggests that, although some brochs were towers – for instance Mousa (Shetland) and Dun Telve (Skye & Lochalsh) – many brochs were originally considerably lower in elevation (Fojut 1982) and constituted substantial round-houses (Scott 1947; Armit 1990a, 1990b, 1990d).

The duns of western Scotland have also been reassessed in recent years. It has been argued that two types of dun occur – many small duns representing small, circular, fortified and roofed dwellings, while some of the larger examples were enclosures protecting dwellings (Maxwell 1976; Harding 1984; Nieke 1990, 136). This suggests that the concept of the dun as a type of structure is defunct; that the small circular buildings were substantial houses akin to brochs, while the larger examples were small forts (Ralston pers comm).

The wheelhouses which occur in the Western Isles and at Jarlshof in Shetland can be interpreted as substantial houses because of their internal complexity and the scale of internal elevation (Armit 1990d, 204). Other types of houses which fit into the category of the substantial house include the earlier thick-walled round-houses of Orkney (Renfrew 1979; Sharples 1985; Dockrill 1986; J Hedges 1987) and the houses supported by crannogs, which occur in the southwest, the Western Isles and across northern Scotland (Morrison 1985; Armit 1990c, 51).

The dating of the Orkney thick-walled round-houses to at least as early as the start of the Iron Age (c 700 bc), perhaps earlier, now appears to be established. It has been suggested that these buildings provide a native pedigree for the northern brochs, which appear at a later date (Sharples 1985, 119–20; J Hedges 1985, 167). Mercer's work suggests that some substantial round-houses in Caithness and Sutherland are also at least this early (Mercer 1985b, 266). Armit has recently argued that wheelhouses may have been constructed in the Western Isles as early as the fourth to third century bc (1990c, 61; pers comm), although additional dates from a variety of sites will be required in order to provide conclusive support for this (for an opposing view see Campbell 1992, 167–8). Armit would argue for the construction of brochs and duns during the same period as wheelhouses (1990c, 68; see also Peltenburg 1983), although the evidence is inconclusive. Substantial houses of early date therefore occur in Orkney, but there is at present no proof that earlier, simpler, substantial houses acted as antecedents for brochs in the west and in Shetland.

There is no obvious reason why substantial houses should have formed a single chronological horizon over the whole of Scotland. There is some evidence to suggest that the concept could have been introduced at different times in differing regions. For instance, it appears likely that many of the duns of Argyll were constructed well into the first millennium AD (Nieke 1990, 133). Further radiocarbon dates are required for all the various types of substantial houses, and from all areas, before a fuller understanding of the origin and distribution of these buildings through space and time will be possible. We should, however, expect the picture to be complex and should avoid the temptation to create simple models.

Armit has argued that the development of the architecture which typifies these substantial houses marks a significant departure from the 'cellular' house forms of the Neolithic and Bronze Age in Orkney and Shetland (cellular houses are semi-subterranean, consisting of discrete clustered elements). He also argues that the cellular form was particularly appropriate in the context of the extreme climatic conditions: that the substantial round-house can be considered environmentally impractical because of such weather conditions and that this impracticality may have accentuated the symbolic nature of the house (Armit 1990d, 195–7). There are, however, some difficulties with this argument. The evidence for Neolithic and Bronze Age architecture is far more complex than the 'cellular' label suggests. Many of the Bronze Age houses of Shetland are not semi-subterranean; and some monumental houses occur prior to the Iron Age in Orkney (eg Richards 1990). It is possible that, in time, a fuller knowledge of Neolithic/Bronze Age Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and Sutherland may indicate the currency of substantial houses throughout these periods. The origin of substantial houses in the Western Isles is even more difficult to ascertain owing to the lack of known Bronze Age or early Iron Age settlements. It would appear,

however, from the existing evidence, that pre-Iron Age monumental structures are comparatively rare and that substantial houses represent a new application of the concept of monumentality.

Most recent discussions of substantial houses focus on their overt symbolism. Barrett has proposed that the broch was part of a competitive social system in which certain households achieved pre-eminence. He further suggests that this system was based on tributary relations which supported the broch-dwellers, and probably included the mobilization of dependent labour to assist in the construction of the brochs.

The very acts of . . . construction contain the recognition of, or submission to, an authority continually seeking to reassert its own . . . validity (Barrett 1982, 215).

The relationship maintained the social position of dominant individuals, but some authors take the view that it also provided economic support for the less powerful within society (Nieke 1990, 140). The inhabitants of substantial houses, therefore, are seen as members of the higher social grades, who drew surplus agricultural produce and labour services from dependent households.

Sharples has suggested that the brochs and duns of northern Scotland occurred in prominent locations (1985, 119) and that the scale and long-term re-construction of some of these structures demonstrate the continued power of particular dominant households (1985, 121). Power and status were perhaps based on control of land and agricultural surplus. The souterrains, which are common on western and northern Scottish sites, may have functioned in some cases as storehouses to contain the agricultural surplus of powerful households (Sharples 1985, 121).

Are these explanations adequate to explain the motivation behind the construction of substantial houses? A number of other points can be raised. First, it is evident that raiding and warfare did occur between communities in Iron Age Britain. Sharples has argued that the failure of the present generation of archaeologists to address the subject of war is the result of anti-war intellectual perceptions (1991a). A coherent argument can be made that some features of broch architecture reflect a requirement for defensibility (eg height, guard cells and lack of windows). It is probable that these features were associated with raiding or ritualized combat rather than large-scale warfare (p 19), as the brochs were evidently not designed to protect resources such as cattle and crops.

Secondly, regarding the symbolism of the substantial houses, we require a more detailed understanding of the reasons for differing types of house. Why do structures within this broad tradition vary in form and in location? Why is there a clear contrast in location between the brochs and duns which predominate in many areas of the north and west, and the wheelhouses which are common in the Western Isles (Armit 1990d, 204)? Many brochs would have appeared as very impressive structures from the outside and were often constructed on elevated locations, presumably in order to be visible from a distance. In contrast, wheelhouses in the Western Isles were commonly revetted into sand-hills and would have appeared unimposing to those outside, although towering and monumental once inside (Armit *op cit*). Armit has proposed that this indicates two differing types of monumental architecture, one of which emphasizes the monumentality of the building to the outside observer, while the other obscures monumentality from all but immediate members of the household and visitors, perhaps impressing members of the households (and guests) with the order and permanence of their own social organization. It should be noted, however, that some brochs in northern Scotland were surrounded and masked by outbuildings.

Thirdly, are we right to view all substantial houses as the homes of powerful households? In some areas of Scotland substantial houses appear to be virtually the only types of settlement datable to the last century BC and the first two centuries AD (eg North Uist and Barra: I Armit, pers

comm). It is possible that in these areas substantial houses were *the* typical form of house and that all, or most, households lived within such houses. In these circumstances it is likely that these structures were built by the resident household, or by associations of allied households, rather than by subservient labour.

Rather than representing the heads of hierarchical systems of settlement, these buildings may reflect a new form of household organization. Barrett has suggested that in southern Britain during the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age the nature of domestic organization may have changed, and that activities which had previously been divided between enclosures, or buildings, came to be carried out within single enclosures or buildings. Thus, settlements such as Itford Hill and Blackpatch in Sussex, where the architectural and spatial organization of the settlement separated certain categories of activity, gave way to settlements consisting of a single large enclosure, often containing a single large house (eg Old Down Farm, Hampshire), in which activities were undivided (Barrett 1989a, 312). It is possible that the same trend occurred in Orkney and some areas of Caithness and Sutherland in the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, with a transition from family groups living in cellular buildings formed of dispersed rooms, to single households living within isolated unified large round-houses. The same transition may have occurred in some other areas of the north and west during the Iron Age, dating to as late as the early first millennium AD in Argyll (Nieke 1990) and perhaps in certain of the Western Isles (Campbell 1992, 168).

The lengthy phase of construction and use of some of these substantial houses may indicate that the household groups maintained an identity over a period of time. It may be of relevance that the very act of construction of a substantial and long-term house can in some contexts mask contradictions between younger and older generations, as the younger will inherit the house and implied status in the course of time (Wilk 1990).

Barrett has suggested that the integration of differing classes of activity into a single undivided space during the later Bronze Age would not have occurred without the employment of new rules to structure gender and age relations in the new types of settlement. The preparation and service of food in southern Britain now involved the use of a new range of ceramic containers, some highly decorated, which implies the application of new concepts (Barrett 1989a, 312). Some substantial houses, particularly in the Western Isles, are associated with highly decorated ceramics.

The complex panels of incised decoration on some pots from wheelhouses form arches on the walls of the pots and these mirror the radial subdivision of the interior space in these dwellings (eg Lethbridge 1953, fig 7; Campbell 1992, 153, 155–6). The decorated pottery might have provided a section of the household in some substantial houses with an opportunity to define an identity in the context of the incorporation of the whole domestic group within a single large building. Pottery might have enabled the identification of a particular sub-group within a household in which there was little privacy. It might also have marked the control by such a group over a particular activity in which pottery played a role, perhaps over the activities of the serving or storage of food.

The fact that the abandonment of decorated pottery in the Western Isles occurs shortly after the end of the building of substantial houses, at a time when settlement forms consisting of divided space became current once again (Armit 1990d, 206), may support the idea of a conceptual link between decorated ceramics and substantial houses with a radial partition of space (Campbell 1992, 155). It should also be noted, however, that there is no such clear association between decorated pottery and substantial houses with radial internal partitions in Shetland (N Fojut, pers comm).

Therefore, while the substantial house itself may indicate the unity of a single household, the decoration of pottery used in some of these houses and the formal subdivision of the interior of the

house may indicate something of the new rules which structured age and gender relations. The potential of this type of interpretation is considerable, but in future it will be necessary to conduct detailed studies of the context of both the decoration on individual pots and the decorated pot in its archaeological context before the true significance of Western Isles pottery can be ascertained. These points should be addressed in future project designs for excavation of Iron Age settlements in the Western Isles.

The evidence from the Northern and Western Isles indicates that those residing within some of these settlements were intentionally drawing on the status of past ancestors and past communal monumental construction (eg Bradley 1991); this evidence may provide us with a more detailed understanding of the organization of the household. Hunter, in a discussion of a broadly sixth-century AD site at Pool (Sanday, Orkney), observes that it was built on top of a Neolithic settlement, and a Class 1 Pictish symbol stone was incorporated into a courtyard area on the site. He suggests that '... the totemism represented by these symbols seems directed, not towards the living, but towards the ancestors or spirits which were embodied in the earlier settlement on which ... this ... occupation was purposefully founded' (1990, 187).

Hunter has observed that three other Orcadian sites show a similar development, each centred on a chambered tomb: Pierowall on Westray, and Quanterness and Howe on Mainland; an additional Orcadian site where this is the case is Rowiegar, Rousay. This tradition was not confined to Orkney, as Iron Age structures were also built on top of chambered tombs at Clettraval and Unival (North Uist) in the Western Isles. This evidence shows that communities in the north and west had a very different attitude to the dead from that of contemporary communities in southern Britain; the latter appear to have avoided Neolithic/Bronze Age burial and ceremonial monuments.

In addition to the reuse of Neolithic/Bronze Age structures, it is possible that some households were involved in the appropriation of old house sites and the reconstruction of the disused house structures on these sites. Certainly some of the evidence for the continued reconstruction of substantial houses in these areas (eg at Howe) could indicate that new households used the ruined houses of their predecessors in order to enhance their own prestige and status.

Limited evidence exists for the reuse of the remains of the ancestors themselves, comprising fragments of human bone, recovered from a small number of northern and western settlement sites (Ralston 1979, 477). The deposition of partial human remains might repay more detailed study. At Wag of Forse (Caithness), three fragments of human bone were found under the entrance paving of the early substantial house, two of which had been adapted for use as artefacts (Curle 1948, 21). These fragments may well have been associated with the construction or resurfacing of the entrance passageway, although it is also possible that they relate to one of the earlier phases of occupation on this complex site (R Mercer, pers comm). Two fragments of human skull were found during the excavation of the wheelhouse at Cnip (Lewis). One of these was perforated and came, as at Wag of Forse, from a context in an entrance passageway (in wheelhouse ii; Armit 1988b, 35).

Fragments of human bone are common from Iron Age domestic sites in southern Britain and, over much of the south, the lack of a formal and recoverable rite of burial does seem to mirror the lack of evidence for burial in northern and western Scotland. The remains may indicate the excarnation or exposure of the dead until the flesh had decayed, and the subsequent bringing back of useful/significant pieces of ancestors to the settlement (Wait 1985, 121). The fact that the bone fragments at the Wag of Forse and Cnip came from contexts in the entrances to these substantial houses may also be relevant and may indicate ritual activities connected with access to the

building – perhaps the concept of continued rights of access to the inherited house. This may suggest that in some areas of the north and west the living were drawing on the potential of the long and recently dead in order to support their claim to identity.

All these observations indicate the potential of an alternative interpretation for the building of substantial houses to that offered by Barrett, Sharples and others. It can be suggested that, rather than being the homes of powerful households, they served to define and identify the household from neighbours, or define the household in contrast to nature (see Hodder's discussion of the 'domus' in Neolithic Europe; Hodder 1990). The house constituted a symbol of the isolation and independence of the household, rather than one of status and power.

An observation which may support the identification of substantial houses as symbols of social isolation rather than of status is the nature of contemporary settlement patterns. Although the two identifications are not mutually exclusive, one can be considered hierarchical because it assumes the existence of subservient households; the other does not. If the hierarchical model is valid, evidence for the homes of those in the lower levels of the hierarchy should consistently be discovered close to the substantial house sites. It appears to be a generally held, and usually unquestioned, assumption that the homes of those of lower status will be smaller in scale and less substantial than the brochs, duns and wheelhouses. Are buildings of this type common, as is to be expected if the hierarchical model is valid?

At present it is fairly difficult to recognize smaller and less substantial houses. We must consider the question of archaeological visibility and research bias: the substantial houses have been investigated in detail because they are particularly visible as a result of their deliberate and symbolic monumental architecture. The less powerful households may have continued to live in traditional houses, which have low archaeological visibility and low interest value to the majority of archaeologists (Armit 1990d, 198), resulting in the current bias in our knowledge.

Skaill (Orkney) and Kebister (Shetland) may indicate the continuation of a traditional cellular form of dwelling into the period of the brochs. Indeed, the cellular houses of Shetland form a long and continuous tradition and some appear to be contemporary in date with the construction of brochs (Fojut 1985, 74), although very few radiocarbon dates have been obtained for these buildings.

Round-houses in open clusters occur in Caithness, Sutherland, some areas of the west coast and on some of the islands of western Scotland. Open settlements including round-houses are known, for instance, on Skye, Jura and Islay (Argyll and Bute; RCAHMS 1984; J B Stevenson 1985; Barber & Brown 1985). These are normally considered to date to the middle-late Bronze Age, but at Kilphedir (Sutherland) excavation has shown that a number of round-houses, fairly close to a broch, date to the second half of the first millennium BC. A small wheelhouse at Kildonan (South Uist) also provides some evidence for the existence of relatively insubstantial houses in the west, although whether the excavator's interpretation that the house was inhabited by 'commoners' (Zvelebil 1990, 5) is correct is another matter.

It is possible, therefore, that less substantial houses occur in many areas of northern and western Scotland, and that our lack of knowledge is due to the way that archaeologists concentrate on the more obvious substantial houses. The available evidence, however, remains very scarce and in some areas of the north and west it is equally likely that many households lived within substantial houses. It is vital that archaeologists turn greater attention to the study of settlement landscapes and begin to excavate more of the less substantial and more amorphous types of buildings of Atlantic Scotland; because a fuller understanding of settlement patterns is essential in order to achieve a more complete interpretation of Scottish Iron Age society.

The Community

These ideas about substantial houses are derived from recent work undertaken in Orkney and the Western Isles. References to sites in Caithness, Sutherland and Shetland have also been made, but other areas have scarcely been mentioned because of the lack of recent work. One area of the western mainland about which a certain amount is known is Argyll, where the evidence suggests that it would be erroneous to project the idea of the substantial house to the whole of northern and western Scotland.

Peltenburg has argued that the Laggan area of Kintyre contains a concentration of forts in contrast to the surrounding area in which duns predominate. It may be that fertile soils around Laggan induced larger population groupings than the surrounding, less fertile areas, where smaller groups predominated (Peltenburg 1983, 143). The Balloch Hill enclosure constitutes one of these forts, apparently dating from the later first millennium BC and containing a number of insubstantial timber buildings, which contrast in scale and construction with the substantial houses discussed above. The resident community at Balloch Hill may well have been larger in scale than the households represented by the duns of Kintyre and by the substantial houses of the rest of western Scotland (Peltenburg 1983, 143). The construction of some of the more sizeable forts in Kintyre involved effort equal to or greater than that needed for the construction of the larger substantial houses of Scotland (Peltenburg 1983, 142). Several distinct types of fort can be distinguished in Kintyre and these indicate the complexity of later prehistoric settlement development.

Forts are also known across the north and west of Scotland, for instance in Caithness and Sutherland, although they appear not to be very common; very few have been excavated (Peltenburg 1983), and it is likely that some of the northern examples are Neolithic (Mercer 1991). In addition, Nieke has argued that the fort tradition pre-dates the construction of duns in Argyll, with the forts dating to the second half of the first millennium BC and the duns being generally later in date (1990, 132). Certainly on some sites in the north and west there appears to be a progression from fort to substantial house (eg Dun Skeig (Argyll & Bute) and Dun Lagaidh (Ross & Cromarty)). Peltenburg, however, has argued that forts, brochs and duns may often be contemporary (Peltenburg 1983, 143) and, although the low degree of resolution in available chronological techniques, artefactual poverty, and the lack of excavation makes this point difficult to substantiate, it is indeed likely that some overlap occurs between the building of forts and substantial houses.

These enclosed sites include a number of nucleated settlements clustered around brochs in Orkney and Caithness (J Hedges 1985). On some of these sites the broch may have been primary and the extensive settlements probably developed during subsequent phases (J Hedges 1985, 1987, vol 3; Foster 1989a, 1989b). At Gurness (Mainland, Orkney) the organization is particularly systematic and almost radial in form (J Hedges 1987, vol 2; Foster 1989a, 36). Other sites include Midhowe (Rousay, Orkney) and Howe (Mainland, Orkney). At all three sites the phase with the broch and extensive settlement may span the first century BC to the first/second century AD (although Armit has recently proposed a redating of the construction of these nucleated broch settlements; 1992).

Comparable nucleated broch sites in Caithness include Nybster and Yarrows. On some of the Caithness sites associated settlements may date to at least as early as the first century BC, for example at Crosskirk. In other cases, however, the external settlement may have been built during the period after AD 200; for instance, the wag-type houses at Yarrows could suggest a late date. The broch at Jarlshof had a small contemporary associated settlement and also acted as a focus for later settlement. The picture is, therefore, very complex and it would appear that associated settlements

occur with brochs in Orkney, Caithness and probably Shetland; but some are contemporary with, while others post-date, the broch.

What type of social system is indicated by the nucleated broch settlements of Orkney and Caithness? They are often situated within substantial enclosures or located on defended coastal promontories; this is best seen at Howe and Gurness, but is also evident on many other sites (eg Nybster). In these cases the defences or cliffs enclose not only the substantial house but the whole of the settlement. It can be concluded that the substantial houses symbolized the identity or status of a single household within the community, but that the enclosure reflected the identity or status of the whole community. It is evident that sites supported large communities: the total population of Gurness may have been as high as 30 to 40 families (J Hedges 1985). These family groups may have been related to each other by birth, but with one leading family living within the substantial house.

Foster has examined the social and hierarchical use of space exhibited by these settlements through the use of access analysis (1989a, 1989b). Her study places particular emphasis on the social structuring of space, patterns of access, and the importance and elaboration of entrances, and supports the idea that the settlements focus on the central broch building. Others have suggested that these sites result from a phase of political centralization, perhaps at least in part contemporary with the Roman conquest of northern England and southern Scotland (J Hedges 1987; Foster 1989a; Fitzpatrick 1989; Armit 1990d). It should be noted, however, that Armit would wish to assign a somewhat earlier third- to second-century BC date to these sites, the Roman finds being the result of continued occupation into the first and second centuries AD (Armit 1992). If these sites originate at an earlier date this would cast doubt on the traditional assumption that they are contemporary with the Roman conquest of southern Britain. More dates are required, however, as only at Howe is the dating evidence at all reliable (J Hedges 1987; Foster 1989a, 36; Carter *et al* 1984).

The recent detailed discussion of these nucleated broch settlements has not been matched by attention to the other forts of the north and west. There has been little consideration of the promontory forts of these areas of Scotland (although see Lamb 1980), or of the so-called blockhouses of Shetland (Hamilton 1968). One aspect of fortification which is clear on both broch and non-broch sites, however, is that the enclosures formed by the ramparts are rarely rational as defensive circuits. The promontory fort which pre-dated the broch at Crosskirk was defined by a wall which was strengthened near the gateway but which was of low elevation at either end. Balloch Hill was defined by an insubstantial rampart with a simple entrance, and the rampart was allowed to fall into disuse soon after construction (Peltenburg 1983, 202). At Burgi Geos (Yell, Shetland) the blockhouse is associated with a possible rudimentary *chevaux de frise* which does not protect the approach to the site; indeed, it appears that it was intended to prevent attackers from falling over the cliff (Fojut 1985, 71; and pers comm)! The blockhouses of Shetland make no tactical sense, as they form a partial obstruction across coastal promontories. They are clearly in the promontory fort tradition (Hamilton 1968; Lamb 1980), but any serious attacker could outflank the blockhouse by moving round the edge of the promontory.

All of these enclosures appear to project an outward image of defensibility without being strictly defensible. It is possible that much of the warfare within these societies was ritualized, involving challenges between champions of conflicting communities (Avery 1976, 49), and this may suggest that any defensive function was symbolic rather than practical. The blockhouses may represent platforms for ritualized warfare or display (Hamilton 1968). In other cases it is probable that in addition to the outward appearance of defensibility, these fortifications projected an image of social isolation and/or power (Peltenburg 1983, 202; Bowden & McOmish 1987; Hingley 1990a; Nieke 1990, 135).

It is clear that not all of the enclosed settlements and forts of the north and west contained substantial communities – indeed, the interior areas of many of the clifftop sites may have been largely unoccupied. Many of the enclosed sites, however, probably did form the homes of communities rather than of single households. In addition, the evidence from Laggan may suggest that enclosed sites are typical of particular regions, perhaps extensive areas of high fertility. Evidently enclosed sites may have had a range of functions in relation to contemporary communities, and it would be simplistic to attempt a single explanation for all of these sites. Further work on systems of settlement will be required before a fuller understanding of the relationship between substantial houses and enclosed settlements is possible. It is probable, however, that in the north and west enclosed settlements are fairly rare in contrast to substantial houses.

Production, circulation and consumption

Having discussed some evidence for households and communities over northern and western Scotland, another aspect of the organization of society – the production, distribution and consumption of material goods – will be considered. The limited available evidence may indicate that production was largely domestic in nature and exchange usually very limited in quantity.

The most prolific types of finds from excavated sites in the north and west are stone objects and pottery. Saddle and rotary querns are common site finds throughout Scotland (MacKie 1971) and it would appear that rotary quern stones replaced saddle querns across much of Scotland during the period considered here (Caulfield 1980; Armit 1992). Armit considers that quern transition may be a useful indicator of chronology in the north and west of Scotland and has also discussed the social connotations of the switch from use of saddle querns to rotary querns (Armit 1992, 190–5).

In southern Britain a number of studies have been undertaken to locate the source of querns (Peacock 1987; Heslop 1988), and in some areas it would appear that they were transported over relatively great distances. Heslop, in his study of beehive querns from north-eastern England, has argued that the replacement of querns from one source with examples from another may reflect a change in external alliances between the site and the respective quern-producing communities (Heslop 1988, 61).

Very little petrological analysis has been undertaken to establish the sources for the querns found on Scottish Iron Age sites and some recent excavation reports make no mention of the origin of querns found on site. A very few studies indicate the expected: most of the querns at Crosskirk (Caithness) appear to have been local in origin, although a few may have been imported.

Fabric analysis of pottery from southern British Iron Age contexts has demonstrated a range of modes of production and distribution. These mechanisms probably varied from production and use on site to direct exchange between producer and consumer near the place of production, leading to a localized distribution of a distinctive pottery type. In certain areas of the south more centralized and larger-scale production resulted in a widespread distribution of pottery of one style (Morris 1981; forthcoming).

Pottery is not an uncommon find on Iron Age settlements in many areas of Atlantic Scotland, including in particular many of the Western and Northern Isles. Very little fabric analysis, however, has been conducted on Iron Age pottery from Scotland, and much more work is required before questions of pottery production and exchange can be tackled. The highly variable geology of northern and western Scotland may make such study difficult (Lane 1990). Occasionally studies include petrological analysis of pottery. Most of the clay used for pots at the substantial house at

Bu (Mainland, Orkney) could have been obtained from close to the site, but other samples matched clay from the neighbouring island of Graemesay, two miles away, and from the Firth/Loch of Harray area, eight miles away. This may indicate that expeditions took place to obtain the clay from particular sources, or that pots produced at these sources were circulated locally (J Hedges 1987, vol 1, 41). At Gurness (Mainland, Orkney) all the pottery appeared to be made locally, except for two fragments of Roman amphorae and two sherds imported from another area of Orkney or further afield (J Hedges 1987, vol 2, 82).

Study of pottery and clay samples from Pool (Sanday, Orkney) by grain-size analysis of thin sections, has indicated that both primary and secondary clays, all available in the area around the site, were being used (MacSween *et al* 1988; MacSween 1990). At Tofts Ness (Sanday, Orkney), non-local serpentinite was noted in addition to locally available clays and tempers. Serpentinite outcrops on Mainland Shetland, Unst and Fetlar, but not on Orkney. The use of serpentinite as temper coincides with the introduction of soapstone vessels to the site and probably represents the reuse of broken vessels (MacSween & Dixon forthcoming; MacSween, pers comm).

Despite more pottery analysis for the Western Isles, the results are unclear. Topping's (1986) neutron activation analysis of samples of pottery from 14 Iron Age sites led him to argue that the assemblages were characterized by local production; no certain evidence was found for the circulation of pottery between any of the sites. Lane (1990, 112–16) has criticized Topping's analysis and argued that a more intensive study of pottery sequences, combining fabric analysis with analysis of form and decorative motifs, is required. It is possible that some fabric and pottery types are found on several sites (Lane 1990, 116), which might indicate that some distributional networks existed.

It appears likely from the available evidence, therefore, that in northern and western Scotland pottery was produced for use on single sites, or at most locally produced and distributed (MacSween 1990; Morris forthcoming).

It was mentioned above (p 15) that in the Western and Northern Isles pottery is sometimes elaborately decorated with cordons, incised lines and motifs (Lane 1988, 1990; Topping 1986, 1988). Lane has argued that there is little similarity between the decorated Iron Age ceramics from the Western Isles and those from the Northern Isles, while pottery from the rest of Scotland is either undiagnostic or non-existent (1990, 108). In the Western Isles the decorated ceramics stretch in a zone from Lewis to Tiree, with a few outlying finds to the south. Small quantities of undecorated wares occur on sites in the Western Isles and west coast; crude, undecorated pottery has been found, for instance, at Balloch Hill in Kintyre, and Yarrington has compared this with undecorated pottery manufactured using similar techniques which has been found on sites in the east of Scotland (1983, 176–7). The islands of the southern Hebrides have very little pottery at all and this may result from lack of research, or indicate that these Iron Age societies were largely aceramic (Lane 1990, 123–6; fig 7.7).

It would appear that there are at least three distinct pottery style-zones in Atlantic Scotland. The Western Isles and the Northern Isles form two zones with distinct ceramics. The third broad zone is the mainland area of the north and west coasts, where ceramics are crude and undecorated, or do not occur at all. Why do these regional patterns in the pottery information exist? It has been suggested above (p 15) that under certain circumstances pottery style may reflect the identity of certain sub-groupings within the household. For instance, if someone who married into a household continued to produce pottery, it is possible that this pottery would be produced in the style and using the decorative motifs that were familiar to the incomer, but in the local fabric. If decorated ceramics indicate the relations that structured age- and gender-groups, broad regional style-zones may indicate groups who intermarried and felt some form of loose social bond.

Future studies should attempt to fix the sources of clay for pots and stone for querns. Local patterns of distribution may provide insight into the models discussed above. Did querns and pottery pass from producers to dominant households, or did dominant households, based in substantial houses, control the supply of certain objects obtained from outside the region? The alternative explanation which was developed above suggests a far more egalitarian system. What is clear is that any patterning in the production and distribution of material culture will have been extremely complex, and detailed research programmes and complex model building will be required to understand the evidence.

A number of authors have discussed longer-distance contact and the transportation of material over considerable distances. A thin scatter of 'Roman' objects have been located during the excavation of native sites along the west and north coasts of Scotland (see figures in Robertson 1970). Robertson has stressed that these objects are usually of high quality, including brooches, glass, samian and the occasional coin. It is possible, however, that the low quantity of 'Roman' imports, in contrast to southern Britain and some areas of the Continent, is a direct reflection of depositional practices – the absence of wealth items in burials and the scarcity of votive deposits. A larger quantity of 'Roman' material might have been in circulation at the time, but may not have found its way into secure archaeological contexts.

Barrett and Fitzpatrick have discussed the types of context within which objects may have moved over great distances (Barrett 1982; Fitzpatrick 1989). Literary evidence indicates that long-distance political and social interactions occurred across Iron Age northern Europe (Fitzpatrick 1989, 28), and it is probable that some of the 'exotic' objects found in northern and western Scotland came to these areas as the result of marriages and alliances between communities spread across Scotland, the rest of Britain, Ireland and certain areas of continental Europe (Barrett 1982, 214; Fitzpatrick 1989, 31). Fitzpatrick has argued that the two fragments of Haltern 70 amphorae from the nucleated broch settlement at Gurness (Mainland, Orkney) indicate an alliance of this type between a family group in Orkney and another in Essex or southern England, where Haltern 70 amphorae are more common finds. Fitzpatrick has also suggested that the fragment of a snake-headed armband from a burial at Snailwell (Cambridgeshire) indicates that exchange relationships were not uni-directional, as armbands and bracelets of this type are typical of north-eastern Scotland and are not known from other sites in southern Britain (Fitzpatrick 1989). Other objects discussed by MacGregor (1976) show that these sorts of relationships may not have been uncommon.

Within this system the exchange of items and ideas was a two-way process. New ideas were not derived from a single area of north-western Europe. Objects and ideas may have spread across northern and western Scotland from southern Scotland, southern Britain (Fitzpatrick 1989) and northern Europe (Ralston 1979), but contact with Ireland was clearly also significant (Warner 1983; Harding 1982, 1990). A network of relationships would have created a general mixing of ideas. Renfrew has recently suggested that England and the Continent (and, in this context, Scotland) started on a relatively equal footing and developed a form of 'cumulative mutual Celticity', which resulted in the spread of art styles and culture typifying this area of Europe at the beginning of the first millennium AD (1987b, 246; see also Hawkes 1973 and Harding 1990).

More work is required in order to establish a fuller picture of this complex network of contacts. It is possible that a number of levels of exchange existed, of which it may prove possible in the future to identify at least two. Subsistence goods such as pottery, iron tools, crops, animals and querns may have formed one level of largely local exchange. It can be assumed that pottery, ironwork and querns occurred on most settlements throughout the Iron Age, and that the exchange of these objects at a local level may have been a common occurrence. Another level of exchange involved the longer-distance transportation of exotic objects and new ideas between communities

across the whole of Scotland. The potential importance of high quality querns, iron tools and decorated pottery may occasionally have promoted these objects into the category of exotic items, but other such objects included 'Roman' imports and also items of native metalwork (MacGregor 1976).

Ritual, belief and deposition

In discussing ritual and deposition in the Scottish Iron Age it is useful to consider the possibility that the concept of fertility and the arable cycle were drawn upon in order to establish and maintain major social distinctions by Iron Age communities in Britain (Barrett 1989a, 1989b, 1991b; see p 11). Control of pastoral production must also have been vital to many Iron Age communities (Fitzpatrick unpublished). Economically it would also appear that hunting and fishing were vital to some of the communities of the Western Isles. Do these differing forms of economic practice indicate the existence of a range of differing systems of belief and, if so, how are these patterns of belief reflected in the archaeological record?

In examining the agricultural cycle, particular attention can be drawn to items of material culture which would enable the production of an agricultural surplus (Barrett 1989a, 317). A number of ard-shares and plough-shares have been found in significant contexts. Large numbers of stone ard-shares are known from Orkney and Shetland, dating to the second and first millennia BC and the early first millennium AD. No thorough study has been made of these objects, although it is clear that they occur in a number of differing contexts. These include house walls (Rees 1979, 743) and pits (Skaill, Mainland, Orkney).

The context of the iron plough-share from the peripheral area of the wheelhouse at A'Cheardach Bheag (South Uist) may indicate ritual deposition within the house. The ploughing of land prior to the building of houses may be relevant in the context of the symbolism of agricultural production on the part of the household: at Skaill both walls of a house were marked out by deep ploughmarks, possibly representing 'ritual' marking out before construction of the house (Gelling 1985, 177). At the late Bronze Age site of Knowes of Quoyscottie (Mainland, Orkney) about 10 small kerb cairns have been recorded, three of the four excavated examples having a single ard-share placed on the kerb, while the fourth had a tool of unknown function. The concepts of the agricultural cycle and the life/death cycle of the human population raise the possibility that ard-shares were placed in these contexts because of beliefs linking the agricultural cycle to ideas about the afterlife and the rebirth of the individual (Barrett 1989a).

A wooden ard has been found in a peat bog at Virdifield (Mainland, Shetland) and an iron ard-share (or plough-share) was recovered from a wetland deposit at Swordale (Sutherland). Similar finds from elsewhere in northern Europe are often interpreted as ritual in nature (Glob 1969; Brunaux 1988). Glob has argued a ritual reason for the deposition of many of the objects found in wetland contexts across northern Europe, and also that the concept of agricultural fertility was particularly important (Glob 1969; Bradley 1990). It is in this context that the discovery of a wooden female figurine in peat at Ballachulish (Lochaber, Highland) may be seen, a figure which Glob would identify as a 'fertility goddess' and which has recently been dated by radiocarbon to 728–524 BC (Coles 1990).

Items connected with the life-cycle of animals are also common, especially in household contexts. At Cnip (Lewis), 'votive' deposits of animal bones and pottery were found behind the stone wall of the wheelhouse. Two of the wheelhouses in the Western Isles have hearths which were defined by a border of animal teeth (A'Cheardach Bheag, South Uist, and Dun Bharabhat, Lewis). A large number of pits cut into the floor of the wheelhouse at Sollas (North Uist)

contained the remains of animals. The deposits included articulated remains and stray bones, some of which were cremated or burnt. The pits appeared to have been dug after the construction of the walls of the wheelhouse but before it was occupied; a minimum estimate indicates that 100 animals were 'sacrificed' on this site. This may indicate a lengthy act of consecration of a new house by a widespread community (Campbell 1992, 147).

The occupants of wheelhouses evidently undertook domestic activities which involved the sacrifice and deposition of animals. The full publication of Cnip and the excavation of new sites will provide further evidence for the nature of these acts, but it should be noted that animal remains on wheelhouse sites include both domestic species and hunted animals, particularly deer. Pot-sherds decorated with figures of deer from a number of sites in the Western Isles (Bragar, Lewis; Dun Borbaidh (or Morbhaidh), Isle of Coll; Kilpheder, South Uist; Galson, Lewis) may also indicate the importance of hunting to some of the Iron Age communities of the Western Isles. The evidence of animal bones indicates that deer played an unusually prominent role in the economy at Cnip (F McCormick, pers comm), presumably indicating the importance of hunting to the economy of some communities in western Scotland. Elsewhere, hunting does not appear to have been as significant (eg at Sollas).

Another type of find relevant to the discussion of the pastoral cycle is the deposition of so-called 'bog-butter', which has been found in a number of mires in western Scotland. Deposits of bog-butter, a substance derived from animals, were possibly first made during the first millennium BC and were certainly occurring during the first millennium AD (J Ritchie 1941; Earwood 1992). It is usually deposited within wooden containers (eg Anderson 1885, J Ritchie 1941; Close-Brooks 1985; Earwood 1992): one find from Kyleakin (Skye & Lochalsh) comprised several barrels of butter, found under 2.3 m of peat and associated with a bronze cauldron. One of the Kyleakin kegs has recently been dated to the third or fourth century AD (Earwood 1992, 233). It is possible that these deposits were placed in bogs as offerings during rituals associated with the concept of the fertility and life-cycle of animals.

The deposition of the remains of hunted animals and the drawings of deer indicate a marked contrast between the patterns of belief in the Western Isles and those current in southern Britain. In the south, hunting and fishing played a very minor calorific role in the economy of communities (M Maltby, pers comm), and yet wild animal remains are commonly associated with 'ritual' pit deposits (J D Hill, forthcoming b). The evidence from the Western Isles indicates that hunting and fishing were very significant economic activities for some communities. The occurrence of agricultural objects and the offerings of livestock in household contexts, and the agricultural objects from wet contexts in northern and western Scotland, may indicate the symbolic significance of the agricultural cycle; however, the range of finds indicates that it is also necessary to consider the activities of hunting and fishing before a full understanding of the economy and ritual beliefs of communities in this area of Britain will be possible.

Summary of evidence for society in the north and west

The above ideas contribute toward an understanding of the society of northern and western Scotland from about 700 BC to AD 200. The evidence is complete enough to suggest a fairly complex picture of variation through space and probably, although less clearly, through time.

The dominant view stresses a network of competing households constructing and maintaining power through the building and maintenance of substantial houses. Power seems to have been based upon manipulation of subservient communities through the control of services and surplus agricultural produce. Status may also have been maintained through manipulation of

rituals relating to the arable cycle, the life-cycle of animals, hunting and control of ritualized warfare. The existence of hierarchy is indicated by sites such as Gurness and Howe in Orkney, where extensive communities possibly exploited the labour of others. The dominant individuals and households at these sites perhaps controlled access to exotic objects brought in from outside the community through marriage and alliances.

I have suggested, however, that this perspective is not totally convincing. The main problem is the lack of evidence for the homes of the less powerful in society to place alongside that for the substantial houses of the powerful. An alternative explanation for many substantial houses is that they acted to indicate the identity of isolated households and their isolation from broader society and from nature. It may even be the case that in some areas of Scotland the majority of households lived within substantial houses and that there was a state of relative equality between these households.

Certain aspects of the artefactual record indicate that these households maintained a different concept of their place in the landscape and in nature to that held by some communities of southern Britain. In the north, and particularly in the west, rituals appear to have related to control over ancestors and nature as well as to the daily procedures of agricultural production. These differing attitudes may provide a partial explanation of the reasons behind the construction of substantial houses.

It is actually simplistic to set up these two interpretations in opposition, since in many ways they overlap. What I wish to stress, however, is that we should not be looking for one simple explanation for the construction of substantial houses. Instead, we must allow for very great complexity in the organization of past society – archaeologists need to find more convincing explanations for variations in the form of substantial houses, such as the dichotomy between ‘extrovert’ brochs and ‘introverted’ wheelhouses (p 14). In addition to the range of possible explanations for the construction of these houses, we have seen that substantial houses were probably not constructed by all the communities of the north and west. In parts of Argyll, and possibly elsewhere, another type of organization involving larger communities living within enclosed settlements may have existed. Archaeologists have paid very little attention to the enclosed settlements of the north and west and further work will be necessary to interpret the extent of this type of organization through space and time and its relationship to other settlement systems. For instance, it seems possible that enclosed sites predated substantial houses in some areas (p 18). Does this indicate a situation in which communities were replaced by isolated households, or is the true picture far more complex?

All the evidence for differing types of organization should alert archaeologists to avoid the use of simplistic models for social organization and its changes through time. For a fuller understanding of society in the Scottish Iron Age we require a series of locally based studies, which must deal with changes in patterns of settlement through time as well as through space. A complex series of differing locally and regionally based models for Scotland may emerge when the evidence is studied in this way.

At present there is very little information to indicate how these regional models would look; one example, however, can be given. In a study of settlement patterns on Skye, MacSween has noted that brochs, enclosures and large promontory enclosures are common in northern Skye, while in the southern part of the island only ‘duns’ and small promontory enclosures occur; the distribution of brochs and duns may be almost mutually exclusive (MacSween 1985, 31). In this context duns may represent substantial houses which are smaller and less complex than brochs. MacSween has suggested that this patterning may be due to the fact that larger fertile areas suitable for arable agriculture exist to the north and west, with only limited arable areas to the south, and

that the construction of the more substantial brochs was possible because of the creation of a larger surplus resulting from richer agricultural resources (1985, 31). It is also possible that there were two traditions of substantial house construction operating simultaneously on Skye, and that the people on one side of the island constructed slightly less substantial and ornate round-houses than those living on the other.

It is important to realize that the type of regional model advocated here is fundamentally different from the provincial model which has been criticized in the Introduction (p 8). The types of regional model which are required for Iron Age Scotland should be flexible and cannot constitute a rigidly defined series of territories. The framework must allow for the dynamics of change through time, and it is vital to realize that regional models can exist at differing scales within the record. For example, the regional characteristics of the distribution of decorated pottery in the north and west (p 21) require analysis at a different level from the study of the contrasting distribution of forts and substantial houses around Laggan in Kintyre (p 18), or the pattern of brochs and duns on Skye.

SOUTHERN, CENTRAL AND EASTERN SCOTLAND

The evidence which is currently available for these areas of Scotland also suggests a very complex situation. Although a considerable quantity of work has been undertaken in some parts, we have very limited evidence for most of the area and, in contrast to the north and west, there are relatively few recent attempts to interpret the evidence.

The database

The archaeological evidence for most of south-western, central and eastern Scotland is extremely incomplete. Very little excavation has been undertaken in Grampian, Strathclyde and in Dumfries and Galloway. Only in limited areas of Tayside, Fife, Central, Borders and East Lothian is there any detailed understanding of the settlement record, resulting from archaeological field survey and limited excavation. The largest number of excavations in recent years have been undertaken in East Lothian (see articles in Harding (ed) 1982), although even in this area few sites have been excavated on a large scale and of these very few have been published. In Borders Region the field evidence has been investigated and some idea of settlement development determined, primarily through the work of Jobey and the RCAHMS. To the north of the Firth of Forth, in Fife and Tayside, a small number of Iron Age sites have been investigated and some detailed field survey conducted (for instance the RCAHMS survey of North-east Perthshire: RCAHMS 1990). Some areas also have fairly thorough aerial coverage (Maxwell 1983). In north-east Scotland, modern-day Grampian, very few sites have been excavated and only a limited understanding of the range of open and enclosed sites exists (Ralston *et al* 1982), interest having been almost entirely directed at the vitrified forts and other defended sites (Ralston 1979, 454; Ralston 1980).

A few settlements have been excavated in Central Region, but more archaeological attention has been paid to the Roman military. There have been a limited number of excavations in south-western Scotland on hillforts, duns, crannogs and enclosed sites (Ralston 1979, 458–60). Very few areas of the south-west have adequate survey records, although a recent RCAHMS survey in Eskdale and Annandale is producing a useful picture of later prehistoric settlement (S Foster, pers comm).

It is evident that more work is necessary over all areas of mainland Scotland before anything approaching a comprehensive record of settlement and society will be possible. It is necessary,

however, to attempt an interpretation of the evidence that is available. To what extent do the ideas explored in the above discussion of northern and western Scotland assist with an understanding of other areas? In particular, are substantial houses and enclosed settlements common and are any of the ideas about households and communities valid? Is there any evidence to suggest that contact with Rome resulted in more centralized methods of production or more significant systems of exchange in these areas?

Houses, souterrains and households

Feachem discussed the contrast between northern and western Scotland and southern and eastern Scotland, and argued that: 'the country is quite sharply divided into areas in which hill-forts and large settlements predominate and those in which brochs or duns account for virtually all monuments. . . . the forts fall chiefly in the south and east, the brochs in the north and the duns in the west' (1966, 86).

This study contrasts the 'communal' hillforts of southern and eastern Scotland with the 'non-communal' brochs and duns of the north and west. It has been shown that enclosed sites occur in some areas of the north and west (p 18), which suggests that Feachem's discussion is over simplistic. Does the second part of the argument hold and are substantial houses rare across the south and east?

Macinnes has argued, though on the basis of limited evidence, that substantial houses are far from rare in these areas (1985, 239). The relevant criteria for identifying substantial houses comprise substantial building scale and evidence for a complex internal division of space. The substantial houses of the south and east contrast with those of the north and west, as the former are usually of timber and earth construction.

Crannogs, formed by building or utilizing small artificial islands in lochs, are fairly common in south-western Scotland, but also occur across much of central and northern Scotland (Dixon 1984; Morrison 1985). The well-excavated examples usually produce evidence for a single large round timber house on the island as, for instance, at Milton Loch (Stewartry), Oakbank Crannog on Loch Tay (Perth & Kinross) and Buiston Crannog (Kilmarnock & Loudoun). Dating evidence for Milton Loch and Oakbank suggests construction around the middle of the first millennium BC. Often, however, the buildings on crannogs were occupied and adapted over long periods in a manner comparable to substantial houses in the north and west.

Turning to southern and eastern Scotland, Halliday and P Hill have reviewed the evidence for substantial timber buildings (P Hill 1982c, 1982b; Halliday 1985). Halliday has argued that the 'Dalrulzion-type' houses complement the 'ring-ditch' houses defined by Hill, and that these two types together cover much of Tayside and East Lothian during most of the first half of the first millennium BC (Halliday 1985, 245). Halliday suggests that these houses represent a form of monumental architecture which may indicate the incorporation of a wide range of activities into a single house, or the existence of a large domestic group (1985, 246). Houses of these types have been excavated at Dalrulzion (Perth & Kinross) and Broxmouth (East Lothian), where the substantial ring-ditch houses occurred in the unenclosed Phase II settlement (dating to c 800–500 BC).

The very substantial house at Scotstarvit (North-East Fife) had three phases during which it maintained a single form as a massive building about 19 m in diameter, with three rings of posts and an impressive entrance hall. It was placed concentrically within an enclosure. Although no conclusive dating evidence was obtained, Halliday has argued that this house was contemporary with the Dalrulzion houses (1985, 245).

Dalrulzion, Scotstarvit, Broxmouth, Oakbank Crannog, Milton Loch and the other houses discussed by Halliday and P Hill provide a rough parallel in date and scale to the thick-walled round-houses of early Iron Age Orkney. It is probable that a widespread tradition involving the construction of substantial houses occurred across Scotland before and around the middle of the first millennium BC (Mercer 1985b). Large aisled round-houses are also common during the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age in southern Britain (Guilbert 1981), but by the middle Iron Age in southern Britain (c 300 BC) these massive houses disappear from the archaeological record and are replaced by houses which are smaller in diameter and lack the evidence for complex internal divisions (J D Hill, pers comm).

Many of the houses of southern and eastern Scotland which date to the late first millennium BC would also appear to be small in diameter and in scale of construction. P Hill has described 'Votadinian' houses in East Lothian, which probably date to the end of the first millennium BC and early first millennium AD. These are usually at least partly stone-built and often no more than 6 m in diameter (P Hill 1982b, 1982c); five houses of this type occurred in the later phases at Broxmouth. Other houses of comparable size exist elsewhere, although there is not space here to review them. There is also some evidence to indicate the continued construction of substantial houses in eastern Scotland into the last part of the first millennium BC. At Newmill (Perth & Kinross) traces were found of what the excavator thought was a substantial house, built on top of a low hill towards the end of the millennium. This house may have been aisled and was almost 18 m in diameter (although note Halliday's doubt concerning this building; 1985). A very substantial souterrain partly surrounded the house and was entered from the outer aisle. A large timber-built house of late date has been excavated within Rispaan Camp (Wigtown).

Radiocarbon dates and Roman finds from excavations of the brochs and duns of the south and east suggest construction and use in the first and second century AD (MacKie 1982; Main 1979; Macinnes 1985, 236). These brochs and duns are comparable to the substantial timber houses at Newmill and Rispaan Camp in terms of size, architectural sophistication and use of space (Macinnes 1985, 239). The prolific duns of south-western Scotland presumably indicate the same sort of organization in this area. The excavated dun at McNaughton's Fort (Nithsdale) is probably representative; it was formed of a massive stone, earth and timber round-house dating to the late first millennium BC. Brochs and duns may be viewed as stone versions of local timber-built substantial houses, and the distinctive broch-type features (guard-cells, wall-cavities, etc) may indicate no more than a widespread network of social and political contacts within Scotland at this time (pp 22 & 36-7).

The excavated evidence therefore suggests that there were fairly large numbers of substantial houses in south-western, southern and eastern Scotland. In addition many similar houses have been located through aerial photography in Fife and Tayside. The excavated evidence may indicate that substantial houses are rarer than in most northern and western areas. Timber-built houses, however, are more difficult to identify than stone-built examples, and there has also been a thorough destruction of archaeological remains across much of the fertile lowlands. It is therefore possible that substantial houses were originally common across most, or even the whole, of Scotland.

There is limited evidence that households living within substantial houses were sometimes associated with larger groups, as on some of the nucleated broch settlements of Orkney and Caithness (p 18). Edin's Hall (Berwickshire) has been described as a lowland equivalent of Gurness (A Ritchie 1988, 74). A basic sequence has been suggested for this site, although ground inspection and aerial photography indicate that the true picture is probably far more complex. The sequence starts with a fort, which was probably replaced by a massive broch and then an

unenclosed cluster of round-houses. The layout of the site suggests that, as at Gurness and Howe, the broch was at least partly contemporary with the settlement (Macinnes 1985, 236).

The association of substantial houses with larger settlements may once have been common in southern and eastern Scotland. At Newmill the possible substantial house and souterrain were associated with a large open settlement of smaller less substantial houses. Watkins has tentatively suggested that the smaller houses belonged to households dependent on the household of the substantial house; the souterrain may have stored the agricultural surplus of the whole community (Watkins 1981b, 192). Comparable evidence from other sites in southern and eastern Scotland is not available, probably because few large-scale excavations have been undertaken.

The association of the substantial house with a souterrain at Newmill may indicate, as has been argued for the north and west (p 14), that the household living within this house exercised control over the agricultural surplus of their community (Watkins 1981b, 199). The idea that souterrains were storage places (Watkins 1981b; Welfare 1984, 318) is based largely on negative evidence for any other convincing function, but appears to be the most probable explanation at present for their function.

Wainwright and Welfare have dismissed the ritual associations of Scottish souterrains (Wainwright 1963, 9; Welfare 1984, 318). It is likely, however, that souterrains were not purely functional. Archaeologists should not be so ready to draw a clear distinction between domestic production and ritual, as ritual and symbolic beliefs will have permeated all practical activities in these communities (J D Hill 1989). The stone with which souterrains were built may demonstrate their significance in the context of control of agricultural production and surplus. Discoveries of significant stones built into the souterrains of southern and eastern Scotland are common. Wainwright considered cup-marked stones and cup-and-ring-marked stones which were often incorporated into souterrains (Carlungie, Tealing III, Letham Grange, Pitcur (all in Angus), Crichton Mains (Midlothian) and Hurly Hawkin (City of Dundee)). Another type of significant find comprises blocks of Roman masonry from souterrains to the south of the Forth: the souterrains at Crichton, Shirva (Strathkelvin) and Newstead I (Etrick & Lauderdale) have produced dressed Roman masonry in reused contexts. Crichton produced about 70 pieces of Roman ashlar, including a lintel carved with a figure of Pegasus. Shirva included diamond-broached ashlar, columns and bases, three Roman tombstones and further monumental masonry. These reused stones indicate that these three souterrains were not built until the third quarter of the second century at the earliest (Welfare 1984). Another significant find is the fragment of a possible saddle quern which was built into the souterrain at Broomhouse Mains (Berwickshire).

What did the cup-marked stones and Roman masonry signify to the communities who built these souterrains? Cup-marked stones are usually thought to date to the Neolithic or Bronze Age, although there is no apparent reason why they should not have continued to be carved during the Iron Age. The symbolic significance of the cup-and-ring marks is uncertain, but if the examples of such stones incorporated in souterrains were reused, they may have indicated an association with ancestors and fertility. To paraphrase Bradley, the incorporation of a cup-marked rock in a souterrain may have been connected with the communication of ritual knowledge and may have brought the landscape, and the past itself, into direct relationship with the living (Bradley 1992, 175).

The Roman masonry has a more obvious association; the short phases of Roman control in Scotland and the continuing diplomatic contact between Romans and natives must have impressed native communities. The power and organization of the Roman army possibly formed a memory, and the reuse of this material in the context of a monumental storage structure possibly drew concepts of power into the new context associated with the production, storage and distribution of crops.

It is unfortunate that so little is known of the settlement context and date of souterrains in southern and eastern Scotland (Wainwright 1963; Barclay 1981; Maxwell 1983; Welfare 1984). Souterrains are particularly common in Tayside (Wainwright 1963; Barclay 1981) and it appears that to the north of the Forth they are usually associated with open settlements. The fact that so many settlements in Tayside appear to have had souterrains suggests that they probably do not indicate a hierarchy between sites, but they could presumably indicate the existence of dominant households within nucleated settlements, as has been suggested for Newmill. To the south of the Forth the relative absence of souterrains may be related to the general rarity of open settlements (Welfare 1984). Only in two cases, at Castlelaw (Midlothian) and Hurly Hawkin (City of Dundee), is a souterrain associated with an enclosed settlement and, in both cases, the souterrains were secondary to the use of the ramparts.

Enclosed sites, households and communities

In certain areas hillforts and enclosed settlements occur in large numbers; for instance in East Lothian (Macinnes 1982), Borders (Ralston 1979, 449) and Dumfries & Galloway (Jobey 1971). Enclosed sites also occur in smaller numbers elsewhere in south-western, central and eastern Scotland (Ralston 1979; Rideout 1992c). It should be noted, however, that many of these sites are undated and some are Neolithic or early medieval in date (Feachem 1966, Ralston 1980, Macinnes 1982, 66; Close-Brooks 1987a).

Hillforts and enclosed sites vary widely both in the area which they enclose and also in the scale of the surrounding ramparts. Hillfort boundaries are often fairly massive, ranging from single circuits formed by stone walls or banks, sometimes with external ditches, to multiple circuits of boundary earthworks. Hillforts often utilized steep hill slopes to strengthen their defences. Many of the enclosed settlements of the Scottish Iron Age have less substantial banks, walls and ditches and these sites are not invariably situated in defensive locations.

There are a number of differing types of enclosure boundary which are often incorrectly considered to have had chronological or regional significance. Palisaded enclosures in East Lothian and Borders are usually thought to be early in date; the accepted sequence has been that early palisaded sites in these areas were replaced by later earthwork-defined sites, or by enclosures of stone walls (C M Piggott 1950; Ralston 1979, 449–51). P Hill has recently shown, however, that palisaded sites do not form a distinct chronological horizon and can date between the late Bronze Age and the early medieval period (P Hill 1982a, 4–7). Vitrified forts form another distinct rampart type (MacKie 1976; Ralston 1979, 454). Thermoluminescence dating of five Scottish vitrified forts indicates, however, that ramparts of this type can date from the Iron Age to the early medieval period (Sanderson & Placido 1985; Sanderson 1988; the Neolithic date from Tap o'Noth is suspect, I Ralston, pers comm). Timber-framed/vitrified ramparts and palisades are not characteristic of any particular region or date, but merely indicate basic functional types of rampart construction.

Both earthwork enclosures and stone-walled enclosures are sometimes multivallate in form, although the complex evidence from Broxmouth (East Lothian) indicates that this 'multivallation' can be the result of a process of the disuse of earlier lines of enclosure and the redigging of new defences on a slightly different line. This raises the question of how many of the apparently multivallate enclosures of the Scottish Iron Age are actually multivallate or merely multiphased.

It has already been argued in the context of the northern and western sites that 'defences' are often not particularly substantial and defensible (p 19), and the same seems to be true of some of the southern enclosed sites (Rideout 1992a). On these sites the enclosure may have constituted a

symbol of the social isolation and power of the resident group and may never have been used for the defence of a community.

Feachem has suggested that enclosed settlements and hillforts may be seen as communal, which would suggest that they contained communities larger in scale than the individual family (1966, 85). Did these settlements contain substantial communities, or was it common for the resident social groups to be no larger than the households which lived within substantial houses? Some enclosures of a variety of dates within the Iron Age contained only enough space for one house. Examples include St Germain's (East Lothian), Green Craig (North-East Fife), Scotstarvit (North-East Fife) and possibly Upper Cleuch (Annandale & Eskdale). At Dryburn Bridge (East Lothian), the early (late Bronze Age) palisaded phase of the settlement contained at least two houses: a substantial house and a smaller house. Other circular palisaded sites with single substantial houses have been examined recently at Melville Nurseries (Midlothian), Bannockburn (Stirling) and Wardend of Durris (Kincardine & Deeside). Similar circular palisaded sites are known from aerial photography in the area east of Inverness.

A number of other enclosed sites of a variety of dates had more houses and may have housed communities larger in scale than the single household, although it is often impossible to tell how many of the houses were contemporary. Boonies (Annandale & Eskdale) contained as many as 13 round buildings. A rectangular enclosure of two phases at Carronbridge (Nithsdale) contained several houses. The enclosed site at Long Knowe (Annandale & Eskdale) had at least 10 small round-houses, while Broxmouth (East Lothian) may have housed a community, although the later truncation of the site indicates that the excavation plan is incomplete.

Other enclosures probably contained communities as substantial as that argued for Gurness (Mainland, Orkney; see p 19). The earthworks at Hayhope Knowe (Roxburgh), Braidwood (Midlothian), Burnswark Hill (Annandale & Eskdale) and the Dunion (Roxburgh) enclosed large numbers of round-houses, although excavation has been insufficient to show how many of the houses are contemporary. Other enclosed sites known from aerial photography and field survey in Borders, Lothian and Dumfries & Galloway may have incorporated sizeable communities (Jobey 1971). Even larger population groupings are suggested by the evidence for the extensive hilltop fortifications at Traprain Law (East Lothian) and Eildon Hill North (Roxburgh), although sample excavation of several of the 296 house platforms at the latter site has demonstrated that some houses are late Bronze Age, while others date to the early first millennium AD (Owen 1992). Other sizeable forts occur in a sparse distribution across much of the rest of mainland Scotland (for a distribution of all known forts over 2.5 ha in size see Ralston 1979, fig 7.49).

The relationship between enclosed sites and substantial houses appears to be quite complex. On some sites in Atlantic Scotland enclosed settlements are replaced by substantial houses (p 18) and the same would appear to be the case elsewhere in Scotland, at sites such as Langwell (Sutherland), Torwoodlee (Ettrick & Lauderdale) and possibly Edin's Hall (Berwickshire). The relationship, however, is more complex than this simple model suggests, because at Scotstarvit and Dryburn Bridge the substantial house lies inside an enclosure, while at Broxmouth several large houses predate the enclosure.

The larger hillforts of Scotland are paralleled by comparable sites in other areas of Britain, for instance in Wessex and the Welsh Borders. Throughout the middle and late Bronze Age and the early to middle Iron Age (c 1500–50 BC) in southern Britain, significant deposits were placed both within and under the boundaries surrounding settlement sites; these may indicate acts of ritual deposition by the community (Bowden & McOmish 1987; Hingley 1990a, 1990b; Barrett 1991b, 225). Deposits include metalwork (Needham forthcoming; Hingley 1990b), human burials (Whimster 1981; Wait 1985), animal bones, pottery and other material probably related to feasting

(Bowden & McOmish 1987; Brown 1988; Hingley 1990a). It has been suggested that some of these activities might have been symbolically associated with the definition and perpetuation of the community (iron bars representing swords and ploughs may indicate control by the community of industrial production, agricultural production and warfare; Hingley 1990b). Does any evidence exist for the deposition of significant material in settlement boundaries in Scotland?

No attempt has been made to review the material from settlement boundaries in Scotland, but there are suggestions that certain types of object may have been deliberately placed in these contexts. Quern-stones have been found built into ramparts on a wide range of sites (eg Castlelaw (Midlothian); Boonies (Annandale & Eskdale); Castlehill Wood dun (Stirling); Bonchester Hill (Roxburgh), Hayhope Knowe (Roxburgh) and Hownam Rings (Roxburgh)). These querns sometimes appear to have been placed deliberately; for instance the example at Hownam Rings was placed in an upright position near the inner side of the west entrance to the fort, while the example from Castlehill Wood dun was built into the base of the entrance. It may be argued that these discoveries are the result of the emphasis which archaeologists have placed on the examination of the defences of settlements. Most sections which have been cut through defences, however, are very narrow, and if this argument is valid it would mean that a vast quantity of quern-stones were incorporated as waste material in the enclosure boundaries of settlements across Scotland. It will be argued below that the quern was just one type of object, connected with the agricultural cycle, which was placed in significant contexts during the Scottish Iron Age (p 38).

The human burial in a ditch surrounding the broch at Torwoodlee (Ettrick & Lauderdale) may be relevant, as may the four burials on the line of the disused palisade at Dryburn Bridge (East Lothian), and the fragments of two human skulls from the enclosure ditch at Rispsain Camp (Wigtown). The context of the souterrains at Castlelaw and Hurly Hawkin may be of relevance for similar reasons (p 30).

It may be argued that the enclosure identified the high status and power of the resident household or community; if this was the case, what was the context of such communities within their contemporary landscapes? It may be suggested that the ramparts of substantial enclosures were constructed by dependent labour, in much the same way that some substantial houses were built (p 14). This may explain the evidence for the continued rebuilding of the enclosure boundary at Broxmouth as the result of the playing-out of obligations by subservient households over a lengthy period of time (see Sharples 1991b, 260). Aerial photography indicates that this pattern is repeated on a wide range of other enclosed settlements scattered across southern Scotland. If this explanation is correct, we should again expect to find hierarchical patterns of settlement (see below p 34).

Open settlements: households and communities

In addition to substantial houses and enclosed settlements, there is another type of site which requires discussion: the open settlement. Open sites are those settlements which are not defined by any form of enclosing boundary. They are common in many eastern areas of Scotland, extending from Fife and Tayside into Grampian (Ralston *et al* 1982), Sutherland and Caithness (Fairhurst & Taylor 1974, 65–7; Ralston 1979, 484–7). Very few open settlements have been excavated on any scale, but while some are clearly Bronze Age in date, a number of excavated sites are Iron Age: for instance Kilphedir (Sutherland), Tulloch Wood (Moray), Romancampgate (Moray), Douglasmuir (Angus), Dalladies (Kincardine & Deeside), Newmill (Perth & Kinross), Dryburn Bridge phase 2 (East Lothian), and the early and late phases at Broxmouth (East Lothian). It should also be noted

that at least some of the enclosed settlements of East Lothian were replaced by open settlements shortly before the Roman invasion of southern Scotland (Macinnes 1982, 67; P Hill 1982a, 9).

It might be suggested that open settlements in East Lothian represent sites at the lowest level in a hierarchy of settlements, but this interpretation will not work for all areas and for all periods. An alternative, and perhaps more likely, explanation is that the enclosing of certain settlements represented a temporary monumental elaboration which occurred during the late Bronze Age and Iron Age (Barrett 1991b, 224–5). The majority of settlements during these periods were probably unenclosed, and the comparative lack of evidence for open sites in some areas is probably the result of the poor archaeological visibility of these settlements. It may therefore be necessary to explain the occurrence of enclosures surrounding settlements, rather than the nature of open settlements (Hingley 1990a).

The fact that open settlements are not invariably low in status is indicated by two factors. First, substantial houses occur on open settlements. The best-known example is Newmill, discussed above, but substantial houses at New Kinord and Old Kinord (Kincardine & Deeside), and in the early phase of Broxmouth also appear to occur in an open settlement context. Another relevant factor is that souterrains usually appear to be associated with the open settlements of Tayside and elsewhere, but are very rare on enclosed sites (Maxwell 1985; Halliday 1985). If souterrains are to be interpreted as associated with control over agricultural surplus (p 29), then we should not expect them to occur on low status settlements.

Elsewhere it has been proposed that open settlements indicate communities in which there is no clear division between the constituent households – that in these landscapes individual round-houses were scattered with no clear physical or social boundaries between the individual domestic groups (Hingley 1984, 1988). Further work will be necessary to assess these suggestions in the Scottish context (Hingley 1984). The wealth and complexity of the evidence for areas such as North-East Perthshire (RCAHMS 1990) indicate the potential of the Scottish settlement record for investigating these ideas.

Regional organization

The importance of regional models was stressed in the account of communities of the north and west above (p 25). There is rather more evidence with which to try building these models for the south and east. Two types of regional models will be discussed, as both would appear to have some value. The first model describes contrasting regions which supported differing patterns of settlement. The potential of an alternative hierarchical model based on the idea of central places will also be explored.

A number of authors have defined a regional contrast delimited by the Firth of Forth: while enclosed settlements are common to the south of the Forth, open settlements predominate to the north in Fife and Tayside (Macinnes 1982, 1985; Maxwell 1983, 1985; Hanson & Maxwell 1983; Halliday 1985). In some areas to the north of the Forth very extensive landscapes of open settlement survive (as in North-East Perthshire, Tayside; RCAHMS 1990). South of the Forth, substantial enclosure boundaries indicate the isolation and perhaps the status of certain households/communities, while in Fife and Tayside substantial houses and souterrains may reflect the power of individual households. This may indicate two contrasting types of social organization in neighbouring regions, which may have characterized two distinct social groups reflected by differing traditions of land-tenure, degrees of political centralization (Hanson & Maxwell 1983, 15) or identity (Maxwell 1983). As noted by P Hill (1982a, 20), these models may also operate for areas which are more localized within broader regions.

P Hill has argued, however, on the basis of a number of recent excavations that the model for a dense distribution of enclosed sites during the Iron Age in East Lothian is over simplistic and that more variety occurs in the evidence for the area (1982a, 5). The excavation of a number of enclosed sites, including Broxmouth and Dryburn Bridge, indicates one or more open phases during the occupation of enclosed sites. P Hill has also noted that, in certain areas of Borders, the distribution of open and enclosed settlements are complementary, and that this may reflect differing local preferences and requirements rather than a chronological development (1982a, 20). It should also be noted that some enclosed sites do occur in the areas of Fife and Tayside that are characterized by open settlements.

It is possible that further work in East Lothian and Borders will produce a more complete understanding of a complex and dense pattern of enclosed and unenclosed sites forming a hierarchical pattern (P Hill 1982a, fig 5). It is even possible that several levels of hierarchy occurred, with communities in hillforts such as Traprain Law (East Lothian) dominating subservient communities in less substantial enclosed settlements and open settlements. This would suggest that Traprain Law formed a central place in a hierarchical system of settlement.

A similar hierarchical pattern of settlement may have characterized other areas. Recent survey work by RCAHMS in Annandale & Eskdale is providing a very full picture, with a proliferation of enclosed settlements of varying types. Open settlements have not been located in the area, but the substantial hillfort at Burnswark may indicate the location of another central place and the existence of another hierarchical system of settlement in this area of Dumfries & Galloway (S Foster, pers comm). The evidence for the area surrounding Eildon Hill North (Roxburgh) may indicate a similar hierarchical pattern of settlement (eg Jones 1990).

The evidence for assessing the idea of hierarchical patterns of settlement is inadequate, however, because of the lack of detailed survey and excavation in most of the relevant areas; further work will be required in order to assess the potential of this hierarchical model. It should be noted in particular that recent work in Wessex, where the archaeological record is more fully researched, suggests that simple, central place models may be inappropriate. The idea that Traprain Law was a high-status economic and political central place may prove to be too simple (see p 37), and we may require more complex models for settlement patterning and the functions of the substantial hillforts.

It is likely from the available evidence that significant centralized social and political groupings may have occurred at a local scale in areas like East Lothian, but that over much of Scotland regional groupings were more loosely organized. The so-called 'tribes' of northern Britain are recorded in Roman literary sources (Rivet & Smith 1979; Maxwell 1985; Mann & Breeze 1988), but it is likely that they formed loose confederations of peoples with little potential for corporate action. This complex system of social groups was probably in a constant state of flux. To quote Haselgrove's comments,

. . . both settlement evidence and material culture suggest that the basic social and political matrix of Britain was made up of relatively small-scale corporate groups, each headed by an élite, but retaining a strong emphasis on the communal control of resources within the collective territory. These basic units were also loosely linked together in wide, culturally differentiated, configurations by ties of clientage and shared ancestry . . . but everywhere their capacity for common action was . . . weak and political authority transitory . . . (1989, 16).

Co-operation between such groups may only have occurred in the context of the direct threat of Roman military expansion (Breeze 1989b), but even then we do not know how extensive or inclusive the groups formed by this native resistance were (D Breeze pers comm).

Production, distribution and consumption

Evidence for agricultural production is almost as scarce for southern, central and eastern Scotland as for the north and west. Discoveries of animal remains on sites are rare because of the acid soil conditions. Although a few excavations have produced animal bones (eg Barnettson 1982), these are not sufficient for even a brief discussion of animal husbandry. Studies of crop production are also rare, although pollen diagrams often show evidence for the growth of crops. The recent identification of evidence for cord rig over extensive areas of southern Scotland presumably also suggests the extensive nature of arable production at this time (Topping 1989). It is likely that most Iron Age communities had a mixed farming regime, although the details are hard to reconstruct. In southern Britain there is some evidence for centralized crop storage in some hillforts (Gent 1983); no such evidence exists for Scotland, where it is possible that crops were produced, stored and consumed on single sites. The evidence of souterrains on many settlements in Tayside may suggest that most communities were self-sufficient in this area, but this topic evidently requires further research.

Most of the available evidence for southern and eastern Scotland indicates the local production and use of pottery, querns and metalwork, with only limited exchange occurring over any distance.

Pottery is not as prolific as in some areas of the north and west and the majority is undecorated and undiagnostic. Some sites in mainland Scotland produce very little or no pottery, and it is possible that these communities were aceramic. Yarrington (1982, 176–7) has suggested that the undecorated wares that occur on a range of sites in eastern Scotland, including Hownam Rings (Roxburgh), Braidwood (Midlothian), Broxmouth (East Lothian), and Bonchester Hill (Roxburgh), show a consistency of technique and match the pottery from Balloch Hill (p 21). One further detailed study that shows a common tradition of manufacture has distinguished two successive types of pottery which appear to date to the later first millennium BC in East Lothian (Cool 1982); it is likely that these styles are the result of a shared tradition rather than of centralized production. As in the north and west, however, very little fabric analysis has been undertaken, and the evidence is really very inadequate for building or assessing models.

Information for the origin of quern-stones is also virtually non-existent. Sourcing has only been attempted occasionally, despite the potential of the approaches outlined above (p 20). Occasional evidence exists: the querns from Dalladies (Kincardine & Deeside) and Newmill (Perthshire), for instance, would appear to have been obtained from the nearby Angus glens.

Standard accounts of metalworking suggest a small-scale, domestic industry. Some of the ores and minerals required for the manufacturing process were presumably transported into and across Scotland, although there has been very little discussion on this topic. Evidence for small-scale smithing and metalworking is common on Iron Age settlements. It is likely that the occupants of each settlement, or small group of settlements, produced the limited range of bronze and iron objects required locally, as was the case for most of the communities of Iron Age Britain. Presumably many of the ‘exotic’ items discussed in accounts of the Scottish Iron Age (RBK Stevenson 1966; MacGregor 1976; Ralston 1979, 479–84) were produced in this way.

Preliminary investigation indicates the potential of analysis of the context of metalworking. At Moncreiffe (Perth & Kinross) metalworking was undertaken within the area of a Neolithic/Bronze Age burial monument, while at Loanhead of Daviot (Gordon) metalworking occurred very close to a stone circle and ritual complex. This raises the potential ritual and symbolic significance of ironworking among Iron Age communities (Hingley 1990b). Is the production of metalwork on these sites a coincidence, or does it indicate a new form of veneration for traditional ritual locations (Gillies 1981)? It should be noted that the industrial process at

Moncreiffe resulted in at least the partial destruction of the earlier monument and this may tell us something about motivation.

There is limited evidence for larger-scale production and distribution of ironwork in southern Scotland during the period of Roman occupation. S Piggott reviewed the composition of three of the southern Scottish ironwork hoards, from Blackburn Mill (East Lothian), Eckford (Roxburgh) and Carlingwark Loch (Stewartry) (S Piggott 1955). He argued that, in contrast to a number of hoards from Roman military sites, these three hoards were native and indicate a considerable degree of industrial centralization and political complexity (1955, 17).

Manning discussed the wide range of iron tools and objects from Traprain Law and noted that many of them find parallels at Blackburn Mill, Eckford and Carlingwark Loch. He argued that the Traprain Law material represents a 'Roman' assemblage which is anomalous to the normal native pattern (1981, 60), and that the three hoards were of military origin (1972). It is possible, however, that the four ironwork collections are all native in origin. Manning has not conclusively demonstrated a military origin for these hoards; the nearest known military installation and Roman road to Blackburn Mill are over 25 km away, but there is a wealth of native settlement in close proximity to the hoard site, including Traprain Law. All three of the hoards were deposited in lakes or bogs, two in cauldrons, representing native traditions of ritual deposition.

The three hoards and the material from Traprain Law probably indicate the variety of iron tools and other objects available to some Iron Age communities in southern Scotland. It is true that some of this material might have originated in the south of the province, and it is also possible that some of the objects were obtained from the Roman army. It is likely, nevertheless, that many of these objects were produced by native communities in northern Britain and that they were hoarded by the indigenous population rather than by the Roman army.

As has been argued above (p 10), Scotland should not be seen as 'a primitive backwater' in which all innovation resulted from invasion, migration or 'civilizing' influences. It is now necessary to discuss military contact and Roman influence on southern Scotland. It is often argued that the Roman conquest had only a limited impact on native communities and the quantity of 'Roman' material on native sites certainly is low (Fulford 1985, 102–3; Macinnes 1989, 110; Breeze 1989a), although higher than in northern and western Scotland. Many of the objects found on sites are of high quality, including bronze vessels, brooches, glass, samian and coins, but coarse pottery is rare (Robertson 1970, 200). The scarcity of 'Roman' objects from native contexts is probably partly the result of the absence of a strong native tradition for depositing grave goods with burials (p 38).

The discussions of Robertson and Macinnes indicate that Roman goods, particularly first-century objects, occur mainly on brochs, duns and crannogs, with relatively few hillforts, enclosed settlements and open settlements producing relevant material (Robertson 1970; Macinnes 1985, 241–2). This could be partly due to data bias – the relative absence of excavations on enclosed and open settlements, in contrast to the attention paid to substantial houses. It is also possible that many of the enclosed sites were abandoned by the first century AD – this appears to happen in East Lothian. Some of the open and enclosed settlements, however, do appear to have been occupied in the period of Roman contact and have produced very few Roman objects: for instance, Dalladies (Kincardine & Deeside), Eildon Hill North (Roxburgh) and Broxmouth (East Lothian). Macinnes has proposed that exchange between Romans and natives during the first and early second centuries was dominated by the native élite based in brochs, duns and crannogs (1985, 243–4; 1989, 112–13). This may indicate that households based in substantial houses had a greater interest in Roman goods than the communities occupying enclosed and open settlements. The suggestion that the distribution of Roman goods was constrained by internal social and political factors has

been argued for other areas of the Empire (Hedeager 1978), and this requires further and more detailed assessment in the Scottish context.

To date, no analysis has been conducted on the detailed context of 'Roman' material on Iron Age sites in Scotland. Such work might enable both a more subtle analysis of the role played by these objects in the native communities and also a fuller understanding of the depositional practices that created the archaeological record.

One site, Traprain Law, stands out as exceptional. The quantity of material from this site has been taken to indicate a very important central place controlling and consuming the flow of Roman goods into this area of Scotland (Jobey 1976, 201; Macinnes 1985, 243–4) and there is certainly evidence for long-term and intensive occupation on the west flank of the hill. The finds, however, raise the topic of the motivation behind the deposition of objects by past societies. It is possible to build complex models for the production of goods and for exchange and trade systems, but it is important to realize that such models can only utilize materials which were lost, casually abandoned or deliberately deposited in the past. Many objects were probably discarded in middens and then transferred to arable fields during middening, where they weathered, abraded and disintegrated, while some metal and stone objects would have been reused for new purposes. This stresses the vital importance of studies of deposition, a topic which has not been investigated in detail for the Scottish Iron Age.

Ritual, belief and deposition

The wide range of late Bronze Age and Iron Age objects from the excavations at Traprain Law has been reviewed by P Hill (1987), who has emphasised that this abundant and diverse material is not matched by that from any other site of this period in Scotland, except for the three ironwork hoards discussed above. He has suggested that the reason for the deposition of such large quantities of material may be that Traprain Law had a primarily ritual function during the period of Roman contact, and that the objects were deposited during ceremonial activities on the site (P Hill 1987).

These suggestions have not been universally well received (eg Close-Brooks 1987b). Recent critiques of the approach adopted for the interpretation of the hillfort at Danebury (Hampshire), however, have contested Cunliffe's interpretation of the site as a major proto-urban production and distribution centre (Cunliffe 1984), favouring a model for the site as a communal centre with an important ceremonial function (Stopford 1987; J D Hill 1989, forthcoming a). A number of others have discussed the ceremonial function of other British hillforts (Bowden & McOmish 1987; Aitchison 1987). If these arguments are accepted, Traprain Law may have fitted into the same pattern, functioning as an immense raised platform for staging ceremonial activities visible to the many occupants of the settlements on the flat land which surrounds the Law. These ceremonial activities may have involved production of artefacts and evidently the deposition of very large quantities of valuable material which was never retrieved.

The objects from Traprain Law may demonstrate the wealth and far-flung links of the native community which had their ceremonial centre here, and also the extensive exchange networks which existed during the period of Roman contact in East Lothian. The finds from the site need not, however, indicate that it was the centre of a major economically and politically centralized community.

Owen has suggested that Eildon Hill North provided a similar range of functions, acting as a centre for the surrounding community. Some houses within the hillfort were in use at this time, but they were not particularly large or sophisticated and Owen has suggested that the site did not

contain a large community, but was a location to which people came to meet, trade, marry, and resolve disputes (1992; pers comm).

The case of Traprain Law demonstrates that archaeologists can normally expect to find rich material culture only in locations at which past communities chose to deposit it. The general lack of metalwork and other exotic objects from the majority of settlements in Scotland probably indicates only that households and communities did not normally indulge in ritualized display involving the deposition of wealth within their own settlements. In addition it is likely that much rubbish was recycled.

Occasional acts of ritual deposition, however, did occur on settlement sites. The finds of quern-stones in boundary contexts have been reviewed (p 32). Other items associated with the agricultural cycle include the wooden ard-shares from the foundations of the crannog at Milton Loch (Stewartry) and the wooden ard from the ditch of a promontory fort at Dundarg (Banff & Buchan). Recent investigation of the contexts of ironwork hoarding in southern Britain suggests that weapons were regularly placed in boundary contexts within settlements (Hingley 1990b). It is, therefore, of interest to note that an iron sword and Roman coin were deposited on the tail of the hillfort rampart at Burnswark Hill (Annandale & Eskdale). The use of symbolic stones in the construction of souterrains is also an aspect of on-site ritual deposition which has already been considered (p 29).

The scarcity of exotic finds from burials provides a second reason for the comparative lack of such objects from the archaeological record for Scotland. The relative wealth of finds from peat bogs and lakes in Scotland (see MacGregor 1976; Ralston 1979) suggests that these contexts constituted the main locations for artefact deposition. Watery contexts constitute the typical location for ritual deposition throughout much of British and northern European prehistory (see Bradley 1990). Fitzpatrick has argued that such objects were offerings or obligations to the gods (1984). Other significant objects were also placed in bogs; for instance, the wooden ard-share from Lochmaben (Annandale & Eskdale), parallels the ards and ploughs from the north and west (p 23). Further study is required both of the reasons for deposition and of the rules which structured deposition.

Ritual enclosures may form a third type of context for deposition. Mercer's excavation of the low-lying site at Over Rig (Annandale & Eskdale) revealed an enclosure with internal circular buildings, but very little domestic material. Finds from the ditch included two wooden daggers, again indicating the deposition of weapons in boundary contexts. Other ritual enclosures possibly occurred in Iron Age Scotland at, for instance, Traprain Law. These ritual enclosures may mirror comparable structures of the late Iron Age in Gaul and southern Britain (Brunaux 1988).

Human burial is often associated with ideas of ritual and belief, constituting a distinct stage in the cycle of life and death. The majority of burials in the Scottish Iron Age appear to occur away from the settlement. A complex variety of burial traditions occur in mainland areas during the Scottish Iron Age, including cremation and inhumation in flat graves and under cairns, in pits and cists, both accompanied by grave goods and without (see Longworth 1967; MacKie 1972; Ralston 1979; Whimster 1981; Welfare 1983). There appears to be scant patterning in the available data, and more work will be necessary before a convincing exposition of the meanings of death and burial to the people of Scotland at this time will be possible.

The incorporation of quern-stones into the structure of a number of cist burials in East Lothian and south-eastern Scotland is of potential importance, although many or all of these post-date AD 200. Cists in cemeteries at Parkburn and Campdown (East Lothian), at Arniston (Midlothian), and possibly Jedburgh (Roxburgh), contained parts of quern-stones (Henshall 1958). In addition, a plough-share or digging implement was discovered associated with cremated bone

within a cist under a cairn at Falla Cairn (Roxburgh). Deposition in these contexts may relate to ideas linking the concept of the agricultural cycle to ideas of life, death and the afterlife (p 11).

Animal burials of possible significance are known from a number of sites. For instance, two burials were deposited within a round-house at Broxmouth, and at least one of the two pits underlying the ramparts at Eildon Hill North (Roxburgh) contained the remains of a partly cremated horse, which was probably dedicatory in nature. Future excavation will result in the collection of further evidence for human and animal burials which, in turn, will provide a fuller understanding of the beliefs behind these practices of deposition.

Summary of evidence for society in southern, central and eastern Scotland

I began this section by inquiring whether any of the perspectives developed for the north and west had any value in the study of the remaining areas of Scotland. Some similar building and settlement types do occur across Scotland – for instance, Gurness and Edin’s Hall have similar characteristics. A coherent perspective for the Iron Age in southern and eastern Scotland, however, is difficult to build. This may be partly due to the relative absence of evidence for much of these areas and probably also to the rarity of recent publication.

Substantial houses are fairly common and they may have been built for a similar range of reasons as the examples of Atlantic Scotland. Many of the substantial houses appear to date to the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age, and there is clear evidence on some sites that substantial houses are succeeded late in the first millennium BC by smaller round-houses. The evidence also suggests, however, that other substantial houses date to the late first millennium BC and early first millennium AD.

As in the north and west, substantial houses may have projected high status and the isolation of the resident household from the broader community and from nature.

The evidence provided by the excavation of enclosed settlements suggests that some were the homes of households while others supported quite large communities. The building of an enclosure boundary is perhaps an alternative to the construction of a large house; both measures can isolate a social group from society as a whole and in some cases can also project status or power. As is the case in the north and west, the chronological relationship between substantial houses and enclosed settlements is unclear. The construction of both types starts before the middle of the first millennium BC, but on some sites enclosures appear to predate substantial houses, although the situation would appear to be complex (p 31).

Far more evidence exists for the organization of the landscape in the south and east, as the result of detailed landscape survey and aerial photography. As a consequence, the regular occurrence of open settlements and extensive field systems has been recognized. Our current understanding of landscape and regional organization throughout Scotland, however, remains inadequate.

It is unclear exactly how agriculture and craft production fit the settlement evidence. While the general picture appears to suggest small-scale domestic production and consumption of items such as iron and querns, a number of authors have suggested a degree of economic centralization, perhaps in response to the Roman conquest of the south. Traprain Law has been seen as a tribal centre for the pro-Roman Votadini. Some authors have even suggested that it had a major trading role between natives and Romans. ‘Roman’ objects did reach some native sites at this time, but I have suggested that the actual situation was not this simple. We require a fuller understanding of the processes of exchange and of the rules governing deposition. The idea of trade, or even of large-scale exchange, may have been alien to the occupants of East Lothian; objects from Traprain

Law do not conclusively indicate that it functioned as a trading/economic central place (p 37). Certainly it is no longer possible to view Traprain Law and Eildon Hill North as the centres of centralized tribes.

There is some evidence in the south and east for rituals connected with fertility and the agricultural cycle. In contrast to the north and west, however, we do not find evidence for ritual practices connected with hunting or fishing. There appears to be less evidence for the re-use of ancient structures as sites for buildings; the evidence for metalworking on the sites of earlier ritual monuments, however, may indicate some form of continued veneration for ancestral monuments, although in at least one case this resulted in partial demolition (p 35–6).

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE FOR IRON AGE SCOTLAND

The outline of a programme of study was given at the end of the Introduction (p 10–11). The themes identified for study included household and community organization, the nature of marriage and exchange networks, and the role of belief in establishing, supporting and contradicting social structure. It has also been argued that the only adequate type of interpretation would be one which allowed for complexity and variation through space and through time. How far have Scottish Iron Age studies provided information for the study of society?

The household and the community

The significance of household groups who built and occupied substantial houses, and the symbolic and practical role of these houses to the groups who built them have been considered at length. An aspect of the organization of households which has received very scant attention for the British Iron Age as a whole is the organization of gender and age groups within communities (see Barrett 1989b; Parker-Pearson forthcoming; Hingley 1990c). In the above discussion a few suggestions have been made in the context of the substantial houses of the Western Isles (p 15), but much more work is necessary for the whole of the Scottish Iron Age. The internal structure and organization of the household are vital topics in any understanding of past society (Conkey & Gero 1991; Wylie 1991) and, although archaeologists have found gender and age very difficult to study, we can no longer ignore these topics.

The explanations for the symbolic nature of substantial houses are very simplistic and largely fail to answer complex and interesting questions, such as why several differing types of substantial houses were built in different regions and at different times (p 14). I have mentioned two models which explore the motivation behind the construction of substantial houses. One approach suggests that they were the houses of the élite within a hierarchical system of settlement; the other indicates that they formed distinctive types of houses occurring in a relatively egalitarian social context, isolating the individual household from other households, possibly drawing a distinction between nature and culture. It is not yet possible to distinguish how these two models articulate, and it has been suggested that the solution is probably complex, varying from area to area and from time to time. It is apparent that, even in the well-researched areas of Scotland, there has been a bias towards the excavation of monumental types of houses while there is little understanding of alternative types. Only when we establish a more complete picture of settlement patterns in a variety of regions shall we be able to place substantial houses in their correct social contexts.

It has been suggested that alternative methods existed to indicate identity and status; for instance, the construction of a substantial enclosure around a group of relatively insubstantial

houses. The creation of the enclosure presumably indicates a clear-cut distinction between those living within the settlement and those outside (Hingley 1984; Bowden & McOmish 1987). The lack of subdivision within most of the enclosed settlements of the British Iron Age, and the relative absence of substantial houses from these sites, may indicate that any contradictions within the community were masked. Future study must explore the tensions which were subsumed within these enclosure-defined communities and the acts and practices which served to reduce stress and competition.

Production and exchange

This review indicates that there is at present very little comprehension of the function of the household and the community in the context of agricultural and industrial production. The evidence presently available suggests that most industrial production was for domestic needs and that very few items passed between communities. It should be stressed, however, that detailed studies of pottery, quern-stones and iron artefacts remain very rare, and that these topics require a great deal of further work. There is a possibility that more centralized production occurred in southern Scotland during the period of Roman contact. More work also is required in this area, however, because the evidence is not conclusive.

It is also necessary to consider further how models for the analysis of kinship and exchange relationships may be developed. It has been argued that the exchange of prestige items did not provide a coherent strategy for establishing social ranking during this period (eg Barrett & Corney 1991, 240), except perhaps at a local level (S Foster, pers comm). It is probable that isolated households and communities depended on marriage networks for their survival and that this bound these groups into systems of exchange. The suggestion that networks of exchange involving exotic objects were part of a strategy to construct marriage networks and alliances (Fitzpatrick 1989) may indicate attempts by Iron Age communities to create new and more extensive forms of alliance and kinship relation (J D Hill, pers comm). The apparent small scale of such long-distance contact, as reflected by the limited quantity of exotic objects in the archaeological record, perhaps indicates that any attempts to create new forms of alliance by Iron Age communities were incidental to the main stream of mostly localized contact.

Ritual and deposition

Another aspect of the archaeological record which has been stressed in this study is the significance of ideology and ritual in defining, perpetuating and contradicting dominant systems. Barrett has suggested that the significant factor at this time was the action of the living in relation to the daily procedures of agricultural production, and that major social distinctions drew upon the symbolism of fertility and the agricultural cycle (p 11). This approach appears to be useful in understanding Iron Age Scotland and that this is indicated by the use of symbols of agricultural production and fertility, presumably as part of a household or communal ritual. Evidence for this is related to the individual (the incorporation of querns in burial cists), the household (animal burials in wheelhouses) and the community (querns placed in settlement boundaries).

Other symbolic practices based on differing rules, however, may also have been significant. Activities connected with the structuring of social distinctions have been considered above. These include the control and exploitation of surplus labour in order to construct substantial houses and enclosure boundaries; they may themselves have been linked conceptually with the playing-out of

the duties of agricultural labour (Barrett 1982). Other activities included the use of the past to justify the present; I have suggested that this is reflected in the appropriation of chambered cairns and the sites of abandoned houses for the building of substantial houses, the utilization of the remains of ancestors on settlement sites, and the use of Roman masonry and cup-marked stones in the construction of souterrains.

In the Western Isles the evidence appears to indicate that the acts of hunting and fishing were economically significant to local communities, and ritual acts probably also drew upon concepts linked with the acts of hunting and fishing. It is evident that these practices form a marked contrast to the rest of the British mainland and this appears to be a valuable topic for future research.

Regions and tribes

There is at present no convincing evidence for large, centralized political groups, and it is likely that so-called 'tribal' groupings had very little potential for corporate action during the whole of the Scottish Iron Age. Some social links, combined with common social structure and productive relations, may have bound localized social groups together in some form of alliance. This may explain the variation in settlement patterns to either side of the Forth prior to the Roman invasion (p 33), the pattern of pottery distribution in Atlantic Scotland (p 21) and also the differential distribution of brochs and duns on Skye (p 25). In this context models based on the nature of landholding and agricultural production may in future prove useful in interpreting regional patterning.

An attempt to build and assess a dynamic regional model for Iron Age society in an area in southern Britain has been made elsewhere (Hingley 1984, 25–6; 1988). The quality of the remains over much of Scotland indicates that the evidence survives with which models of landscape organization may be constructed and assessed (eg RCAHMS 1990). These studies should include the collection of evidence for settlement, field systems, linear dykes, resource areas, physical constraints (eg burns, rivers and bogs), economic and environmental data. At present, however, the detailed information required to undertake this sort of work in Scotland is not available in published sources. In addition attempts to study Iron Age regional organization (eg Jones 1990) are thwarted by a lack of chronological control on the information (R Jones, pers comm).

SUMMARY

The available evidence for the organization of households in substantial round-houses, for communities within enclosed settlements and for regional patterns of settlement provides a limited understanding of the organization of social groups at differing levels ranging from the household to the tribe. In due course further analysis should create a fuller understanding of the practical constraints placed on these communities by agricultural and industrial production. More information should also be obtained on the context of local social groups within a network of exchange links involving other people and other material objects. The beliefs and ritual practices of these people also require further study.

This review indicates that, although some progress has been made towards an understanding of society in Scotland from 700 BC to AD 200, a considerable amount of further excavation, field work, post-excavation analysis and academic thought will be required before we can begin to understand this period of our past in any detail. I do wish to stress, however, that the excellent preservation of much of the evidence indicates that the subject has a viable future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks go to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for requesting me to undertake this challenging piece of work. I also wish to express my thanks to a number of friends and colleagues for providing information and for comments and advice on earlier versions of this paper: Ian Armit, Patrick Ashmore, John Barrett, David Breeze, Gordon Barclay, Steve Dickinson, Noel Fojut, Sally Foster, Colin Haselgrove, J D Hill, Rick Jones, Ann MacSween, Rod McCullagh, Roger Mercer, Elaine Morris, Olwyn Owen, Ian Ralston, Jim Rideout, Niall Sharples and Christina Unwin. I am grateful to Christina Unwin for the illustration and for editorial work on the text in various stages of production.

APPENDIX

IRON AGE SITES AND FINDSPOTS IN SCOTLAND MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Site	District/ Island	Region	Reference
1 A'CHEARDACH BHEAG	South Uist	Western Isles	Fairhurst 1971
2 A'CHEARDACH MHOR	South Uist	Western Isles	Young & Richardson 1962
3 ARNISTON	Midlothian	Lothian	Henshall 1958
4 BALLACHULISH	Lochaber	Highland	Coles 1990
5 BALLOCH HILL	Argyll & Bute	Strathclyde	Peltenburg 1983
6 BANNOCKBURN	Stirling	Central	Tavener 1988
7 BLACKBURN MILL	East Lothian	Lothian	S Piggott 1955
8 BONCHESTER HILL	Roxburgh	Borders	C M Piggott 1952
9 BOONIES	Annandale & Eskdale	Dumfries & Galloway	Jobey 1975
10 BRAGAR	Lewis	Western Isles	MacGregor 1976, item 327
11 BRAIDWOOD	Midlothian	Lothian	Reynolds 1982, fig 1
12 BROOMHOUSE MAINS	Berwickshire	Borders	Welfare 1984, 315
13 BROXMOUTH	East Lothian	Lothian	P Hill 1982b
14 BU	Mainland	Orkney	J Hedges 1987
15 BUISTON CRANNOG	Kilmarnock & Loudoun	Strathclyde	Crone 1990
16 BURGI GEOS	Yell	Shetland	Fojut 1985
17 BURNSWARK HILL	Annandale & Eskdale	Dumfries & Galloway	Jobey 1978
18 CAMPTOUN	East Lothian	Lothian	Henshall 1958
19 CARLINGWARK LOCH	Stewartry	Dumfries & Galloway	S Piggott 1955
20 CARLUNGIE	Angus	Tayside	Wainwright 1963
21 CARRONBRIDGE	Nithsdale	Dumfries & Galloway	Johnston 1989, 1990
22 CASTLELAW	Midlothian	Lothian	Childe 1933; S Piggott & C M Piggott 1954
23 CASTLEHILL WOOD	Stirling	Central	Feachem 1959
24 CLETTRAVAL	North Uist	Western Isles	Scott 1948
25 CNIP	Lewis	Western Isles	Armit 1988b
26 CRICHTON MAINS	Midlothian	Lothian	Welfare 1984, 313–14
27 CROSSKIRK	Caithness	Highland	Fairhurst no date
28 DALLADIES	Kincardine & Deeside	Grampian	Watkins 1981a
29 DALRULZION	Perth & Kinross	Tayside	Halliday 1985
30 DOUGLASMUIR	Angus	Tayside	Kendrick 1982
31 DRYBURN BRIDGE	East Lothian	Lothian	Triscott 1982

Site	District/ Island	Region	Reference
32 DUN BHARABHAT	Lewis	Western Isles	Harding & Armit 1990
33 DUN BORBAIDH	Argyll & Bute	Strathclyde	MacGregor 1976, item 329
34 DUN LAGAIDH	Ross & Cromarty	Highland	Feachem 1977, 149
35 DUN SKEIG	Argyll & Bute	Strathclyde	RCAHMS 1971
36 DUN TELVE	Skye & Lochalsh	Highland	A Ritchie 1988, 68–9
37 DUNDARG	Banff & Buchan	Grampian	Rees 1984
38 DUNION	Roxburgh	Borders	Rideout 1992a
39 ECKFORD	Roxburgh	Borders	S Piggott 1955
40 EDIN'S HALL	Berwickshire	Borders	A Ritchie 1988, 74–5
41 EILDON HILL NORTH	Roxburgh	Borders	Owen 1992
42 FALLA CAIRN	Roxburgh	Borders	Steer 1949
43 GALSON	Lewis	Western Isles	MacGregor 1976, item 330
44 GREEN CRAIG	North-East Fife	Fife	Bersu 1950b
45 GURNESS	Mainland	Orkney	J Hedges 1987
46 HAYHOPE KNOWE	Roxburgh	Borders	C M Piggott 1951
47 HOWE	Mainland	Orkney	Carter <i>et al</i> 1984
48 HOWNAM RINGS	Roxburgh	Borders	C M Piggott 1950
49 HURLY HAWKIN	City of Dundee	Tayside	Taylor 1983
50 JARLSHOF	Mainland	Shetland	Hamilton 1956
51 JEDBURGH	Roxburgh	Borders	Henshall 1958
52 KEBISTER	Mainland	Shetland	O Owen, pers comm
53 KILDONAN	South Uist	Western Isles	Zvelebil 1990
54 KILPHEDER	South Uist	Western Isles	Lethbridge 1953
55 KILPHEDIR	Sutherland	Highland	Fairhurst & Taylor 1974
56 KNOWES OF QUOYSCOTTIE	Mainland	Orkney	M Hedges 1979
57 KNOWE OF ROWIEGAR	Rousay	Orkney	RCAHMS 1946
58 KYLEAKIN	Skye & Lochalsh	Highland	Anderson 1885
59 LANGWELL	Sutherland	Highland	H Nisbet, pers comm
60 LETHAM GRANGE	Angus	Tayside	Wainwright 1963, 193–4
61 LOANHEAD OF DAVIOT	Gordon	Grampian	Kilbride-Jones 1937
62 LOCHMABEN	Annandale & Eskdale	Dumfries & Galloway	Rees 1979, 43
63 LONG KNOWE	Annandale & Eskdale	Dumfries & Galloway	Mercer 1981
64 McNAUGHTON'S FORT	Nithsdale	Dumfries & Galloway	Scott-Elliott <i>et al.</i> 1966
65 MELVILLE NURSERIES	Midlothian	Lothian	Raisen 1989
66 MIDHOWE	Rousay	Orkney	J Hedges 1987
67 MILTON LOCH	Stewartry	Dumfries & Galloway	C M Piggott 1955; Guido 1974
68 MONCREIFFE	Perth & Kinross	Tayside	Steward 1987
69 MOUSA	Mousa	Shetland	Fojut 1982
70 NEW KINORD	Kincardine & Deeside	Grampian	Shepherd 1986, 131
71 NEWMILL	Perth & Kinross	Tayside	Watkins 1980b
72 NEWSTEAD	Ettrick & Lauderdale	Borders	Welfare 1984, 313–14
73 NYBSTER	Caithness	Highland	RCAHMS 1911, 159–60
74 OAKBANK CRANNOG	Perth & Kinross	Tayside	Dixon 1984
75 OLD KINORD	Kincardine & Deeside	Grampian	Shepherd 1986, 132
76 OVER RIG	Annandale & Eskdale	Dumfries & Galloway	Mercer 1985a
77 PARKBURN	Midlothian	Lothian	Henshall 1958
78 PIEROWALL	Westray	Orkney	Sharples 1985
79 PITCUR	Angus	Tayside	Wainwright 1963, 203–4

Site	District/ Island	Region	Reference
80 POOL	Sanday	Orkney	Hunter 1990
81 QUANTERNESSE	Mainland	Orkney	Renfrew 1979
82 RISPAIN CAMP	Wigtown	Dumfries & Galloway	Haggarty & Haggarty 1983
83 ROMANCAMPGATE	Moray	Grampian	Barclay & Tolan 1990
84 SCOTSTARVIT	North-East Fife	Fife	Bersu 1950a
85 SHIRVA	Strathkelvin	Strathclyde	Welfare 1984, 313–14
86 SKAILL	Mainland	Orkney	Gelling 1985
87 SOLLAS	North Uist	Western Isles	Campbell 1992
88 ST GERMAINS	East Lothian	Lothian	Watkins 1982
89 SWORDALE	Sutherland	Highland	Rees 1979, 284
90 TAP O'NOTH	Gordon	Grampian	Ralston 1979, 454–5
91 TEALING	Angus	Tayside	Wainwright 1963, 213–16
92 TOFTS NESS	Sanday	Orkney	Dockrill 1986
93 TORWOODLEE	Ettrick & Lauderdale	Borders	S Piggott 1953
94 TRAPRAIN LAW	East Lothian	Lothian	Jobey 1976
95 TULLOCH WOOD	Moray	Grampian	Carter 1991
96 UNIVAL	North Uist	Western Isles	Scott 1950
97 UPPER CLEUCH	Annandale & Eskdale	Dumfries & Galloway	APG 1990
98 VIRDFIELD	Mainland	Shetland	Rees 1979, 43–4
99 WAG OF FORSE	Caithness	Highland	Curle 1941, 1948, 1950
100 WARDEND OF DURRIS	Kincardine & Deeside	Grampian	Russel-White 1990
101 YARROWS	Caithness	Highland	RCAHMS 1911, 150–1

REFERENCES

- Aitchison, N B 1987 'Roman Wealth, Native Ritual', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 4 (1987), 95–7.
- Anderson, J 1885 'Notice of a Bronze Cauldron found with several kegs of Butter in a moss near Kyleakin, in Skye . . .', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 7 (1884–5), 309–15.
- APG 1990 'Upper Cleuch', *Discovery Excav Scot* 1990, 9–10.
- Armit, I 1988a 'Broch Landscapes in the Western Isles', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 5 (1988), 78–86.
- Armit, I 1988b *Excavations at Cnip, West Lewis, 1988*. Interim Report, Edinburgh.
- Armit, I 1990a 'Broch Building in northern Scotland: The context of innovation', *World Archaeol*, 21 (1990), 435–45.
- Armit, I 1990b 'Introduction', in Armit, I (ed), *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1–4.
- Armit, I 1990c 'Brochs and Beyond in the Western Isles', in Armit, I (ed), *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 41–70.
- Armit, I 1990d 'Epilogue: The Atlantic Scottish Iron Age', in Armit, I (ed), *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 194–210.
- Armit, I 1992 'The Atlantic Iron Age: five levels of chronology', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 121 (1991), 181–214.
- Avery, M 1976 'Hillforts of the British Isles: A Student's Introduction', in Harding, D (ed), *Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland*, London, 1–56.
- Barber, J & Brown, M M 1985 'An Sithean, Islay', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 114 (1984), 161–88.
- Barclay, G 1981 'Newmill and the "souterrains of Southern Pictland"', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 110 (1978–80), 200–8.
- Barclay, G & Tolan, M 1990 'Romancamp Gate (Fochabers parish)', *Discovery Excav Scot* 1990, 19–21.
- Barnetson, L P D 1982 'Animal husbandry: clues from Broxmouth', in Harding, D (ed), *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 101–5.

- Barrett, J 1982 'Aspects of the Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland. A case study in the problems of archaeological interpretation', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 111 (1981), 205–19.
- Barrett, J 1989a 'Food, Gender and Metal; Questions of Social Reproduction', in Sorensen, M L S & Thomas, R (eds), *The Bronze Age – Iron Age Transition in Europe*, Oxford, 304–20.
- Barrett, J 1989b 'Further problems in the Iron Age of Southern Britain', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 6 (1989), 1–3.
- Barrett, J 1991a 'The Archaeology of Social Reproduction', in J Barrett, R Bradley and M Green (eds), *Landscape, monuments and society: The prehistory of Cranborne Chase*, Cambridge, 6–8.
- Barrett, J 1991b 'Synthesis', in Barrett, J, Bradley, R & Green, M (eds), *Landscape, monuments and society: The prehistory of Cranborne Chase*, Cambridge, 223–6.
- Barrett, J, Bradley, R & Green, M 1991 *Landscape, monuments and society: The prehistory of Cranborne Chase*. Cambridge.
- Barrett, J & Corney, M 1991 'Synthesis', in Barrett, J, Bradley, R & Green, M (eds), *Landscape, monuments and society: The prehistory of Cranborne Chase*, Cambridge, 236–42.
- Barrett, J & Foster, S 1991 'Passing the Time in Iron Age Scotland', in Hanson, W S and Slater, E A (eds) *Scottish Archaeology: New Perceptions*, Aberdeen, 44–56.
- Bender, D R 1967 'A Refinement of the Concept of Household; Families, co-residence and domestic functions', *American Anthropologist*, 69 (1967), 493–504.
- Bersu, G 1950a "'Fort" at Scotstarvit Covert, Fife', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 82–3 (1947–8), 241–63.
- Bersu, G 1950b 'Rectangular enclosure on Green Craig, Fife', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 82–3 (1947–8), 264–74.
- Beveridge, C & Turnbull, R 1989 *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture: Inferiorism and the Intellectuals*. Edinburgh.
- Bowden, M & McOmish, D 1987 'The required barrier', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 4 (1987), 76–84.
- Bradley, R 1984 *The social foundations of prehistoric Britain*. London.
- Bradley, R 1990 *The Passage of Arms*. London.
- Bradley, R 1991 'Monuments and Places', in Garwood, P, Jennings, D, Skeates, R & Toms, J (eds) *Sacred and Profane*, Oxford, 135–40.
- Bradley, R 1992 'Turning the World – Rock Carving and the Archaeology of Death', in Sharples, N & Sheridan, A (eds), *Vessels for the Ancestors: Essays on the Neolithic of Britain and Ireland*, Edinburgh, 168–76.
- Breeze, D 1989a 'The Impact of the Roman Army on North Britain', in Barrett, J C, Fitzpatrick, A P & Macinnes, L (eds), *Barbarians and Romans in North-West Europe: from the later Republic to late Antiquity*, Oxford, 108–16.
- Breeze, D 1989b 'Why did the Romans fail to conquer Scotland?', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 118 (1988), 3–22.
- Brown, N 1988 'A Late Bronze Age Enclosure at Lofts Farm, Essex', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 54 (1988), 249–302.
- Brunaux, J L 1988 *The Celtic Gauls: Gods, Rites and Sanctuaries*. London.
- Campbell, E 1992 'Excavation on a wheelhouse and other Iron Age structures at Sollas, North Uist, by R J C Atkinson in 1957', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 121 (1991), 117–74.
- Carter, S 1991 'Tulloch Wood', *Discovery Excav Scot* 1991, 38.
- Carter, S, Haig, D, Neil, N R & Smith B, 1984 'Interim report on the structures at Howe, Stromness, Orkney', *Glasgow Archaeol J*, 11 (1984), 61–73.
- Caulfield, S 1980 'Quern replacement and the origin of the brochs', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 109 (1977–8), 129–39.
- Champion, T 1987 'The European Iron Age: assessing the state of the art', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 4 (1987), 98–108.
- Chapman, M 1982 "'Semantics" and the "Celt"', in Parkin, D (ed), *Semantic Anthropology*, London, 123–45.
- Childe, V G 1933 'Excavations at Castlelaw Fort, Midlothian', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 67 (1932–3), 362–88.
- Childe, V G 1946 *Scotland Before the Scots*. London.
- Clarke, D L 1977 'Spatial Information in Archaeology', in Clarke, D L (ed), *Spatial Archaeology*, London, 1–32.
- Clarke, D V 1971 'Small Finds in the Atlantic Province: Problems of Approach', *Scott Archaeol Forum*, 3 (1971), 22–54.

- Clarke, D V 1980 'Models and Research Priorities in Scottish Iron Age Studies', *Scott Archaeol Forum*, 10 (1978), 76–9.
- Close-Brooks, J 1985 'Some Objects from Peat Bogs', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 114 (1984), 578–81.
- Close-Brooks, J 1987a 'Excavations at Clatchard Craig, Fife', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 116 (1986), 117–84.
- Close-Brooks, J 1987b 'Comments on Traprain Law', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 4 (1987), 92–4
- Coles, B 1990 'Anthropomorphic wooden figurines from Britain and Ireland', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 56 (1990), 315–33.
- Collis, J 1977 'An Approach to the Iron Age', in Collis, J (ed), *The Iron Age in Britain: A Review*, Sheffield, 1–7.
- Conkey, M W & Gero, J M 1991 'Tension, Pluralities, and Engendering Archaeology: An Introduction to Women in Prehistory', in Gero, J M & Conkey, M W (eds), *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, Cambridge, 3–30.
- Cool, H E M 1982 'The artefact record: some possibilities', in Harding, D (ed) *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 92–100.
- Crone, B A 1990 'Buiston (Kilmaurs parish)', *Discovery Excav Scot* 1990, 35–6.
- Cunliffe, B W & Miles, D (eds) 1984 *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain*. Oxford.
- Cunliffe, B W 1984 *Danebury, Volume 1: The excavations 1969–78: the site*. London.
- Cunliffe, B W 1991 *Iron Age Communities in Britain*. 3rd edn, London.
- Curle, A O 1941 'An Account of the Partial Excavation of a "Wag" or Galleried Building at Forse, in the Parish of Lartheron, Caithness', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 75 (1940–1), 23–39.
- Curle, A O 1948 'The Excavation of the "Wag" or prehistoric Cattle-fold at Forse, Caithness and the Relation of "Wags" to brochs, and other implications arising therefrom', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 80/81 (1945–6), 11–25.
- Curle, A O 1950 'The "Wag" of Forse, Caithness. Report of further excavations made in 1947 and 1948', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 82–3 (1947–8), 275–85.
- Dixon, T N 1983 'A Survey of crannogs in Loch Tay', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 112 (1982), 17–28.
- Dixon, T N 1984 'Oakbank Crannog', *Current Archaeol*, 90 (1984), 217–20.
- Dockrill, S 1986 *Excavations at Tofts Ness, Sanday, Orkney: interim*. Bradford.
- Earwood, C 1992 'Two Early Historic bog butter containers', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 121 (1991), 231–41.
- Edwards, N 1990 *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*. London.
- Ewart, E & Curle, A O 1908 'Notice of the Examination of a Cairn and Internments of the Early Iron Age at the Black Rocks, Gullane, Haddingtonshire, on 14th March 1908', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 42 (1907–8), 332–41.
- Fairhurst, H 1954 'The geography of Scotland in prehistoric times', *Trans Glasgow Archaeol Soc*, 13, 1–16.
- Fairhurst, H 1971 'The Wheelhouse site at A'Cheardach Bheag on Drimore Machair, South Uist', *Glasgow Archaeol J*, 2 (1971), 72–106.
- Fairhurst, H nd *Excavations at Crosskirk Broch, Caithness*. Edinburgh.
- Fairhurst, H & Taylor, D B 1974 'A Hut Circle Settlement at Kilphedir, Sutherland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 103 (1970–1), 66–99.
- Feachem, R W 1959 'Castlehill Wood Dun, Stirlingshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 90 (1956–7), 24–51.
- Feachem, R W 1966 'The Hill-Forts of Northern Britain', in Rivet, A L F (ed), *The Iron Age in Northern Britain*, Edinburgh, 59–87.
- Feachem, R W 1977 *Guide to Prehistoric Scotland*. 2nd edn, London.
- Fitzpatrick, A 1984 'The deposition of La Tène Iron Age metalwork in watery contexts in Southern England', in Cunliffe, B W and Miles, D (eds), *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain*, Oxford, 178–90.
- Fitzpatrick, A 1989 'The Submission of the Orkney Islands to Claudius: new evidence?', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 6 (1989), 24–33.
- Fitzpatrick, A unpublished 'Everyday life in the Iron Age'. Paper presented at the conference of the Institute of Field Archaeologists, 1991.
- Fojut, N 1982 'Is Mousa a Broch?', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 111 (1981), 220–8.
- Fojut, N 1985 'Some Thoughts on the Shetland Iron Age', in Smith, B (ed) *Shetland Archaeology*, Lerwick, 47–84.
- Foster, S 1989a 'Analysis of spatial patterns in buildings (access analysis) as an insight into social structure: examples from the Scottish Atlantic Iron Age', *Antiquity*, 63 (1989), 40–50.

- Foster, S 1989b 'Transformations in Social Space: The Iron Age of Orkney and Caithness', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 6 (1989), 34–54.
- Foster, S 1990 'Pins, Combs and the Chronology of Later Atlantic Iron Age Settlement', in Armit, I (ed), *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 143–74.
- Fulford, M G 1985 'Roman Material in Barbarian Society c200 BC–c AD 400', in Champion, T C & Megaw, J V S (eds), *Settlement and Society: aspects of West European prehistory in the first millennium BC*, Leicester, 91–108.
- Gelling, P S 1985 'Excavations at Skail, Deerness, Orkney', in Renfrew, A C (ed) *The Prehistory of Orkney*, Edinburgh, 176–82.
- Gent, H 1983 'Centralized storage in later prehistoric Britain', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 49 (1983), 243–68.
- Gillies, W 1981 'The Craftsman in Early Celtic Literature', *Scott Archaeol Forum*, 11 (1979), 70–85.
- Glob, P V 1969 *The Bog People: Iron-Age Man Preserved*. London.
- Guilbert, G 1981 'Double-ring roundhouses, probable and possible, in prehistoric Britain', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 47 (1981), 299–317.
- Guido, M 1974 'A Scottish crannog redated', *Antiquity*, 48 (1974), 54–6.
- Haggarty, A & Haggarty, G 1983 'Excavations at Rispain Camp, Whithorn 1978–1981', *Trans Dumfriesshire Galloway Natur Hist Antiq Soc*, 58 (1983), 21–51.
- Halliday, S 1985 'Unenclosed Upland Settlements in the East and South-East of Scotland', in Spratt, D & Burgess, C (eds), *Upland Settlement in Britain: The Second Millennium BC and After*, Oxford, 231–51.
- Hamilton, J R C 1956 *Excavations at Jarlshof, Shetland*. Edinburgh.
- Hamilton, J R C 1968 *Excavations at Clickhimin, Shetland*. Edinburgh.
- Hanson, W & Breeze, D 1991 'The Future of Roman Scotland', in Hanson, W S & Slater, E A (eds), *Scottish Archaeology: New Perceptions*, Aberdeen, 57–80.
- Hanson, W & Maxwell, G S 1983 *Rome's North-West Frontier: The Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh.
- Harding, D 1982 'Later prehistoric settlement in south-east Scotland: retrospect and prospect', in Harding, D (ed) *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1–3.
- Harding, D 1984 'The Function and Classification of Brochs and Duns', in Miket, R & Burgess, C (eds), *Between and Beyond the Walls: Essays on the Prehistory and History of North Britain*, Edinburgh, 206–20.
- Harding, D 1990 'Changing Perspectives in the Atlantic Iron Age', in Armit, I (ed), *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 5–16.
- Harding, D & Armit, I 1990 'Survey and Excavation in West Lewis', in Armit, I (ed), *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 71–107.
- Harding, D (ed) 1982 *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*. Edinburgh.
- Haselgrove, C 1984 'The later pre-Roman Iron Age between the Humber and the Tyne', in Wilson, P, Jones, R & Evans, D (eds), *Settlement and Society in the Roman North*, Bradford, 9–26.
- Haselgrove, C 1989 'The Later Iron Age in Southern Britain and Beyond', in Todd, M (ed), *Research on Roman Britain 1960–89*, Britannia Monographs 11, London, 1–18.
- Hawkes, C C F 1973 'Cumulative Celticity in pre-Roman Britain', *Études Celtiques*, 13 (1973), 607–28.
- Hedeager, L 1978 'A Quantitative Analysis of Roman Imports in Europe north of the Limes (0–400AD) and the question of Roman-Germanic Exchange', in Kristiansen, K & Paludan-Muller, C (eds), *New Directions in Scandinavian Archaeology*, Copenhagen, 191–216.
- Hedges, J 1985 'The Broch Period', in Renfrew, A C (ed), *The Prehistory of Orkney*, Edinburgh, 150–75.
- Hedges, J 1987 *Bu, Gurness and the Brochs of Orkney*. 3 vols, Oxford.
- Hedges, J 1990 'Surveying the Foundations: Life after Brochs', in Armit, I (ed), *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 17–31.
- Hedges, M E 1979 'The excavation of the Knowes of Quoyscottie, Orkney: a Cemetery of the early first millennium BC', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 108 (1976–7), 130–55.
- Henshall, A 1958 'The Long Cist Cemetery at Lasswade, Midlothian', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 89 (1955–7), 252–83.
- Heslop, D H 1988 'The Study of Beehive Querns', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 5 (1988), 59–64.
- Hill, J D 1989 'Re-thinking the Iron Age', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 6 (1989), 16–24.
- Hill, J D forthcoming 'Hillforts and the Iron Age of Wessex', in Champion, T & Collis, J (eds), *Recent Trends in Iron Age Archaeology*. Sheffield.

- Hill, J D forthcoming b 'Can we recognize a different European past? A contrastive archaeology of Later Prehistoric Settlement in Southern England', *J European Archaeol*.
- Hill, P 1982a 'Settlement and chronology', in Harding, D (ed) *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 4–43.
- Hill, P 1982b 'Broxmouth Hill-fort excavations, 1977–78: an interim report', in Harding, D (ed) *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 141–88.
- Hill, P 1982c 'Towards a new classification of prehistoric houses', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 1 (1982), 24–31.
- Hill, P 1987 'Traprain Law: the Votadini and the Romans', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 4 (1987), 85–91.
- Hingley, R 1984 'The Archaeology of Settlement and the Social Significance of Space', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 3 (1984), 22–7.
- Hingley, R 1988 'The influence of Rome on indigenous social groups in the Upper Thames Valley', in Jones, R F J, Bloemers, J H F, Dyson, S L & Biddle, M (eds), *First Millennium Papers: Western Europe in the First Millennium AD*, Oxford, 73–98.
- Hingley, R 1989 *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*. London.
- Hingley, R 1990a 'Boundaries surrounding Iron Age and Romano-British settlements', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 7 (1990), 96–103.
- Hingley, R 1990b 'Iron Age Currency Bars: The archaeological and social context', *Archaeol J*, 147 (1991), 91–117.
- Hingley, R 1990c 'Domestic Organization and Gender Relations in Iron Age and Romano-British Households', in Samson, R (ed), *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, Edinburgh, 125–48.
- Hodder, I R 1990 *The Domestication of Europe*. London.
- Hodson, F R 1960 'Reflections on the "ABC of the British Iron Age"', *Antiquity*, 34 (1960), 318–19.
- Hodson, F R 1964 'Cultural groupings within the British pre-Roman iron age', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 30 (1964), 99–110.
- Hunter, J R 1990 'Pool, Sanday: a Case Study for the Late Iron Age and Viking Periods', in Armit, I (ed), *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 175–93.
- Hunter, J R 1991 'The multiperiod landscape', in Hanson, W S & Slater, E A (eds), *Scottish Archaeology: New Perceptions*, Aberdeen, 178–95.
- Jobey, G 1971 'Early Settlement in Eastern Dumfriesshire', *Trans Dumfriesshire Galloway Natur Hist Antiq Soc*, 48 (1971), 78–105.
- Jobey, G 1975 'Excavations at Boonies, Westerkirk, and the nature of Romano-British settlement in eastern Dumfriesshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 105 (1972–4), 119–40.
- Jobey, G 1976 'Traprain Law: A Summary', in Harding, D (ed), *Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland*, London, 192–203.
- Jobey, G 1978 'Burnswark Hill, Dumfriesshire', *Trans Dumfriesshire Galloway Natur Hist Antiq Soc*, 53 (1978–80), 57–104.
- Jobey, G 1985 'The Unenclosed Settlements of Tyne-Forth: A Summary', in Spratt, D & Burgess, C (eds), *Upland Settlement in Britain: The Second Millennium bc and after*, Oxford, 177–94.
- Johnston, D 1989 'Carronbridge (Thornhill Parish)', *Discovery Excav Scot* 1989, 12.
- Johnston, D 1990 'Carronbridge (Thornhill Parish)', *Discovery Excav Scot* 1990, 10.
- Jones, R F J 1990 'The Newstead Project: The Archaeological Search for Acculturation', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 7 (1990), 104–13.
- Kendrick, J 1982 'Excavations at Douglasmuir, 1979–80', in Harding, D (ed), *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 136–40.
- Kilbride-Jones, H E 1937 'Early Iron Age Bloomery at Loanhead of Daviot, Aberdeenshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 71 (1936–7), 401–5.
- Kinnes, I 1987 'Circumstance not context: the Neolithic of Scotland as seen from outside', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 115 (1985), 15–57.
- Lamb, R G 1980 *Iron Age Promontory Forts in the Northern Isles*. Oxford.
- Lane, A 1988 'English migrants in the Hebrides: "Atlantic Second B" revisited', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 117 (1987), 47–66.
- Lane, A 1990 'Hebridean Pottery: Problems of Definition, Chronology, Presence and Absence', in Armit, I (ed), *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 108–30.
- Lethbridge, T C 1953 'Excavations at Kilpheder, South Uist, and the problem of brochs and wheel-houses', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 18 (1952), 176–93.

- Longworth, I H 1967 'A massive Cist with multiple burials of Iron Age date at Lochend, Dunbar', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 98 (1964–5 & 1965–6), 173–98.
- MacGregor, M 1976 *Early Celtic Art in North Britain: A Study of decorative metalwork from the third century BC to the third century AD*. Leicester.
- MacInnes, L 1982 'Pattern and purpose: the settlement evidence', in Harding, D (ed), *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 57–74.
- MacInnes, L 1984 'Settlement and Economy: East Lothian and the Tyne-Forth Province', in Miket, R & Burgess, C (eds), *Between and Beyond the Walls: Essays on the Prehistory and History of North Britain*, Edinburgh, 176–98.
- MacInnes, L 1985 'Brochs and the Roman occupation of Lowland Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 114 (1984), 235–49.
- MacInnes, L 1989 'Baubles, Bangles and Beads: Trade and Exchange in Roman Scotland', in Barrett, J C, Fitzpatrick, A P & MacInnes, L (eds), *Barbarians and Roman in North-West Europe: from the later Republic to late Antiquity*, Oxford, 108–16.
- MacKay, D 1990 'Images in a Landscape: Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Highland Clearances', in Baker, F & Thomas, J (eds), *Writing the Past in the Present*, Lampeter, 192–203.
- MacKie, E W 1969 'Radiocarbon dates and the Scottish iron age', *Antiquity*, 43 (1969), 15–26.
- MacKie, E W 1971 'English Migrants and Scottish Brochs', *Glasgow Archaeol J*, 2 (1971), 39–71.
- MacKie, E W 1972 'Some Aspects of the Transition from Bronze- to Iron-Using Periods in Scotland', *Scott Archaeol Forum*, 3 (1972), 55–72.
- MacKie, E W 1975 *Scotland: An Archaeological Guide*. London.
- MacKie, E W 1976 'The Vitrified Forts of Scotland', in Harding, D (ed), *Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland*, London, 205–35.
- MacKie, E W 1982 'The Leckie broch, Stirlingshire: An Interim Report', *Glasgow Archaeol J*, 9 (1982), 60–72.
- MacKie, E W 1983 'Testing Hypotheses about Brochs', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 2 (1983), 117–27.
- MacKie, E W 1989 'Dun Cuier Again', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 6 (1989), 116–18.
- MacNiocaill, I 1972 *Ireland before the Vikings*. London.
- MacSween, A 1985 'The Brochs, Duns and Enclosures of Skye', *Northern Archaeol*, 5–6 (1984–5). Newcastle.
- MacSween, A 1990 *The Neolithic and Late Iron Age Pottery from Pool, Sanday, Orkney*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Dept of Archaeology, University of Bradford.
- MacSween, A & Dixon, D forthcoming 'The pottery from Tofts Ness', in Hunter, J R H, Dockrill, S, Bond, J & Smith, A, *Archaeological Investigations on Sanday*.
- MacSween, A, Hunter, J R & Warren, S E 1988 'Analysis of Coarse Wares from the Orkney Islands', in Slater, E A & Tate, J O (eds), *Science and Archaeology Glasgow 1987*, Oxford, 95–106.
- Main, L 1979 'Excavation at the Fairy Knowe, Buchlyvie, Stirlingshire', in Breeze, D (ed), *Roman Scotland: some recent work*, Edinburgh, 47–51.
- Mann, J C & Breeze, D J 1988 'Ptolemy, Tacitus and the tribes of north Britain', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 117 (1987), 85–91.
- Manning, W H 1972 'Iron work Hoards in Iron Age and Roman Britain', *Britannia*, 3 (1972), 224–50.
- Manning, W H 1981 'Native and Roman Metalwork in Northern Britain: A Question of Origins and Influences', *Scott Archaeol Forum*, 11 (1979), 52–61.
- Martlew, R 1983 'The typological study of the structures of Scottish brochs', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 112 (1982), 254–76.
- Maxwell, G S 1976 'Casus Belli: Native pressure and Roman policy', *Scott Archaeol Forum*, 7 (1975), 31–49.
- Maxwell, G S 1983 'Recent Aerial Survey in Scotland', in Maxwell, G (ed), *The Impact of Aerial Reconnaissance on Archaeology*, London, 27–40.
- Maxwell, G S 1985 "'Roman" Settlement in Scotland', in Chapman, J C & Mytum, H C (eds), *Settlement in Northern Britain 1000BC–AD1000*, Oxford, 233–61.
- Mercer, R 1981 'The Excavation of an Earthwork Enclosure at Long Knowe, Eskdale, Dumfriesshire', *Trans Dumfriesshire Galloway Natur Hist Antiq Soc*, 56 (1981), 38–72.
- Mercer, R 1985a *Over Rig Excavation and Field Survey, Eskdalemuir, Dumfriesshire, SW Scotland, 1985*. Unpublished Report, Historic Scotland, Edinburgh.
- Mercer, R 1985b 'Second Millennium BC settlement in Northern Scotland', in Spratt, D & Burgess, C (eds), *Upland Settlement in Britain: The Second Millennium BC and After*, Oxford, 253–69.

- Mercer, R 1991 'The Survey of a hilltop enclosure on Ben Griam Beg, Caithness and Sutherland District, Highland Region', in Hanson, W S & Slater, E A (eds), *Scottish Archaeology: New Perceptions*, Edinburgh, 140–52.
- Merriman, N 1987 'Value and Motivation in Prehistory: The evidence for the "Celtic Spirit"', in Hodder, I (ed), *The Archaeology of Contextual Meaning*, Cambridge, 111–16.
- Moore, H 1988 *Feminism and Anthropology*. Cambridge.
- Morris, E 1981 'Ceramic Exchange in Western Britain: A Preliminary View', in Howard, H & Morris, E (eds), *Production and Distribution: A Ceramic Viewpoint*, Oxford, 67–81.
- Morris, E forthcoming 'Artefact Production and Exchange', in Champion, T & Collis, J (eds), *Recent Trends in Iron Age Archaeology*. Sheffield.
- Morrison, I 1985 *Landscapes with Lake Dwellings: The Crannogs of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
- Needham, S forthcoming 'The structure of settlement and ritual in the late Bronze Age of South East Britain'.
- Nieke, M R 1990 'Fortifications in Argyll: Retrospect and Future Prospect', in Armit, I (ed), *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 131–42.
- Owen, O 1992 'Eildon Hill North', in Rideout, J, Owen, O & Halpin, E (eds), *Hillforts of Southern Scotland*, Edinburgh, 21–72.
- Parker Pearson, M forthcoming 'Food, Fertility and Front Doors in the First Millennium BC', in Champion, T & Collis, J (eds), *Recent Trends in Iron Age Archaeology*. Sheffield.
- Parman, S 1990 *Scottish Crofters: A Historical Ethnography of a Celtic Village*. Stanford, USA.
- Peacock, D 1987 'Iron Age and Roman Quern Production at Lodsworth, West Sussex', *Antiq J*, 67 (1987), 61–85.
- Peltenburg, E J 1983 'Excavations at Balloch Hill, Argyll', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 112 (1982), 142–214.
- Piggott, C M 1950 'Excavations at Hownam Rings, Roxburghshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 82–3 (1947–8), 193–225.
- Piggott, C M 1951 'The Iron Age Settlement at Hayhope Knowe, Roxburghshire, excavations 1949', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 83 (1948–9), 45–67.
- Piggott, C M 1952 'The Excavations at Bonchester Hill, 1950', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 84 (1949–50), 113–36.
- Piggott, C M 1955 'Milton Loch Crannog I: a Native House of the 2nd century AD in Kirkcudbrightshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 87 (1952–3), 134–52.
- Piggott, S 1953 'Excavations in the Broch and Hillfort of Torwoodlee, Selkirkshire 1950', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 85 (1950–1), 92–117.
- Piggott, S 1955 'Three metal-work hoards of the Roman period from southern Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 87 (1952–3), 1–50.
- Piggott, S 1965 *Ancient Europe*. Edinburgh.
- Piggott, S 1966 'A Scheme for the Scottish Iron Age', in Rivet, A L F (ed), *The Iron Age in Northern Britain*, Edinburgh, 1–15.
- Piggott, S 1982 *Scotland before History*. Edinburgh.
- Piggott, S & Piggott, C M 1954 'Excavations at Castle Law, Glencorse, and at Craig's Quarry, Dirleton, 1948–9', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 86 (1951–2), 191–6.
- Raisen, P C 1989 'Melville Nursery', *Discovery Excav Scot* 1989, 53.
- Ralston, I 1979 'The Iron Age: Northern Britain', in Megaw, J & Simpson, D (eds), *Introduction to British Prehistory*, London, 446–501.
- Ralston, I 1980 'The Green Castle and the Promontory Forts of North-East Scotland', *Scott Archaeol Forum*, 10 (1978), 27–40.
- Ralston, I, Sabine, K & Watt, W 1982 'Later prehistoric settlement in North-East Scotland: a preliminary assessment', in Chapman, J C & Mytum, H C (eds), *Settlement in Northern Britain 1000BC–AD1000*, Oxford, 149–73.
- RCAHMS 1911 *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Caithness*. Edinburgh.
- RCAHMS 1946 *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Orkney and Shetland*. Edinburgh.
- RCAHMS 1956 *An Inventory of the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Roxburghshire, Vol 1*. Edinburgh.
- RCAHMS 1967 *Peeblesshire: An Inventory of Ancient Monuments, Vol 1*. Edinburgh.
- RCAHMS 1971 *Argyll: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, Vol 1*. Edinburgh.
- RCAHMS 1984 *Argyll: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, Vol 5*. Edinburgh.
- RCAHMS 1990 *North East Perthshire: An Archaeological Landscape*. Edinburgh.

- Rees, S E 1979 *Agricultural Implements in Prehistoric and Roman Britain*. Oxford.
- Rees, S E 1984 'A Wooden Ard-share from Dundarg, Aberdeenshire, with a note on other wooden plough pieces', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 113 (1983), 457-63.
- Renfrew, A C 1979 *Investigations in Orkney*. London.
- Renfrew, A C 1987a *The Prehistory of Orkney*. Edinburgh.
- Renfrew, A C 1987b *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*. London.
- Reynolds, D M 1982 'Aspects of later prehistoric timber construction in south-east Scotland', in Harding, D (ed), *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 44-56.
- Richards, C 1990 'The Late Neolithic House in Orkney', in Sampson, R (ed), *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, Edinburgh, 111-24.
- Rideout, J 1992a 'The Dunion', in Rideout, J, Owen, O & Halpin, E (eds), *Hillforts of Southern Scotland*, Edinburgh, 73-120.
- Rideout, J 1992b 'Gillies Hill', in Rideout, J, Owen, O & Halpin, E (eds), *Hillforts of Southern Scotland*, Edinburgh, 127-38.
- Rideout, J 1992c 'Discussion', in Rideout, J, Owen, O & Halpin, E (eds), *Hillforts of Southern Scotland*, Edinburgh, 139-44.
- Ritchie, A 1988 *Scotland bc*. Edinburgh.
- Ritchie, G & Ritchie, A 1981 *Scotland: Archaeology and Early History*. Edinburgh.
- Ritchie, J 1941 'A Keg of "Bog-Butter" from Skye and its Contents', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 75 (1940-1), 5-22.
- Rivet, A L F & Smith, C 1979 *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*. London.
- Robertson, A 1970 'Roman Finds from Non-Roman sites in Scotland', *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 198-213.
- Rowlands, M 1980 'Kinship, alliance and exchange in the European Bronze Age', in Barrett, J & Bradley, R (eds), *The British Later Bronze Age*, Oxford, 15-56.
- Russell-White, C J 1990 'Wardend of Durris (Durris parish)', *Discovery Excav Scot 1990*, 18.
- Sanderson, D C W 1988 'Scottish Vitrified Forts: TL Results from Six Study Sites', *Nucl Tracks Radiat Meas*, 14 (1988), 307-16.
- Sanderson, D C W & Placido, F 1985 'Scottish Vitrified Forts: Background and Potential for TL Dating', *Nucl Tracks Radiat Meas*, 10 (1985), 799-809.
- Scott, L 1947 'The Problem of the Brochs', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 13 (1947), 1-36.
- Scott, L 1948 'Gallo-Belgic Colonies: The Aisled Round House Culture in the North', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 14 (1948), 46-125.
- Scott, L 1950 'The Chambered Tomb of Unival, North Uist', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 82-3 (1947-8), 1-49.
- Scott-Elliot, J, Simpson, D D A & Coles, J M 1966 'The Excavation at McNaughton's Fort, Kirkcudbright', *Trans Dumfriesshire Galloway Natur Hist Antiq Soc*, 43 (1966), 73-9.
- Sharples, N 1985 'Excavations at Pierowall Quarry, Westray, Orkney', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 114 (1984), 75-125.
- Sharples, N 1991a 'Warfare in the Iron Age of Wessex', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 8 (1991), 79-89.
- Sharples, N 1991b *Maiden Castle: Excavation and Field Survey 1985-6*. English Heritage Archaeological Report 19. London.
- Shaw, B D 1985 "'Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk": The Ancient Mediterranean ideology of the pastoral nomad', *Ancient Society*, 13/14 (1982-3), 5-31.
- Shepherd, I 1986 *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Grampian*. Edinburgh.
- Smith, B (ed) 1985 *Shetland Archaeology*. Lerwick.
- Smith, I 1982 'Excavations at the Dod, 1979-81', in Harding, D (ed) *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 129-35.
- Smith, J T 1978 'Villas as a key to social structure', in Todd, M (ed), *Studies in the Romano-British Villa*, Leicester, 149-56.
- Steer, K A 1949 'An Iron Implement and other relics from Falla Cairn, Roxburghshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 81 (1946-7), 183-5.
- Stevenson, J B 1985 'The excavation of a hut circle at Cùl a'Bhaile, Jura', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 114 (1984), 127-60.
- Stevenson, R B K 1966, 'Metal-work and some other Objects in Scotland and their Cultural Affinities', in Rivet, A L F (ed), *The Iron Age in Northern Britain*, Edinburgh, 17-44.
- Stevenson, R B K 1967 'A Roman-Period Cache of Charms in Aberdeenshire', *Antiquity*, 41 (1967), 71-94.

- Stewart, M E C 1987 'The excavation of a henge, stone circle and metalworking area at Moncreiffe, Perthshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 115 (1985), 125–50.
- Stopford, J 1987 'Danebury: An alternative view', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 4 (1987), 70–5.
- Tavener, N 1988 'Bannockburn: Excavation of the Homestead in 1984', *Central Excavation Unit and Ancient Monuments Laboratory Annual Report 1988*, Edinburgh, 66–70.
- Taylor, D B 1983 'Excavation of a promontory fort, broch and souterrain at Hurly Hawkin, Angus', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 112 (1982), 215–53.
- Topping, P 1989 'Early Cultivation in Northumberland and the Borders', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 55 (1989), 161–79.
- Topping, P G 1986 'Neutron activation analysis of later prehistoric pottery from the Western Isles of Scotland', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 52 (1986), 105–29.
- Topping, P G 1988 'Typology and chronology in the later prehistoric pottery assemblages of the Western Isles', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 117 (1987), 67–84.
- Triscott, J 1982 'Excavations at Dryburn Bridge, East Lothian', in Harding, D (ed), *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 117–24.
- Wainwright, F T 1963 *The Souterrains of Southern Pictland*. London.
- Wait, G A 1985 *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain*. Oxford.
- Warner, R B 1983, 'Ireland, Ulster and Scotland in the Early Iron Age', in Connor, A & Clarke, D V (eds), *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty Five*, Edinburgh, 160–87.
- Watkins, T 1981a 'Excavation of an Iron Age open settlement at Dalladies, Kincardineshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 110 (1978–80), 122–64.
- Watkins, T 1981b 'Excavation of a settlement and souterrain at Newmill, near Bankfoot, Perthshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 110 (1978–80), 165–208.
- Watkins, T 1982 'Saint Germain's enclosure, Tranent, East Lothian', in Harding, D (ed), *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*, Edinburgh, 106–16.
- Welfare, H 1983 'Reviews: R Whimster: Burial Practices in Iron Age Britain', *Scott Archaeol Rev*, 2 (1983), 75–9.
- Welfare, H 1984 'The southern souterrains', in Miket, R & Burgess, C (eds), *Between and Beyond the Walls: Essays on the Prehistory and History of North Britain*, Edinburgh, 305–23.
- Whimster, R 1981 *Burial Practices in Iron Age Britain*. Oxford.
- Wilk, R R 1990 'The built environment and consumer decisions', in Kent, S (ed), *Domestic Architecture and the use of Space*, Cambridge, 34–42.
- Woodman, P C 1990 'A review of the Scottish Mesolithic: a plea for normality!', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 119 (1989), 1–32.
- Wordsworth, J 1991 *Balloan Park, Inverness*. Unpublished excavation report, Historic Scotland.
- Wylie, A 1991 'Gender Theory and the Archaeological Record: Why is There No Archaeology of Gender', in Gero, J M & Conkey, M W (eds), *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, Cambridge, 31–56.
- Yarrington, C H 1983 'Small finds: Pottery' in Peltenburg, E J 1983 'Excavations at Balloch Hill, Argyll', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 112 (1982), 142–214.
- Young, A 1964 'Brochs and Duns', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 95 (1961–2), 171–98.
- Young, A 1966 'The Sequence of Hebridean Pottery', in Rivet, A L F (ed), *The Iron Age in Northern Britain*, Edinburgh, 45–58.
- Young, A & Richardson, K M 1962 'A'Cheardach Mhor, Drimore, South Uist' *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 93 (1959–60), 135–73.
- Zvelebil, M 1990 'Excavations at Kildonan III (Cille Donnain Midden)', in *The Western Isles Project, 3rd Interim Report*, University of Sheffield, 3–5.

This paper is published with the aid of a grant from Historic Scotland