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A reassessment of the Anglo-Saxon artefacts from Scotland: material interactions and identities in early medieval northern Britain

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Abstract

This thesis identifies and interprets the 5th to 9th-century Anglo-Saxon artefacts found within modern Scotland. It uses them to consider material expressions of ethnogenesis and to examine political, economic and ecclesiastical relations within early medieval northern Britain. In total, 221 objects are catalogued and discussed. The earliest finds suggest contact with the changing late/post-Roman frontier, while among the latest objects is a hacked finger ring deposited in a Viking-age hoard. The corpus includes several pieces of early 6th-century Style I metalwork, a cluster of 7th-century elite gold and garnet fittings, a large number of glass beads, a group of loom weights, and a substantial body of 8th/9th-century strap-ends and pins. Many are stray finds, though material was identified among excavated assemblages from monastic, chapel, settlement, hillfort and crannog sites, and from the chance discovery of several hoards and burials.

In an attempt to move beyond a culture-history paradigm that has been deeply embedded in past work on these artefacts, this thesis employs the theories of hybridisation and entanglement, emphasising agency in the selection and reimagination of material culture in processes of identity creation. It identifies evidence for the promulgation of an elite Anglo-Saxon identity in 7th-century Lothian and argues that the region was being presented as a royal heartland. Bordering areas appear to have rejected Anglo-Saxon material culture outright, while regions further away, particularly Galloway and Argyll, were receptive to using and hybridising it. It is suggested that these differences were governed by the desire to show difference from immediate neighbours (for instance between polities within the Solway region) or create new identities (for instance incorporating former kindred-groups in Argyll). Different patterns were apparent in the 8th/9th-century finds: south-east and south-west Scotland appear to have had similar access to late Anglo-Saxon material, including a handful of high-status objects manufactured within Northumbria, while other parts of Scotland produced relatively few finds beyond imported vessel glass and a scatter of metal finds along the coast. While this might suggest a similar cultural context across southern Scotland and a contrast to that north of the Forth–Clyde, differences in deposition, particularly in the presence of hoards in the south-west, show the material was clearly being used and conceived differently. Above all else, this thesis demonstrates that no work on early medieval Northumbria should ignore material found north of the modern national border.

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Acknowledgement

Author's declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature   _____

Printed name   _____

Chapter 1   Introduction

1.1   Introduction

This chapter outlines the research context (section 1.2), aims (1.3) and interpretative approach of this thesis (1.4), and sets out the parameters (1.5) and data collection strategy (1.6) employed. It ends by setting out the format of the catalogue (1.7) and summarising the structure of the thesis (1.8).

1.2   Context

1.2.1   Early medieval Scotland

The first millennium AD saw the transformation from Iron Age to early medieval Scotland, with the emergence of the first historically-attested kingdoms and significant changes in their power, extent and identities. Popularly, early medieval Scotland has often been simplified into peoples: Britons and Anglo-Saxons in southern Scotland, Gaels in the west and Picts north of the Firth of Forth. But the period is far more complicated than this: a crucible of multiple processes of ethnogenesis and kingdom-making. A recent revolution in early medieval Scottish history has pulled down a centuries-old narrative framework and focussed on unpicking the motivations behind the creation of surviving written sources (for a summary see Fraser 2009, 1–11). Among the results of this 'new history' is a more nuanced understanding of the patchwork of political and other divisions within early medieval Scotland, and a recognition that some areas are entirely undocumented for much of the period (for instance, much of Ayrshire; Map 1.1). Increasingly, emphasis has been placed on the genesis of cultural and political identities and on discerning historicising and reinvention within primary written sources.
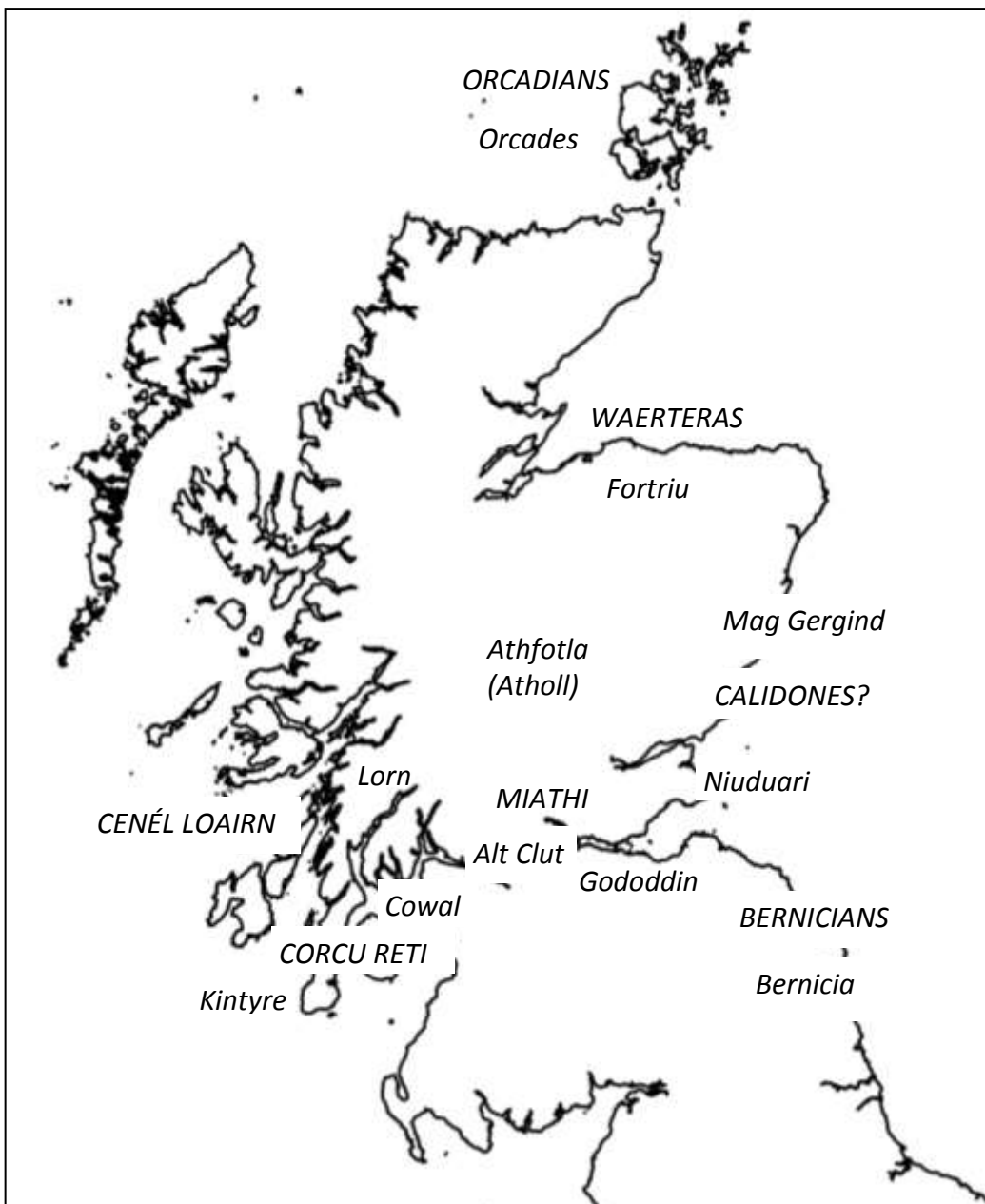
Map 1.1 Known political geography in the 7th century (after Fraser 2009, map 2.1). Kingdoms, lower case; peoples, upper case.

Within early medieval Scottish archaeology and material culture studies there has likewise been a move away from attaching ethnic labels to physical remains (apparent for instance in new approaches to what had been 'Pictish silver chains', Blackwell et al 2017; and 'British long-cists', Maldonado 2011), building on work in other fields that problematised this association (for instance Jones 1997; Diaz-Andreu et al 2005; in relation to the Anglo-Saxon migration/acculturation debate, see for instance Hills 2003; Hamerow 2005; Brugmann 2011). Many object-types used in different areas of early

medieval Scotland have also been shown to be culturally indistinguishable (Duncan 1982), further underlining that there is no simple relationship between material remains and cultural or ethnic identity. There have also been critical considerations of material culture's role in ethnogenesis in early medieval Scotland, for instance in demonstrating the creation of Gaelic identity through cultural contact rather than migration across the Irish Sea (Campbell 2001).

1.2.2   Anglo-Saxon Scotland

Bede cast Northumbria as a colonial superpower, expanding, annexing or subjugating the rest of northern Britain (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, hereafter *HE*, I:34, II:5, III:6). Historians no longer take information like this as an unbiased and reflective account of the extent, boundaries and realities of political power. Instead, considerations of the motivations behind the creation of sources have emphasised the ways in which Bede, Adomnán and others expected 'history primarily to shed light on the predestined present or future' (Fraser 2009, 5). For instance, what used to be regarded as a passive statement showing that early 8th-century Northumbria extended as far as Whithorn in Galloway is now understood to be a thoroughly Northumbrian work that actively sought to demonstrate the logic and inevitability of such an event (Broun 1991; Clancy 2001; Fraser 2002). Recent work has also sought to re-contextualise Bernician history in the wider context of north Britain (Fraser 2009), undermining a deep association between 'Anglo-Saxon' and modern 'Englishness' evident in some previous scholarship (for instance, Stenton 1971).

While historical narratives have been revisited, the archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Scotland has been somewhat cut off from work on the rest of Northumbria. There has been an apparent reluctance to cross the modern national border, evident for instance in the exclusion of Scottish data by the British Academy series on Anglo-Saxon sculpture, and from re-evaluations of burial archaeology (Lucy 1999), stray finds (Richards and Naylor 2011) and the kingdom's origins (O'Brien 2010, fig 12.1). Different legal systems governing chance finds have no doubt been a contributing factor, but even significant published objects, such as the gold sword ornament from Dalmeny in East Lothian (Bruce-

Mitford 1974, 268), seem to be poorly integrated into wider Anglo-Saxon literature. In his study of the kingdom of Northumbria, Rollason felt that 'the only really important high-status object to have been recovered from pre-Viking Northumbria is the superb helmet from Coppergate in York' (Rollason 2003, 118).

The first Anglo-Saxon objects from Scotland were recognised in 1915 in a cist burial at Dalmeny in East Lothian (Baldwin Brown 1914–15). Since then, a number of excavated sites in Scotland have produced recognised Anglo-Saxon assemblages and there have been many more stray finds made, with the result that Anglo-Saxon objects are known from across Scotland. Two previous studies have attempted to catalogue and interpret this material (Laing 1973; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996). Both adopted essentially a culture-history approach, equating objects directly with ethnicity and using distribution maps to identify areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement (see Chapter 3). Both were led by historical narratives of Northumbrian expansion into south-east and south-west Scotland. Neither study made allowance for local agency in acquiring or reinterpreting Anglo-Saxon material culture, despite clear evidence for long-distance trade (Campbell 2007) and political gift-exchange (for instance Campbell 2009). Neither study was produced by an artefact specialist, with the result that a number of erroneous objects were included. With the publication of key excavation assemblages, including Whithorn, Dunbar (East Lothian) and Dunadd (Argyll), and the reporting of a significant number of (unpublished) chance finds since 1996, the published catalogues are now out of date.

There is therefore a substantial body of material with a significant and untapped potential to contribute towards our understanding of material culture use and ethnogenesis within early medieval northern Britain. This thesis employs the skills of an artefact specialist to produce a robust catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon small finds from Scotland and applies more rigorous interpretative frameworks grounded in a critical consideration of the use of material culture in the creation of identities and relationships.

1.3   Research aims

The principal aims of this study are to:

- reassess the quantity, type, date and distribution of Anglo-Saxon small finds in Scotland;

- focus on the materiality of artefacts to explore why specific objects were chosen, used, adapted or rejected;

- compare material culture use and its role in creating changing identities, both within Bernicia and elsewhere in early medieval Scotland;

- and consider whether this material can shed light on political, economic and ecclesiastical relations between different areas.

1.4   Interpretative approach

The interpretative approach adopted in this study is considered fully in Chapter 4 and profiled here. The setting for this thesis included cultural/political borderlands, 'alien' material culture, and a fully-fledged hybrid art style, and for this reason it was hoped that entanglement, developed from post-colonial and hybridisation theory, would provide a useful way of approaching the data. Work by Campbell (2009) first applied an explicitly post-colonial approach to Anglo-Saxon material culture from the Dunadd excavation assemblage and demonstrated its value in a site-level case study. This thesis seeks to expand and refine this approach and apply it to the full corpus of Anglo-Saxon finds from Scotland.

1.5   Parameters

1.5.1   Geography

While the modern national border is meaningless for this period and the benefits of ignoring it are clear, the decision was made to restrict primary data collection to Scotland because of the constraints of a doctoral thesis. In total 221 finds from Scotland have been catalogued – to have attempted the identification, examination and cataloguing of objects from the English portion of Northumbria as well would have been unrealistic. The decision to focus only on the Scottish finds meant that better quality data was generated than would have been possible in a wider study. It was also decided to devote concerted attention to the Scottish Anglo-Saxon material culture because it seems to have been particularly neglected.

An alternative means of mitigating the effect of the modern national border might have been to restrict data collection to core areas of Northumbria on either side of it. However, this was rejected because it would have missed the opportunity to compare the use of material culture in different cultural spheres. Including the whole of Scotland allows for a broader and more nuanced discussion that encompasses a variety of peoples and kingdoms and looks at a range of local meanings and uses of the material. Instead, the problem caused by the border was addressed through the integration of English data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme into discussion of the Scottish finds in Chapter 9. Though the two datasets are not directly comparable (the English data only includes reported stray finds, not excavated sites), it is hoped that this will provide a step towards reintegrating the archaeology of early medieval northern Britain.

1.5.2   Material

Within this study, Anglo-Saxon objects are defined as: portable material culture primarily found in early medieval contexts in England, which is distinctive in some way (stylistically, technologically, or functionally) from material which is the norm in northern and western

British contexts. This definition depends on there being distinctive characteristics; not all material has these characteristics and a subsidiary aim of this study is to review whether some types (iron spearheads or clay loom weights for example) are as distinctively Anglo-Saxon as has previously been maintained.

The decision to restrict data collection to material with diagnostic characteristics meant that many finds from sites that might be regarded as culturally Anglo-Saxon (for instance, the *urbs regis* at Castle Park, Dunbar in East Lothian) have been excluded. In most parts of England, an early medieval finds assemblage would be regarded, de facto, as Anglo-Saxon; it would include both a Style II fitting and an undiagnostic iron bolt. The burden of proof there would lie with demonstrating that finds should be excluded (for instance as heirlooms or imports). For most parts of Scotland, this would clearly be inappropriate. But the decision was taken to be consistent and apply the same criteria, requiring some diagnostic design, style or use, to all the material considered here. To do otherwise would have meant relying heavily on a very imperfect historical record; it is unclear for instance when sites like Dunbar or Whithorn could be regarded as culturally Anglo-Saxon. The approach adopted here also allowed for a consideration of what it means, in portable material culture terms, to have embraced (or adapted) an Anglo-Saxon identity.

It was assumed that only a proportion of the objects, and perhaps a relatively low one, would be culturally identifiable and for this reason it was decided to attempt to include as much as possible, rather than pre-emptively restrict data collection, for instance to decorated metalwork only. In some cases it was the object's form and function rather than its decoration that indicated Anglo-Saxon influence (for instance plain buckles) and a more restricted approach would have further have underestimated the amount of material. Both previous surveys of the finds (Laing 1973; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996) included non-decorated and functional items and it was necessary to consider them in order to critique their inclusion. Furthermore, such domestic and functional items have previously been interpreted specifically as evidence of settlement, and this too required critical reinterpretation that was best achieved by inclusion. The emphasis on exploring the social significance of material in this thesis means there is a tendency to focus on the objects of dress in later discussions, although other material is approached from this perspective where possible.

All categories of portable objects were included, including coins (though there was no attempt to critically engage with past numismatic identifications). Sculptured monuments were specifically excluded because at present there is no full published catalogue of the Scottish find spots; to generate a catalogue of the sculpture and small finds would not have been possible within the constraints of a thesis. The date range (5th to 9th centuries) was chosen because it encompasses what has in the past been seen as Northumbrian 'rise, expansion and decline', and as such provides an opportunity to compare the amount and types of material over differing historical contexts.

The definition also encompasses objects that were imported into Anglo-Saxon England from elsewhere. This was deliberate because these objects a) provide a further stream of evidence that may indicate contact between Anglo-Saxon world and early medieval Scotland, and b) may have carried associations with, or been perceived as part of, Anglo-Saxon material culture. It is possible however, particularly given evidence for trade between the Irish Sea area and western France (Campbell 2007), that this imported material reached Scotland without coming via England, and for this reason it was deemed important to distinguish it within the catalogue and discussion (see section 1.7, below). This approach proved beneficial, allowing different distributions of insular- versus continental-made glass beads to be identified, and suggesting a revision to previously proposed arrival mechanisms for glass vessels (see Chapter 7, section 7.3.5).

The data includes material from excavated archaeological contexts and stray finds, either found casually or recovered with a metal detector. This latter body of material lacks archaeological context and detailed location information and this necessarily places limits on its interpretation. Secure identification and dating of material without archaeological context can also be problematic. This contributes to biases in the data towards decorated material and means that particular categories of material such as undecorated iron work are certainly underrepresented.

Variable metal-detecting activity and excavation across Scotland have both had a substantial impact on the data collected in this thesis. The impact is particularly apparent for the 8th/9th centuries, where almost all of the recorded metal objects are chance finds. The absence of later material (in particular) from some regions, including the central-west, Argyll and Aberdeenshire, seems likely to have been affected by find-

recovery patterns. For the first time, it has here been possible to compare Scottish finds data to metal-detecting activity generally, thanks to the publication of research instigated by the Treasure Trove Unit and Historic Environment Scotland (Ballie 2016). This report represents the first attempt to quantify the level of detecting across Scotland, and it has allowed some of the impact of reporting-bias on the data collected in this thesis to be identified. However, this report demonstrated that the trajectory of detecting is complicated, varying regionally but also within regions over time. Whilst very useful, the way in which data was presented in the 2016 report (with regions treated as blocks rather than individual cases plotted) means it is difficult to unpick some of the impact within large administrative regions.

1.6   Data collection

The first stage in data collection was to collate material published in the two previous surveys (Laing 1973; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996), and to critically examine their identifications and reasons for inclusion. Excavation reports from early medieval sites in Scotland were then reviewed. Further relevant material was identified within the Scottish Treasure Trove records, and the National Museums Scotland's (NMS) collections catalogue was interrogated for material which had been previously identified but missed by the published surveys. Glass beads were identified as a priority area for more in-depth data collection. In the published catalogues, beads fared particularly poorly, with post-medieval trade beads included and typologically Anglo-Saxon beads excluded (see Chapter 7 and Blackwell and Kirk 2016). They were therefore prioritised, and the NMS collections of miscellaneous beads (accession sequence x.FJ) were combed thoroughly. Practically, this task was aided by the organisation of the NMS collections which meant that a large number of the beads were classified and stored together.

A database was created following an evaluation of data recording needs. This included information concerning the find location, source and precision of find-spot information, identification, description and current location of the finds, and archaeological context

information where available. Further fields were used for tracking progress of the study, such as check boxes recording examination, photography, and writing up of the material. Queries were generated as needed and tailored to specific interrogation requirements.

It was not possible to examine all material in person, though most was seen first-hand. Material has been examined unless stated otherwise at the start of the initial description in the catalogue. Examination of NMS collections was comprehensive, except in a few cases where material could not be located. This was deemed the best use of limited resources as it was the location of the majority of identified material. It was also facilitated by the author's role at NMS from 2008 onwards. Several large but poorly catalogued collections of stray finds in NMS holdings from productive sand dune sites (from Stevenston Sands in Ayrshire, and Glenluce Sands in Dumfries and Galloway) were also subjected to a preliminary examination to identify any material deserving further study, although in practice very little was identified in this way.

The decision to focus data collection on the NMS's collections meant that local museum holdings have not been fully exploited. Work by Hoffman (unpublished report) identified a number of the Anglo-Saxon beads included here, demonstrating the value of thoroughly combing local collections. But this decision did mean that it was practical to invest time in NMS' substantial miscellaneous bead holdings, and that resulted in a significant number of new identifications. Some material outside NMS collections was examined first hand. This was prioritised in terms of potential for adding new information (in part dependent on the quality of existing published information), the number of finds, and the likelihood that they were relevant to the thesis.

The extended period in which this thesis was undertaken (2005–2008, then part-time 2016–2018) has had both positive and negative impacts on the data collection and research results. Years spent working at NMS during the course of this research meant that it was possible to make the most of their collections and undoubtedly contributed to a more rounded understanding of Insular early medieval archaeology. But it also impacted on data collection. Stray finds were combed thoroughly over the whole duration (as the author provided specialist reports to Treasure Trove Unit), but excavations published between 2009 and 2015 have not been as comprehensively combed and it is possible that a small number of finds may have been missed as a result.

In addition, a number of finds were found too late to be included, principally the 'Galloway hoard', discovered in 2015 and acquired by NMS in late 2016, and excavation assemblages from sites at Rhynie (Aberdeenshire) and Aberlady (East Lothian), on which post-excavation analysis is ongoing.

1.7   Catalogue

The catalogue is presented in full as an electronic appendix, and summarised by object type in Chapters 6–8. Each catalogue entry presents the following information: find spot and grid reference, description and dimensions of the object, a summary of the archaeological context (if applicable), and relevant references. A longer section then follows which discusses the object's identification and dating, including relevant parallels and comparable material. The catalogue numbers are comprised of a three digit number preceded by a letter which indicates whether the material can be identified as Anglo-Saxon (**A**, total 91), possibly Anglo-Saxon (**B**, total 60), imported from the continent (**C**, total 70) or hybrid (**D**, total 10). Material which has previously been identified as Anglo-Saxon, but which has been re-identified and disregarded here is indicated by the prefix **E** (total 18). The order of the entries within these five divisions of the catalogue is not significant. The catalogue numbers are referred to in bold in both the text and catalogue. Most objects were given a separate catalogue entry. The exceptions include a group of beads (**A001**, likely to have formed a necklace unit, though each bead is discussed individually within the entry in the format **A001.1**) and several large loom-weight assemblages. It was not feasible to catalogue each fragment or loom weight because of the size of the assemblages, so a summary is presented instead with references to full details in the published reports.

Catalogue entries with the prefix **E** describe objects previously identified as Anglo-Saxon but rejected here. Some of these identifications were simply erroneous, such as the post-medieval trade bead (**E004**) and prehistoric 'napkin ring' (**E006**). It also includes material for which there is insufficient information to justify inclusion in category **B**, for instance

because the objects are lost or because they are simply not distinctive enough to warrant inclusion (eg **E008**). These objects are noted in the introduction to the finds chapters (Chapter 6–8) but are not discussed in detail there. Full reasons for exclusion are provided in the catalogue entries.

1.8   Thesis structure

Chapter 2 reviews the prevailing historical narratives concerning Northumbria's interaction with the rest of northern Britain that have underpinned almost all past interpretations of Anglo-Saxon material culture in Scotland. Recent reinterpretation of some written sources is also considered, particularly the recognition of and adjustment for Northumbrian source bias, and new approaches to the origins of Bernicia. The aim of this chapter is to provide background but also a critical review that highlights the limitations of primary sources and secondary narratives, and the potential for other evidence streams, including material culture.

Chapter 3 reviews past approaches to Anglo-Saxon small finds from Scotland in more detail and compares them to work on comparable material from Wales and Ireland. As well as examining the studies by Laing (1973) and Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly (1996), it profiles more recent work by Campbell (2009) in which a post-colonial approach was applied to Anglo-Saxon material culture from Dunadd. Chapter 4 develops the theoretical basis for this approach further and considers the development of concepts of hybridity into entanglement theory. It reviews other post-colonial approaches to the archaeology of post-Roman Britain in order to highlight potential issues. The theoretical approach adopted in this thesis is then summarised.

Chapter 5 presents an overview of the Scottish Anglo-Saxon finds data, followed by regional summaries. These provide archaeological context for excavated finds and discuss patterns in distribution. Chapters 6–8 discuss the objects themselves in more detail, focusing on social significance and use where possible. The objects are divided into: decorated and decorative metalwork (Chapter 6), glass vessels and beads (Chapter 7) and

weaving, weapons and coins (Chapter 8). These divisions were determined by the quantity of material in the different categories. In these chapters, information contained in the catalogue (provided as an electronic appendix) is synthesised and summarised.

Chapter 9 contextualises the patterns and trends identified within the regional and artefact discussions in the wider picture of early medieval northern Britain. It is organised by region and split into several chronological periods. It considers whether some finds might be indicative of political control or cultural character, and examines some of the motivations behind the use of Anglo-Saxon objects. Chapter 10 concludes the study by summarising its findings, reflecting on the success of the research, and identifying areas for future work.

Chapter 2   Northumbria and northern Britain: a historical review

2.1   Introduction

Document-based historical frameworks have in the past driven interpretation of Anglo-Saxon material culture from Scotland, with focus directed at gauging the date and extent of Northumbrian expansion into southern Scotland and charting political domination over the polities of the Britons, Gaels and Picts. This chapter reviews prevailing narratives and new perspectives on Northumbria's interaction with the rest of northern Britain. It does not attempt to chart the historiography of all of early medieval Scotland, nor to set out primary developments in kingdoms other than Northumbria; instead, that broader context is integrated into the discussion presented in Chapter 9. Here, attention is focussed on understanding the background to past work on the Scottish Anglo-Saxon finds, and considering why they have consistently been interpreted from a primarily Northumbrian point of view.

In general terms, 20th-century historiography focussed on constructing a framework for Bernician expansion into south-eastern Scotland from a scattering of references to battles, particularly from the reign of Aeðilfrith (c 592–616) onwards (see section 2.2.1). Debate primarily concerned which of this series of poorly recorded events should be accorded primacy. Work since then has problematised their interpretation or tended to situate these conflicts in the context of the Northumbrian kingdom's origins (2.2.2) and cultural and linguistic character (2.2.3). Narratives of Northumbrian expansion into south-western Scotland (2.2.4) have also faltered because of a similar absence of explicit historical information. Debate here has centred on the significance of a royal marriage and the interpretation of Bede's statement concerning the elevation of Whithorn to a Northumbrian see. Discussion of Northumbria's involvement with polities north of the Firth of Forth (2.2.5 and 2.2.6) has tended to focus on the exile of Aeðilfrith's sons to the Gaels and Picts as the context for the establishment of overlordship. Bede's use of a classical trope borrowed from Virgil has coloured much of the historiography of Northumbria during the 8th and 9th centuries (2.3). Political instability and dynastic

change (2.3.1) have been seen as characterising the period, causing the Northumbrian gaze to turn away from the rest of northern Britain. More recent historiography has highlighted continuing interaction with the polities of early medieval Scotland, evident in recorded instances of exile and alliance (2.2.5 and 2.2.6). Attention on the later 9th century has focused on establishing the character of what have been termed Northumbria's successor states (2.3.2), following the arrival of the Great Army in 867. The themes of the chapter area summarised in the conclusion (2.4).

2.2 Pre 8th century AD

'The developing scale of Northumbrian ambition is the principal theme of political and military developments across the British Isles for most of the 7th century' (Charles-Edwards 2003, 35).

Bede relates in *Historia ecclesiastica* (hereafter *HE*) that the Northumbrian kingdom extended north to the Firth of Forth (*HE* IV:26), but there is no explicit historical evidence for the processes or date by which Bernicia expanded her influence northwards. This has led to a search for events and circumstances in the historical record which might provide some explanation, most (reflecting the amount of attention devoted to his activities by Bede) involving the Bernician king Aeðilfrith (see Map 2.1 for one presentation of some of the evidence considered below).
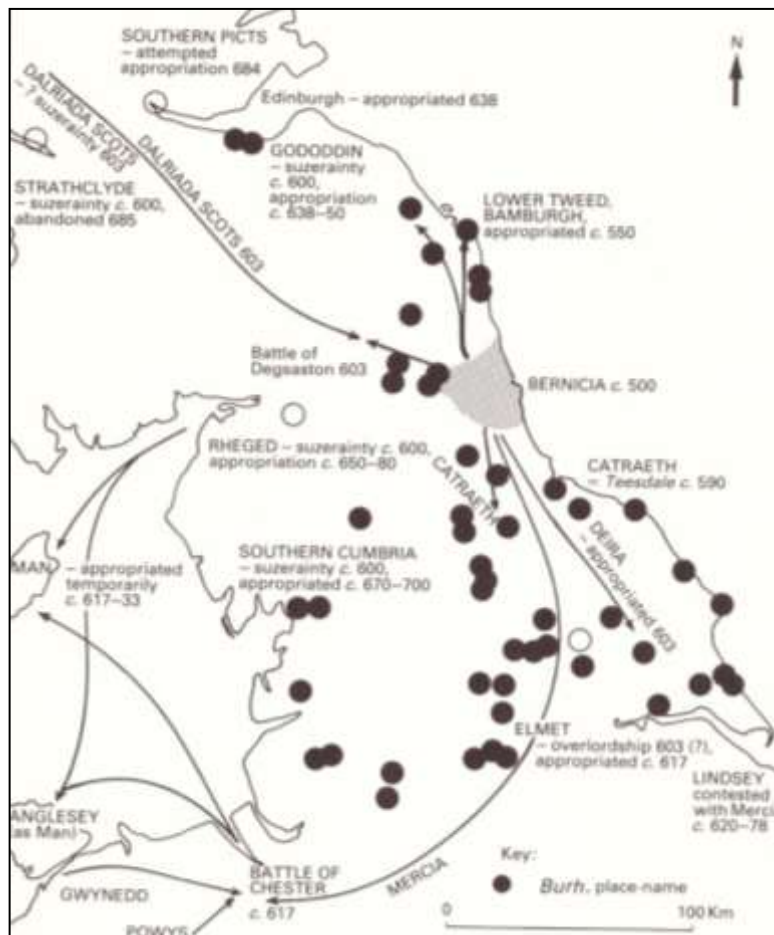
Map 2.1 One attempt to map the expansion of Bernicia (Higham 1986, fig 6.3).

2.2.1   Battles

Aeðilfrith's defeat of Áedán mac Gabrán, king of the Corcu Réti of southern Argyll, at the Battle of Degaston in 603 (*HE* I:34) has been seen by some as a significant turning point in the consolidation of Bernician control and settlement of the British territories between the Tweed and the Forth (Hunter Blair 1954, 158; Smith 1983, 9–10; Map 2.1). The location of the battle remains unclear: a traditional link with Dawston in the Scottish Borders is unsatisfactory (Hunter Blair 1954, 157 n 2), and a potential alternative suggested in Addinston, Berwickshire (Smith 1983, 9). Over a century after the battle, Bede regarded Aeðilfrith's victory as so total as to end Gaelic attempts to make war with England until his own day, though the death of the king's brother and almost all the forces he controlled indicates it was costly for both sides. One of Áedán's two sons, Conaing, bore a name of Old English derivation, perhaps suggesting an Anglo-Saxon familial connection that might have bearing on his involvement in the conflict (Fraser 2009, 122). Motivation has also been sought in a detail within the *Life of Saint Columba*, relating a battle between Áedán and the Miathi (which might be equated with the

Maetae located by Ptolemy north of the Antonine wall) during the final quarter of the 6th century that could have brought Áedán into the eastern side of the Scottish central belt (Hunter Blair 1954, 155; Alcock 2003, 140). Recently, Fraser felt less need to explain this conflict, seeing it as one of a series of battles fought for late 6th-century control of the north British zone that consolidated Aeðilfrith's position and probably his personal power over British territories in East Lothian (Fraser 2009, 154–5).

The British defeat at the Battle of *Catraeth*, lamented in *Y Gododdin* and usually identified with Catterick, is not closely datable but may also have occurred during Aeðilfrith's reign. Hunter Blair thought it likely to have marked 'an important step in the process which eventually led to the complete isolation of the north Welsh [of south-eastern Scotland]' (Hunter Blair 1954, 154). He and others thought that lack of mention of Bernicia indicated that the battle was fought before the foundation of the kingdom, a conflict between the *Gododdin* and the *Deiri* over what would become Bernicia (Hunter Blair 1954, 146; Dumville 1988, 2; 1989, 48–50). Fraser has since suggested an alternative explanation: that Bernician defeat in 616 at the battle of the River Idle meant they were in no position to engage in this particular conflict (Fraser 2009, 131).

Events at *Catreath* have often been interpreted as a battle that pitched the Britons against the English, characteristic of the period's hostilities, though one radical re-interpretation has suggested that the main protagonists in the battle were the Gododdin and Rheged, albeit with English allied to both sides (Koch 1997, xxxix–xli, xlvii–xlviii; reviewed by Padel 1998, 46). At the root is a century of (unresolved) debate about the position of *Y Gododdin* as a source for the early medieval north: in essence whether it was based on a prototype written in 6th-century northern Britain, or composed *de novo* in medieval Wales. Several recent studies have reaffirmed that certain types of content – principally some personal names, basic plot-lines and place names – seem to be authentically northern and early (Dunshea 2012, 99–136; Clancy 2012). But *Catreath* is only rarely mentioned in the more archaic B-text and the idea that the main subject of *Y Gododdin* is a single event at *Catreath* has little to do with this putatively archaic recension (Dunshea 2012, 136, 141–2; O Hehir 1986). *Catreath* may have held poetic appeal because of its etymology, perhaps 'battle shore', with this explaining its later promotion to the forefront of the later A-text (Padel 1998; Dunshea 2012, 144). The equation between *Catreath* and Catterick, generally accepted as unproblematic, also

remains feasible rather than certain; Dunshea has suggested that *Catreath* may instead be a kenning, one of a series of cad– compound descriptors in medieval Welsh literature (such as *cadlew*, 'battle lion'; here perhaps 'battle shore' might refer to a battle-line), and not a specific place-name or event at all (Dunshea 2012, 145–7).

Following conflict at Chester in 615 during which clerics and a British king were killed, Aeðilfrith succumbed to defeat and death at the hands of the East Anglian king Readwald in 616. Aeðilfrith's young sons were sent into exile to the north: Eanfrith to the Picts, and Oswald and Oswy to the Gaels (*HE* III:1; see 2.2.5 below). Far less is known about the northern activities of Aeðilfrith's successor Edwini – the only reference by Bede is to a visit to *villa regia Ad gefrin*, identified as Yeavering (Hunter Blair 1954, 159), but this seems to be because he knew little about the king's martial activities generally (Fraser 2009, 131). Nonetheless, Edwini is regarded as having established himself over much of Aeðilfrith's northern hegemony (as well as establishing his own over much of southern Britain), marrying one of his daughters to a son of Neithon, a putative Miathian king seeking to ally himself against the Bernician royal line with whom his predecessor had been in conflict (Fraser 2009, 136).

This episode underlines the role of Deiran–Bernician dynastic struggles in the conflicts in northern Britain and undermines Bede's later rewriting of the era into straightforward Anglo–British enmity. Bede's sense of a coherent Anglo-Saxon Northumbria has been further deconstructed by the reinterpretation of evidence from the *Historia Brittonum* (hereafter *HB*) by James Fraser. The *HB* names four kings that fought Bernicia during the reign of Theodoric in the 570s, but Fraser has suggested synchronising history may instead here describe the activities of his nephew Aeðilfrith. He proposed an alternative list of multi-ethnic Bernician kings: British Urbgen and perhaps Guallauc in power before Aeðilfrith, and Catguollaun reigning after Edwini's death in 633 until defeated by Oswald (Fraser 2009, 127, 167). Catguollaun may have been reacting to Edwini's suppression of Guallauc's son, Ceretic, the last king of the British kingdom of Elmet in Yorkshire. This reconstruction evokes the potentially multi-ethnic identities of both Bernicia and Deira at various points during the 6th and 7th centuries (see 2.2.2, below).

On returning from exile, Aeðilfrith's son Oswald appears to have become embroiled in the same three-way Bernician, Deiran and north British power struggle of the previous

generation, defeating Catguollaun near Hexham (Fraser 2009, 166). Oswald was attributed as uniting Bernicia and Deira into a single people, though it was achieved by his brother Oswy and later by Oswy's sons; likewise claims of Oswald's power over the Gaels and Picts might also be erroneous, resulting from attempts to cast Oswald as the model of a saintly king (Fraser 2009, 171). Hunter Blair saw friendly relations established with both the Gaels and Picts during exile as important in securing control of land between the Tweed and Forth. He also suggested that south-eastern Scotland was absorbed rather than conquered given the few explicit records of war in the region (Hunter Blair 1954, 162). Charles-Edwards argued that though Aeðilfrith's reign laid the foundations for expansion beyond a restricted territory around Bamburgh and Lindisfarne, the Lothians were not brought under Northumbrian control until the reign of Oswald (Charles-Edwards 2003, 42).

Kenneth Jackson and then Charles-Edwards gave pre-eminence to an event recorded only in a two word entry – *obsessio Etin* (Jackson 1959; Charles-Edwards 2003, 42) – in Irish Annals that we now know were composed at Iona (Bannerman 1968). More recently, the idea that this putative besieging of Edinburgh was a crucial move in Bernician expansion north into the Lothians has been critiqued: it is not clear who was besieging whom, nor what the result was (Rollason 2003, 89). The single prominence of the event is now less well accepted and it is instead usually seen as only one (though often the final) event in an ongoing series of (unrecorded) battles that together resulted in Northumbrian control of south-eastern Scotland (eg Higham 1986, 262; Fraser 2009, 171). Fraser has also suggested that the *obsessio Etin* mirrors the siege (14 years later) of Iudeu, where Oswy held (or probably more accurately was confronted) at a preeminent (but unidentified) British site in the Forth region (known as the Sea of Iudeu), and where he stayed rather than face Penda and his British allies (Fraser 2009, 185–6). Later that year Oswy fought a pitched battle with Penda near Leeds; the Iona Chronicle *obsessio Etin* entry is sandwiched between two that pertain to Oswald that include his death in pitched battle at the hands of Penda, suggesting a connection is being eluded to. In any case, pitched battles decided matters of subjugation and territorial control, not sieges, further undermining the prominence of the *obsessio Etin* in narratives of Northumbrian expansion (Fraser 2012).

2.2.2   Bernicia's origins

There have been attempts to get past this handful of recorded military campaigns to look for bigger processes behind the growth of Bernicia. Models have been suggested that include the possibility of semi-peaceful transition, that emphasise the potentially economic motivations behind what is still be regarded as a predominately violent expansion, or that problematise the very nature of expansion from a putative Anglian 'core'. Increasingly, the roots of Bernicia have been recognised as crucial to understanding its subsequent development and recently there have been some significant shifts in the interpretation of written sources for earliest Bernician history.

Traditionally, Bernicia's origins were linked to a small territory centred on Bamburgh and Lindisfarne, founded by Ida in 547 (Hunter Blair 1947, 43; Stenton 1971, 76). Stenton interpreted the *HB* as implying that for a generation after Ida the Bernicians 'could do little more than hold their fortified positions on the Northumbrian coast' (Stenton 1971, 76). Fraser has suggested a different reading of the kingdom's origin legend, envisaging a scenario in which Ida had only recently (at time of writing of the *HE* in the early 8th century) supplanted a tradition of descent from Aeðilfrith (Fraser 2009, 149–54); his rationale lies partly in recognition that the account of Ida in *HB* anticipates a unified Northumbria, a product of the later 7th century, together with analysis of the use that Bede makes of both Ida and Aeðilfrith, and recognition that Bamburgh, Ida's supposed stronghold, is named for Aeðilfrith's wife Bebba. This switch probably resulted from the supplanting of the Aeðilfrith dynasty by the Ecgwulfings with the death of Osred in 716.

Orton and Wood have highlighted the superficial nature of the origin legends for both Deira and Bernicia and the lack of any reference to migration, and stressed the potentially ambiguous and 'mongrel' nature of early Bernicia: these 'dynasties, and indeed the Northumbrian peoples in general, did not present themselves as incomers with origins on the continent' (Orton and Wood 2007, 111). Fraser too has raised the possibility that the first Bernicians were Britons who became Anglo-Saxons through acculturation, noting as others have that *Berneich*, Latin *Bernicii*, appears to be British in origin, perhaps referring to the topographical gap between the Lammermuir and Cheviot uplands (Fraser 2009, 152). Indeed, it appears that Anglo-Saxons conceptualised Deira and Bernicia differently to Britons – while the *HB* implies they are territorial descriptors, Bede and the *Vita*

Wilfithi speak about them as tribal units; this difference may be one reason why territorial borders are difficult to reconstruct (Orton and Wood 2007, 108–9). The high medieval diocesan boundary between York and Hexham has been taken to show that Bernicia's southern border lay on the River Tees (Hunter Blair 1947), though recently this has been complicated by the suggestion that the Deiran Oswine came from the Tyne, within what is understood to be Bernician territory (Orton and Wood 2007, 109).

There are no written sources to indicate the age of the British entity that supposedly gave its name to Bernicia. The survival of earlier names might indicate a desire to present indigenous identity, in which they were not alone – the kingdom of Kent also uses an older term, though in combination with a more elaborate origin legend (ibid). In addition to the kingdom name, the survival of British names for what became Anglian powercentres has also been suggested to indicate a take-over of existing power structures and, presumably, 'their associated administrative, political and social networks' (Alcock 2003, 45). Although he did not explore how such a take-over could have been effected, Alcock contrasted it with the focus on conflict apparent within Bede, suggesting it may have been a more peaceful process than the *HE* implies. Here, Alcock may have been drawing on Hope-Taylor's interpretation of excavations at Yeavering. Hope-Taylor, the site's excavator, saw evidence for:

> 'a harmonious relationship between the native population and a minute, governing Anglo-Saxon elite, itself susceptible and responsive to formative influences from its British environment … consistent with .. an English overlordship which, from a very early stage, had been found mutually convenient and congenial' (Hope-Taylor 1977, 282).

Fraser has argued that the retention of British names demonstrates the polyethnic nature of early Bernician hegemony rather than characterising specifically the nature of a distinct takeover (2009, 153). He also highlighted that, notwithstanding the Anglo-British conflict trope in written sources, the Mercian and West Saxon kingdoms were created from 'Anglo-British hegemonies in which British participation could be pronounced' (Fraser 2009, 155). His suggestion that several British kings claimed suzerainty over Bernicia both before Aeðilfrith and after Edwini (ibid, 167; see 2.2.1, above) further complicates the political and ethnic identity of the kingdom and region during the late 6th and early 7th centuries.

Some of the historical revision concerning earliest Bernicia has sought context within the archaeological record, highlighting the lack of early Anglo-Saxon finds north of the Humber, and particularly north of the Tees, and limited stable isotope analysis from West Heslerton that demonstrates limited evidence for Germanic incomers and indications of a mobile British population moving eastwards (Orton and Wood 2007, 108–109; Budd et al 2004). There has also been growing focus on seeking the origins of Bernicia in local elites in and around the forts of Hadrian's Wall following the disintegration of high-level military administration (eg Collins 2011; 2012). Some have proposed the continuation of the *limitanei* troops after withdrawal of the more mobile *comitatenses* units as one source for developing Bernician warbands (Orton and Wood 2007, 113–4). In the 2nd and 3rd centuries some members of the Wall garrison thought of themselves as *Germani*, though the absence of later inscribed stones means we lack evidence of a conscious Germanic identity in the 5th century (Orton and Wood 2007, 114). Collins employed Occupational Community Theory to show how a martial identity originating in *limitanei* could underpin the development into an elite war-band (Collins 2011; 2012). Tony Wilmot suggested that continuation of customary levies for maintenance of the *limitanei* could have brought alliance with tribal leaders or development into a new self-sustaining community with a hereditary leader (Wilmot 1997). These theories fit well for the vicinity of the Hadrianic frontier but not for areas to the north where absence of contemporary evidence has led to a focus on the continuity of Brittonic names for key sites and explanations of kingship 'built on a geography of British power centres' (O'Brien 2010, 113).

Rollason (2003) has provided perhaps the most comprehensive consideration of the emergence of Northumbria, suggesting three alternative models and reviewing evidence for and objections to each. His models can be simplified as: emergence through peaceful handover by the late Roman administration (model 1), peaceful transition from native sub-Roman kingdoms (model 2) or violent transition resulting from an incoming English population seising control and decimating local populations (model 3; Rollason 2003, 65–109). Rollason marshalled archaeological, historical and place-name evidence in order to assess what model, or combination of models, best fit the kingdom, but his conclusions were equivocal. Archaeological evidence was interpreted as supporting models 1/2 but was at odds with historical evidence for inter-ethnic conflict, which Rollason only partly ascribes to later embryonic nationhood evident in Bede. The result was that, in his opinion, models 1 and 2 found some support but were difficult to disprove, while model

3, implying Bernicia was Anglicised by something approaching genocide, was reasonable (Rollason 2003, 109). His discussion of the evidence tended to refer to British and Anglian speakers/material culture users as distinct entities, rather than recognising the potential for bilingualism or hybridisation, the middle ground that has emerged from recent reinterpretations of early Bernician history.

2.2.3   Bernicia's 'cultural cores'

Among others, Rollason has defined two distinct royal heartlands in Bernicia on the basis of historical references associating places with kings or recording substantial grants of land to monasteries: a northern region around Bamburgh–Lindisfarne, and a southern region on the Tyne–Wear (Rollason 2003, 48–53). Evidence for the northern heartland includes Bede's assertion of a royal presence at Bamburgh, Yeavering and Milfield; cropmarks suggestive of a further high-status site at Sprouston; presumed or documented royal involvement in establishing monasteries at Lindisfarne, Melrose, Jedburgh and Coldingham; and indications in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* of substantial royal grants to Lindisfarne in the Cheviots, the Tweed Valley, and around Warkworth on the River Coquet at the coast. Though mapped with the northern heartland around Bamburgh (Map 2.2), Rollason discusses the region to the north of the Tweed only in terms of establishing Northumbria's borders (Rollason 2003, 32–4); it lies beyond his defined heartland and is not considered further.

Various attempts have been made to identify early medieval land organisation in what is today the English part of this northern heartland, splitting it into a number of putative 'shires', clockwise, north to south: Norhamshire, Islandshire, Bamburghshire, 'Bromic', Gefrinshire, Yetholmshire (O'Brien 2002; Barrow 1973; Clack and Gill 1980; Dixon 1984; Jolliffe 1926). Place-name evidence has, like the material culture evidence reviewed in the next chapter, been used by some to gauge the chronology and extent of Anglo-Saxon settlement within these regions (eg Nicolaisen 2001; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996, fig 1).
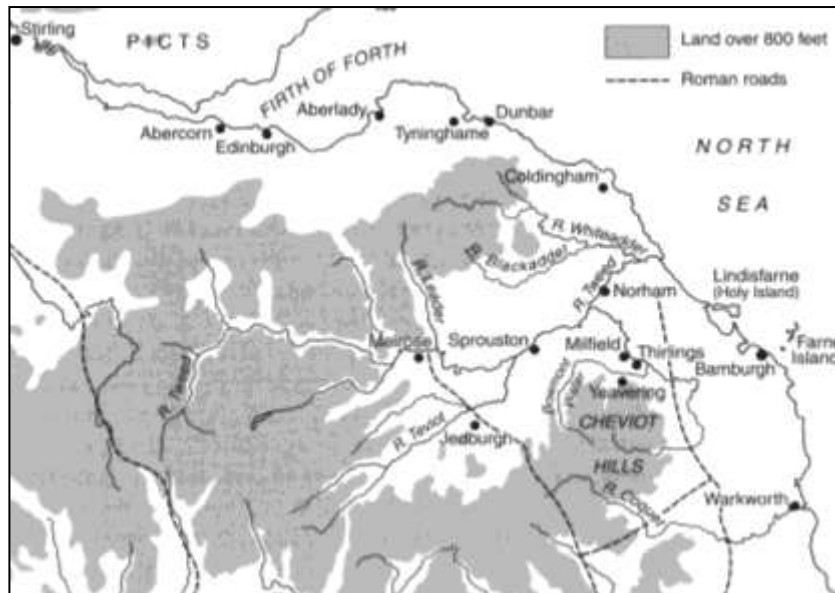
Map 2.2 Bernicia's northern heartland and frontier (after Rollason 2003, map 5). Coldingham is included in the heartland, with territory to the north regarded as a frontier.

One recent study (Wood 2011) used place-names to demonstrate localised patterns of language-use in the region, with English-speaking cores, Brittonic-speaking cores, and a range of degrees of linguistic interaction in between. Wood attempted to identify 'early' (5th–7th century) Old English names, to map them with the distribution of material Anglian remains, and to compare this with comparable Brittonic evidence in order to look for areas of mutual exclusion (evidence of Anglian or British presence) and overlapping distributions (indicative of interaction or linguistic hybridisation). Tellingly perhaps, Wood slips from 'Old English-speakers' to 'Anglian presence' part-way through his study (eg compare Wood 2011, 38 and 62).

Concentrations of potentially early Old English names were identified by Wood in the mid-Tyne basin, the coastal lands surrounding Bamburgh, and the mid-Tweed basin; density was greatest in middle valley zones rather than coastal areas (Wood 2011, 48; 50). There was significant variation between and within regions (which he based around major river valleys), variation that he linked to different processes of Anglian–Brittonic interaction. The Bamburgh coast and the mid-Tweed valley (around the valleys of the Bowmount, Kale and Oxnam) were termed cultural cores with potentially 'early' (5th–7th century) place-names, though both areas also apparently showed evidence of linguistic interaction (Wood 2011, 52–4). Immediately adjacent areas – to the west of Bamburgh,

comprising O'Brien's (2002) proposed shire of *Gefrin* around the Rivers Till and Glen, and to the west of the Oxnam in the upper Tweed valley – were characterised as primarily Brittonic: few Anglian names were identified, restricted to poor soils on the periphery (Wood 2011, 63–5). East Lothian was identified as an area of Anglian-Brittonic interaction, with core hybrid areas in the Pefferburn and Tyne valleys. An apparent correlation here between place-name and archaeological evidence (the latter now out of date) suggested 'Brittonic continuity and an interaction with an Anglian presence in the 6th and 7th centuries, although the form of this interaction is unclear' (Wood 2011, 66). Using his methodology, East Lothian could equally be regarded as an early (pre-7th century) core Anglian area, or one dating to the mid to late 7th century (ibid, 54).

The chronological uncertainty in place-name analysis, rightly expressed by Wood, relates in part to shifts in the interpretation of supposedly early elements, particularly in northern Northumbria. Previous attempts to gauge early Anglian settlement have tended to highlight the lack of pagan-related place-names, together with a lack of convincing examples of supposedly early –ingas and –ing names, as indicating a lack of settlement during the pagan period (eg Nicolaisen 2001, 92–3). For several reasons this reasoning can now be rejected, not least because the distribution of pagan name elements in the rest of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is extremely patchy (Hough 1997, 148–9): none at all have been recognised from Northumbria or East Anglia (Hough 1997, 149).

There has also been a major revision in the chronology of Old English settlement place-names: –ham and –ingaham elements are now thought to be earlier than –ingas and –ing names (Hough 1997, 149–50). There are three generally accepted examples of –ingaham names (together with several more that have been rejected; Nicolaisen 2001, 92–95; Fraser 1982, 26; Gelling 1988; Hough 1997, 150; Hough 2001), all found in south-eastern Scotland: Coldingham (Berwickshire, thought to relate to the 'Coludesburg' featured an Anglo-Saxon chronicle dated 679), Tyningham (East Lothian, 'Tininhami' in the Lindisfarne Annals of 756) and Whittingham (East Lothian, first documentary mention not until 1254). Recent work suggests however that relatively late northern formations of –ingaham (and –ham) names relate to English-speaking communities dependent on monastic estates rather than early pioneer settlements (James 2010), further muddying the waters and questioning the use of place-names to date Northumbrian control. These northern – ingham names ('the estate of the people dependent on the minster') probably post-date

a shift in the location of Anglo-Saxon monastic foundations that is observed in Northumbria from the 670s: a move away from sites capable of sustaining only a modest community to fertile lowland sites with large land endowments (Woolf in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 168). While it is now apparent that seeking 'early' pioneer settlement in place-name form is simplistic, Old English place-name evidence has much to contribute. A Leverhulme-funded project at the University of Glasgow ('Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland') will, over the next few years, undertake systematic place-name study of Berwickshire, including investigation of the development of the Old Northumbrian dialect and cross-border comparison with names in northern England.

2.2.4   Northumbrian expansion into south-west Scotland

Northumbrian expansion into south-western Scotland has usually been linked to Bede's record of the elevation of Whithorn to a Northumbrian see by the early 8th century (*HE* III:4). It has generally been assumed that Bede's statement indicates Northumbrian control of what is now Dumfries and Galloway by 731, but, as for south-eastern Scotland, there is very little historical evidence to suggest how and when this was achieved. Recent work has revisited the sources surrounding Whithorn's promotion and produced important implications for the region that have not yet been fully dealt with by historians or archaeologists (see below). In the absence of written information, sculptured monuments and place-names have been used to map influence and control (for instance Craig 1991; Nicolaisen 2001; Brooke 1991; see also Chapter 3).

Because of the dearth of other information, one historically-recorded event has been prominent in the regional narrative: a marriage between Oswy, prior to his taking up the Bernician kingship in 642, and a woman named Rieinmelth, a member of the ruling family of the shadowy kingdom of Rheged and probably the mother of Oswy's two children. An 8th-century Northumbrian genealogy within the *HB* and the Durham *Liber Vitae* identify Oswy's wife and queen as a descendent of the British king Urbgen who had been in conflict with Oswy's father and who perhaps had for a time claimed kingship of Bernicia (Fraser 2009, 176, 167). Following the marriage, there are no further written references to Rheged (though there were in any case very few from before it); debate has centred

around whether this marriage was the event which marked a switch in control of Rheged, or whether it was merely part of a bigger process, enabling alliance between the two areas (Charles-Edwards 1989, 32) or cementing peace between two hostile kingdoms (Cramp 1995, 11). Other marriages involving Oswy and Irish and Anglo-Saxon princesses are recorded, indicating the political or diplomatic role these relationships played. Rieinmelth's grandfather was said to be at the Deiran king Edwini's baptism, and Fraser has raised the possibility that her mother was of Deiran descent, perhaps providing Oswy's son Alchfrith with the means later to claim the throne (Fraser 2009, 178). One potential context for Oswy's annexation of territory towards the end of his reign is apparent conflict with his son Alchfrith, perhaps over the nomination of the bishop of York. Alchfrith's British kin may have invoked conflict through their support of son over father (Fraser 2009, 178, 193).

When Deira and Bernicia had reverted to rule by their respective dynasties in 642, Oswini, son of Osric, took the Deiran crown. Rather than re-establish York as an episcopal seat, Oswini sought close ties with Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, perhaps as a means of placating his Bernician neighbour (Fraser 2009, 179). But Oswy was not placated: several years of strife culminated in the death of Oswini after which Oswy installed his nephew, Oiðilwald son of Oswald, as Deiran king; the mother of this son in unknown, but possibilities include a Gaelic or British mother (Fraser 2009, 181). Oiðilwald betrayed his uncle and allied with Penda, though royal marriages between the children of Oswy and Penda imply Mercia acknowledged the extent of Oswy's *imperium* (Fraser 2009, 182).

The *Vita sancta Wilfrithi* (*VW*) provides information that has been used to gauge the western extent of Northumbria during the reign of Ecgfrith (670–85). Recently, Clark (2011) revisited a well-known passage that describes Wilfrid's reading of a list of lands bequeathed to him during a church consecration (*VW* 36). It includes places that have been equated with the River Ribble at Preston (or alternatively Ribbleton or Ribchester), Yeadon near Otley or another lost, western Yeadon (literally 'steep hill'), Dent township in the parish of Seburgh, Lancashire, and a number of instances of Catlow in Lancashire (Clark 2011, 199). Clark suggested that most if not all of this list of (putatively identified) places had recently become part of western Northumbria (Clark 2011, 200). These grants to Wilfrid were likely to have been politically motivated, part of a process of annexation (Roper 1974) that created monastic centres to provide 'new foci of lordship associated

with Anglian Northumbria' (Clark 2011, 120). Parallels may include Oswy's giving of six Deiran estates (as well as six in Bernicia) to the Iona *familia* to establish monasteries, demonstrating he possessed considerable estates beyond his own kingdom, perhaps seized from supporters of his deposed nephew (Fraser 2009, 188).

Clark interpreted Wilfrid's grants within a framework of frontier theory, in which a frontier is seen as a series of processes encompassing 'land taking' and 'boundary setting' that she invokes here, as well as 'species shifting', 'market making', 'state forming' and 'self-shaping'. Without a great deal of evidence either way, Clark argued for British continuation at these granted Christian sites, despite the *Vita*'s reference to the flight of British clergy, seeing western Northumbria as an area of interaction and frontier 'self-shaping' (Clark 2011, 121). Clark also suggested that the description in the *Vita Wilfrithi* of many great men attending the consecration provides a sideways glance at how western Northumbria might have affected the 'core' (Clark 2011, 121). Northumbrian kings commenced a feast 'amid the people, showing magnanimity towards their enemies' which she suggested implies its principal aim was to 'reinforce the collective identity of the upper echelons of Northumbrian society', and that British leaders may have been present (Clark 2011, 122).

Several important recent studies have reinterpreted the sources for Whithorn's elevation, and unpicked the relationship between the saints Ninian and *Uinniau,* recognising that the former was a scribal error for the latter. Attention has focused on the motives behind the composition of a lost saint's life and miracles, the common source (probably composed 720/30) behind the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* and the *Vita Niniani* and, less directly, the information provided by Bede (Clancy 2001; Fraser 2002; 2009; Broun 1991). Fraser concluded that this lost source 'appears, not surprisingly, to have been a thoroughly Northumbrian hagiographic work in terms of context, purpose, and employment of Wilfrithian imagery and allegory', a text which sought to promulgate a sense of continuity between the Northumbrian see and an existing cult (Fraser 2002, 58). Posthumous miracles bestowed the founder's approval on the Northumbrian foundation, one of a number of elements of the text linked by the common purpose of 'demonstrating the logic of the establishment of a Northumbrian bishopric at Whithorn'; it is unclear whether this was retrospective justification after the elevation or a pre-emptive promotion of Whithorn's credentials (Fraser 2002, 57). Clancy's work has also

undermined the long-standing acceptance of Whithorn's Pecthelm as Bede's direct source of information, with Fraser suggesting the lost work was instead composed (and subsequently digested for Bede) at another Anglo-Saxon monastery, potentially Hexham, using materials written (hastily, given the scribal error) in Galloway (Clancy 2001; Fraser 2002, 54). Unravelling the motivations behind the creation of these sources has substantial implications. A case for deliberately created continuity can be made, in the appropriation of a local saint to create a place and person that logically supported Whithorn's elevation to a Northumbrian see, and it can no longer be regarded as an unbiased source for political control of the region.

2.2.5   Relations north of the Forth

Narratives of Northumbrian relations with the peoples north and west of the Forth–Clyde isthmus have tended to have two foci: the exile of Aeðilfrith's sons and the implications for and results from this situation; and Bede's statement of Oswald's imperium over the Gaels and the Picts and resulting discussion regarding the degrees and realities of overlordship. Attention has focussed on the Gaelic exile of Oswald and Oswy because of their later achievements and the consequences of conversion whilst in Dál Riata, but Eanfrith's exile to the Picts was also significant, producing a son and Pictish heir, Talorcan, whose reign began in the 650s. Hunter Blair saw the exile of Aeðilfrith's sons as leading to friendly relations between Dál Riata and Northumbria, rather than as a result of pre-existing relations (Hunter Blair 1954, 160), though they would surely need to be secure in order to permit the exile to happen. As noted above, one of Áedán's sons bore a name of Old English derivation, perhaps suggesting a pre-existing connection (Fraser 2009, 122).

Moisl (1983) drew together other evidence to suggest connections between the Bernician and Dál Riatan royal houses as early as the late 6th century and provide an alternative motivation for the Battle of Degaston. The E version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle attests to a Germanic battle leader, Hussa, fighting on the Irish side in 603. This figure could be Northumbrian or from elsewhere in England or the continent, but Moisl supports Bannerman's earlier identification with the Hussa who preceded Aeðilfrith in the Bernician regnal list, suggesting he was a former royal protagonist hoping to regain the

kingship (Moisl 1983, 114; Bannerman 1974, 87, 98). This suggests an alternative context for the battle of Degaston, a result of internal Bernician politics and Dál Riata's implication in supporting a rival contender, rather than Northumbrian expansion into the Lothians. It also raises the question of whether Oswald also had help from Dál Riata in assuming his kingship; Moisl thought this likely because of Oswald's Iona patronage and because his fighting in Ireland should have demanded reciprocity (Moisl 1983, 116).

2.2.6 Northumbrian overlordship

When Oswald returned south in 634 to take up the Bernician kingship he had spent more than half his life living with the Gaels. Bede attributes overlordship of the Picts and Gaels to Oswald, describing him as emperor of the whole of *Britannia* with the exception of Kent: 'all the *nationes* and kingdoms of *Britannia*' 'the British, Pictish, Gaels and English' accepted his word (*HE* II:5, III:6), though Bede may be conflating events from the reign of his successor Oswy, and his sons after him (Fraser 2009, 171). The roots of overlordship might lie in Oswald's putative protection of Iona, perhaps extended to the Cenél nGabráin in exchange for tribute (ibid, 172). Later, Oswy's influence may have helped the kings of Kintyre hold the Corcu Réti kingship successively (Fraser 2009, 184). Oswy had demanded tribute from his nephew Oiðilwald in Deira as a sign of allegiance, and it is possible that a similar arrangement was in place with his other nephew Talorcan, part of his 'imperial technique in districts adjacent to Bernicia' (Fraser 2009, 185).

Talorcan was active in Stirlingshire, suggesting that Eanfrith's host was a southern Pict; Fraser has gone as far as to suggest that Fife may have been settled by Bernicians and become the centre of Northumbrian power among the Picts (Fraser 2009, 158, 184–85). Oswy was twice in the Forth region when attacked by Penda, requiring him to surrender his riches, presumably tribute, for redistribution to Mercia's British allies (Fraser 2009, 186). Soon after, a repeat of the conflict brought a different result, with Oswy's defeat of Penda at the battle of *Winwaed*. This is the last record of Northumbria facing a major British alliance, and according to the *Annales Cambriae* within a year Oswy 'came and took plunder', presumably from Penda's British allies (Fraser 2009, 187).

Thomas Charles-Edwards explored different levels of tributeship, overlordship, and domination. The minimum was reconstructed as political and military co-operation, expressed, in particular, in relation to the acceptance or refusal of exile (Charles-Edwards 2003, 41). Charles-Edwards terms this status 'light domination', although this seems unwarrantedly one-sided for a relationship that in his own words 'was close to a straight alliance' (Charles-Edwards 2003, 55); the use of this terminology in the north might be seen as symptomatic of a Northumbrian-centric bias. Charles-Edwards' next level of overlordship required tribute, a less honourable state than the provision of hospitality and food for the royal party which also entailed access to the king. Charles-Edwards regarded Oswald's overlordship of the Gaels and Picts as probably of the 'light domination' type, which increased in harshness during Oswy's reign with the requirement of tribute, a policy that continued under Ecgfrith (Charles-Edwards 2003, 42). He saw this change in relations as related to the enforcement of Roman rather than Celtic doctrine following the Synod of Whitby in 664 (Charles-Edwards 2003, 42–3).

David Dumville, in considering the terminology of overkingship in early Anglo-Saxon England generally, has also highlighted the tendency to see through the overlord's eyes only: 'this approach is highly prejudicial, and distorts our perception of early Anglo-Saxon kingship (Dumville 1997, 346). Dumville focused on relationships between Anglo-Saxon polities (including between Bernicia and Deira), rather than specifically Northumbria's relations with Dál Riata and the Picts, but he made several relevant points. Overkingship would be difficult to transmit to a successor as 'it has no natural unity' unlike kingship, which could be subdivided whilst the nation remained as a unit (Dumville 1997, 349). This points to the personal nature of relations and suggests it is wrong to generalise about Northumbrian overlordship over the course of a century when it would need to be re-established and re-affirmed by each ruler, and presumably repeatedly during their reign.

Generally speaking, Dumville sees overlordship as usually established through military defeat, although he also points out that 'the reputation of an overking might be such that other, less powerful kings would wish to seek him as their lord' (Dumville 1997, 349). Rather than see this alternative simply occurring in cases of relations between powerful versus weak kingdoms, it may also be an option where a kingdom is suffering from dynastic or political turmoil. This might be achieved by marriage alliance, as possibly in the case of Northumbria and Rheged (see 2.2.4, above). However, Dumville also suggests

a further mechanism: 'a relationship of spiritual kinship' (Dumville 1997, 349). While Bede saw the authority of Wilfred, bishop of York, as extending as far as did Oswy's *imperium*, the *Vita sancta Wilfrithi* maintains his *regnum ecclesiarum* extended over the Britons, Picts and Gaels, suggesting he regarded bishops from across early medieval Scotland as under his authority (Fraser 2009, 196). The reality of these claims is doubtful but it suggests that secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction need not necessarily be coterminous, even if only aspirational, and that Oswy's support of York might even be viewed as an attempt, couched in ecclesiastical terms, to bolster conformity to his authority (Fraser 2009, 196; Charles-Edwards 2003, 42–3). Regardless, the anonymous *Vita sancti Cuthberti* gives the impression that Cuthbert's travels to the *Nuiduari*, perhaps in Fife, were nothing extraordinary. There is no evidence that borders between peoples were barriers to ecclesiastic or secular travel and relationships between monasteries and ecclesiastical *familiae* may well have had little to do with political machinations of churches or people (Fraser 2009, 196–7).

2.3 8th–9th centuries

'From this time the hopes and strength of the English kingdom began to ebb and fall away. The Picts recovered their own land which the English had formerly held, while the Irish who lived in Britain and some part of the British nation recovered their independence, which they have now enjoyed for about forty-six years. Many of the English were either slain by the sword or enslaved or escaped by flight from Pictish territory.' (*HE* IV:26)

In describing Ecgfrith's defeat at Dún Nechtain in 685, Bede quotes Virgil's *Aeneid* – 'to ebb and fall away' (McClure and Collins 2008, 408). This Classical trope has become embedded in narratives of the period, the battle a turning point in Northumbria's history, heralding a shift of gaze away from the north and the beginning of decline. But the reality of this situation remains unclear. Northumbria's northern borders after 685 seem to have stretched from the Forth or the Ochils in the East to the Solway in the west, encompassing Whithorn and its environs (Fraser 2009, 216). Bede tells us that the abbot

of the Northumbrian monastery at Abercorn had to flee (*HE* IV:26), but the implications for both the monastery and surrounding Lothian territory following this defeat have had less attention than the processes by which it was gained in the first place (for instance, Thomas 1984). Sculpture from Abercorn, dated stylistically to the 8th century, attests to subsequent flourishing of the monastic establishment.

The end of the 7th century has also been seen as a watershed in relations in northern Britain, after which the different *gens* became increasingly distinct and increasingly coherent as political and ethnic entities (Fraser 2009, 232). According to Bede, Ecgfrith's successor Aldfrith, who had spent time as a monk at Iona and received visits from Adomnán, 'ably recovered the destroyed state of the realm, albeit within narrower limits' (*HE* IV:26). Moisl suggested the Irish were instrumental in Aldfrith's succession, that he was in effect installed by the Pictish–Dál Riatan alliance opposing Ecgfrith, with Uí Néill involvement (with whom he was most likely related through his mother; 1983, 121–23).

Plague arrived in the 660s and was combined with political and economic uncertainty in Northumbria in the later 7th century and continuing succession crises following Aldfrith's death in 704 (Fraser 2009, 221, 265). Following a siege at Bamburgh, one of the protagonists in this crisis, Eadwulf, went north into exile, perhaps to the Picts (Fraser 2009, 265–6). Aldfrith's young son Osred succeeded – that he and his monk-father held the kingship shows both the power of their dynastic connection and how much kingship had changed in the years since Aeðilfrith; neither could have been effective military leaders and much must have been delegated. In 711, Osred's guardian Berctfrith led Northumbrian forces into Manau, probably in the region around Falkirk (Fraser 2009, 272). Berctfrith may have been a kinsman of Beornhaeth, a subject king of Ecgfrith based, Fraser has suggested, in Fife (2009, 200). This raises the possibility of a dynasty based just beyond the Forth that was closely allied to Northumbria for several generations.

2.3.1   Ecgwulfings

With Osred's premature death in 716, the Aeðilfrith dynasty came to an end. It was succeeded by the Ecgwulfings, but only after a period of political instability and succession crises that saw the kingship switch repeatedly back and forth. Their claim

involved undermining Aldfrith's legitimacy, combined with the promotion of Ida as Bernician founder; before this dynastic change, Ida seems likely to have been but an obscure ancestor in the Aeðilfrith lineage (Fraser 2009, 268–9). Bede is reticent about the change in dynasty, making no comment on the morality of Osred's death, though it is noticeable in the *HE* that Aeðilfrith plays a far more important role than Ida, perhaps implying an opinion (Fraser 2009, 307). Bede's *Prose Life of St Cuthbert*, written around 721, envisages a British threat sufficiently serious for Bede to raise the possibility of Lindisfarne being brought under British overlordship, despite its proximity to Bamburgh (Stancliffe 2007, 24, 28). Stancliffe saw the threat as emanating from Strathclyde which might have been in a position to exert overlordship over part of Bernicia (ibid). The Roman road east from Carstairs to Peebles and the Biggar Gap perhaps exposed Bernician Tweedale to attack from the west (Stancliffe 2007, 35).

While during the 7th century it may have been possible to be British but accept an English king, especially one that used terms such as the king of Bernicia, by the 8th century it appears that a sense of Englishness was developing in opposition to Britishness (Stancliffe 2007, 36). Bede's statements in the *HE* about the nature of relations within northern Britain in his day indicate he was not concerned by Dál Riata, despite the kingdom having regained its independence after Dún Nechtain. Nor was he worried about the Picts, with whom there had been sporadic conflict since Dún Nechtain until their defeat in 711, following which there had been good ecclesiastical relations and a peace treaty concluded after 728 (Fraser 2009, 307). But this peace did not last; the forced abdication of the Northumbrian Ceolwulf in 737 and Onuist's victories in Atholl, Fortrui and Argyll placed him in a position to challenge the Ecgwulfing Eadberct (737/8–758). Onuist may also have given refuge to Acca who had been expelled in 731, a provocative move (Fraser 2009, 309; he may also have hosted Eadwulf in 705).

In 740 Northumbria was faced by dual war: with the Picts to the north and with Aeðilbald of Mercia, the former perhaps related to a supported attempt to gain the throne for Eadwulf. Eadberct may have been forced to buy treaty through tribute, but in the midst of internecine dispute amongst the Picts, he apparently annexed Kyle (Ayrshire) in 750. Woolf has linked Bede's *Cuneningum* with Cunninghame in Ayrshire, suggesting Eadberct's campaign may have been a re-conquest of territory lost in 685 (Woolf 2007, 4). Prior to this extension, Woolf places Bernicia's western frontier at the Lowther Hills that

separate Nithsdale from Clydesdale; after it, Bernicia bordered British territory associated with Al Clut and probably comprising Clydesdale, the Lennox around the shores of Loch Lomond, Renfrewshire, Peebles and parts of Ayrshire and Stirlingshire (Woolf 2007, 5). There is a substantial gap in surviving sources and this kingdom is undocumented for a century following the death of its king in 760, but whether this is simply a product of source survival or reflects political control partitioned between Northumbria and Pictland is unclear (ibid). By the mid-8th century, Bernicia was divided into three dioceses with bishoprics at Hexham, Lindisfarne and Whithorn. While the boundaries between the first two lay along the Aln and the watershed of the Cheviot Hills, the division between the latter is less clear, though Woolf notes that at the 12th-century revival of the Whithorn diocese it corresponded roughly to the counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown (Woolf 2007, 4).

The 8th century has been characterised as an age of Northumbrian political instability, but this may be a product of source bias together with the power of the notion of decline after 685. Bede paints a fairly rosy picture of the 7th century, presumably to create contrast with his own era, while the Northern Annals give prominence to disruptive events (Rollason 2003, 195). Numismatic evidence on the other hand suggests economic buoyancy, with Aldfrith's Northumbria involved in trade reaching along the east-coast and across the North Sea (Metcalf 2006, 154). With Eadberct's abdication came forty years of dynastic strife, including battle between the Deiran-based Moll and a presumed Bernician rival at Edwini's Cliff near the Eildon Hills in 761 (Fraser 2009, 322). Moll was deposed in 765, the year after a sufficiently bad winter and famine for the chronicles to record it, and replaced by a Bernician with lineage drawn from Ida (Fraser 2009, 324, 330). When he in turn fled, he went north to the Picts, to be replaced briefly by Moll's son and then by another Bernician, a grandson of Eadberct. Though the forty years following Moll's accession have been characterised as a time of 'inter-dynastic strife… characterised by royal murders, humiliation, exile and disinheritance (Fraser 2009, 321), Rollason has suggested the 8th century may not be quite as tumultuous as it appears, highlighting the role of the aristocracy and church in sustaining political stability (Rollason 2003, 198, 208).

2.3.2   *Northumbrian successor states*

The later 8th century saw the beginning of Viking incursions. Sea-borne attacks were nothing new – the Orkney and Shetland Isles had been savaged by Verturian attacks in the late 7th and 8th centuries, perhaps creating a situation that aided Norse elements to take advantage (Fraser 2009, 345). After the two recorded attacks within Northumbria, on Lindisfarne in 793 and *Donamuthe* in 794, the lack of historical sources inhibits assessment of Viking activity in early 9th century. The Great Army twice attacked York, in 866 and 867, killing the reigning kings and plundering the region around the Tyne before heading south. The return of part of the army in 876 under Halfdan brought the establishment of the Viking kingdom of York between the Tees and the Humber. Viking activity to the north was sporadic, and the territory split between the liberty of St Cuthbert (based first at Lindisfarne and then at Chester-le-Street) and what seems to have become an earldom ruled from Bamburgh. The northern kings based at Bamburgh seem to have become independent of the Scandinavian York kingdom before 912 (MacLeod 2015, 3).

Chronology for this period is very confused and events are hard to follow (Woolf 2007, 68). The south-west of Scotland is a particular gap, with no historical indication concerning the situation in Ayrshire (Woolf 2007, 86). Stycas from Galloway suggest that the economy and royal control was maintained until the mid-9th century (Woolf 2007, 70), while various strands of evidence suggest that Northumbrian society remained intact until the first decade of the 10th century in some parts of the kingdom west of the Pennines (Woolf 2007, 85). Some have suggested Scandinavian mercenaries had a role in protecting churches at Whithorn (Hill 1997; Hill 1991), Kirkcudbright and perhaps Auldhame (East Lothian; MacLeod 2015, 16), perhaps in return for granted estates (Fellows-Jensen 1991, 90). In effect, Scandinavian kings ruled much of southern Scotland for the most of the first half of the 10th century, though an attack in 941 on Lothian suggests the claim to the most northerly part of the former Northumbrian kingdom had to be re-established (MacLeod 2015, 4). Rollason attempted to assess the survival and evolvement of Northumbrian political, cultural and ethnic identities in the successor states and concluded that the regions north of the Viking kingdom of York were not radically different in cultural or ethnic terms, and with some elements of the political organisation consciously reflecting the former kingdom of Northumbria (Rollason 2003,

214–55, 249). Northumbria's 'heartlands' were left intact, with the successor states proving 'an object lesson in how the essential characteristics of a kingdom were not destroyed just because its political unity were fractured' (Rollason 2003, 255).

2.4   Conclusion

Until recently most historical narratives of early medieval northern Britain were focussed on Northumbrian domination: the dating of Anglian expansion into southern Scotland and overlordship of the Gaels and Picts. More recently there has been increasing awareness of the limitations and bias of the textual sources, and attempts to read between the lines for what they tell us about the motivations and context in which they were written. In particular, Fraser has contextualised Bernician history within the north British zone, emphasising its potentially multi-ethnic kingship, while recent work on the origins of Bernicia suggest they lie in a complex 'ethnic milieu' comprising late Roman, British and Germanic elements. As a result, there are 'decreasing expectations of clear archaeological distinctions between Britons and Anglo-Saxon newcomers in those parts of Briton that lay outwith the 'civil' lowland zone' (Fraser 2009, 152–3). The classical trope adopted by Bede has had a significant impact on later historiography. Despite references to exile and treaty in the later 7th and 8th centuries, many have downplayed Northumbrian relations in the north after the battle of 685. The limitations of later sources have hindered understanding of the political and cultural character of the 9th century, but some see only limited change in the post 867 successor states.

Chapter 3   Anglo-Saxon small finds from Scotland: a review

3.1   Introduction

There have been two previous attempts to catalogue and interpret Anglo-Saxon small finds from Scotland, published in 1973 and 1996. The interpretation within these general surveys and the main excavation assemblages are reviewed below (see section 3.2). Comparable work on the Anglo-Saxon small finds from Wales (3.3) and Ireland (see 3.4) is also reviewed. The themes of the chapter are summarised in the conclusion (3.5).

3.2   Anglo-Saxon finds from Scotland

Two general studies have catalogued the Anglo-Saxon small finds from Scotland, the first by Lloyd Laing in 1973, the second by Christopher Aliaga-Kelly and Edwina Proudfoot in 1996. Both sought to provide an overview of the quantity and nature of the artefactual evidence and to interpret it within prevailing historical frameworks. More recently, a third general survey (Campbell 2009) provided some broad observations on the small-finds evidence, building partly on research conducted by the author during the course of this thesis, without presenting a catalogue. This study developed Campbell's earlier research on the Dunadd excavation assemblage (Lane and Campbell 2000), and pursued an explicitly post-colonial approach, quite different to the interpretative framework employed by the 1973 and 1996 studies; for this reason it is considered separately below.
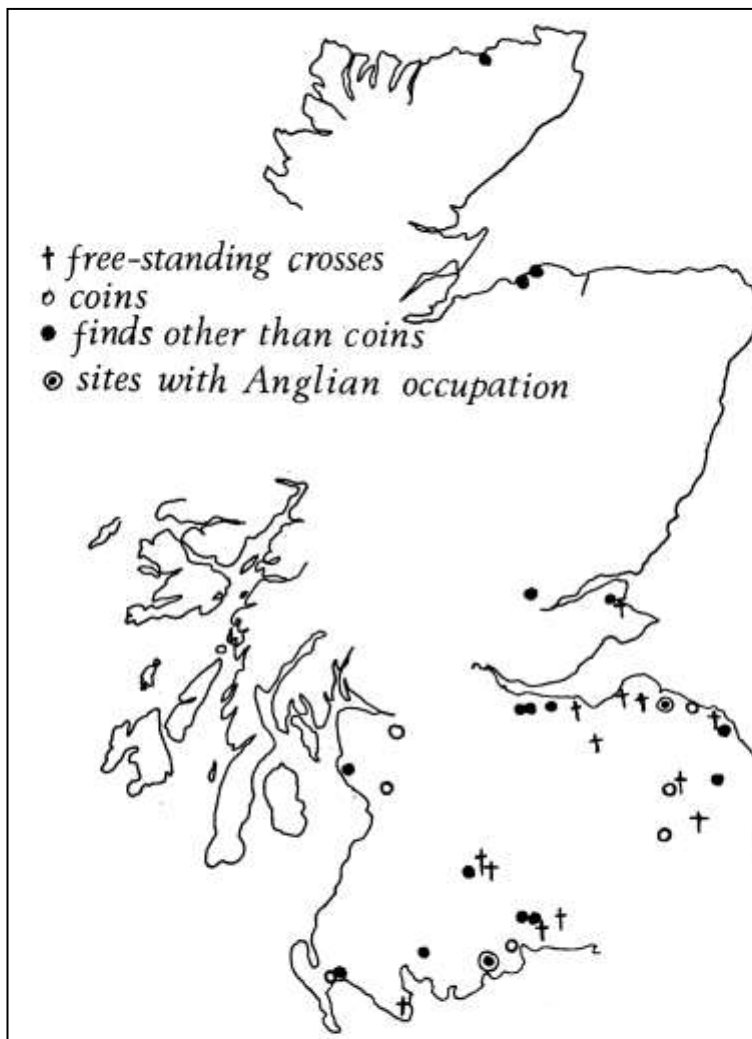
Map 3.1 Anglo-Saxon finds, sculpture and sites catalogued by Laing (1973, fig 3).

Laing's 1973 study attempted to provide context for Anglian material from his excavations at the Mote of Mark (Map 3.1). Although a number of these 1973 Mote of Mark identifications were later disregarded in the full excavation report (Laing and Longley 2006), this preliminary study is important as the first attempt to gather together the whole Scottish corpus of Anglo-Saxon objects, including stray finds without archaeological contextual information. Aside from the Mote of Mark, Laing included 18 objects and some coin finds. He noted difficulties in identifying relevant glass beads and included only those that he felt were most distinctive (Laing 1973, 45), though these in fact include a post-medieval trade bead (**E004**; Blackwell and Kirk 2016). Other identifications, for example the Cullykhan spindle whorl (**E014**), were made tentatively, and some, like the Collin Moss whetstone (**E018**), were far from convincing.

Laing mapped the finds' distribution and compared it with Anglo-Saxon sculptured monuments, as in his view 'virtually all the archaeological evidence for the Anglo-Saxon settlements and occupation of Scotland takes the form of sculpture…' (Laing 1973, 44). His intention was to use material culture to map the extent of the Northumbrian presence in Scotland, and his results produced an 'expected pattern', with the main concentration in the south-east, predominately in coastal areas, with a further concentration in Dumfries and Galloway (Laing 1973, 49, fig 3). Material from northern Scotland was regarded as largely the result of Viking activity, though he conceded that historically-attested links between Pictland and Northumbria in the 8th century 'may have led to a certain amount of trading …' (Laing 1973, 45).

The most comprehensive corpus of the Scottish Anglo-Saxon finds was published by Edwina Proudfoot and Christopher Aliaga-Kelly in 1996 (Map 3.2). This followed a similar approach to Laing and built on Aliaga-Kelly's earlier thesis (1986) that had attempted a multidisciplinary study of the Anglian occupation of south-eastern Scotland, drawing on historical evidence, place-names, the archaeological record (though with limited engagement with small finds) and the topography of the region. Aliaga-Kelly's 1986 thesis sought evidence for pre-existing settlement and economy in south-eastern Scotland, involving a complicated reconstruction of estates and comparison with work undertaken on Wales. Together, this suggested to him continuity in south-eastern Scotland from pre-Anglian times (1986, 465–66; subsequently developed in Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1997). This interpretation drew heavily on place-name evidence, the dating and interpretation of which has moved on considerably in the last 30 years (see Chapter 2, especially 2.2.3). He drew a distinction between the Tweed Valley and the Lothians on the basis of place-names, but was only able to present multiple possibilities about the dating and mechanisms of Anglian expansion northwards. Historical sources were key to these competing frameworks, but offered no clear insights, with the result that the finished study contained an unwieldy amount of conjecture and came to few firm conclusions.
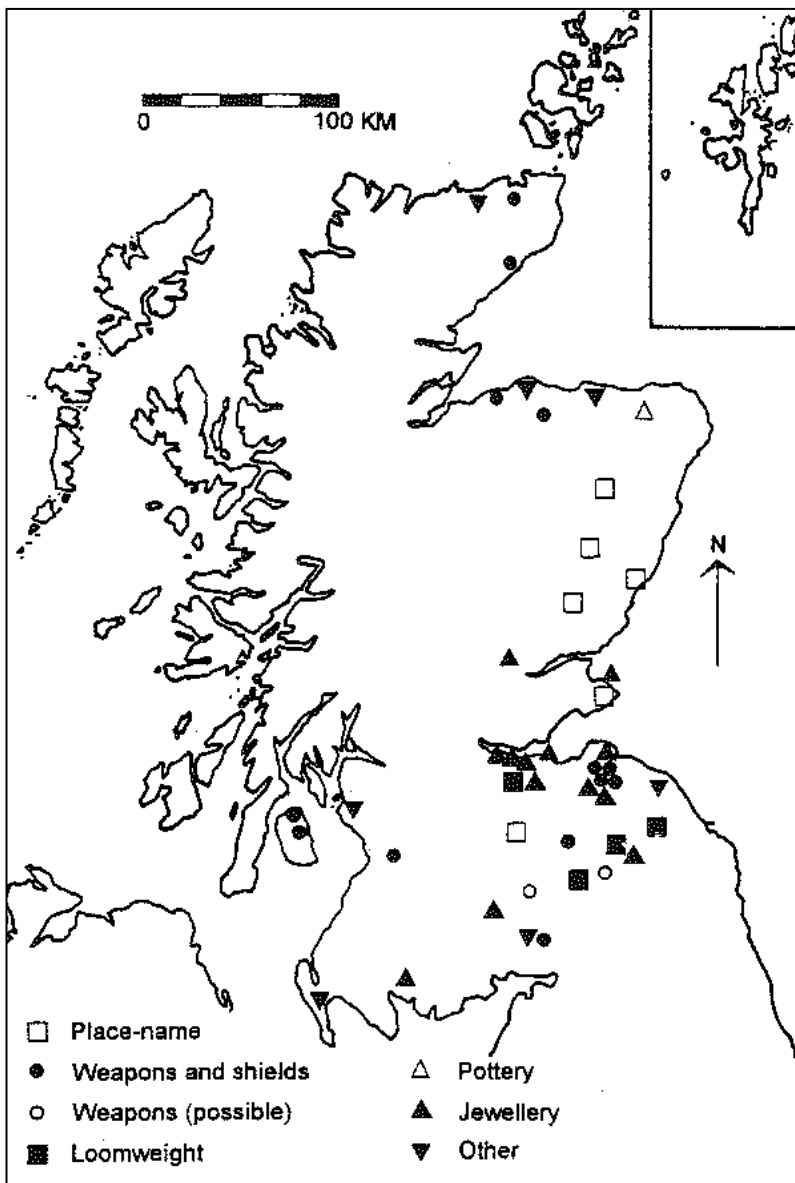
Map 3.2 Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly's 'anomalous place-names and objects of Anglo-Saxon origin in Scotland' (1996, fig 1).

Ten years on, the 1996 small-finds catalogue largely replicated Laing's 1973 corpus, with

little additional discussion or critical review of his identifications. There were a number of

important omissions – including material from Dunadd (then published in interim form,

Campbell and Lane 1993), and other objects were included on a very slim basis indeed; it

became apparent during other work by the author that a number of their identifications

were erroneous (for example **E002**; Blackwell and Kirk 2016). There has also been a

significant increase in recognised finds since 1996, through metal detecting but also

through the publication of excavations at Whithorn (Hill 1997), Dunbar (Perry 2000) and

other sites. For these reasons, the data presented within the 1996 corpus required a rigorous reassessment, and much of their discussion has been rendered redundant.

In their interpretation of the 40 objects/groups catalogued, Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly reached a similar conclusion to Laing: the distribution of finds and place-names indicated settlement did not extend north of the Forth, although in their words there was 'limited evidence for a scattered early Anglian presence, especially in north and east Scotland' (1996, 1). In discussing finds from Traprain Law, Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly made this assumed link between ethnic presence and artefacts explicit, suggesting that 'the general impression is of one or two individuals or a very small group of Angles, not a large war band' (Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996, 7). Only regarding the spindle whorl from Cullykhan (**E014**) did they suggest an alternative interpretation, that 'its presence is probably indicative of settlement by people with an Anglian material culture or open to Anglian influence' (Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996, 10). Arguably, this study helped perpetuate the association between material culture and ethnicity, in essence a culture-history approach, in early medieval northern studies long after this link had been comprehensively critiqued in other fields of archaeology. Neither the 1973 or 1996 studies considered the role of the Scottish Anglo-Saxon finds corpus in the development of the Insular (Hiberno-Saxon) art style.

The excavation of the royal nucleated fort of Dunadd, Argyll, changed the way in which Anglo-Saxon material in Scotland has been interpreted, demonstrating both the presence of Anglo-Saxon 'imports' and the production of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon-influenced metalwork (Lane and Campbell 2000). In subsequent work, Campbell has expressed his approach to this assemblage in explicitly post-colonial terms and attempted to use this framework to consider the broader corpus of Anglo-Saxon small finds (Campbell 2009). This work recognised the role of fluid identities in cultural interaction, and opposed the 'colonialist' attitude of some research into early medieval trade and exchange systems, apparent in, for example, Richard Hodges' (1982; 2004) omission of the long-distance networks that brought imported pottery and glass to western Britain and Ireland (Campbell 2009, 254–55). Campbell did not present a catalogue of the small finds in 2009 – this thesis is referenced as providing that in due course – but instead discussed a number of general patterns and impressions, and expanded his earlier interpretation of the Dunadd material. Using data collected during the course of this thesis, Campbell's

discussion notes the concentration of finds identified by 2009 in south-eastern Scotland, a distribution that 'coincide[s] with Anglo-Saxon place-names indicative of settlement, though the relation of the two is problematic' (2009, 259).

Campbell's discussion of Anglo-Saxon glass vessel-finds suggested routes by which they arrived in the west and northwest of Britain on the basis of their distribution (Map 3.3): from Kent to the Bristol Channel region; from Northumbria west to Whithorn and the Mote of Mark through the Tweed–Solway gap; and from northernmost Northumbria (East Lothian) through central Scotland to sites in western Scotland, and perhaps north along the coast to Portmahomack (on the Fearn Peninsula in Easter Ross). Campbell contrasted this movement of Anglo-Saxon glass with the distribution of continental glass and pottery that appear not to have crossed in reverse from western Britain to Anglo-Saxon areas (2009, 255). Campbell argued that uniquely vivid blue squat jars manufactured in Kent carried high social currency and arrived in the west via gift exchange. His interpretation emphasised the political dimension: 'such gifts were often the first step in asserting authority over a neighbouring polity' (Campbell 2009, 256).
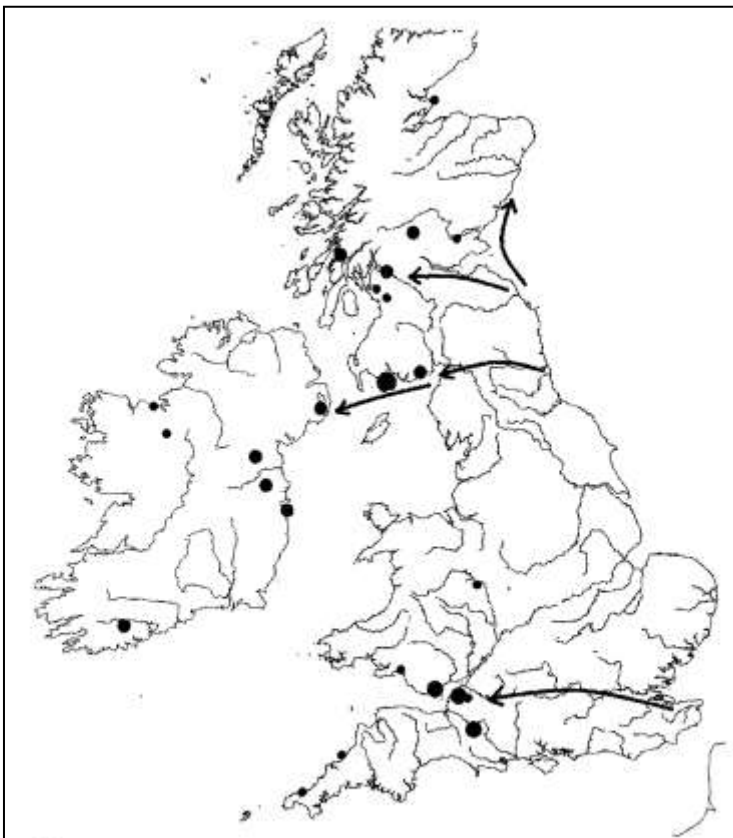
Map 3.3 Germanic glass in western Britain and possible supply routes (after Campbell 2009, fig 11.1).

At Dunadd, Campbell highlighted the creation of fusion objects such as bird-headed penannular brooches as an attempt to create a new hybrid identity that simultaneously demonstrated knowledge of an Anglo-Saxon elite insignia and difference from them, born out of resistance or ambivalent acceptance of Northumbrian influence (Campbell 2009, 260). Campbell suggested this might result from deliberate cultural imperialism by Northumbria through widespread gift-giving, equating to Charles Edwards' 'light domination' (2003). This might have coincided with a shift in Dál Riata from separate kindreds to a joint kingdom, a change that could well have necessitated the creation of new symbols of identity, some of which incorporated Anglo-Saxon-style designs or techniques (Campbell 2009, 260). But while glass was interpreted as relating solely from gift-giving, Campbell suggested (without an explicit rationale) that the metalwork may have arrived via a variety of mechanisms: as gifts, personal possessions of the exiled elite, movement of mercenaries, and relations between clerics. Whether it is possible to distinguish between these different mechanisms, or how to determine if gift-giving (and by extension cultural imperialism) was responsible for the majority of finds, was not explored.

While not attempting a comprehensive survey of all Anglo-Saxon material culture from Scotland, David Griffiths' review of early medieval finds assemblages from sand-dune sites has provided context for some of the Anglo-Saxon small-finds evidence, interpreting it as a potential indicator of trade at coastal sites (Griffiths 2009). This, together with an approach that compared Scottish evidence with similar sites recognised in Ireland and Wales, marks an important shift in interpretation, towards an emphasis on the potential for trade and exchange. While long-distance trade in pottery and glass imported from the Mediterranean and south-western France has become an accepted part of early medieval Scotland (Campbell 2007), there has been a reluctance to interpret other 'alien' material culture, including Anglo-Saxon finds, in a similar way. Campbell's emphasis on the political mechanisms and significance of Anglo-Saxon material at Dunadd was a very useful counterpoint to the earlier surveys of small finds. However, Griffith's work demonstrates alternative, though relatively poorly understood, mechanisms for exchange which need not necessarily carry such loaded political connotations.

Excavations at the Mote of Mark presented a similar opportunity to Dunadd, but one which was less successfully fulfilled. Both sites had been subject to antiquarian excavation

and were subsequently revisited (in the 1970s at Mote of Mark and 1980s at Dunadd), each producing cumulative assemblages indicative of high-status sites that included imported pottery and glass, fine metalworking, and Anglo-Saxon small finds. Within the final excavation report (Laing and Longley 2006), interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon-influenced material was less fully realised and less convincingly argued than at Dunadd and there was a heavier emphasis on rooting interpretation in the (particularly sparse for south-western Scotland) historical record. Mould fragments for casting interlace-decorated axe-blade shaped mounts and interlace-decorated roundels were separated by the excavators and regarded as 'influenced by, or owe their inspiration to contemporary artefacts in Anglo-Saxon areas' (Laing and Longley 2006, 151). 'Whether direct Northumbrian involvement or, more probably, the assimilation of contiguous cultural influences, was involved is now difficult to establish' (Laing and Longley 2006, 168). Possible contexts for these 'Anglicising tendencies' were discussed, including the requirement to provide Northumbrian overlords with appropriately Anglo-Saxon gifts or tribute, and personal relationships between members of the Northumbrian and British elites and their entourages (Laing and Longley 2006, 168). This was a welcome development beyond Laing's 1973 interpretation in that it no longer assumed an ethnic presence. But it continued to follow Bede (unproblematically) in assuming Northumbrian dominancy in relations and allowing little agency for local people and polities.

Excavations at Whithorn (Hill 1997) located extensive structural remains of the early medieval monastic centre described by Bede as *Candida Casa* and produced a substantial artefact assemblage. Hill's interpretation of the site was built around significant cultural change: the transformation of an Insular *monasterium* in the early 8th century to a 'thoroughly Anglian institution.. proper to describe it as a minster' (Hill 1997, 40). The church 'is an unique building without close parallels ... its 'Northumbrian' context seems to be beyond question, but it was erected in a period when Northumbrian churches were increasingly built of stone while timber churches were described as being "in the Scottish tradition"' (Hill 1997, 44). Recovery of window glass, 'chest/coffins' and a large group of Northumbrian coins were selected as distinguishing the 'Anglian' nature of these structural transformations (ibid, 47). The coins were combined with dendrochronological information and compared with Bede's implication that *Candida Casa* had recently become Northumbrian in 731, though Northumbrian-inspired elements were also noted immediately prior to beginning of the main Northumbrian phase (Hill 1997, 37).

The lack of Northumbrian sculpture from Whithorn was noted by Hill; it was suggested that existing sculpture may instead have been adopted and motifs in turn integrated into new pieces (ibid, 47). The small-finds suggested 'no evidence of contacts beyond Northumbria, indicating that life within the enclave was thoroughly Northumbrian' (ibid, 47), though in fact the majority of the assemblage was culturally unidentifiable and only a limited amount was identified as either Anglo-Saxon or Insular. Since the publication of the 1997 excavation monograph, early activity at Whithorn has been reinterpreted as a high-status centre with burial, that subsequently developed as a primarily monastic site through Northumbrian intervention (see Campbell 1991; Gondek 2003; Toop 2005; Maldonado 2011); how this altered interpretation affects narratives of Northumbrian expansion into the south-west of Scotland generally remains unclear.

Excavations at Castle Rock, Dunbar (East Lothian) uncovered part of a site equated with the Northumbrian *urbs regis* known from the *Vita sancti Wilfrithi* (*VW* 38), a discovery potentially key to understanding Anglo-Saxon south-eastern Scotland. Excavating conditions were challenging: the stratigraphy was ambiguous and extensive disturbance was apparent (Derek Hall pers comm). The published monograph (Perry 2000) constructed a chronology incorporating radio-carbon and art-historical dating, a chronology with wide implications for understanding Anglo-Saxon Northumbria. The beginning of the Northumbrian phase was dated to the mid to late-6th century, a date recognised as early compared with prevailing historical frameworks (Perry 2000, 48).

Subsequently, the basis for Dunbar's phasing and dating has been critiqued (Blackwell 2009): the radio-carbon dating is problematic, with mixed samples and a lack of discrimination between old and new oak, and key features such as the *Grubenhäus* and substantial Building 1 were dated only by attribution to a phase (Blackwell 2009, 367). Though some of these issues were recognised by Perry, reorganisation of the site was nonetheless linked to specific historical events, such as Penda's incursions around 651 or Northumbria's defeat in 685. The significance of a key find from this period of occupation, fragments of a composite buckle, was missed by the excavator – originally identified only as part of an Anglo-Saxon buckle and dated to the early 7th century (Perry 2000, 115), subsequent reconstruction demonstrates its high-status and rare character (Blackwell 2009, 361–4). Other distinctively Anglo-Saxon objects discussed by Perry include a gold

and garnet pectoral cross fragment, but identifications were hindered by disturbance and the material explicitly identified as Anglo-Saxon was relatively limited in nature.

3.3   Anglo-Saxon small finds from Wales

Mark Redknap (2009) considered finds of both Anglo-Saxon and Irish material from Wales in the context of local metalworking traditions, dividing them into an early (c 450–650) and later (c 650–850) phase. His study attempted a characterisation of early medieval Wales and a 'calibration of the intensity of trade and contact with its neighbours'. His corpus was modest: aside from two excavation assemblages – Dinas Powys (Alcock 1963) and Llanbedrgoch (Redknap 2009, 302–4) – Redknap discussed seven pre 8th-century objects and two mid-Saxon finds. A number of different interpretations were suggested, including arrival via local exchange, the acquisition of a trophy through conquest and scrap destined for a metalworker. His integration of Anglo-Saxon finds within discussion of British and Irish material represents a marked difference in approach compared with the 1973 and 1996 studies of the Scottish material. Acquisition of Anglo-Saxon material culture was contextualised by evidence for contact in the other direction, including the appearance of Type G1 penannular brooches within Anglo-Saxon graves (Redknap 2009, 285).

The assemblage from Dinas Powys (Alcock 1963), which includes strap ends, belt mounts and shield fittings, remains prominent amongst Anglo-Saxon material dated to Redknap's early phase. Redknap suggested that some may have travelled westwards through trade or gift exchange, following Campbell's (2009) interpretation of the blue glass jar from the site. While Redknap saw evidence for the recycling of eye-catching Anglo-Saxon finds at the site, he also followed Campbell in seeing some items as 'too small to be much use as scrap', suggesting either that Anglo-Saxons were present at the site or alternatively that there was 'no cultural distinction in such everyday equipment between Briton and Saxon' (Redknap 2009, 293, 295).

The arrival mechanisms and social significance attributed by Redknap to the Phase I stray finds from elsewhere in Wales varied. A Style I saucer brooch from Cwmcarvan (Monmouthshire) was explained the distribution of similar finds, concentrated around the Upper Thames Valley, a point that Redknap used to suggest the route that this example may have travelled as part of a 'potential for local exchange… between Anglo-Saxon and British populations on the western edge of the Anglo-Saxon zone' (Redknap 2009, 293). The nature of the relations between communities was here left somewhat ambiguous: Redknap avoided assuming high-status, politically-motivated exchange, or tying it to historical narratives, expansionist or otherwise, or using it to indicate the presence of a member of the Anglo-Saxon community. Other early stray finds attracted different interpretations. A cruciform Style II harness fitting was suggested to represent the acquisition of a symbol of rank through either a long chain of exchange, trade or conquest, before its ultimate recycling (2009, 293–5). This interpretation was prompted by the proximity of a *caput* site and the long distance from its place of manufacture (which was not West Saxon). It is interesting to question whether gender played a role in differentiating between a potentially political/symbolic interpretation of the harness mount, usually associated with men in archaeological discourse, and a more neutral/local exchange interpretation applied to the saucer brooch, associated with women.

A fragment of a Style I buckle plate from Dinorben (Denbeighshire) was interpreted by Redknap as 'loot or scrap-metal for a local metalworker, in a similar manner to the Dinas Powys material' (Redknap 2009, 295). Two 7th-century objects, a gold and garnet pendant and a silver sword pommel cap, were interpreted as perhaps relating to Mercian expansion (ibid, 296); it is unclear whether this was based only on the observation that their date and find location accord with the establishment of Mercian satellites apparent within historical sources (which Redknap noted), or whether the type, material or status of the objects also influenced his conclusion.

Aside from the chronologically-organised corpus, Redknap discussed separately several excavated assemblages. Glyn, Llanbedrgoch (Anglesey) produced a number of Phase I Anglo-Saxon small finds as well as evidence for the manufacture of Anglo-Saxon-style objects. There are multiple comparisons with the assemblage from Dunadd, both in terms of specific objects (penannular brooches with Style II bird-head terminals and a stamped triangular vessel mount) as well as the manufacturing of similar Anglo-Saxon-style buckle

components, though implications for the interpretation of both sites was not explored further. Redknap's interpretation was based on Bede's assertion of Northumbrian intervention in the borderlands in the Marches, and Edwin's supremacy over Anglesey until his death in 633 (Redknap 2009, 304).

Redknap's corpus includes two objects with potential Christian significance: one, the re-used cruciform harness mount discussed above, the second a unique mount from St Arvans (Monmouthshire), interpreted as a hybrid object that incorporates a British-style Christian cross form and Anglo-Saxon styles of anthropomorphic chip-carved decoration (Redknap 2009, 295, fig 13h). While the manufacture location of the hybrid mount is unknowable, Redknap stressed it represents the fusion of explicit Christian iconography and Anglo-Saxon techniques. The role that Christianity may have played in the acquisition, use and reuse of Anglo-Saxon material culture more generally was not explored much further.

The majority of finds of Anglo-Saxon metalwork from this early phase were gilded, suggesting to Redknap the 'conscious acquisition of glittering items to enhance status and prestige amongst the Welsh elite' (ibid, 296), though the predominance of gilded metalwork matches Anglo-Saxon material culture generally at the time, and particularly amongst the most distinctive decorative types elaborated with chip-carved decoration. But, for the earlier material at least, Redknap seems to champion the role of local trade or cultural integration in bringing these finds to Wales, rather than assuming gift exchange tied into political alliances (ibid, 296), though he does not explore whether such objects could lose their potential political/cultural symbolism. The concentration of finds in south-eastern Wales was related to the wider cultural context of Dinas Powys and 'the nature of cultural diffusion and mutual interaction with England from the 6th century' (ibid, 296).

Material from Redknap's later period side-steps an important issue – his heading 'Anglo-Saxon or local' hints at the difficulties in distinguishing between hybridised art, but this recognition is not developed further. Indeed, his discussion of material evidence of later contact between Wales and Ireland revolves around the identification of 'Irish-style' metalwork, though many of the objects are best described as Insular and would fit

equally well within a discussion of early medieval Scotland (for instance the series of interconnecting mounts in his fig 13.10).

Redknap's study applied a wide range of interpretations to different objects within the Welsh corpus, without always making the rationale behind each case explicit. In some cases, explanations were based on distance from source, with proximity indicating local community exchange and longer distances suggesting a variety of alternatives including more symbolic exchange or conquest. In other cases, the type, condition or decoration appear to have affected interpretation of specific objects. A flexible approach like this, open to a variety of explanations, has merits: it is open to the potential of trade/exchange (overlooked amongst Scottish corpus) and does not prejudge interpretation (either as *de facto* evidence of presence or by assuming a post-colonial and thence political dimension to all material). Redknap allowed for the possibility of local or medium-scale community exchange, and the movement of objects between people without necessarily assuming a political or ethnic explanation. This recognises that objects might shift back and forth between groups whose daily lives probably had more in common than not, regardless of cultural labels attached to them then or now, and is a useful counterpoint to the often loaded interpretations applied to comparable material from Scotland.

However, Redknap's study also highlights the difficulties in distinguishing between different mechanisms by which Anglo-Saxon material culture arrived in Wales, difficulties that will also apply to interpretation of the Scottish material, though he pointed to some factors (distance from source, type of object) that might be indicative. While Mercian expansion existed among his interpretations, Redknap avoided an Anglo-Saxon-centric approach, allowing for local recycling, reuse and reimagination of objects. This was not, however, situated within an explicit theoretical framework, as Campbell advocated, and as a result the interpretation of this hybridity was limited; he concluded that 'the extent of hybridisation of Welsh-Irish and Welsh-Anglo-Saxon metalworking traditions…remains poorly understood' (ibid, 308). Other work by Campbell has highlighted the hybridisation of a 6th-century Type G penannular brooch found in Wales in post-colonial terms, seeing it as an attempt to reconcile 'conflicting British and Irish identities current at this period in south-west Wales' (Campbell 2013, 163).

3.4 Anglo-Saxon finds from Ireland

Several studies have examined the limited Anglo-Saxon finds from Ireland, both from an ethnic point of view and one that focusses on the development of Insular art. O'Brien (1993) identified a small number of burials that do not conform to the norm for early medieval Ireland (west–east, supine, unaccompanied burial in either a slab-lined or stone-outlined grave) that she suggested may be Anglo-Saxon graves. Examples include a burial containing brooches and a stone amulet from Betaghstown (Co Meath); the brooches are late Roman Iron Age (Fowler's Type B1) but were worn paired at the shoulders, as by Anglo-Saxon women, while associated bone was radio-carbon dated to the 4th/7th century AD. O'Brien suggested these rare non-conforming burials, which appear from the 6th century onwards, were likely to represent low-status, first generation incomers who had arrived with Anglo-Saxon nobles and clerical students (O'Brien 1993, 100). Their distribution is focussed on Brega or the general area around monasteries where higher status Anglo-Saxons are historically attested. O'Brien's interpretation therefore rests on material culture as indicator of ethnic origin within a historical framework. She noted that these intrusive burial rites apparently had little influence on predominant local traditions, though the interpretation of several features including penannular ditches and bier supports was more problematic and may suggest cross-cultural influence (ibid).

Ó Floinn 2009 examined the small corpus of Anglo-Saxon small finds from Ireland within the context of the development of Insular art, and taking into account evidence from excavated Scottish sites that does not accord with Francoise Henry's (1965) view of its primary development in early medieval Ireland. The number of finds is small: Ó Floinn notes six 8th-century coins, two mounts (from Lagore and Knowth Site M, Co Meath), and three examples of the birded-headed penannular brooch-type known also from Dunadd. He explored the development of elaborate penannular brooches from Type F antecedents and the generally accepted, if poorly understood, role of Anglo-Saxon metalwork in their genesis (Ó Floinn 2009, 240). Key are the hybrid bird-headed penannular brooches, with recognised manufacture evidence at Dunadd and, Ó Floinn argues, now from Ireland too at Moylarg crannog (Co Antrim), 'no doubt introduced into Ireland via Scottish Dál Riata' (Ó Floinn 2009 242, 245). He echoed Campbell's interpretation that the Dál Riatan

examples embody a conscious desire to link to elite Northumbrian society (ibid, 242), but did not speculate on their significance in this context within early medieval Ireland. Instead Ó Floinn linked their development to Fowler's Type F brooches with expanded terminals; the Irish examples have a similar distribution and date and, taken together, the two types demonstrate essential elements of later, elaborate expanded-terminal types such as the Hunterston brooch.

Ó Floinn saw both 7th-century types as evidence of experimentation at secular sites, principally crannogs, in the north and east of Ireland. Of these, Ó Floinn singles out Lagore, comparing it to Dunadd and the Mote of Mark, where the early fusion of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic styles was taking place during the mid- to late 7th century (Ó Floinn 2009, 250). While these Irish and Scottish assemblages were compared, Ó Floinn did not apply Campbell's interpretation of hybrid brooches tied to hybrid identity to the Lagore material. Instead, context for contact was suggested in historically recorded Anglo-Saxon attacks on Brega (encompassing much of Co Meath) in 684. While this study presents a welcome situating of the Irish material in the context of the development of Insular art at secular centres during the 7th century, it did not explore the socio-political context that underpinned them.

3.5   Conclusion

There are a number of major problems with past approaches to Anglo-Saxon Scotland which this thesis seeks to redress. The published corpus of Anglo-Saxon finds is of poor quality: it includes a number of inaccuracies and is out of date. Much of the interpretation is likewise out of date: using finds to demonstrate an Anglo-Saxon presence. This has been motivated by an attempt to tie archaeological evidence into historical frameworks, and particularly as a means to map and date Northumbrian expansion into and influence upon the rest of early medieval northern Britain.

There has been limited engagement with what the objects are – their materials, social significance or use – with Scotland-wide studies instead relying heavily on distribution

maps to plot the general spread of material and to try to gauge the extent of Anglo-Saxon settlement. While the value of a critical analysis of the relationship between Anglo-Saxon and Celtic material has been demonstrated in relation to the assemblage from Dunadd, it has not been successfully translated into a wider study. The particular value of applying this kind of post-colonial approach on a large scale lies in not only its potential to understand, in art-historical terms, the development of early medieval Insular art, but also in its potential to question the amount, nature and date of contact between different areas and peoples. It avoids assumptions that tie material culture to an ethnic presence or settlement, and emphasises the active use of objects in the creation of identities. This kind of post-colonial approach is particularly useful for historical archaeology, opening new ways of comparing and contrasting different evidence streams and explicitly questioning information from Northumbrian-centric written sources. It requires that the Anglo-Saxon finds be interpreted within the context of non-Anglo-Saxon evidence.

The review above has highlighted a number of areas of concern that might present issues when attempting to interpret the Scottish evidence. Principally, these relate to the potential for identifying the mechanisms and routes by which material arrived and circulated, and consequently for accessing the political/economic/social/religious significance of the objects. Campbell has tended towards a political emphasis, seeing strategic gift exchange as the primary route; arguably, this is a product of applying post-colonial theory, which assumes an uneven political relationship between two entities (see Chapter 4). Redknap, in considering the culture-contact situation in Wales, picked from a list of mechanisms depending on various factors, not all of which were made explicit. This poses the question of whether it is possible to determine the mechanism behind the arrival of objects, many of which lack archaeological context.

In Scotland, Anglo-Saxon small finds have either been a static marker of the influx of people, or objects that carried weighted political or cultural associations and played a role in the creation of an identity of difference. That the possibility that objects were (at least some, some of the time) more neutral, not necessarily tied to bigger political strategies, has not been considered, must be due to the historically-driven framework, emphasising battles, overlordship and annexation. Small finds have therefore been tied into big narratives, in ways that the people who acquired and used them in most cases have not or cannot be. The potential role of trade, of which historical sources tell us nothing, in

bringing these objects north has tended to be downplayed. Work on sand-dune assemblages emphasises the deep roots that trading places appear to have and has begun to suggest how they might relate to the trajectories of other sites, including the spread of Christianity. This provides a useful counter to balance a recent focus on elite, politically-motivated, person-to-person exchange in the arrival and circulation of material culture in early medieval Scotland.

Chapter 4   Theoretical approach

4.1   Introduction

In Chapter 2 it was argued that a Northumbrian-centric interpretation, derived from one-sided primary historical sources, has been prevalent, producing at times near colonial narratives of Northumbrian dominance in northern Britain. In Chapter 3 it was shown that a culture-history perspective has prevailed within most past work on the Scottish Anglo-Saxon finds. The interpretation of the excavation assemblage from Dunadd (Lane and Campbell 2000) marked a shift away from this ethnic interpretation, towards a recognition of agency in those who used or altered 'alien' material culture. This work explored the role of Anglo-Saxon material in the creation of identity and intercultural interaction, and was later developed to explicitly invoke post-colonial theory (Campbell 2009). This thesis will attempt to extend this kind of approach from a site-specific assemblage to the whole corpus of Anglo-Saxon small finds from Scotland. In this chapter, the theoretical underpinnings of post-colonial/hybridisation/entanglement theory are explored further (see section 4.2). Several examples of their application to the archaeology of post-Roman Britain are also reviewed in order to explore ways of successful linking of data and approach, and to identify potential limitations or problems relevant to the current study (4.3). Finally, the theoretical approach of this thesis will be set out (4.4).

4.2   Hybridisation theory

> 'What is significant about the adoption of alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use' (Kopytoff 1986, 67)

The single most influential theorising of intercultural interaction and its material results within archaeology in the last twenty years has been hybridisation, and the subsequent development of related concepts. The term has a long history; rooted in biology, it attracted racial overtones in the 19th century, and from the 1960s has been associated with studies of resistance, subversion and liminality, particularly since the 1980s within post-colonial literary studies (Ackerman 2012). Within recent archaeological studies, Bhabha's 1994 *The Location of Culture* has been particularly influential, and the hybridisation defined there has been elaborated, revised and critiqued intensively in subsequent decades (for a review of the term see Ackerman 2012; Stockhammer 2012a and papers therein). Recent critiques of the ways hybridisation theory has developed include the extent to which it has become politicised; the restriction (by some argued to be necessary) of its application to post-colonial studies and situations; and the (some would say uncritical) reintroduction of notions of purity (as a counterpoint to hybridity) to cultural studies (Stockhammer 2012b, 2). Attempts have been made to revisit Bhabha's basic concept, and one of those, by Stockhammer (2012a; 2012c), is discussed further here. Stockhammer's variation on the hybridisation concept is particularly useful for the present study because it encompasses both hybridised objects (those which are materially changed), as well as alien/foreign/different objects imbued with new meanings/practices/definitions that remain physically unaltered. This 'entanglement' emphasises the necessity of, and provides some theoretical frameworks for, creating bridges between the study of Anglo-Saxon and Insular material culture in Scotland.

Stockhammer's revisiting of hybridisation sought to strip away Bhabha's colonial baggage and inherent politicisation of the concept. It recognises that Bhabha started with a clear and useful definition of hybridisation as a liminal (non-geographical) space that allows different cultural entities to overlap away from the structural hierarchies of the entities themselves (Stockhammer 2012c, 45; Bhabha 1994, 5). But he argues that Bhabha politicised this concept over the course of the book 'until it becomes the symbol of the strategies that the subaltern and migrants develop in colonial and post-colonial contexts'; this continues to such an extent that we cannot regard it as 'cultural hybridisation'; it is instead inherently 'political hybridisation' (Stockhammer 2012c, 45). Whilst influential and useful in post-colonial studies, Stockhammer argues that Bhabha's political definition

of hybridisation cannot be applied beyond colonial or post-colonial situations. Instead, he sought an alternative by using Bhabha's initial, less politicised definition as a starting point and attempting to break the process down into distinct stages that may be identified in the material record.

In building this alternative theory of cultural hybridisation, Stockhammer favoured a change in terminology from hybridisation to entanglement. His rationale was that entanglement avoids pejorative biological associations, emphasises agency, and facilitates application of the concept beyond the confines of post-colonial studies and contexts (Stockhammer 2012c, 47). Crucially, Stockhammer drew a distinction of fundamental importance to archaeologists: entangled objects (things that have been materially changed or hybridised) and entangled social practices (where the object is unchanged but has been given new meaning). The latter is far harder to identify in the archaeological record, but is vitally important for studies, such as this, of alien/different/imported material culture.

Stockhammer's entanglement elaborates on the work of Hahn (2004), building on his four stages of 'appropriation'. Entanglement starts with an encounter, prompting construction and perception of otherness or difference. This triggers a process of relational entanglement, which Hahn's four stages describe: appropriation (object becomes a possession); incorporation (object is drawn into local classification systems); objectivisation (object is connected with practices); and transformation (object is given a new meaning) (Stockhammer 2012c, 50). At this point, the object is not entangled, but the social practices are; the object itself remains materially unchanged, albeit socially altered. Societal practices and traditions – created to deal with otherness – as well as individual concerns impact on this process of relational entanglement (although unpicking these different scales of meaning may not be possible with the material record alone).

The next step, which may or may not happen, Stockhammer calls material entanglement – this describes the creative process of making physically altered objects (which others would call the hybridising of new and familiar characteristics). This recasting of hybridisation allows space for agency and varieties of response: acceptance, rejection, adaptation and segregation/defined engagement (Burke's four responses to cultural exchange, 2009; Ackerman 2012, 21) – that is, selective entangling.

Materially entangled objects are apparent in the archaeological record, and make up the bulk of the material evidence of entanglement, affected social practices being intrinsically harder to identify. But these physically entangled/hybridised objects still present problems of interpretation – they may be the end product of multiple processes of entanglement and appropriation and the 'why' and 'how' they were created – the social or political or economic contexts which provoked the entanglement – may be impossible to reconstruct because of the faint trace of social meaning and practices (Stockhammer 2012c, 51). And these processes of both material and social entanglement may continue, resulting in continuous manipulation and reinterpretation (Stockhammer 2012c, 51). A single entangled object may trigger a flourishing local tradition of producing entangled/hybridised objects – this may be useful for understanding the development of what we now see as the single entangled genre of Insular art. Stockhammer does not elaborate on how or why a putative single entanglement may or may not trigger wider traditions of entanglement.

Hybridisation theories can be critiqued for their reliance on entities (one of which is regarded as purer than the other), which has arguably allowed culture-historical approaches to linger in the humanities. In approaching hybridisation/entanglement, Stockhammer recognises the need for 'entities', 'different archaeological cultures' in material culture studies but emphasises the need to see them as 'crutches for understanding' not 'statically and historically existing structures'. This is useful to emphasise for the present study, given the lingering culture-history approach in past work on the Scottish Anglo-Saxon finds (see Chapter 3). The field here has failed to heed '.. the etic character of these entities and of the fact that our analytical categorisations differ from past systems of classification (eg archaeological cultures vs past ethnic groups); these entities are mental templates only created for analytical purposes' (Stockhammer 2012c, 49). It is important to keep this in mind, but perhaps studies of hybridised/entangled objects might also help break the vestiges of the culture-history model of early medieval Scotland down by exposing the difficulties in identifying the 'original' material and emphasising the amounts of mixed material that does not easily fit within these supposedly meaningful entities.

Entanglement or hybridisation is just one way of exploring the constant change that all cultures undergo – this undermines what might otherwise appear to be a necessary

component of hybridisation, the static 'pure' and 'other'. Useful here is the work of Bakhtin (1981) and Werbner (1997) who distinguish between two types of hybridity: organic and intentional. The first, organic hybridisation, encompasses unintentional, unconscious, everyday mixing and fusing of diverse cultural elements. The second, intentional hybridity, is the result of using conscious contrasts and oppositions, not mixed, but in opposition, and with ability to shock or challenge the status quo (though they need not necessarily do this) (Ackerman 2012, 12–13). This conception of two distinctive types of hybridisation does underpin Bhabha's hybridity – he took and elaborated on intentional hybridity where 'different points of view are against each other in a conflictual structure' (ibid). Ackerman sees organic hybridity as a way around the problem of all cultures being hybrid, or conversely of returning to the problem of the 'pure': the organic, natural, unnoticed hybridisation can be an acceptable 'original' culture that serves as a metaphorical counterpoint to intentional hybridisation (Ackerman 2012, 22). Intentional hybridisation remains 'A deliberate, provocative aesthetic challenge to an implicit aesthetic, social or political order and identity' (Ackerman 2012, 13).

Another critique of Bhabha's post-colonial hybridisation is that it prejudges the results – hybridity is predetermined to be a reaction to oppression, to result from negative situations, and to give voice to subaltern groups. This is the danger of applying Bhabha's hybridisation in non-colonial/post-colonial contexts – his theory leaves no room for hybridisation to be anything other than political, whereas, surely, we should allow for a range of situations and attitudes towards hybridisation in the past. Its perception might well be dependent on attitudes towards interaction more generally, and on the nature of borders/boundaries: if borders are considered to be 'ideally fixed and impermeable, then their crossing by the hybrid form will be viewed as transgressive and the hybrid self will be considered dangerous or degenerative' (Feldman 2006, 61). In other contexts, with less rigid notions of boundary, or more positive relationships and openness to interaction, hybridity could take on positive associations, denoting 'strength and vitality as a way to constitute and facilitate channels of interaction' (ibid). And of course, attitudes towards interaction and hybridisation will always be in flux, determined by those participants in the exchange and wider societal concerns.

There are problems in moving from the recognition of hybridisation/entanglement to its interpretation. In many cases it might not be possible to reconstruct the context that will

help understand (altered) social practices and meanings. But it is essential to try, otherwise we risk restricting material culture to its 'properties of being objects and being foreign' – what we need to study is the ways in which alien cultural forms are integrated, to see how practices and attitudes towards them have shifted (Maran 2012, 62). Also problematic is the heterogeneity of hybridisation processes which presents an obstacle in looking for structures that underlie them. Creativity and agency are rooted in individual experiences and identities, and ideally 'our analysis must start with individual processes of hybridisation, within each of which the actor(s) in their context are examined first' (Stockhammer 2012b, 2–3). This, according to Stockhammer, involves evaluating influencing factors such as power, market, or space, and considering 'the dialectical relationship between the actor(s) and the outcomes of the ongoing process in which s/he participates creatively' (ibid). He does not address the potential circularity of this argument – that the influencing factors need apparently to be known before the analysis proceeds, rather than the analysis informing our understanding of the social/economic/political context within which hybridisation occurred. The only apparent solution to this difficulty is to acknowledge agency and individuality are inherent in hybridisation, and to aspire to look for differences in relational and material hybridisation whilst recognising the limits of the archaeological dataset.

Because of the potential difficulties of moving from theoretical hybridisation/ entanglement to recognition and interpretation in the material record, some case studies of its application to the archaeology of post-Roman and early medieval Britain will be explored in order to highlight specific issues and potential solutions that might be relevant to the present study.

4.3 Hybridisation/entanglement in the archaeology of post-Roman Britain

Most post-colonial approaches in archaeology have tended to examine interaction during colonial situations (Bowles 2006, 60). Bowles' recent study of south-west England in the

post-Roman period is an example of the comprehensive application of a post-colonial approach to an alternative situation, one characterised as post-imperial or literally post colonial (Bowles 2006). Drawing on architectural, ceramic and personal artefactual evidence, Bowles explored how hybridisation was 'harnessed by social groups to re-conceive stable identities' during the unstable post-Roman period in the Bristol Channel area (ibid, 68).

Bowles' study influenced the use of an explicit post-colonial framework and hybridity in recent work on the Dunadd assemblage (Campbell 2009). The hybridising of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon brooches at Dunadd (discussed in Chapter 3) was seen in terms of the creation of a hybrid identity that 'coincided with a change in the nature of Dál Riata, from a number of separate kindred (*cenela*) to a joint kingdom, around this period, which required new symbols of identity to be exploited by the over-king to cement social control over previously competing groups' (Campbell 2009, 260). This accords with the notion that 'questions of identity often come to the fore at times of social and political change; the destruction of existing socio-cultural patterns and shifting power relations lead to the re-evaluation and re-presentation of identities as new communities arise' (Graves-Brown et al 1996, 1). This makes early medieval northern Britain, which experienced a relatively poorly understood period of political and social reorganisation and ethnogenesis, an interesting context for an approach that attempts to understand contact and its effects on identities. An emphasis on the active use and manipulation of material culture provides a strong framework through which to interpret material in contact situations. One criticism, however, of such post-colonial approaches to archaeological situations is that they can jump from examining processes of hybridisation to the implications for the identities of the groups involved when this link is not always straightforward. In order to approach identities through material culture evidence it is necessary first to gain as full an understanding of the social context through as many different types of sources as possible.

Other recent applications of hybridisation-led approaches to early medieval archaeology include Gabor Thomas's attempt to complicate Anglo-Scandinavian material culture and identity by integrating contemporary Carolingian finds into its interpretation. He aspired to map, through recent metal-detecting finds, 'the routes and mechanisms by which elements of dominant Frankish identity were disseminated to England and [to consider] …

how that identity was subsequently adapted through processes of cultural translation and assimilation' (Thomas 2012, 488). The basis for this approach was his critique of Viking-age research that has, in essence, preserved a culture-history approach: in looking at cultural interaction, there has been a tendency to simplify a complex situation to the meeting of two 'primordial entities' (Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian), with attempts to categorise the 'purity' of the metalwork, in other words how well it replicates styles in either England or Scandinavia (ibid, 487). Although he did not couch his critique in these terms, this has been a more general comment on hybridisation – within which there is an inherent 'pure' culture and 'other' (discussed above). Thomas' critique is that this approach, whilst necessary for distinguishing imports from local products, risks simplifying a complicated situation under a catch-all (still cultural-historical) term Anglo-Scandinavian. His approach hinges on the addition of Carolingian (and Carolingian-style) metalwork into the picture; whilst the role of Frankish customs has been widely addressed, Thomas argued that the metalwork, and particularly the increasing body of stray finds recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, has been ignored. His conclusions emphasise the quantity and range of Carolingian material culture in Anglo-Scandinavian England, but wider interpretation of its meaning and significance is hampered, partly by the (acknowledged) problems in interpreting stray finds and also, arguably, because of his limited theoretical engagement.

In terms of the mechanisms behind the arrival of such metalwork, Thomas concluded that Carolingian belt fittings were imported either directly from the continent or indirectly via Scandinavia; he could not distinguish between the two, but suggested direct contacts must be considered as an alternative to connections mediated by Scandinavian settlement (Thomas 2012, 505–7). He suggested high-status examples might be a result of high-level gift exchange, whereas base-metal objects 'appear to reflect a broader nexus of cultural interaction allied to maritime connections between eastern England and the continental North Sea littoral' (Thomas 2012, 507). In Scandinavia, imported Carolingian objects were, in tandem with other exotica such as Insular metalwork, initially converted in female jewellery and circulated as a currency of power, referencing the success of the men who brought the objects back. A subsequent stage saw some Carolingian imports adopted as models for local Scandinavian-made dress objects, both inspiring female brooches and belt sets principally worn by men. This '… assimilation was accompanied by

stylistical adaptation, whether in the form of degenerate plant ornament or by native animal-based styles' (ibid).

Whilst couching this study in terms of hybridisation, arguably Thomas ultimately failed to follow the theoretical approach through to his interpretation – it is easier to demonstrate that the subject suits such an approach than to successfully apply it to a dataset. This thesis also seeks to interrogate stray finds, albeit integrating them with excavated assemblages with the potential to provide insights into entangled social practices. Thomas' inability to distinguish between direct and indirect imports suggests this may require thought in future development and application of theories of entanglement to archaeological material. Thomas' criticism is also best interpreted, in part, as directed against the use of essentially an ethnic label term, albeit a compound one – Anglo-Scandinavian. The situation in Scotland has moved on considerably since the days of Hiberno-Saxon art, with the term 'Insular' providing a less weighted alternative.

4.4   The theoretical approach of this study

Frontiers and borderlands are areas that favour cultural hybridisation/entanglement (Ackerman 2012, 20). Modern-day Scotland encompassed, in the early medieval period, what historical sources label as multiple kingdoms and peoples (see Map 1.1). Elements of the art of these groups were melded together with styles and techniques drawn from Anglo-Saxon art to form the Insular style, though there has been little attempt to analyse this from a theoretical viewpoint. That there is a corpus of Anglo-Saxon style objects recognised in Scotland has already been established, and the limitations of its interpretation discussed in Chapter 3. Thus, with borderlands, 'alien' material culture, and a fully-fledged (and well recognised) hybrid art style, this historical context has all the necessary ingredients for the application of hybridisation/entanglement theory, building on Campbell's work (2009) on material from Dunadd.

Application of Bhabha's hybridisation would assume unequal power relations between Northumbria and the early medieval kingdoms of Scotland, presupposing oppression and

dominance. But arguably this would rest on an uncritical reading of historical sources that document supposed Northumbrian expansion, colonisation and control (see Chapter 2). Applying post-colonial hybridisation theory in one sense compounds this error; it doesn't question what is missing from our picture by a lack of non-Northumbrian written sources. There may well have been unequal power relations and archaeology is one means of exploring and of looking for indications of resistance and agency, but we should not presume that the post-colonial model fits. Therefore Stockhammer's entanglement, stripped of its necessarily post-colonial standpoint and assumption of oppression, is better suited for the context of this study.

Stockhammer's inclusion of materially-altered objects and unchanged (but reinterpreted) objects is helpful for breaking down the barriers between interpretations of 'Anglo-Saxon' artefacts and the rest of the material culture from early medieval Scotland. This thesis will explore the ways in which hybridisation/entanglement might help shed light on wider societal concerns by looking across a wide dataset to see if there are patterns in what has been subject to relational entanglement and what to physical entanglement, and what material culture has been excluded/rejected from these processes. It will look at the objects themselves, the types, materials, styles of decoration, topics of symbolism, what was imported, reinterpreted and physically hybridised, to see if this can help make the jump from identifying entanglement to interpreting its implications. It will also look at the context of the objects, where known, to see if it is possible to reconstruct some of the altered social meanings/relational entanglement. It will ask whether it is possible to use this evidence to elucidate the social, political or economic relations in early medieval northern Britain, and Anglo-Saxon Northumbria's place within them. Inherent in this approach is a rejection of the notion that material culture is a passive reflector of ethnic or cultural identity. Instead, this thesis will to explore whether it is possible to identify instances of Anglo-Saxon material culture being used to deliberately to create and project cultural or political identities in early medieval Scotland.

Chapter 5   Corpus summary and regional discussion

5.1   Introduction

An overview of the distribution, dating, context and types of the Scottish Anglo-Saxon finds is presented here (see section 5.2). This is followed by more detailed considerations of the data organised region by region (sections 5.3–5.10). (The objects themselves, organised by type, are discussed in greater length in Chapters 6–8 and within individual catalogue entries in the electronic appendix.) For each region, an overview of the data is presented first, followed by discussion of the finds and find spots, and a summary of the observations.

The regions defined here have been chosen as a compromise: they can be grouped to loosely conform to our understanding of different cultural areas (Anglian, Pictish, British, Gaelic) in early medieval Scotland, but when treated separately allow for appreciation of differences in the data (compare Charts 5.1 and 5.2). The assemblage from the Scottish Borders (5.3) is considered separately from the Lothians material (5.4). Dumfries and Galloway (5.5), regarded as part of Northumbria from at least the early 8th century, has been treated separately from south-eastern Scotland. Central-western Scotland (5.6) comprises the modern counties of Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire and Strathclyde, and is treated separately from Argyll (5.7). Northern and eastern Scotland has been divided into three groups. Southern Pictland (5.8) includes Fife, Perth and Kinross, Angus and Clackmannanshire. Northern Pictland (5.9) includes Moray, Aberdeenshire, Inverness-shire, Ross-shire, Caithness and Sutherland. The Northern and Western Isles are treated together (5.10).

The regions are quite different in size, and this, together with the variable amount of excavation, metal detecting and museum collecting across Scotland, needs to borne in mind within the regional observations made below. It should also be noted that in several instances, multiple objects have been included within the same catalogue entry and this

skews slightly analysis based only on the number of catalogue entries. Instances are highlighted below.

5.2   Overview of the data

In total, 221 finds have been catalogued from 88 find spots. The data are summarised in Table 5.1 (see also Chart 5.3), while Table 5.2 shows the regions ranked from greatest to lowest number of finds. The finds are listed individually in Table 5.3, organised alphabetically by site name. Chart 5.1 shows a regional breakdown of the whole corpus, and Chart 5.2 groups the data from these regions into broader cultural areas. Map 5.1 presents the distribution of all Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from Scotland.

5.2.1   Regional overview

The region (as defined here) with the greatest number of Anglo-Saxon finds catalogued is Dumfries and Galloway (Table 5.1), followed by the Lothians, the Borders, and Argyll (though if grouped together, finds from the Lothians and Borders combined exceed the Dumfries and Galloway assemblage). Central-western Scotland and the regions of Pictland each produced comparably small numbers. In other words, northernmost Bernicia, the British south-west and Gaelic Dál Riata produced 75% of the corpus. The number of continental imports does not, by and large, follow the same pattern as insular-made Anglo-Saxon finds (compare rankings in Table 5.2, and Charts 5.4 and 5.5), though Dumfries and Galloway produced the greatest number of both, thanks largely to a single excavation assemblage from Whithorn.
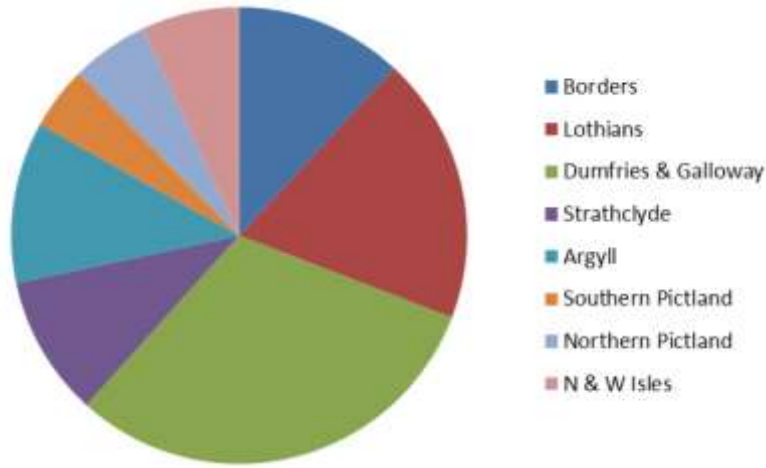
Chart 5.1 All finds catalogued in this thesis, divided by region.
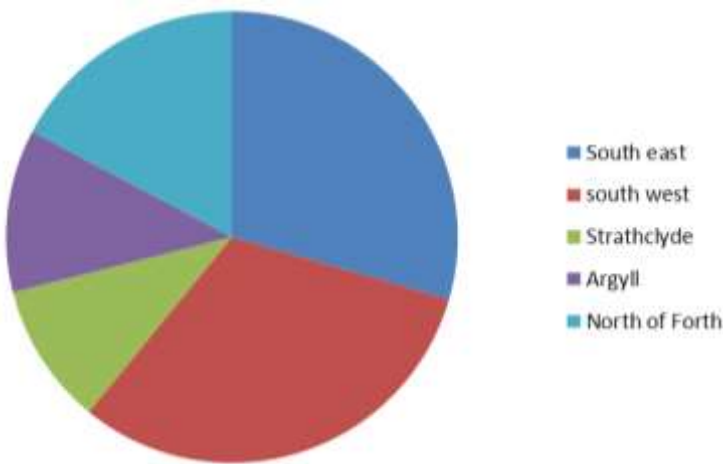
Chart 5.2 All catalogued finds, grouping together the Borders and Lothians, and the three regions identified with Pictland.
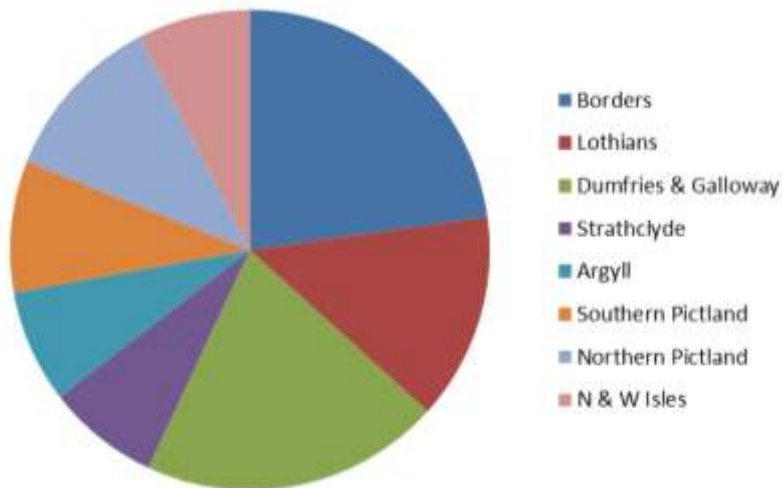
Chart 5.3 Total find spots, divided by region.
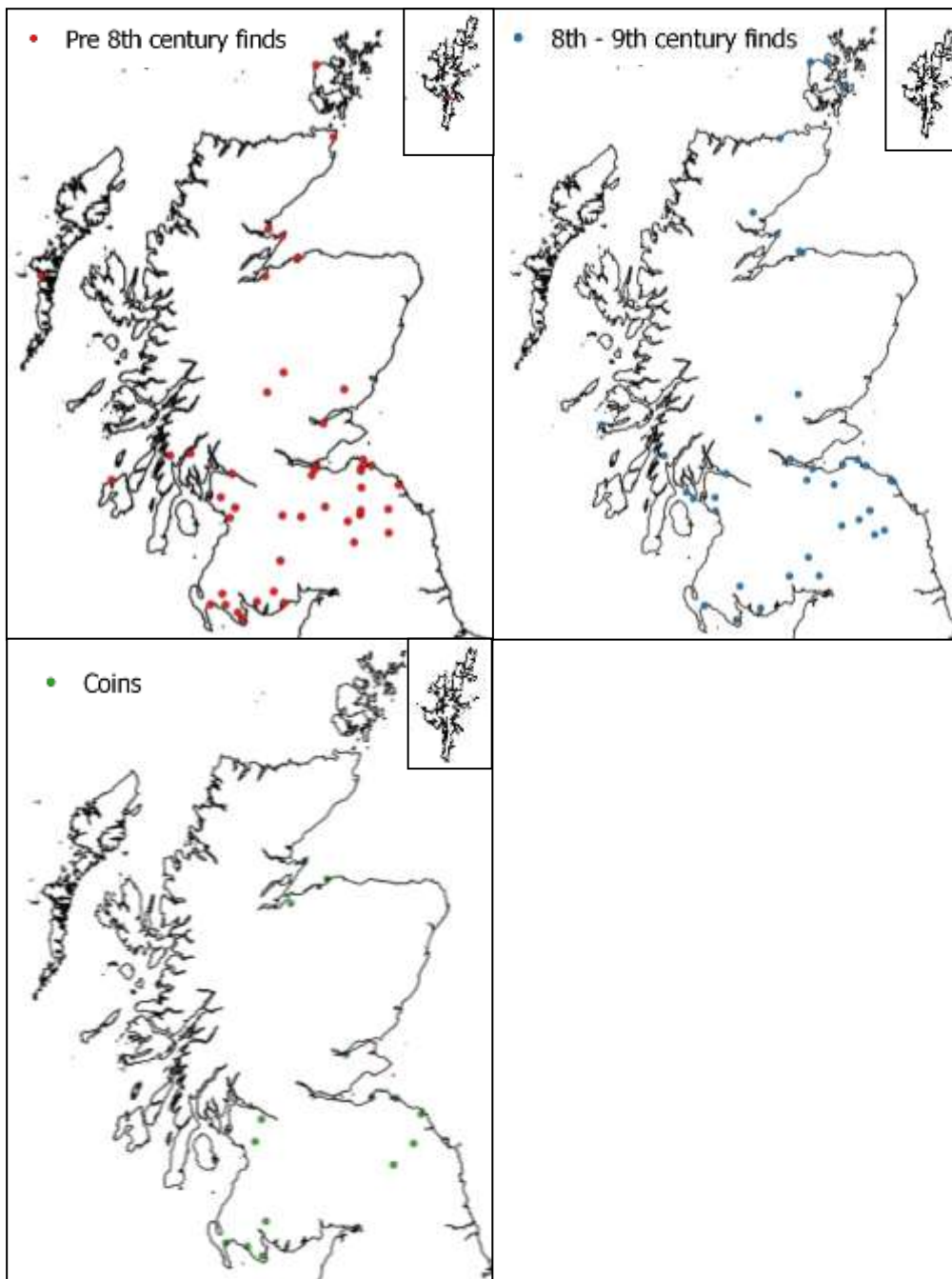
Map 5.1 Catalogued Anglo-Saxon and continental finds and coins from Scotland, divided by period.
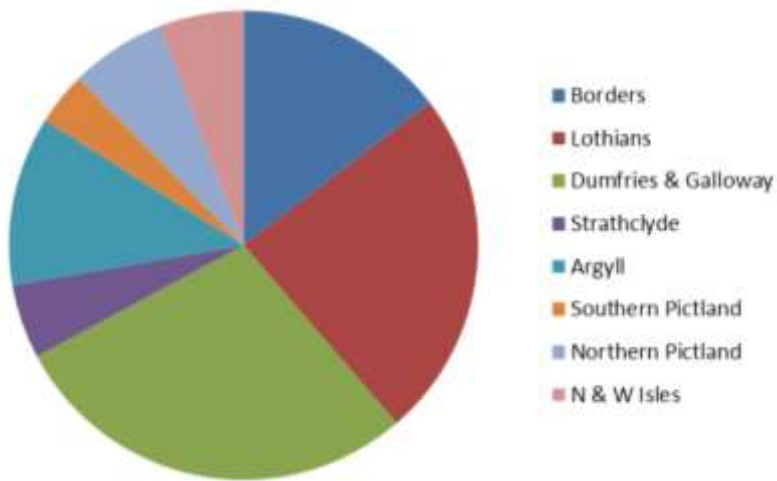
Chart 5.4 Insular-made Anglo-Saxon finds from Scotland, divided by region.
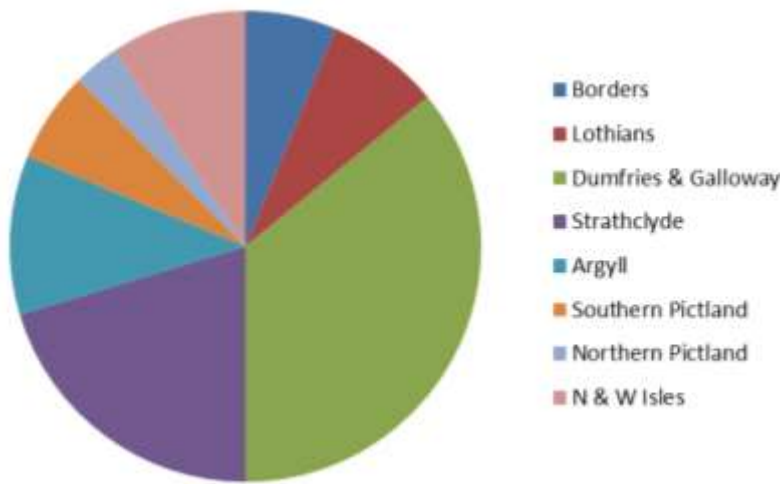
Chart 5.5 Continental-made finds from Scotland, divided by region.
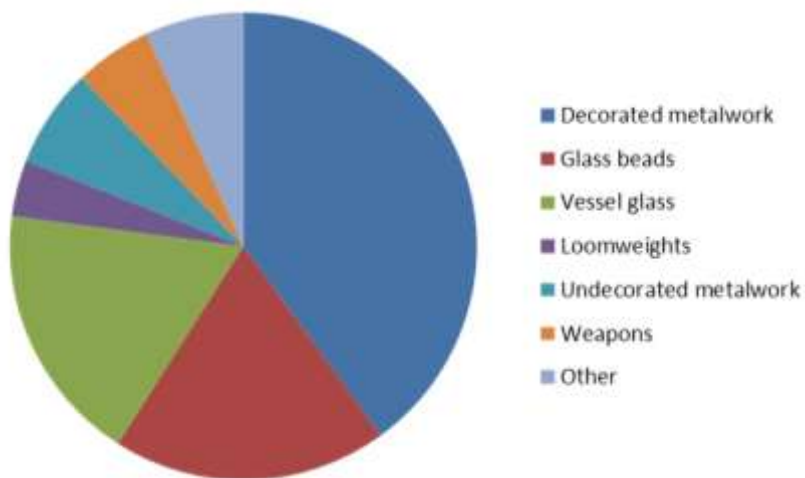
Chart 5.6 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from Scotland, divided by object type.

5.2.2   Dating overview

The finds have been divided into two groups based on their date of manufacture: pre 8th century and 8th/9th century (Table 5.4, Map 5.1, Charts 5.8 and 5.9; Tables 5.5 and 5.6 show this distinction by region); where possible, finer dating distinctions are drawn out in the discussion below.

Of the 124 pre 8th-century finds catalogued from Scotland, only 20 are clearly pre 7th century in date (that is can be confidently dated to the 5th or 6th centuries rather than broadly to the 5th/7th centuries), amounting to 16% of the total. This is higher than the Northumbrian average from stray-finds data (10% of the total: Richards and Naylor 2011, 142–3, Graphs 3 and 4), in part because it also includes an excavated assemblage of early vessel glass, including insular Anglo-Saxon made sherds, from Whithorn.

The 8th- and 9th-century data include more confidently identified Anglo-Saxon finds (Table 5.4) and significantly fewer 'possible' identifications than the earlier material, probably reflecting the distinctiveness of middle Anglo-Saxon strap ends and pins. Fewer later continental imports (Table 5.4) have been identified; in part this is a reflection of the large assemblage of early vessel glass from Whithorn. The later period produced a significantly higher proportion of decorated/decorative metalwork and no glass beads, compared with the pre 8th-century data. Richards and Naylor noted significant quantities but a limited range of middle–late Saxon material within Northumbria, almost exclusively restricted to strap ends and pins (Richards and Naylor 2011, 144). Several regions of Scotland produced a slightly more diverse range of later material than this Northumbrian average, discussed further below.
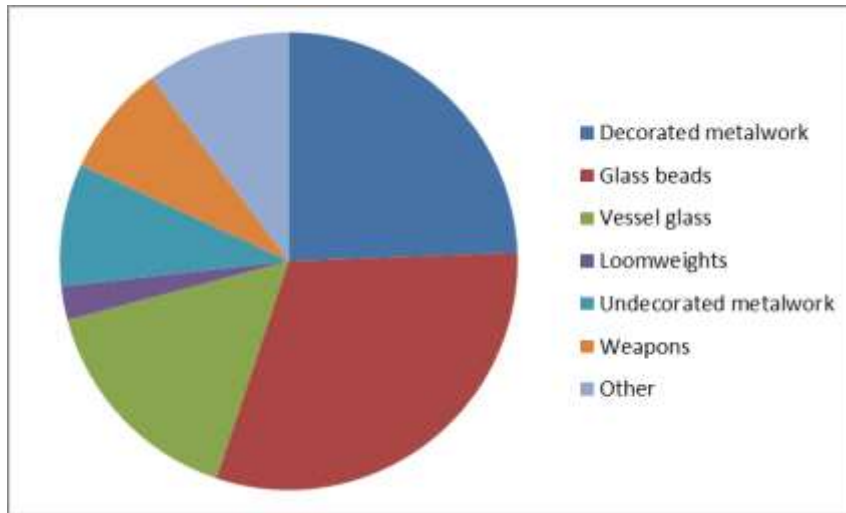
Chart 5.7 Pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds, divided by object type.
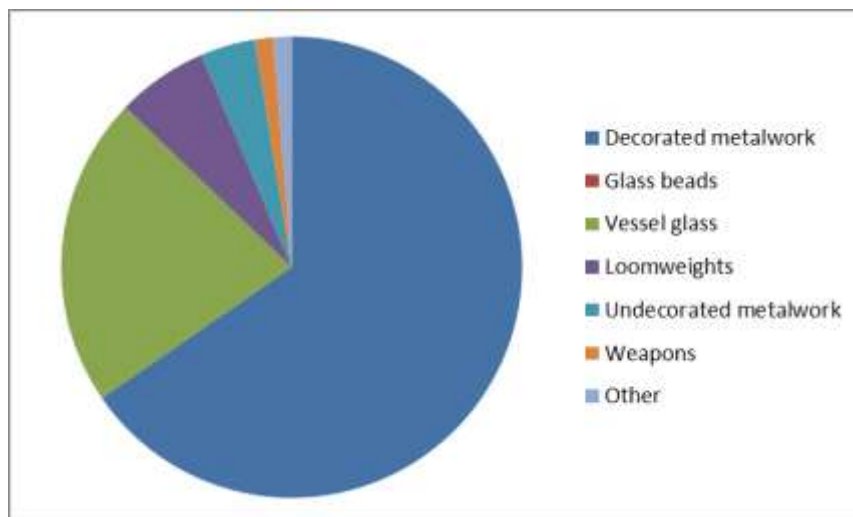
Chart 5.8 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds, divided by object type.

5.2.3 Metal-detected finds

Table 5.7 compares the number of excavated and metal-detected finds catalogued by region. Comparing the number of finds with the number of find spots (see Table 5.1) demonstrates that some regions (especially Argyll, the central-west, Dumfries and Galloway and Lothians) are dominated by a few large excavation assemblages. Ranking the regions by number of finds spots rather than finds reduces the national prominence of Dumfries and Galloway and increases that of the Borders (see Charts 5.1 and 5.3).
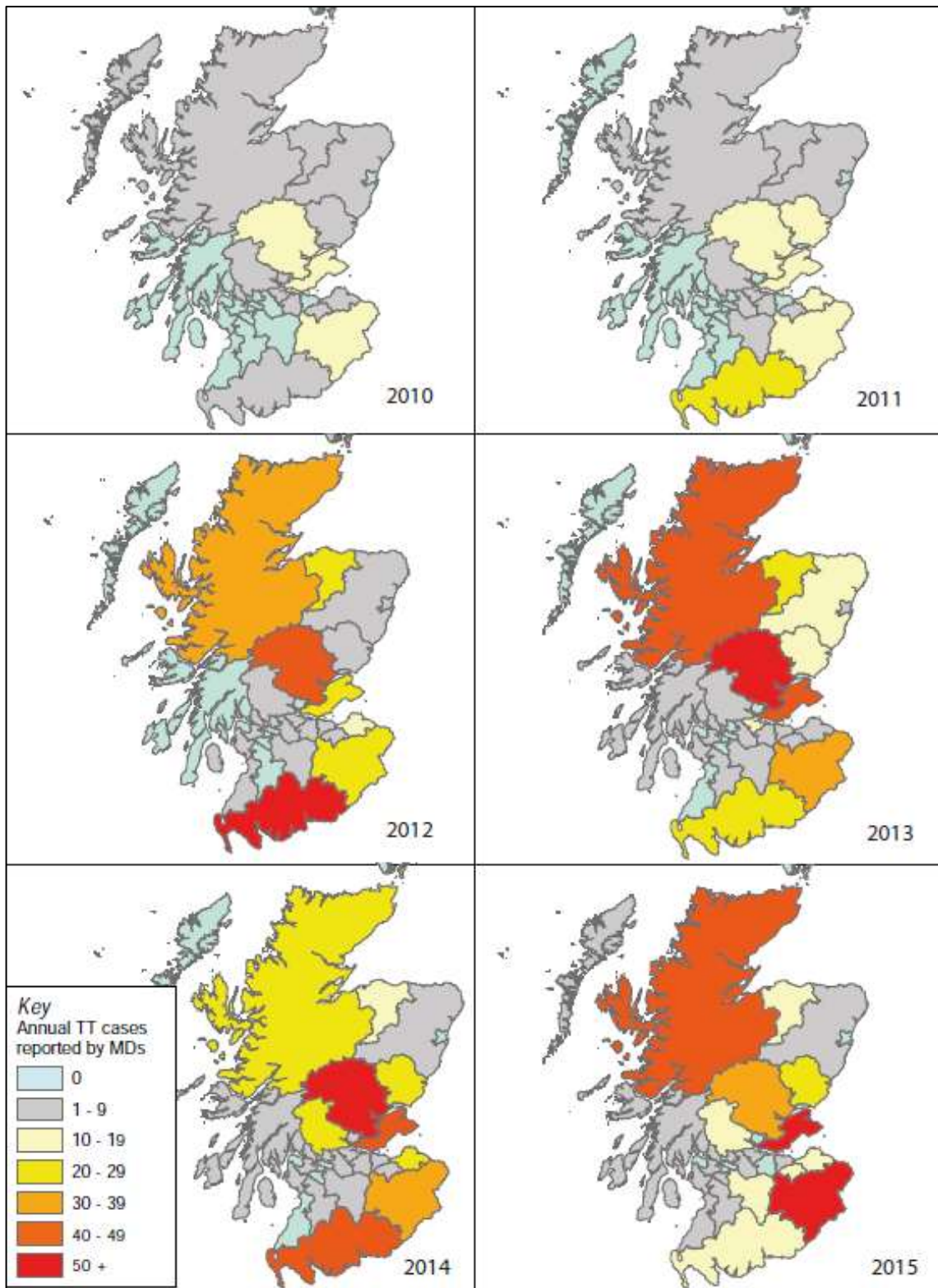
Map 5.2 Number of chance finds reported to the Scottish Treasure Trove Unit by metal detectorists 2010–2015 (after Bailie 2016, fig 3).

As well as the impact of fieldwork programmes, variable patterns of metal detecting across Scotland will affect the data in any material culture-based study. The first evaluation of the extent and development of hobbyist metal detecting in Scotland has recently been published (Bailie 2016). This shows very variable rates of chance-find reporting across Scotland, with each region having a different trajectory since the first metal-detected find was reported in 1981. Reporting frequency has varied year on year (Map 5.2): for example, in 2015 Dumfries and Galloway had less than half the number of cases compared with the Scottish Borders, but in 2012 this pattern was reversed. There have been (and continue to be) consistently low levels of reported metal-detected finds from Argyll, Ayrshire, the central belt, the Northern and Western Isles and Aberdeenshire (see Map 5.2; Bailie 2016, figs 2 and 3) and this bias accounts at least partially for the lack of finds catalogued here from these regions. Metal detecting seems particularly to play a role in the recovery of 8th/9th-century metalwork and it is possible that the lack of later strap ends and pins from the central-west and Argyll is has been affected by these different metal-detecting patterns. As the incidence of find-reporting is presented by Bailie as totals for Local Authority regions, rather than plotted individual finds, trends within single regions (for instance comparing Dumfriess-shire with Galloway, or distinguishing Skye from the vicinity of Inverness) remain unexplored.

The detected Anglo-Saxon finds show some differences compared with the national Scottish picture of metal detecting. Comparable numbers of detected Anglo-Saxon objects have been identified from the Borders and Lothians, while the total amount of detecting generally has tended to be higher in the Borders (see Map 5.2; Bailie 2016). The regions of southern and northern Pictland produced fewer metal-detected Anglo-Saxon finds than southern Scotland, though they accounted for about the same proportion of the regional assemblages. Both Pictish areas produced similarly small numbers of detected Anglo-Saxon finds, despite the southern counties (Perthshire, Fife, Angus, Clackmannanshire) consistently having a higher incidence of reporting generally (though detecting varies across the counties of both areas; see Map 5.2; Bailie 2016). Given the historically high levels of reported metal-detected finds from Dumfries and Galloway (Map 5.2), the region has produced fewer metal-detected Anglo-Saxon finds than might have been expected.

5.2.4   Excavated sites

Sixty-one percent of the catalogued finds are from excavation assemblages. In part this reflects the help that archaeological context brings in identifying and dating early medieval (generally) and Anglo-Saxon (specifically) objects. Excavated finds are known from 29 different sites, but only 15 produced more than a single catalogued object. Most of these single finds are sherds of continental vessel glass: only two excavated sites produced a single insular-made Anglo-Saxon object (a settlement site at Crock Cleugh, Borders and a hillfort at Trusty's Hill, Dumfries and Galloway). The excavation assemblage from the hillfort at Dunadd, Argyll has the greatest range of Anglo-Saxon and continental material (Table 5.8), followed by Whithorn (30 finds, excluding the 62 coins catalogued here together) and Buiston crannog (Ayrshire; 30 finds); all are from beyond south-eastern Scotland. Unsurprisingly, the nature of these three assemblages differs, reflecting in part their different functions – a hillfort, a monastic centre (albeit with possible secular origins) and a crannog – as well as their locations in different areas.

Of the excavated sites, eight are settlements of varying scales (including one with royal connections at Dunbar and a Roman Iron Age site at Crock Cleugh). Ten are hillforts (one Roman Iron Age, the rest demonstrated or suspected early medieval power centres), six are ecclesiastical sites (ranging from relatively modest church sites like Auldhame to the significant monastic complex at Whithorn), and one is a crannog. At several later castle or church sites, the nature of early medieval activity remains unclear. Although the relatively small number of substantial excavation assemblages makes identifying regional trends in site-type problematic, there is, not surprisingly, a difference between south-eastern Scotland and the rest of the country in terms of the role of settlement versus hillfort sites. The only excavated hillfort in south-east Scotland to have produced Anglo-Saxon finds is the Roman Iron Age site of Traprain Law (though one unexcavated hillfort in the Borders has yielded a single stray find). More settlement sites in the south-east have produced material than elsewhere in Scotland (though several examples are known from Argyll and the Northern Isles).

5.2.5   Find types

Decorated/decorative metalwork is the single largest category of object recorded (Chart 5.6), no doubt both because it is the easiest and most culturally diagnostic kind of material and is recoverable by detecting (though the loom weights and coins are here slightly underrepresented because of how they have been catalogued). Map 5.3 shows the distributions of different categories of finds. Non-ferrous metal finds are concentrated in Scotland south of the Forth, with an outlying cluster in the far north-east between the Moray and Dornoch Firths and a handful of finds from Perthshire–Angus and Argyll. There is a notable gap in the distribution in Fife, with only a single find (a 9th-century strap end) from the region (from Culross on the Forth). Southern Ayrshire, much of Argyll and the whole of the far north-west of Scotland also produced no metal finds.
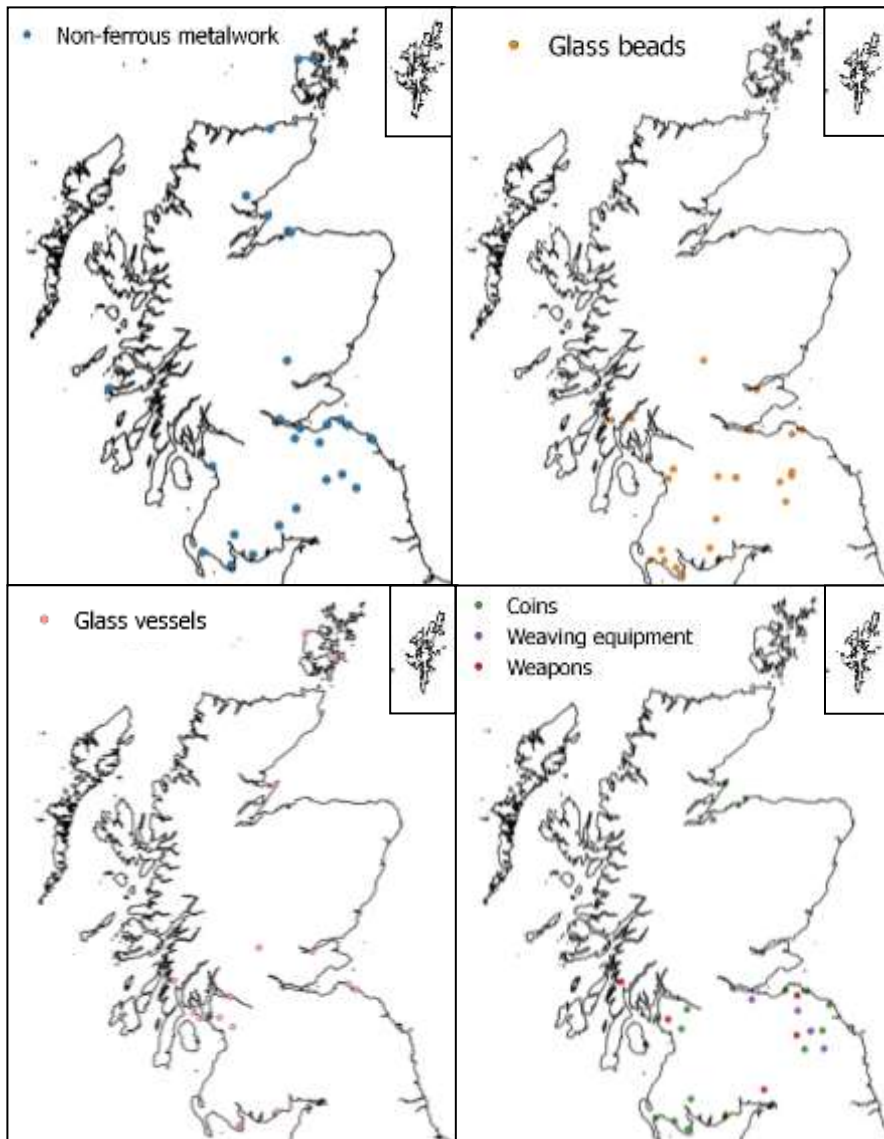
Map 5.3 All Anglo-Saxon and continental finds and coins from Scotland, divided by type.

Glass beads have a similar distribution to metal finds, with the main concentration found south of the Forth, though there are fewer from East Lothian than might be expected. Loom weights are entirely restricted to south-eastern Scotland, the only category of material to exhibit this distribution. Coins have a distribution that is comparable to that of non-ferrous metalwork, with most found in south-eastern and western Scotland, and clusters in the central-west and the Moray to Dornoch Firth area. Potential weapons (the most problematic type of material in terms of cultural distinctiveness) are found thinly scattered across southern and central Scotland, with the most northerly example from Scalloway, Shetland. In general, the west and north produced more glass vessels than the south and east (see Table 5.1 and 5.2), consistent with well recognised long-distance trading networks operating along the coast of western Britain and the Irish Sea region (Campbell 2007).

5.3 Scottish Borders

5.3.1 Scottish Borders: overview

Twenty-seven objects from 21 locations have been catalogued from the Scottish Borders (Table 5.9; Charts 5.9–5.11; Map 5.4). They consist of a handful of pre 8th-century objects and slightly more 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon finds but no later continental imports. The potentially pre 7th-century finds consist of a single weapon (**B015**), a single piece of decorated metalwork (**A011**), four beads (**B020**, **C071**, **C004**, **C005**) and loom weights (though they cannot be closely dated; **B061**); no Style I (or contemporary) metalwork has been identified from the region. Adding 7th-century finds gives another bead (**A010**), one further piece of decorated metalwork (**A009**), and a Merovingian gold tremissis (**C074**). Glass beads dominate the pre 8th-century material from the Borders (Chart 5.10; 50%; 20% is decorative metalwork), while in the Lothians, beads and decorated metalwork account for the same proportion of the earlier material (23% each).
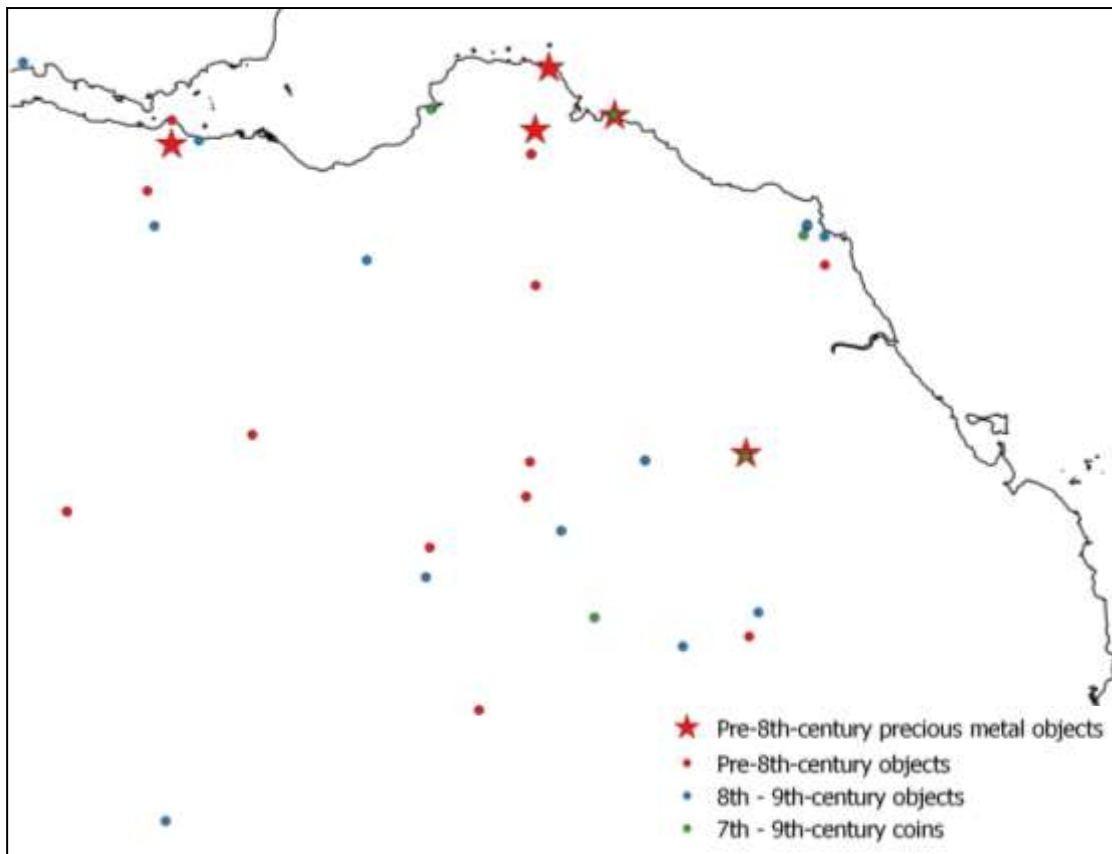
Map 5.4 Anglo-Saxon and continental objects from the Scottish Borders and Lothians, divided by date.

Though the numbers are small, proportionally more pre 650 AD objects have been recognised from the Scottish Borders than the average for Northumbria: 37% are 'early' and 63% middle–late Saxon, compared with 10% and 55.5% for the English portion of Northumbria (Richards and Naylor 2011, Graph 3). Loom weights (**B020**, **B031**–**B034**) together with a stylus (**A022**) and gold finger ring (**A015**) give the 8th/9th-century assemblage more diversity (Chart 5.11) than the Northumbrian average, (Richards and Naylor 2011, 144). Six strap-ends (**A033**, **A036**, **A058, A076**, **A077**, **A078**) and one possible pin (**B012**) have been included (compared with five strap ends and five pins from East Lothian). A single 9th-century coin find (**A087**) and a possible 9th-century coin hoard (**B062**) are both known from the vicinity of Jedburgh, and together with the Coldstream tremissis, these are the only pre 10th-century Anglo-Saxon coins known from the Borders.
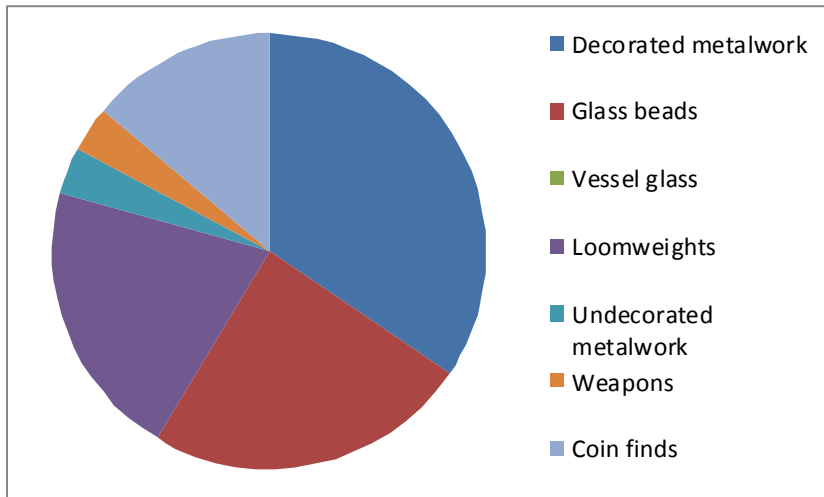
Chart 5.9 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from the Scottish Borders, divided by type.
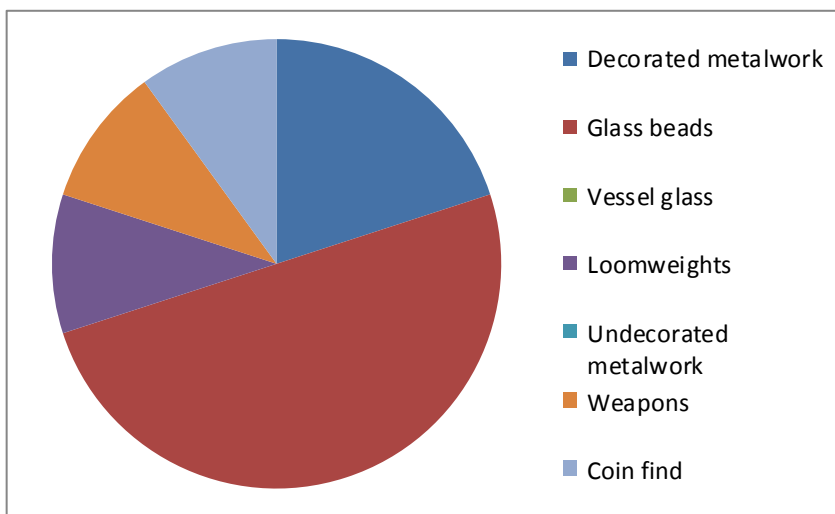
Chart 5.10 Pre 8th-century finds from the Scottish Borders, divided by type.
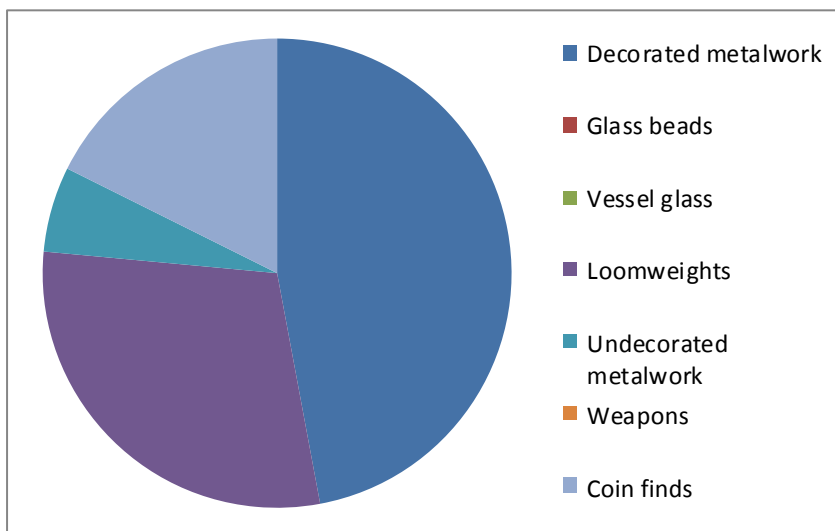
Chart 5.11 8th/9th-century finds from the Scottish Borders, divided by type.

5.3.2   Scottish Borders: finds and find spots

Of the 27 objects from the region, only 8% are from excavations; only in northern Pictland has excavation accounted for such a small proportion of a regional assemblage (see Table 5.7). The finds with context come from settlement sites at Crock Cleugh (a brooch; **A011**) and Longformacus (5 loom-weight fragments; **B061**). The remaining objects are essentially stray finds, though several are from the vicinity of known or suspected sites, found during fieldwalking at Newstead Roman fort (a glass bead; **B020**), in the vicinity of cropmarks indicative of a hall complex (a glass bead from Philiphaugh; **C071**) and at an undated hillfort (a glass bead from Denholm hill; **A010**).

All of the region's 8th/9th-century objects are stray finds, mainly found by metal detector. What may be a significant cluster of 8th/9th-century metalwork is known from the area around Coldingham: a 9th-century Northumbrian styca (**A085**), a strap end from the site of the later priory (**A033**) and another three metal-detected strap ends (found with an Insular enamelled mount) from just to the north (**A076–A078**). No finds have been recorded within the vicinity of St Abb's Head, suggested by Alcock et al (1986) to be the predecessor of a monastic site at Coldingham.

Many of the region's objects are from beyond the low-lying Tweed plain, with most either from upland areas (Crock Cleugh, Stichill, Peebles, Denholm Hill) or the fringes of the lowland basin (Philiphaugh and Sourhope). The exceptions are finds from Newstead (see below), Coldstream (by the Tweed), and Ayton (near the coast to the north). No pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon finds have been recorded by the PAS scheme west of the English portion of Dere Street, but a number have been identified from Scotland: stray glass beads from Denholm Hill (**A010**) and Philliphaugh (**C071**) and a stylus from Peebles (**A022**). Of the post-700 AD finds, only the gold ring from Selkirk (**A015**) is known west of Dere Street.

Of the three recognised sites that produced finds, two are primarily Roman or Iron Age in date. A burial adjacent to the presumed course of Dere Street and the Roman fort at Newstead was furnished with a type of 4th/5th-century spearhead (**B015**) associated with Germanic auxiliary troops and early Anglo-Saxon graves. Field walking at the fort also produced a glass bead (**B020**), a 5th/7th-century type found in Anglo-Saxon graves and at

the Roman forts at Chesters and Corbridge. Both objects appear to post-date Roman occupation of Newstead and suggest the potential for some limited early medieval activity at the site. Similarly, excavations at the small enclosed Roman Iron Age settlement of Crock Cleugh on the Calroust Burn, a tributary of the Bowmont Water, recovered a 6th-century annular brooch (**A011;** Steer and Keeney 1946–7, 154–5, fig 7.8). The brooch was the only find datable to later than the 3rd century AD; earlier objects comprised re-used quern fragments and a single sherd of Roman glass. It is not clear what activity the presence of the brooch represents, though it may relate to periods of abandonment, when the settlement was not maintained or kept clean, rather than occupation. Sourhope, which produced stray loom weights (**B029**) is located nearby on the Kaim Burn, the next tributary valley down the Tweed from Crock Cleugh, in the north of the Cheviots. An excavated early medieval settlement at Fallago Rig, Longformacus, found loom weights (**B061**; pers comm Melanie Johnson); they are of uncertain form and can only be dated broadly to the early medieval period. Other evidence of textile production is represented amongst the stray finds: an 'intermediate' loom weight from Chapelhaugh, likely to be pre 8th century, and bun-shaped examples from Stichill (**B031–B034**) and Sourhope (**B029**), likely to be post 8th century.

5.3.3   Scottish Borders: summary

In summary, there is a small assemblage of Anglo-Saxon and continental-made finds from the Borders, the vast majority of which lack any archaeological context. Glass beads buoy the region's assemblage slightly, but there remain only two pieces of pre 8th-century decorated metalwork from the region. One of these, a 7th-century buckle plate is a high-status object which, together with an imported gold coin, has connections elsewhere in the North Sea world (see Chapters 6, 8 and 9). The Borders has also produced the only Anglo-Saxon brooch known from south-eastern Scotland and while not a high-status type as such, it is a rare and significant object. There is evidence for Anglo-Saxon influence in textile production, though it is not closely dated. Finds from two sites – the Roman fort at Newstead and a Roman Iron Age upland settlement – suggest some early medieval use of earlier structures. The small 8th/9th-century assemblage is more diverse than the Northumbrian average and includes a significant high-status gold object.

5.4 The Lothians

5.4.1 Lothians: overview

Forty-one objects have been catalogued from 11 locations in the Lothians (Table 5.10; Charts 5.12–5.14; Map 5.4). The Lothians produced greater numbers and a wider range of pre 8th-century objects than the Borders, including some possible continental imports. This difference is partly due to excavations at Castle Park, Dunbar, though the region would remain distinct from the Borders on the nature of the stray finds alone. A higher proportion of the Lothians assemblage is pre 8th century in date compared with the Northumbrian average: 54% are pre 8th century and 46% middle/late Saxon, compared with 10% and 55.5% for the English portion of Northumbria (Richards and Naylor 2011, Graph 3). Of this material, only four objects are pre-7th century (compared with six from the Borders): all are from Traprain Law and all are identified only tentatively (three spearheads and a glass bead). In common with the Borders, no Style I or contemporary metalwork has been recognised from East Lothian.

Amongst the 7th-century material is a significant cluster of precious-metal finds not matched elsewhere in Scotland: the Lothians assemblage includes five gold objects compared with two from the Borders (**A015** and **C074**, though the latter is later in date), one from Dumfries and Galloway (**A029**) and one from Argyll (**A026**). This collection of high-status objects is the main reason that the Lothians and Borders regions have been treated separately here (though the equal proportion of pre 8th-century metalwork and beads is also significantly different to the Borders, where beads dominate the early assemblage; Chart 5.13). There are slightly more confidently identified Anglo-Saxon finds dating to the 8th/9th century from the Lothians, but fewer possible examples and continental imports. With a single exception (a glass inkwell sherd) the later assemblage is decorated metalwork and coins (Chart 5.14); in the Borders, loom weights and a stylus give the later assemblage more diversity.
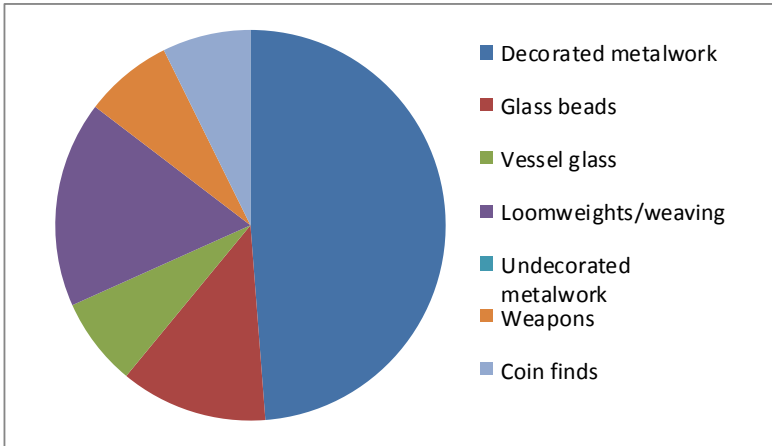
Chart 5.12 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from the Lothians, divided by type. Note that the actual proportion of loom weights is higher; had the 122 fragments and complete weights from two sites been catalogued individually there would have been three times as many as all non-loom weight finds combined.
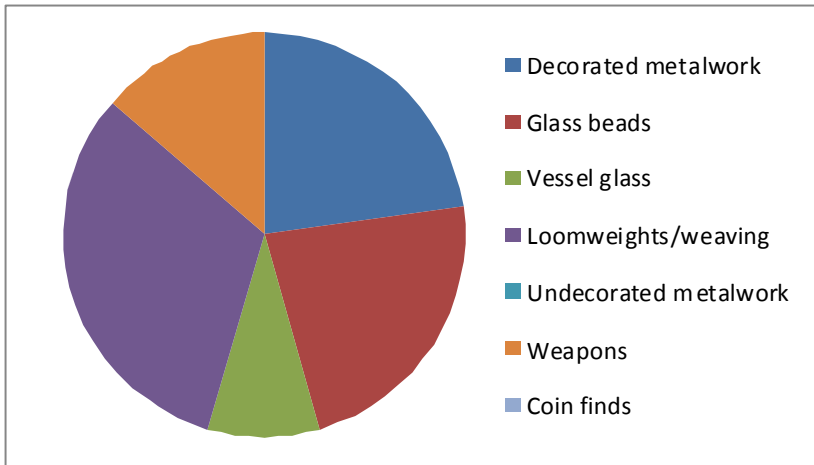
Chart 5.13 Pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from the Lothians, divided by type.
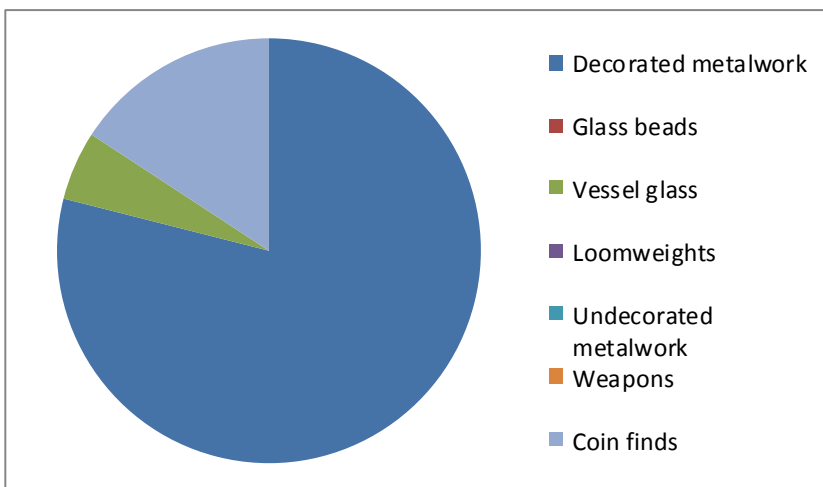
Chart 5.14 8th/9th-century finds from the Lothians, divided by type.

5.4.2   Lothians: finds and find spots

Of the 41 finds from the region, 13 are stray finds and 29 have archaeological contexts. The proportion of objects from excavated contexts is far higher than from the Scottish Borders (71% versus 8%). The contexts comprise excavation assemblages from the Roman Iron Age hillfort at Traprain Law (weapons and beads; **B018**, **B041–B043**, **C011**), a high-status centre at Dunbar linked to Bede's *urbs regis* (Tables 5.10, 5.11), a settlement site (Ratho; though note that here multiple loom weights are catalogued as one, **A025**), a church site (Auldhame; **A028**, **B048–B049**, **A032**), and a furnished burial (Hound Point, Dalmeny; note that multiple beads have been catalogued as one, **A001**). Single stray finds from known or suspected sites include the Roman fort at Cramond (**A019**) and the undated Dalmahoy hillfort (**B024**). The assemblage of stray finds from Aberlady (**A005–A007**, **A042**, **A044–A045**, **A084**) is discussed further below.

The pre 8th-century finds are from both coastal and inland locations (Map 5.4). In the 8th/9th-century material, a distinction is apparent: in East Lothian, later objects are known only from coastal locations, while the handful of finds from Midlothian and West Lothian show no such restriction. The pre 8th-century finds resolve into two clusters, one to the north and east of Traprain Law, and one to the west of Edinburgh in the vicinity of Dalmeny and Ratho. Both of these clusters include loom weights, precious-metal finds and glass beads.

Several weapons (**B041–B043**) from excavations at Traprain Law have been included very hesitantly here (see Chapter 8 for issues with ascribing cultural origin to spearheads). Two glass beads from the site have also been included in the catalogue – one that seems to be a 7th/8th-century type (**B018**) manufactured in England, and another found mainly in 6th-century contexts in England (**C011**). None of these identifications are certain (though the beads are more convincing than the weapons) and there is no other accepted post 5th-century material from the excavated area at Traprain Law (leaving aside the massive silver chain found elsewhere on the outcrop which may be late Roman Iron Age in date, see Chapter 9). With the possible exception of the later bead (**B018**), the objects may be

most plausibly related to Traprain's contact with the post-Roman frontier zone in the 5th/6th century.

There are fewer find spots of glass beads from Lothians than from the Borders. In addition to Traprain Law beads, the corpus includes excavated examples from the settlement at Castle Park, Dunbar (**C064–C065**) and a furnished cist burial (Hound Point, Dalmeny; **A001**). Within this cist of sandstone slabs aligned east–west were limited skeletal remains (teeth only) and a group of 11 glass beads with a piece of re-used Roman vessel rim (Baldwin Brown 1915). The beads probably date to the 7th century (though at least one might be as late as 8th century).

As with the Scottish Borders, the Lothians have produced evidence for textile production (two of the region's 11 finds spots, a similar proportion as the Borders), but here the evidence comes from two excavated settlement sites rather than stray finds. Castle Park, Dunbar (Perry 2000) produced loom weights (**A024**), some associated with a *Grubenhäus* structure, as well as probable pin beaters (**B044–B047**). A *Grubenhäus* structure at Ratho also contained a substantial assemblage of weights (**A025**; Smith 1995). While Dunbar produced a range of other material, including high-status objects (see below), no other distinctly Anglo-Saxon material culture was found at Ratho. Aside from the weights, the only other finds from within the Ratho structure were two sherds of undated pottery, a chronologically undiagnostic stone ball, and a fragment of reused rotary quern stone, part of a packed pebble floor level (Smith 1995, 108).

The Ratho weights were found in distinct lines within the structure, including a row of smaller-sized weights (Smith 1995, 105), an arrangement found in other excavated *Grubenhäuser* and interpreted as indicating either that weights were stored on a wooden pole or hanging from an *in situ* loom. Tantalisingly, yellow iris, a potential source of black pigment for dying cloth or yarn, was also found within the Ratho structure (Holden and Rankin in Smith 1995, 105). A two-phase palisade apparently enclosed the *Grubenhäus* (Smith 1995, 101–4, illus 19), an association also found at Dunbar (Perry 2000, 51, although stratigraphy at Dunbar is confused and it is not clear whether the two structures were contemporary). Interestingly, a copper-alloy nail-headed pin of probable early medieval date (but not an Anglo-Saxon type) was recovered from the fill of the primary alignment of the palisade (Smith 1995, 101, 103, illus 20). Two undated post-in-trench

structures outside the palisade could morphologically relate to the Neolithic, Bronze Age or early medieval activity at Ratho; neither produced small finds (Smith 1995, 101–2).

Both the Ratho and Dunbar weights are generally intermediate form, typologically dated to the 6th/7th century. At Ratho, scientific dating was challenging but a handful of AMS dates from charcoal within the *Grubenhäus* structure span the late 6th to early 8th centuries, centring on the 7th century (excluding one first millennium BC outlier; Smith 1995, 108–111). The Lothians have therefore produced stronger evidence than the Borders for uptake of warp-weighted loom technology by the 7th century.

As well as evidence for textile production, excavations at Castle Park, Dunbar produced a significant assemblage of other finds: imported vessel glass (**C068–C069**), probably dating to the 6th or 7th centuries and currently the only find spot within south-eastern Scotland (assuming the later Auldhame inkwell, discussed below, is insular-made); two 6th/7th-century glass beads (**C064–C065**); two pieces of 7th-century high-status metalwork; an early 8th-century silver coin struck in Denmark (**C077**); two 9th-century Northumbrian stycas (**A083**); an 8th/9th-century strap end (**A043**) and pins (**B038–B040**); and a massive assemblage of faunal remains. The metal finds include part of a 7th-century gold and garnet cross-shaped pendant (**A023**), technically an unstratified find, and fragments from a late 6th/early 7th-century elaborate buckle (**A048**).

There are issues with the stratigraphy and chronology at Dunbar and it appears to be more complex than the published sequence of mid-6th-century Northumbrian occupation, followed by reorganisation of settlement within a defensive palisade during the 7th century (Perry 2000, 48). Some of the radiocarbon dates from the site must be regarded as unreliable (see Blackwell 2009) and the earliest closely datable Anglo-Saxon objects from the site are the buckle fragments and pectoral cross arm, for which manufacture dates of the first half of the 7th century or later can be suggested, though both are broken and may have been deposited later than this. Continued use of the site into the 8th century is shown by the strap end, pins and coins. A coin of Eanred (c 810–41) was found in demolition deposits associated with a high-status stone structure and associated buildings, and was used in the published report to date the end of the Northumbrian activity at Dunbar to Cinead mac Alpín's attack between 843 and 858 (Perry 2000, 73). The Aeðelred II coin (c 844) was found in a medieval phase, associated

with a structure datable only to the 9th/14th centuries; it may have been redeposited from the nearby demolition deposit that produced the Eanred coin (Perry 2000, 84). The site's later assemblage fits better with the regional norm (albeit including a rare imported silver sceat), in contrast to its 7th-century high-status material.

In addition to Dunbar and Ratho, excavated Anglo-Saxon finds are now known from the cliff-top ecclesiastical site at Auldhame. Unfortunately the site was not fully excavated as the project's remit focussed on recording human remains uncovered during ploughing (Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 7–10). Remains of three stone-built structures, together with a single linear beam-slot from an inferred earlier timber structure, were interpreted as a chapel complex, with other evidence from the site suggesting monastic occupation between c 650–850/900 (Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 17, 44, 135–40). While renewal of the structures over time was apparent in four distinct building techniques, none were excavated and no stratigraphic information or direct dating evidence recovered; the buildings are dated only through their relationship with radiocarbon dated human remains (see Barber in Crone and Hindmarch 2016).

Also, unfortunately, all of the identifiably Anglo-Saxon objects from Auldhame were unstratified. The gold mount already mentioned cannot (in its multiple incarnations) be more closely dated that the later 7th/8th centuries (**A028**; Blackwell in Crone and Hindmarch 2016). An 8th/9th-century glass inkwell sherd (**A032**), a very rare find paralleled by a handful from sites in the south of England, shows that the site was producing as well as consuming written materials (Campbell in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 58–60). Concentrations of purple dye-producing whelks at the site (albeit unprocessed) suggest that the possibility that some were also illuminated there (Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 138). Two copper-alloy pins (**B048**, **B049**) were also catalogued, one a common 8th–10th century ball-headed type, the other paralleled both by examples from both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian contexts (Blackwell in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 57–8). A 9th/10th-century Hiberno-Scandinavian buckle set was part of a furnished grave, buried at some remove from the main cemetery.

In addition to the gold and garnet (and elaborate copper-alloy buckle) from Dunbar and the gold and glass stud from Auldhame, elite decorated metalwork is known as stray finds from East Linton (**A016**, 7th century), Dalmeny (**A002**, late 6th/7th century) and

Dalmahoy (**B024**, 7th/9th century). Together, these five finds represent a small but significant collection of precious metal objects compared with the paucity of comparable material from the Scottish Borders and from south of the Tweed. Both of the sword mounts appear to be the only examples of their type in gold from north of the Humber. Both also seem likely to be losses; the domed mount in particular shows several phases of repair to the (now broken) attachment lugs, suggesting it may have been deposited some time after manufacture.

The Dalmahoy find (**B024**) is a small gold fitting found by RBK Stevenson during survey at what he identified as a type-example of a nucleated hillfort (Stevenson 1948). Stevenson also found several mould fragments which he compared with examples from Dunadd, though unfortunately no diagnostic portions survive. While the hillforts at Dundurn and Dunadd, then identified by Stevenson as morphologically comparable to Dalmahoy, have since been excavated and revealed as significant early medieval powercentres, activity may at Dalmahoy remains undated.

A different kind of assemblage is represented by the metal-detected finds from Aberlady which consist of 8th/9th-century strap ends (**A042**, **A044**, **A045**), pins (**A005–A007**), and 9th-century coins (**A084**), all found within the Glebe Field, between the modern village and the Forth, adjacent to the parish church. Amongst the pins is a particularly fine 8th-century Mercian-style openwork pinhead (**A005**). Aberlady has also produced an 8th-century cross-shaft fragment (NMS x.IB 298), found built into a nearby boundary wall, suggesting an ecclesiastical site in the vicinity and perhaps under the current church. On-going community excavations in the Glebe Field led by AOC Archaeology found substantial structures with extensive areas of paving and antler-working evidence (Andy Heald pers comm) suggestive of settlement or market activity, though this awaits post-excavation analysis.

A suggestive but uncertain context is represented by the discovery of a rare rune-inscribed ring (**A019**), possibly 9th/10th century in date, from within the grounds of the parish church built inside the Roman fort at Cramond. Evidence for post-Severan occupation at Cramond is fragmentary: late 3rd- and 4th-century pottery and coins were recovered within the vicinity of the Roman bathhouse; a 6th-century Byzantine coin was also recovered from the same area, but as with other Byzantine coins from the UK it may

well be a modern loss (Cessford 2001). Recently, a mass grave within the bathhouse has been radiocarbon dated to the 6th century (John Lawson pers comm), perhaps implying that the site was not occupied at that time. There are hints of early medieval Christian activity at the site: an 8th/9th-century Insular mount bearing a simple cross-motif in millefiori and enamel was found in the 1970s (Bourke and Close-Brooks 1989, 230–232, fig 2.4), while serifs on the ring's runic inscription suggest a writer comfortable in both Roman and runic letter forms (Page 1999, 103). The founding of an early medieval church within the Roman fort would sit comfortably with the apparent 8th/9th-century re-use of other sites along the Antonine Wall, establishing a created continuity with the Roman remains (Maldonado 2015). The Cramond ring and Auldhame inkwell give the region's 8th/9th-century assemblage some diversity; otherwise it is composed of pins and strap ends, in common with other parts of Northumbria at this time.

5.4.3   Lothians: summary

In summary, there are possible Germanic objects at the Roman Iron Age power centre of Traprain Law. Imprecise dating, particularly of the stray finds, hampers identification of the earliest material beyond this assemblage, but it appears to date to the 7th rather than 6th century. The pre 8th-century assemblage contains five high-status gold objects which, though the group is a small one, stand out compared with surrounding distributions. The rich excavation assemblage from Dunbar clearly shows a site with elite connections during the 7th century, though the proportion of objects that are diagnostically Anglo-Saxon from the site is relatively small (compare Table 5.11 with Perry 2000). Excavations at Auldhame opened a fascinating window on the development and changing fortunes of an early medieval church site and produced several significant objects that add to the distinctly high-status nature of the region's assemblage.

5.5   Dumfries and Galloway

5.5.1   Dumfries and Galloway: overview

More Anglo-Saxon and continental finds have been recorded from the south-west of
Scotland than from any other region (though not if the Borders and Lothians are
combined; Table 5.12; Map 5.5; Charts 5.15–5.17). The 65 finds come from 17 different
locations, although assemblages from Whithorn (Table 5.13) and, to a lesser extent, the
Mote of Mark dominate. As expected, given the substantial recognised assemblage from
Whithorn, pre 8th-century continental imports are well represented (Chart 5.16). Leaving
aside the imported vessel glass, 45% of the region's finds are pre 8th century and 55% are
middle/late Saxon, compared with 10% and 55.5% for the English portion of Northumbria
(Richards and Naylor 2011, Graph 3). Of the decorated metalwork, only 20% is pre 8th
century and 80% is 8th/9th century in date. More 8th/9th-century objects have been
catalogued from Dumfries and Galloway than for either the Lothians (most comparable)
or the Borders (though there are fewer than from the Lothians and Borders combined;
Chart 5.17). No loom weights have been identified from the region. South-west Scotland
also lacks the concentration of very high-status/precious-metal objects found in the
Lothians, with only a single, fragmentary gold object identified (**A029**). Since the period of
data collection, a hoard of Viking and late Anglo-Saxon precious-metal objects was found
at an undisclosed site in Galloway; this material has not been included in the analysis
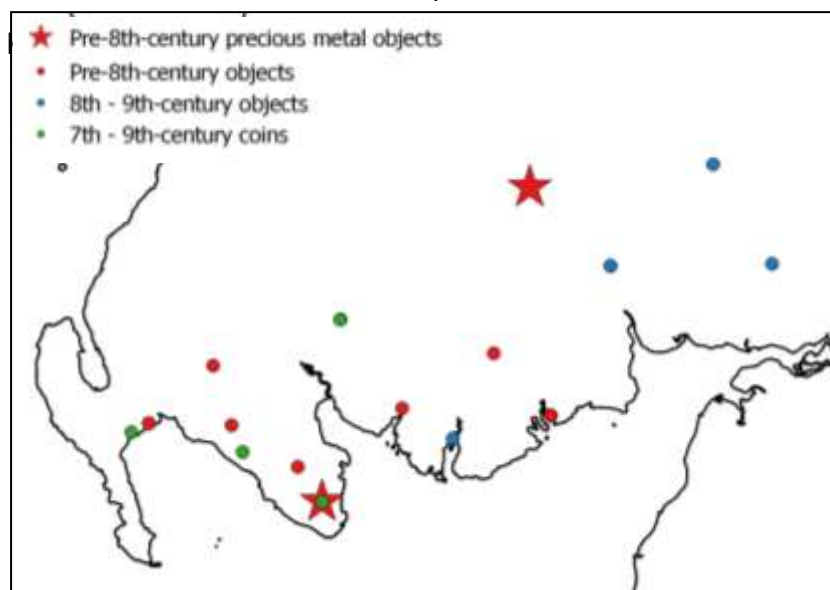
Map 5.5 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from Dumfries and Galloway, divided by date.
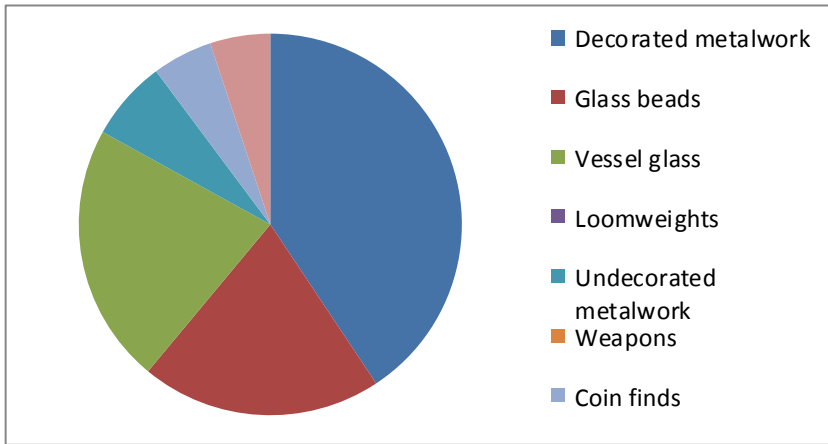
Chart 5.15 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from Dumfries and Galloway, divided by type.
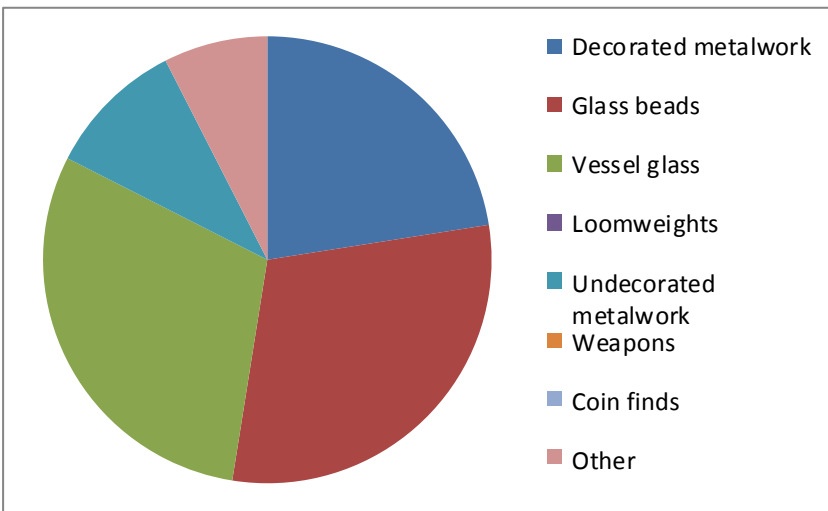
Chart 5.16 Pre 8th-century finds from Dumfries and Galloway, divided by type.
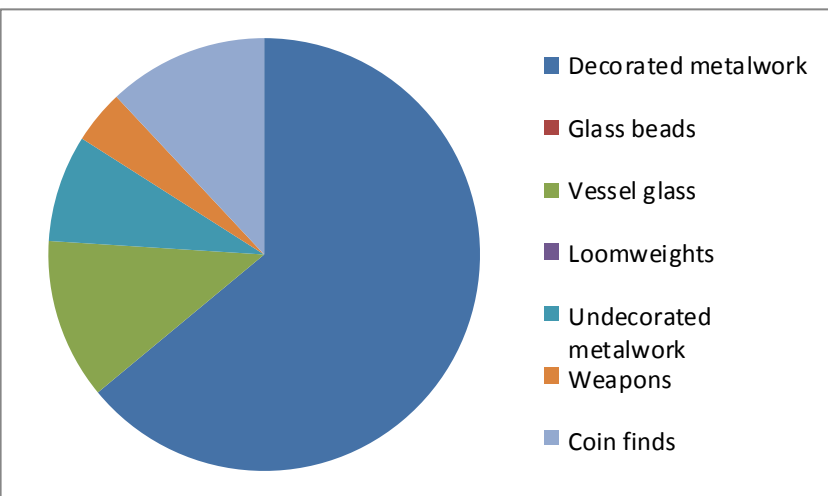
Chart 5.17 8th/9th-century finds from Dumfries and Galloway, divided by type.

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5.5.2 Dumfries and Galloway: finds and find spots

Forty-eight catalogued finds (74%) are from excavation assemblages, although this includes some early and poorly documented investigations. This is comparable to the Lothians, but significantly greater than the proportion of excavated finds from the Borders. Almost all of the 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon objects from Dumfries and Galloway are either unprovenanced, stray finds, or from early discoveries like the Talnotrie hoard (**A030**, **A039**, **A089**). The finds with archaeological contexts come from the monastic site of Whithorn (48%), a 12th-century chapel at Barhobble (2%), hillforts (26%) at the Mote of Mark, Trusty's Hill and Tynron Doon, and a crannog at Dowalton Loch (2%). Suggestive but unproven contexts include one object from a loch shore in the vicinity of cairns and other crannogs (Loch Ronald, **C007**), and from the vicinity of a medieval church that may overlie earlier activity (Castle Island, Mochrum, **C066**). The regional distribution is different for the pre 8th-century and 8th/9th-century finds (Map 5.5). The earlier material is bounded by the River Urr in the east (including the Mote of Mark, on the eastern side of its estuary), with the sole exception of the finds from Tynron Doon, some 30 miles to the north. The later material shows no such restriction, with finds from Holywood, Torbeckhill and Wamphray from Dumfriesshire to the east of the Urr.

Three hillforts have produced modest assemblages of pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon finds: Mote of Mark (12 objects), Tynron Doon (three objects), and Trusty's Hill (one object). Only one find from these sites, from Tynron Doon, is (potentially) later than the 7th century. In the Mote of Mark publication, three objects were regarded as diagnostically Anglo-Saxon: the rune-inscribed bone (**A061**), a possible runic inscription on a piece of sandstone (**B050**) and a rock crystal bead (**C010**; Laing and Longley 2006, 167). The earlier interim publication (Laing 1973) also included a pair of tweezers, a bone comb fragment, a glass bead (**C029**) and some pottery sherds, but these were judged in 2006 to be less certain (and of them, only the bead has been included here; Laing and Longley 2006, 168). Two further beads (**C027**, **C028**), two sherds of 6th-century vessel glass (**C037**, **C038**) and a number of moulds for the production of late 6th-/early 7th-century Anglo-Saxon-style mounts (**B051–B054**) have also been included in this catalogue. These moulds are a tiny percentage of the total: 482 mould fragments were excavated from the Mote of

Mark, of which 192 carry diagnostic features indicative of the type of objects cast (Laing and Longley 2006, 142). Those fragments identified as likely to be for casting interlace-decorated axe-blade shaped mounts and interlace-decorated roundels were separated by the excavators and regarded as 'influenced by, or owing their inspiration to contemporary artefacts in Anglo-Saxon areas', though not as Anglo-Saxon objects as such (Laing and Longley 2006, 151). Most of this metalworking evidence came from a feature best interpreted as a series of tipped deposits of debris rather than (as Curle had suggested) the floor of a structure (Laing and Longley 2006, 17).

Laing and Longley suggested a possible chronology of rampart construction in the later 6th century (though with indications of activity at the site before this), metalworking continuing to at least the middle of the 7th century, followed by destruction that either caused disturbance of earlier contexts or (less likely) that saw continued occupation in the form of imported glass dated (by analogy of form and context at Whithorn) to the later 7th century (Laing and Longley 2006, 6–24). However, there are indications of (and significant potential for) disturbance at the site, caused during the slighting (as suggested for Trusty's Hill, see below), by poorly documented early modern intrusions at the site, and by Curle's 1913 excavations (Curle 1914). This disturbance probably accounts, for instance, for the presence of the earliest diagnostic find (an early 6th-century amphora sherd) in a context apparently contemporary with the destruction rather than construction of the rampart, and an interlace-decorated mould fragment in a context sealed by construction (Laing and Longley 2006, 7). All of the site's radiocarbon dates were obtained from deposits regarded as only 'probably' *in situ* (Laing and Longley 2006, 22–4), and were in any case from substantial timbers; their interpretation of a later 6th-century construction phase is certainly open to question. The suggested chronology does however find support amongst the imported pottery and glass, which suggests rampart construction around 550 and occupation continuing perhaps as late as 700 (Campbell in Laing and Longley 2006, 113).

Recent excavations at the small nucleated fort of Trusty's Hill (Toolis and Bowles 2017), limited to re-investigating previous excavations (Thomas 1961), recovered a single Anglo-Saxon object, a late 6th/early 7th-century silvered and gilt copper-alloy horse-harness mount (**A060**; Blackwell in Toolis and Bowles 2017). The site's assemblage also included metalworking tools, crucibles and moulds for the production of pins and possibly

brooches (no diagnostic features), evidence of smelting and blacksmithing, a single sherd of imported E ware (but no imported glass vessel sherds or glass beads), a sherd of smoothed samian ware, an incomplete Iron Age glass bead, a rare decorated iron pin, and a lead ingot, possibly from a local mineralogical source. Bayesian modelling of five radiocarbon dates suggested occupation began between AD 475–560 and ended 560–630 (68% probability; Hamilton in Toolis and Bowles 2017, 37). One phase of occupation around 600 is possible, though scouring of the interior prior to construction of the timber-laced rampart could have removed earlier material, and an Iron Age glass bead (Hunter Toolis and Bowles 2017, 62–3) and several early radiocarbon dates (Hamilton in Toolis and Bowles 2017, 37) suggest an earlier phase of occupation. Dark soil deposits which produced some of the metalworking debris (but not **A060** which was recovered from Thomas' backfill) probably ultimately derive from occupation but were redeposited during an extended period of destruction, perhaps when structures were dismantled to provide fuel for the fire (Toolis and Bowles 2017, 105). Firing of the timber-laced rampart no later than the early 7th century apparently ended early medieval occupation of the site, although a rock-cut basin (at the entrance to the inner citadel, opposite an inscribed bedrock outcrop) continued to be open later than this on the basis of a date of AD 661–773 obtained from a piece of hazel from the primary waterlogged fill (Hamilton in Toolis and Bowles 2017, 34).

Trusty's Hill was interpreted as both as supporting a single settlement undertaking metalworking (Toolis and Bowles 2017, 107) and as having royal status (Toolis and Bowles 2017, 109). The royal association was not indicated by the artefactual assemblage which was small, reflecting the extent of excavations, though it did include markers of high status: metalworking evidence, imported pottery (a single sherd), Anglo-Saxon material (a single object), and a high-status iron pin. Instead, it was inferred mainly from the scale of effort (and wood resources) required for its destruction by fire (Toolis and Bowles 2017, 109), though this argument fails if it is applied to the sheer number of Iron Age forts with evidence of vitrification. It was also supported by the combination of rock-cut basin juxtaposed with inscribed bedrock bearing Pictish symbols, which finds analogy at Dunadd and which was there interpreted as relating to royal inauguration.

Three finds have been included from the hillfort at Tynron Doon in Dumfriesshire. Part of a mid-7th/8th-century gold pendent (**A029**) was a chance find in 1924, and two beads

(one late 6th/8th century, the second probably 5th/7th century) of likely continental manufacture (**C030**, **C067**) were found during limited archaeological investigation of the site in the 1960s (Williams 1971). The site has a complex history, incorporating an Iron Age hillfort, early medieval midden material and a later medieval towerhouse; none of the finds have contextual information, hampering interpretation of the assemblage. Other finds include an early medieval thistle-headed bone pin but most of the remainder is, as described and illustrated, chronologically undiagnostic. The limited investigation make it hard to draw meaningful comparisons with the assemblages from Mote of Mark and Trusty's Hill; some evidence for vitrification was recovered but unlike the other nearby hillforts no imported pottery or vessel glass has been recognised. The gold pendant from Tynron Doon is likely to post-date the late 6th/early 7th-century mount from Trusty's Hill and moulds for casting further mounts from the Mote of Mark.

Excavations at Whithorn (Hill 1997) have produced 46% of the region's total assemblage (see Table 5.13), though only a small proportion of the small finds catalogued by Hill are culturally diagnostic enough to be included here. Most belong to the 8th or 9th centuries: strap ends (**A046**, **A057**), pins (**B055–B057**), a stylus (**A073**), window glass (**A075**), later imported vessel sherds (**C041–C042**), coffin fittings (**B060**) and coinage (**A082**), all types that fit well with a minster. The bulk of the pre 8th-century material from the site is imported Germanic glass vessel sherds, together with some glass beads (**C023**, **C075**), also likely to be imports. Aside from this glass, the earliest Anglo-Saxon finds are two pieces of metalwork: a late 6th/early 7th-century axe-blade harness-mount (**A067**; cf **B051–B054** from the Mote of Mark) and a 7th-century interlace-decorated mount for a cup or sheath (**A068**); undecorated rim mounts (**A069**, **A072**) and a purse mount (**B059**) from the site date to the 7th/8th century. The interpretation of this earlier assemblage is more ambiguous. Since Hill's publication, the phasing and interpretation of Whithorn has been criticised (discussed further in Chapter 9) and it now seems more logical to describe early Whithorn as a high-status settlement and cemetery, a site (not necessarily ecclesiastical) that used significant numbers of continental imports (Campbell 2007).

Several objects from Dumfries and Galloway have suggestive associations but lack clear contextual information. A bead was discovered during antiquarian investigation at Dowalton Loch (**C009**) but it is not clear which crannog the bead was excavated from, nor whether there was any associated material. A second bead was found on the shore of

Loch Ronald (**C007**) and might likewise be associated with a crannog, though there are also undated cairns in the vicinity. Buiston crannog in Ayrshire (section 5.6.1, below) has produced Anglo-Saxon metalwork and two glass beads, suggesting the kind of assemblage that Dowalton (and perhaps Loch Ronald) might have produced with systematic excavation. A further 7th-century insular-made glass bead, from Crossmichael (**B019**), may have been associated with another bead of Roman date, though this link is not secure; as discussed above, a group of 7th-century beads from the Lothians (**A001**) were associated with re-used Roman vessel glass.

A single 8th-century Series Y sceat of Eadberht (c 737–58) is known from excavations of a 12th-century stone chapel at Barhobble in the parish of Mochrum (**A081**; Pirie in Cormack 1995, 74, no 10). It was recovered from below midden material to the south-west of the church. Coins of this date are rare finds in the west of Britain: only the Whithorn assemblage (**A082**) and a single example from Carlisle are known (Cormack 1995, 74; none are for instance amongst the Luce Sands assemblage). The Barhobble coin was interpreted in the excavation report in the context of military activity and specifically Eadberht's annexation of Kyle in 750 (Cormack 1995, 49; though see Chapter 8).

From Wamphray is a stray modified 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon disc mount (**A059**). It was found by metal detector in the same field as two Insular interconnecting mounts, suggesting the possibility of a Viking-Age burial in the immediate vicinity. A chance find of a 9th-century sword was made in the early 20th century at Torbeckhill (**A020**); the type is found in both England and Scandinavia. These objects give the region's 8th/9th-century assemblage some variation, but the remaining material consists of strap ends, pins and coins: a silver strap end (**A039**), a pair of silver pins (**A030**) and some 9th-century stycas (**A089**) from the Talnotrie hoard (Maxwell 1913), and stray copper-alloy strap ends from Holywood (**A035**), Bishopton (**A047**) and Glenluce (**A049**, **A050**), a single copper-alloy pin from Holywood (**A062**) and 9th-century coins from Glenluce (**A086**). Talnotrie produced the only clearly hoarded objects in the corpus (the 'Galloway hoard' of Anglo-Saxon and Viking-age objects was found too late to be included). Found in 1912, the Talnotrie hoard contains thirteen coins (suggesting a deposition date in the 870s), together with a lead weight with cut-down Insular mount, a plain gold finger ring, spindle whorls, as well as the Anglo-Saxon strap end and pins included here.

5.5.3   Dumfries and Galloway: overview

In summary, excavations at Whithorn gave Dumfries and Galloway the greatest number of recognised imported continental and Anglo-Saxon objects of any region in Scotland. Aside from imported glass vessel sherds, five pieces of pre 8th-century decorated metalwork have been catalogued (from three hillforts and Whithorn); this is more than either the Borders or Lothians, though the south-eastern assemblage is richer in precious metals. The Mote of Mark has also produced evidence for the production of Anglo-Saxon style metalwork, not currently paralleled by material from south-eastern Scotland. Leaving aside the imported glass, limited excavation at the region's hillforts has produced more pre 8th-century finds than the Whithorn excavations.

The early metalwork only accounts for 20% of the region's total decorated metal finds, however; it is outweighed 4:1 by 8th/9th-century decorated metalwork. Dumfries and Galloway has produced the same number of 8th/9th-century strap ends and pins (14) as the Borders and Lothians combined. The number of 8th/9th-century coins known from the region exceeds that from south-eastern Scotland, thanks to the 14 sceattas found at Whithorn. The western coin finds are all Anglo-Saxon-struck, while the eastern coins include both Anglo-Saxon and imported examples. A handful of other finds, primarily from Whithorn, give some diversity to the later assemblage. None of the pre-8th-century metal finds from the south-west have been recovered by metal detector (in contrast to 8th/9th-century types that, aside from Whithorn, are almost all detected finds). The 12 glass beads from the region have been found at a more diverse range of site types than the decorated metalwork, and include the cemetery-settlement/monastic site of Whithorn, several hillforts, a probable crannog, an island church-site, and a multi-period stray dune assemblage.

5.6   Central-western Scotland

5.6.1   Central-western Scotland: overview

Twenty-two objects have been catalogued from eight locations in the region defined here
as central-western Scotland (including Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, Dunbartonshire and
Strathclyde; Table 5.14; Charts 5.18–5.20; Map 5.6). Most are pre 8th-century objects; the
later period is poorly represented compared with the rest of southern Scotland and aside
from a handful of imported glass sherds comprises only a single strap end (a stray find
from Steventson Sands, **A040**) and two coin finds (a lost hoard including 8th-century coins
from Paisley, **A088**; and a single mid-9th-century coin from an apparent Viking burial at
Kingscross, Arran, **A090**). Twelve finds are from excavated contexts, the majority (and the
most confident identifications) from the crannog at Buiston, Ayrshire. The earliest finds
are glass beads with broad 5th/7th-century date ranges from Coulter (**C017–C020**;
identification tentative), Buiston (**C001**) and Lesmahagow (**C024**).
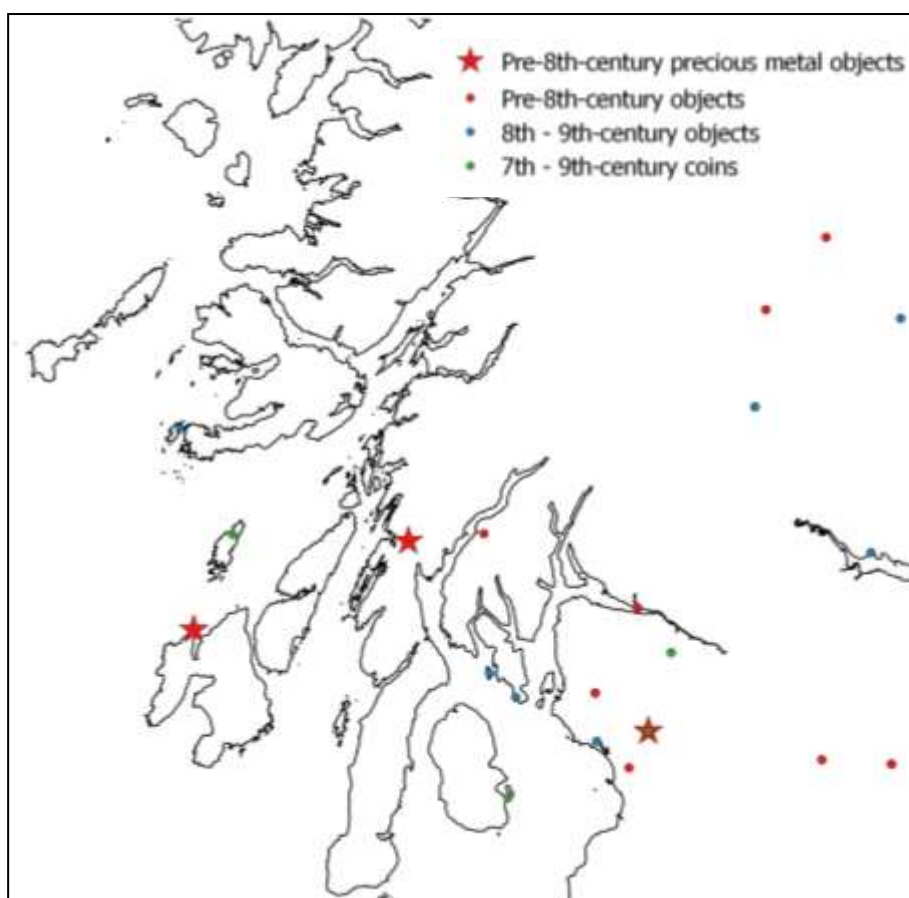
Map 5.6 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from the central-west region and Argyll,
divided by date.

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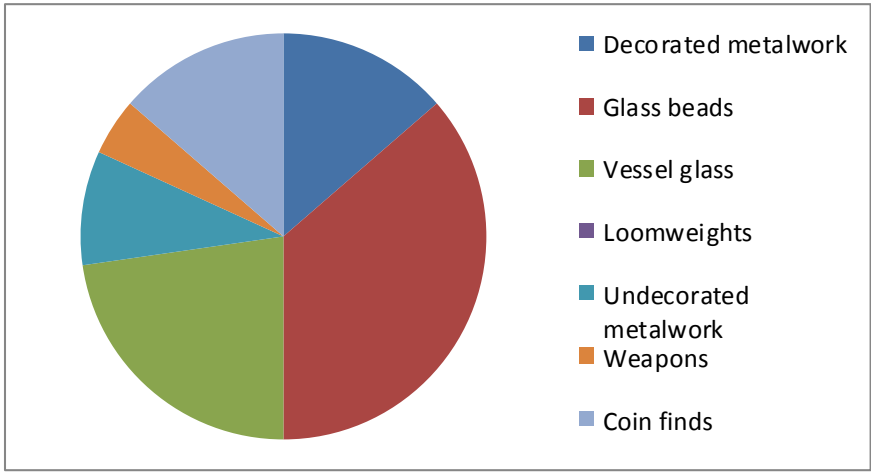
Chart 5.18 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from central-western Scotland, divided by type.
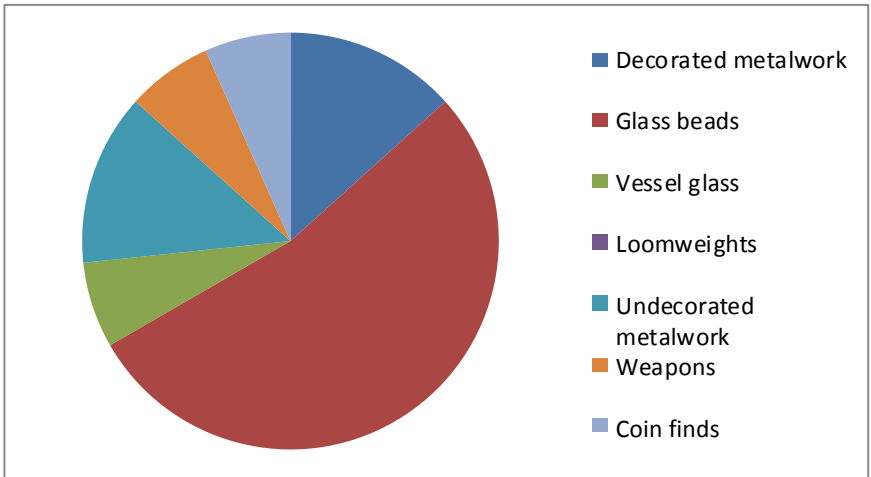
Chart 5.19 Pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from central-western Scotland, divided by type.
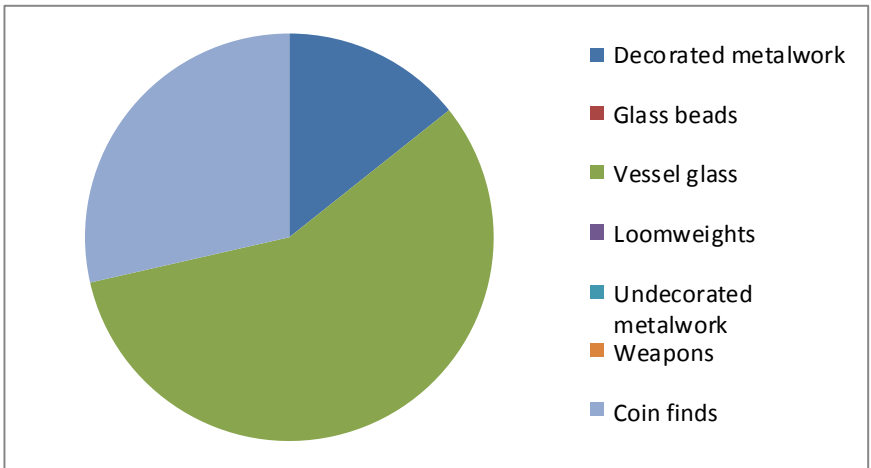
Chart 5.20 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from central-western Scotland, divided by type.

Three sites produced imported vessel glass: Buiston (**C045**), Castlehill (**C050**) and Dumbarton Rock (**C043**, **C059**, **C060**); only Buiston produced both vessel glass and a glass bead.

5.6.2 Central-western Scotland: finds and find spots

Finds from the crannog at Buiston (Munro 1882; Crone 2000) dominate the region's assemblage. In addition to the vessel glass and a glass bead, the site produced central-western Scotland's only piece of pre 8th-century decorated metalwork, a 6th-century annular brooch (**A014**), similar to the only other brooch from southern Scotland (**A011** from Crock Cleugh, Borders). Other finds include undecorated metalwork (vessel rim mounts, **A012**, **A013**; iron buckle **B006**), as well as a counterfeit Anglo-Saxon gold tremissis (**A079**). A hanging bowl from the site was previously mistakenly given an Anglo-Saxon origin (Crone 2000, 158).

Excavation at Buiston in 1989–90 identified two successive domestic roundhouses with hearths, floor surfaces and internal partitions, and several phases of defensive palisade (Crone 2000, 105–10). Repeated renewal of all features was interpreted as a result of living on an unstable mound in a loch; several periods of abandonment could also be related to this or to planned seasonal movement. The assemblage was domestic in nature, together with evidence for imports (including the Anglo-Saxon finds) but included only very limited fine-metalworking evidence.

Excellent wood survival provided a dendrochronological framework that highlighted issues with the radiocarbon calibration curve for the 6th century (Crone 2000, 58). The wood assemblage allowed Crone to date the bulk of the material excavated in 1989–90 to a short occupation phase between AD 594 and c 613 (Crone 2000, 111). Material from Munro's 19th-century excavations (which includes all of the Anglo-Saxon objects, bar sherds of Germanic glass found in 1989–90; Munro 1882) on the other hand came from his 'refuse heap', which Crone located and dated to after AD 630 on the basis that it lay beyond but respected the line of a dendrochonologically-dated palisade (Crone 2000, 111). In addition to Anglo-Saxon items, evidence for imports included E ware (including traces of dyer's madder) and a barrel lid that might be linked to trade in wine, together

with some exotic spices such as coriander and dill (Crone 2000, 105). The large assemblage at Buiston was interpreted as representing sudden destruction, and the fine chronology meant that Crone could suggest a potential correlation between the last felling of timber at the site and the arrival of the plague in Ireland, as recorded in annals for 664 and 668 (Crone 2000, 161). The use and deposition of all the material considered here must therefore date to the first half of the 7th century.

Two other excavations have produced Germanic finds: a hillfort (Dumbarton Rock) and from problematic early deposits at the castle site of Dundonald. Restricted excavations at Dumbarton Rock (Alcock et al 1992) produced imported vessel glass (**C059**, **C060**) but no other Anglo-Saxon finds. Dundonald produced a glass bead (**C062**) that may be imported or of Anglo-Saxon manufacture. Within Dundonald's published excavation report there is no discussion of bead's context. The only reference to it appears in the discussion, where it is wrongly used (together with a Roman brooch) to suggest a 4th/5th-century date for what the excavators termed the 'Period 2A fort' (Ewart and Pringle 2004, 126). Elsewhere, this phase was dated to c 500BC to c AD600 (Ewart and Pringle 2004, 27). Period 2b features at Dundonald produced three E-ware sherds dating to the late 6th/early 7th century (Campbell in Ewart and Pringle 2004, 90–2), a bone nail-headed pin (Caldwell in Ewart and Pringle 2004, 103, no 76, fig 46), and two spearheads with closed sockets that may also be early medieval (Caldwell in Ewart and Pringle 2004, 101, nos 68 and 69, fig 45). There do not appear to be any other certain Anglo-Saxon finds from the site and the nature of the early medieval occupation at Dundonald remains uncertain.

5.6.3   *Central-western Scotland: summary*

In summary, the small assemblage from central-western Scotland is dominated by the crannog site of Buiston which produced both continental imports and insular Anglo-Saxon finds. A handful of other pre 8th-century finds are known beyond Buiston, but with the exception of Dumbarton Rock their contextual information is poor. The region has produced more continental imports than insular Anglo-Saxon finds. In particular, 8th/9th-century finds are almost non-existent, a significant contrast with the rest of southern Scotland and particularly with Dumfries and Galloway to the south. This absence is

perhaps surprising, given historical sources attest to Northumbrian control of the district of Kyle (Ayrshire) from 750 (and perhaps earlier; see Chapter 9, section 9.4.2).

5.7   Argyll

5.7.1   Argyll: overview

Twenty-four objects from seven locations have been catalogued from Argyll (Table 5.15; Charts 5.21–5.23; Map 5.6). The regional picture is dominated by the excavation assemblage from Dunadd (78%), with only a small number of finds identified from beyond this key site, including a silver pin from Islay (**A065**) and ring bezel from Iona (**B027**). Dunadd is the only site in Argyll to produce both Anglo-Saxon and continental finds. Aside from Dunadd, one hillfort and one monastic centre (Dunagoil and Inchmarnock) have produced Germanic vessel glass alone, and a stray bead of possible continental manufacture has been catalogued from Strathlachlan (**C021**). With the exception of the Iona ring bezel (**B027**) and 9th-century coins from a Viking burial at Kiloran Bay (**A094**), all the Anglo-Saxon finds from the region are pre 8th century in date: no other 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon metalwork is known from Argyll.

5.7.2   Argyll: finds and find spots

The assemblage from Dunadd (18 finds) is unusual, both regionally and nationally, in terms of the range of material: imported vessel glass, an imported glass bead, decorated insular Anglo-Saxon metalwork including a gold and garnet stud, undecorated metalwork including iron and copper-alloy dress fittings and vessel mounts, possible weapons, and manufacture evidence for Anglo-Saxon and hybrid styles. It has the greatest range of categories of material of any site in Scotland, including the excavated *urbs regis* at Dunbar within Bernicia (Table 5.8).
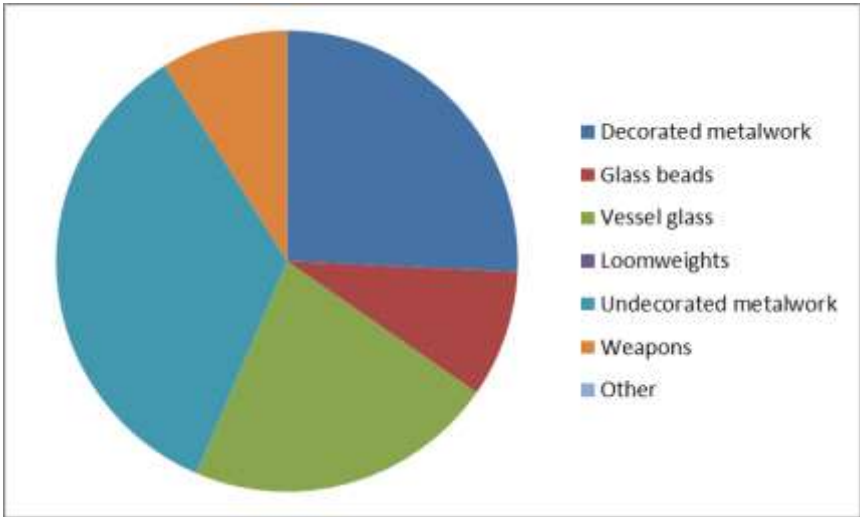
Chart 5.21 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from Argyll, divided by type.
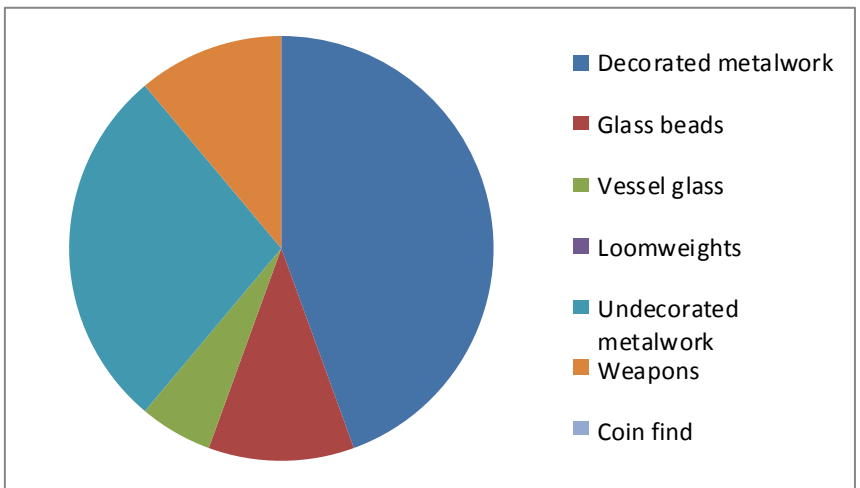
Chart 5.22 Pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from Argyll, divided by type.
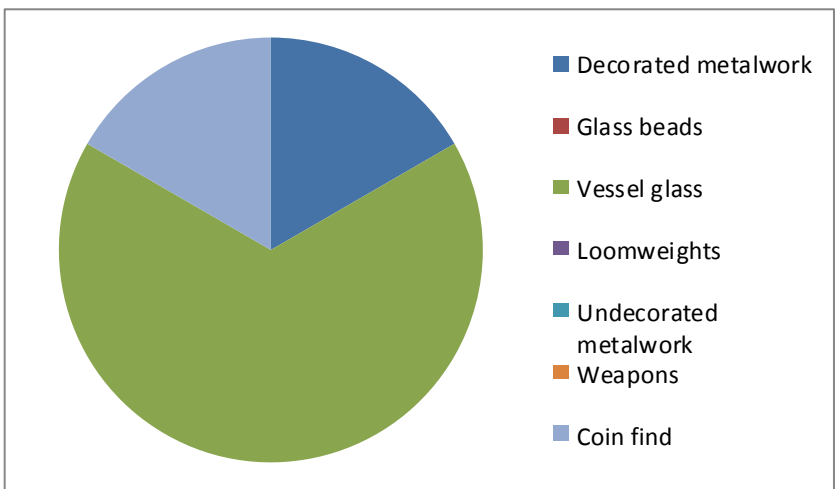
Chart 5.23 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from Argyll, divided by type.

Dunadd has long been identified as a capital of the kingdom of Dál Riata and a centre for royal inauguration on the basis of the rock-cut basin and footprint (Skene 1867; Thomas 1879). The site has been subject to excavation from the early 19th century and most recently during limited investigation in 1980–1 (Lane and Campbell 2000). The site originated in an Iron Age summit fort with several phases of ramparts, and developed during the early medieval period into a nucleated fort with further rampart construction (Lane and Campbell 2000, 261). The 1980s' excavations added significantly to what was already one of the largest early medieval assemblages outside of Anglo-Saxon England and provided a chronology of fine metalworking at Dunadd. Substantial quantities of imported E-ware pottery and the presence of other, rarer imported ceramics and substances (orpiment, madder, gold-leaf tessera) suggested direct control of access to long-distance trading networks (rather than exchange utilising neutral trading sites; Lane and Campbell 2000, 253). The recognition of a cross-decorated quern and a stone bearing a Christian inscription showed links to Iona and literacy at Dunadd; the pigment orpiment may point to the site having some role in the production of written materials (Lane and Campbell 2000, 254). Complexity of the fort's enclosures was also seen as indicator of status, particularly compared with another contemporary fort at Dunollie (ibid).

Anglo-Saxon imports and influence at Dunadd include: a pressblech animal mount (**D009**), a Style II harness mount disc (**A027**), knurled-headed pin (**B011**) and buckles and buckle components (**B003–B007**; Lane and Campbell 2000, 241). Anglo-Saxon influence was also detected in the creation of hybrid bird-headed penannular brooches (**D002–D008**; Lane and Campbell 2000, 245) which showed clearly 'the process by which Anglo-Saxon motifs were adopted into "Celtic" metalwork', and which meant it was legitimate to describe Dunadd as 'one of the places where the fusion of Celtic and Germanic metalwork gave rise to the Hiberno-Saxon style' (Lane and Campbell 2000, 245–6). Interestingly, no Anglo-Saxon glass beads were identified, though there is a probable Frankish example (**C001**) and Irish-style beads; most came from the summit enclosure, suggesting casual loss in an area of domestic activity (Lane and Campbell 2000, 237). In contrast, the locatable Anglo-Saxon finds came from black soil deposits in Site 3, enclosure D, which also produced large quantities of tools, crucibles, moulds and finds either in production (pins, buckles, needles) or being recycled (garnet stud, pressblech mount, lead disc, hanging bowl disc; Lane and Campbell 2000, 237–8). The excavators felt there was no evidence that these deposits accumulated over a long period of time, suggesting instead several decades of

intensive metalworking, from the middle of the 7th century (Lane and Campbell 2000, 237).

Excavations at the hillfort of Little Dunagoil and the monastic site at Inchmarnock, both Isle of Bute, each produced a single sherd of imported glass (**C034**, **C031**) but no other catalogued material. Little Dunagoil is a nucleated fort with evidence of occupation dating from the Late Bronze Age to the 13th century. While the site has only been partially excavated (Marshall 1915) and the plan and sequencing of the site remains largely unclear, it has produced E ware, confirming later 6th/7th-century activity. Excavations of the multi-period site at Kilellan, Isle of Islay, recovered a silver and garnet pin (**A065**). The pin was found in a trench that also produced the other early medieval finds from the site (including a barrel-headed brooch pin, a knife and bone pins), but the only associated structural feature was a hearth (Ritchie 2005, 47). On this basis, the excavators suggested an early medieval high-status settlement might be located nearby.

An Anglo-Saxon ring bezel (**B027**) was found on Iona in a hoard that contained over 360 coins and a silver ingot and gold rod fragment. It was discovered in 1950 by workmen of the Iona Community whilst digging a drain about 21 inches below ground level outside the south-west corner of the Abbot's House, against the bottom stones of a rough masonry foundation and beneath a layer of rough stones that extended over a wide area a foot below ground (Stevenson 1950–51; Graham-Campbell 1995, 147). It is the only Anglo-Saxon object recovered from Iona, despite the many different excavations at the site. Viking activity also accounts for the 9th-century coins from burials at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay (**A094**).

5.7.3   Argyll: summary

In summary, much like central-western Scotland, Argyll's regional assemblage is dominated by a single site. Dunadd is also unusual for the range of material it has produced, the most diverse of any site in Scotland. Also like the central-west, Argyll has produced virtually no 8th/9th-century metalwork; only imported glass, the ring bezel from the hoard at Iona and coins from Viking burials have been included. Several sites have produced imported glass but no other Germanic material.

5.8 Southern Pictland

5.8.1 Southern Pictland: overview

Ten objects from eight locations have been catalogued from southern Pictland (encompassing Fife, Angus, and Perth and Kinross; Table 5.16; Map 5.7; Charts 5.24–5.26). This handful of finds is evenly split between pre 8th-century and 8th/9th-century objects. Six are from excavated contexts, the rest are stray finds. The excavated finds are from a monastic site (Fortingall, **A066**), two hillforts (Dundurn, **C044**, **C058**, and Clatchard Craig, **C006**, **C061**) and a settlement site (Aldclune, **B008**).
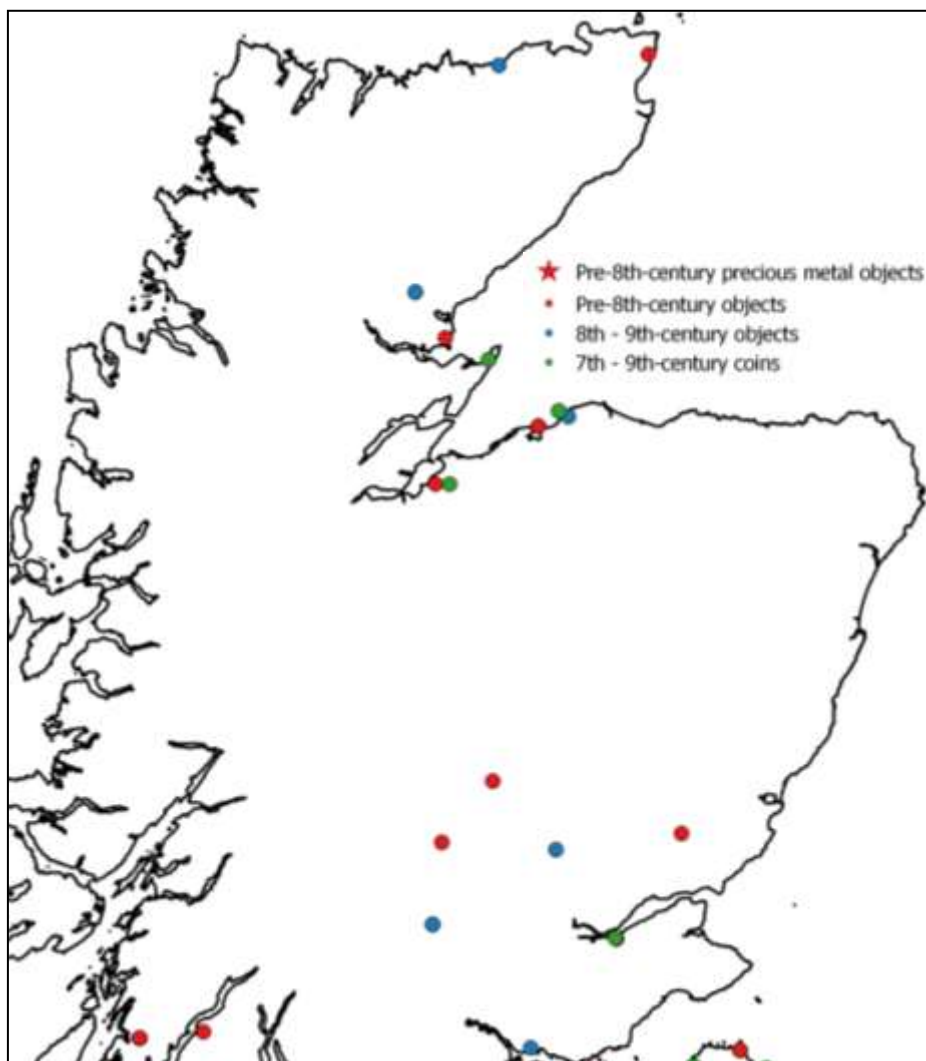
Map 5.7 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from southern and northern Pictland, divided by date.
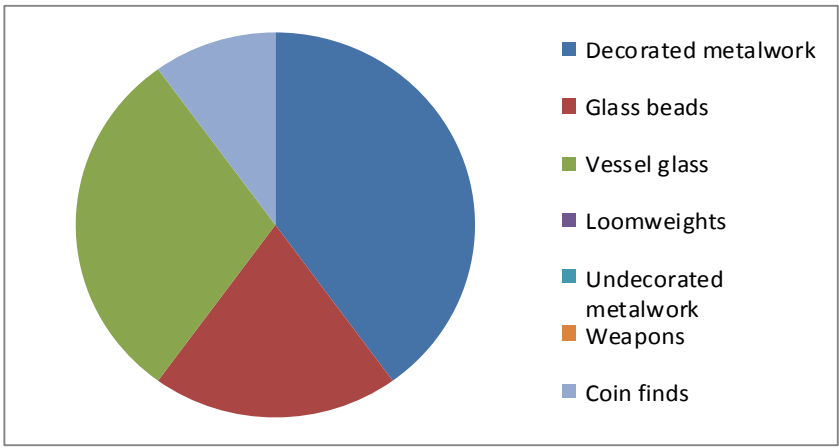
Chart 5.24 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from southern Pictland, divided by type.
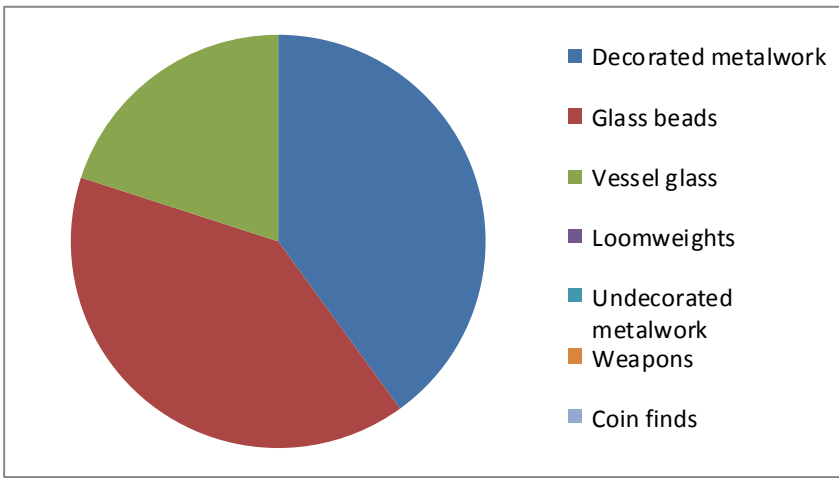
Chart 5.25 Pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from southern Pictland, divided by type.
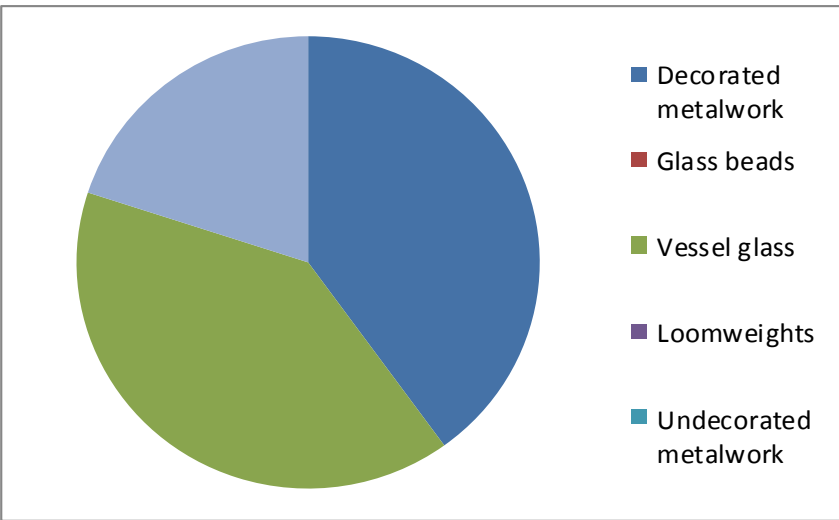
Chart 5.26 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from southern Pictland, divided by type.

5.8.2   Southern Pictland: finds and find spots

Several particularly early finds have been catalogued from the region: the distinctive 'Traffic Light' bead from the monastic site at Fortingall, Perth and Kinross (**A066**) and a cruciform Style I bridle mount from Angus (**A017**). Both insular Anglo-Saxon-made glass beads and Style I metalwork finds are very rare finds from Scotland generally. The 6th-century Style I mount (**A017**) is in a worn condition. It was a metal-detected find and although there are concentrations of Pictish sculpture and early church dedications in the wider landscape, the specific context is unknown. The mid-5th/mid-6th-century Traffic Light bead (**A066**) was recovered during limited unpublished excavations at Fortingall from a metalled road surface at the south-west entrance of a probable monastic vallum (Oliver O'Grady pers comm; no other information about the context of assemblage is currently available).

Two hillforts have produced imported vessel glass: Clatchard Craig (**C061**) and Dundurn (**C044**, **C058**); Clatchard Craig also produced a 5th/6th-century glass bead of probable continental manufacture (**C006**). Excavation in the 1950s, prior to Clatchard Craig's destruction, identified two timber-laced ramparts (nos 1 and 3) that were likely to be the earliest fortifications and radiocarbon dated to the 6th/7th centuries (Close-Brooks 1986, 131–2). The glass bead was excavated from the upper enclosure within rampart 1, together with the majority of the site's other early medieval finds, while the vessel glass sherd (Group B, unidentifiable form) has no contextual information (Close-Brooks 1986, 146). In addition to the imported vessel glass and bead, the assemblage included imported E-ware pottery, moulds for decorative metalworking including large-panelled penannular brooches and a decorated mount/escutcheon (Close-Brooks 1986, 147) but no insular Anglo-Saxon small finds.

Leslie Alcock's excavations at Dundurn produced two sherds of imported vessel glass dated to the 7th/9th century, one from the final phase of the rampart (**C044**), the other from destruction deposits of the primary citadel, radiocarbon dated to 580–780 AD (**C058**; Alcock et al 1989, table 1). No other Anglo-Saxon objects were recovered, though

metalworking evidence and E ware, together with the imported glass sherds, link the site to other hillfort assemblages like the Mote of Mark and Dunadd.

Excavation of the defended homesteads at Aldclune, probably constructed between 50–250 AD (Ashmore in Hingley et al 1997, 436), produced a handful of early medieval finds including a possible 6th/7th-century Anglo-Saxon pursemount (**B008**). It was found within post-abandonment deposits that included the construction of a temporary shelter and access ramp, metal-working activity, and the insertion of a single inhumation burial (Hingley et al 1997, 418–9). Other finds from these deposits included an undated iron knife, a 9th-century penannular brooch, a sherd of coarse pottery, a stone spindle whorl, animal bone and teeth fragments and a piece of perforated shale (Cool in Hingley et al 1997, 433–39). The burial, probably of an adult male (McSweeny in Hingley et al 1997, 446), was inserted in a pit and, while no grave goods were directly associated with it, the excavators suggested that one or more of the post-occupation finds (including the pursemount, knife and penannular brooch) might be dispersed grave goods (Hingley et al 1997, 419). Radiocarbon dates were interpreted as relating to construction of the homestead and no dates were undertaken for the post-occupation phase 3 deposits, or for the inhumation burial. Some of material may be re-deposited from earlier phases, and some later casual losses (Hingley et al 1997, 419), leaving the date and duration of secondary activity at Aldclune uncertain.

The region's limited 8th/9th-century assemblage consists of two stray metal finds – a strap-end from Culross in Fife (**A041**) and a pin from Blackhill House in Perth and Kinross (**A004**) – together with the 7th-century or later vessel glass sherds from Dundurn mentioned above and an unknown number of early 9th-century coins from Lindores (Fife; **A091**). Nothing is known about the findspot of Blackhill House, while the strap end from Culross was found just to the north-west of the extent of the later Cistercian monastery. Founded before 1217, little is known about earlier activity on the site.

5.8.3   Southern Pictland: summary

In summary, amongst the small assemblage from southern Pictland are several particularly early and rare objects, one a stray find, the other from a likely monastery.

Excavations at two hillforts produced imported vessel glass and a single glass bead, along with evidence of metalworking and imported pottery. Poorly understood secondary reuse of an Iron Age defended homestead at Aldclune also produced a possible Anglo-Saxon find, though its identification remains uncertain. The region's later finds assemblage is very limited.

5.9 Northern Pictland

5.9.1 Northern Pictland: overview

Eighteen objects from ten locations have been catalogued from the northern Pictish mainland (encompassing Aberdeen, Moray, Inverness, Caithness, Highland; Table 5.17; Charts 5.27–5.29; Map 5.7). There are an equal number of pre 8th- and 8th/9th-century finds. Ten (55%) are stray (or unprovenanced) finds, including the whole pre 8th-century assemblage.

5.9.2 Northern Pictland: finds and find spots

As with southern Pictland, the northern Scottish mainland has produced several examples of early Anglo-Saxon finds that are otherwise extremely rare in northern Britain. These comprise the second Scottish find spot of an early 6th-century Style I cruciform bridle mount (**A074**), a 7th-century Style II disc mount (**A018**), and an early 7th-century silver sword pyramid (**A003**). All three were found by metal detecting and lack contextual information: the Style I mount is from the vicinity of Morayston, east of Inverness; the Style II mount is from the vicinity of Dornoch, Easter Ross; and the sword pyramid was reported from Freswick Links, Caithness. Freswick Links has produced a substantial multi-period stray assemblage but significant doubt has since been cast on the provenance of the sword pyramid (see Chapter 6).
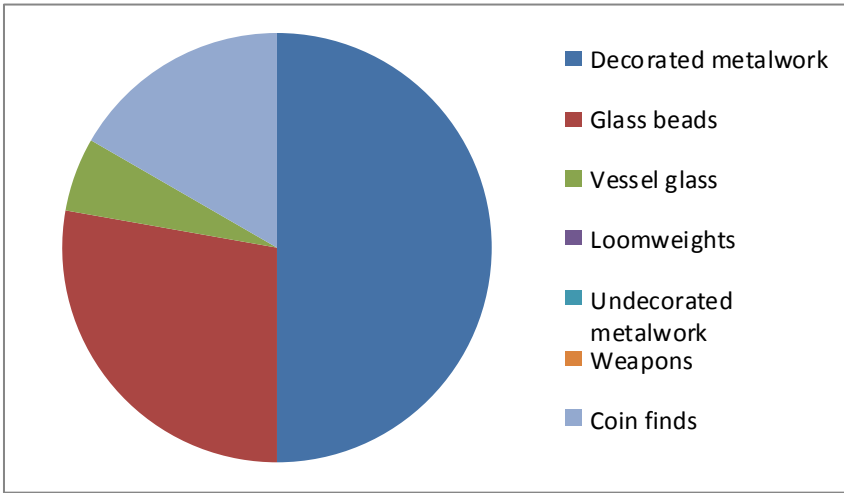
Chart 5.27 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from northern Pictland, divided by type.
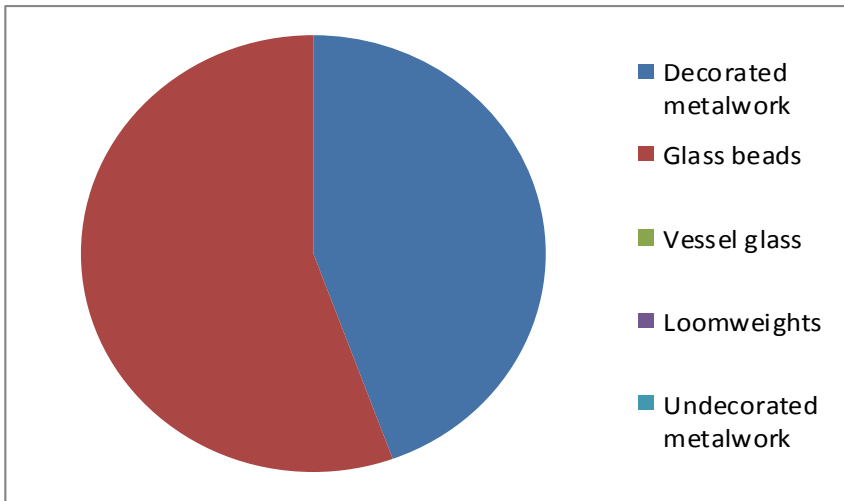
Chart 5.28 Pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from northern Pictland, divided by type.
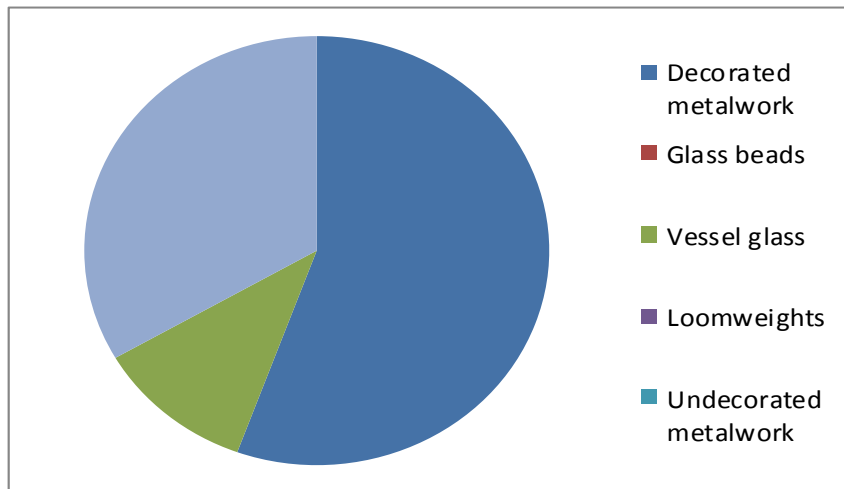
Chart 5.29 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from northern Pictland, divided by type.

Together, this cluster of glass and early metalwork is a small but, in light of the limited amount of early material generally from Scotland, significant group of finds. In addition to these early metal finds, Germanic vessel glass is now known from excavations at the high-status site of Rhynie but was discovered too late to be included in this catalogue (pers comm G Noble). There are indications of other possibly Anglo-Saxon and continental objects from this 5th/6th-century site, but confirmation awaits conservation and post-excavation analysis.

In addition to a 5th/7th-century glass bead provenanced only to Aberdeenshire (**C022**), several objects have been included from Culbin Sands, part of a substantial stray finds assemblage of prehistoric to modern material that has never been comprehensively reviewed. The pieces included here are all tentative identifications, and comprise four beads (**C014–C016**, **C073**) and a copper-alloy disc-headed pin (**B021**). The site has been regarded as a manufacturing centre of beads during the Iron Age (Guido 1978) but has also produced an early medieval Irish herringbone bead, a large number of undatable monochrome beads and early modern trade beads.

Amongst the finds with some archaeological context are an interlace-decorated mount (**A080**), a sherd of imported reticella-decorated vessel glass (**C055**) and a silver sceat (**C074**) from Portmahomack, Easter Ross. The mount belongs stylistically to the 6th/7th centuries and was found associated with the Period I workshop, dated to the 7th century (Carver et al 2016, 99). Period I activity constituted a cemetery, workshop with hearth, slag heap and water management features and (probably contemporary) evidence for cereal production. It was compared with Irish 'cemetery-settlements', though the nature of transition to the Period II monastery remains unclear and the excavators left room to see Period I as a pioneering Columban settlement or otherwise linked to the foundation of the later church (Carver et al 2016, 103–4). The glass sherd was a residual find; it dates to the 8th/9th century and probably results from the monastic activity on the site. The coin, struck in the Low Countries between 715–35, was found in layers interpreted as re-deposited during the digging of a pit and its original context is unknown (Blackburn in Carver et al 2016, D84).

The rest of the region's assemblage was not found during excavations but has circumstantial associations. From within the promontory fort Burghead, (Moray) is a 9th-

century Trewhiddle-style silver horn mount (**A031**) and a late 9th-century pierced silver coin (**A093**). The horn mount was found by workmen during preparation for the building of the new town of Burghead when the greater portion of a promontory fort was destroyed, but its exact find spot is unknown. Excavations at Burghead are currently ongoing (University of Aberdeen, Gordon Noble pers comm). A pair of 8th/9th-century strap ends are known from Rogart (Sutherland, Highland) (**A055**, **A056**), now within the Ashmolean collection. Both are Thomas' Class A2b, a type with a strikingly northern distribution: five of the eight catalogued by Thomas have Scottish find spots (see **A052**–**A056**; Thomas 2000, 89–90). One of the others is also known from the region – a stray find from Reay Links (**A052**). Viking graves are known from Reay (Batey 1993, 152–4) and it is likely that this strap end, as well as the other examples of the type (see the pair from a Viking grave at Westness, below), arrived as a result of contact with the Viking world.

Another strap end, but of a different and unusual form, was found by metal detector at Clarkly Hill (**A038**). Recent metal detecting at the site has produced a growing and diverse assemblage of stray finds, including part of a rare Scandinavian-style bird brooch (Barry Ager pers comm). The results of limited excavations by National Museums Scotland to examine the context of the stray assemblage are awaited. From a hoard of metalwork and beads from Croy, Inverness (Fraser and Anderson 1876) are two pierced Anglo-Saxon coins (**A092**), one late 8th/early 9th century, the second mid-9th century in date.

5.9.3   Northern Pictland: summary

In summary, there is a small but significant assemblage of early metalwork and imported glass from northern Pictland, finds not matched by material from within south-eastern Scotland. Other material may emerge from Rhynie and Burghead as post-excavation analysis and fieldwork continue. Most of the region's assemblage is comprised of stray finds, though there are associations with promontory fort, a probable hillfort, Viking graves, and a multi-period productive beach site; the only monastic finds are from Portmahomack.

5.10   Northern and Western Isles

5.10.1   Northern and Western Isles: overview

Fourteen objects (Table 5.18; Charts 5.30–5.32; Map 5.8) from six locations have been catalogued from the Northern and Western Isles. Five are pre 8th century in date, and nine probably date to the 8th/9th centuries (though the glass is nominally dated to the 7th/9th century). None of the finds are entirely stray, but some (eg Baleshare,**B002**) come from early excavations lacking stratigraphic information.

5.10.2   Northern and Western Isles: finds and find spots

The largest assemblage from the region is from excavations at the Brough of Birsay, which produced a single piece of potentially pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon metalwork (**B001**), one piece of 8th-century metalwork, and sherds of imported 7th/9th-century vessel glass (**C040**, **C046–C049**; nb, **C049** includes six small sherds of the same metal). Only in part of the site (Area II) was it possible to reconstruct vertical horizons; Areas I and III lack this information entirely. Area II contained a 'Pictish horizon' lacking in structures but with a well, several post holes and 8th-century metalworking evidence, including penannular-brooch production; 'Lower', 'Middle' and 'Upper Norse' levels with structures were located above (Curle 1982, 15). There were a significant number of pre-Viking finds found in the 'Lower Norse' horizon but no Norse finds from the earlier levels (Curle 1982, 49). Curle saw more continuity between the Pictish metalworking and 'Lower Norse' phases than between the different Norse horizons (Curle 1982, 100–1). Both of the potential Anglo-Saxon metal finds came from this 'Lower Norse' horizon: a simple type of wire finger ring (**B001**) paralleled by examples from 6th/7th-century Anglo-Saxon graves (Area II, room VII); and an 8th-century fragmentary disc mount or brooch (**A008**) (Area II, room VI, found on paving beneath a layer of ashes). The ring is paralleled by another from the region, from Baleshare, South Uist (**B002**). All the Birsay glass sherds are from middle Saxon vessels, and found in the Pictish horizon along with metal working debris (Area II, Pictish horizon, Zone 1).
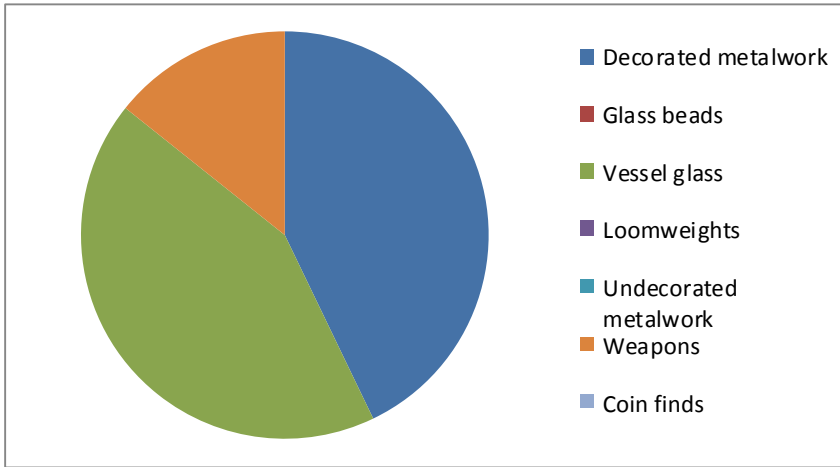
Chart 5.30 Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from the Northern and Western Isles, divided by type.
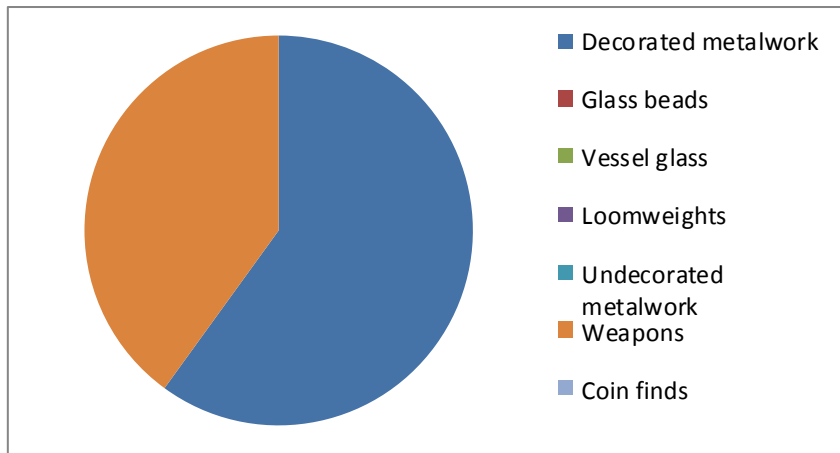
Chart 5.31 Pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from the Northern and Western Isles, divided by type.
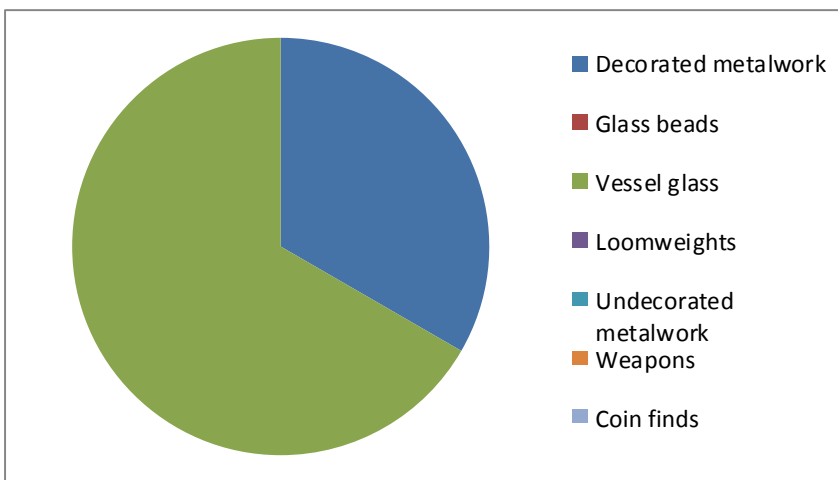
Chart 5.32 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon and continental finds from the Northern and Western Isles, divided by type.
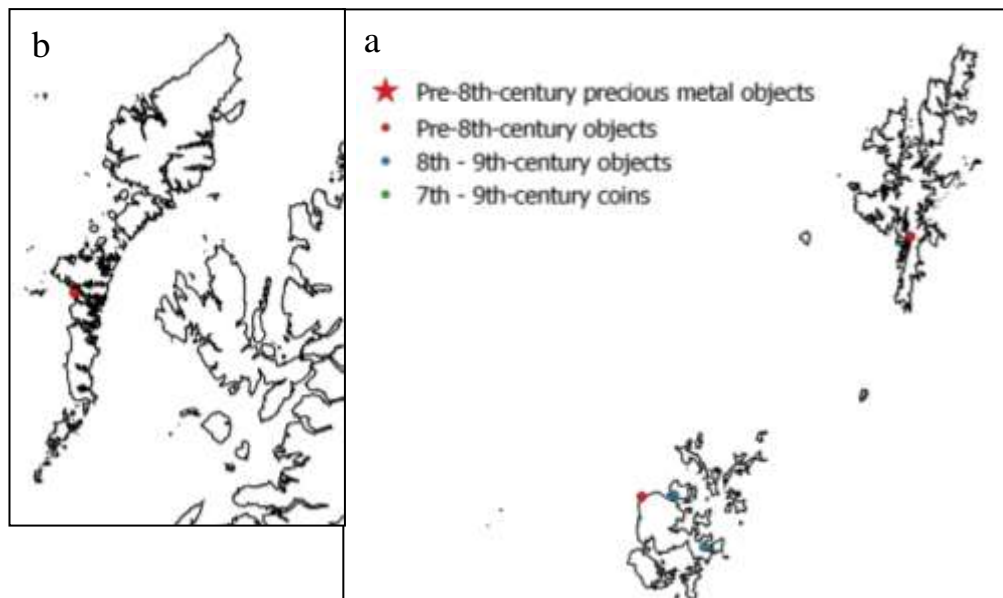
Map 5.8 Objects from the Northern (a) and Western Isles (b), divided by date.

Aside from Birsay, excavations at two further sites in the Northern Isles have produced relevant material. The subterranean structure and complex at Mine Howe, Orkney, produced a single, decayed sherd of dark vessel glass (**C063**; context MH00, 212, trench A), probably from a middle Saxon globular beaker (though it could possibly be an Islamic import). Interpretation of the site awaits full publication, but seems to include Late Iron Age metalworking evidence (Card and Downes 2003, 17) which might, as at Birsay, give context to this glass sherd. Excavations at Scalloway broch, Shetland found several objects identified as Anglo-Saxon (Campbell in Sharples 1998). The broch had been occupied for around 600 years before a fire necessitated major reorganisation (Sharples 1998, 43) after which activity continued and was added to by the construction of seven ancillary structures in the Late Iron Age. This later phase was interpreted as a self-sufficient mixed-farming community, engaged in ferrous and non-ferrous (including silver) metalworking activity. Two spearheads have been tentatively included (**B016**, **B017**) along with what may be a hybrid pin (**B022**). What had been perhaps the most diagnostic Anglo-Saxon object – a safety-pin type brooch – has been omitted here because Hiberno-Norse parallels suggest it may be later in date (see Chapter 6); it was found in layers thought to have accumulated at the end of the broch (re)occupation, before the collapse and decay of the structure (Sharples 1998, 51). One of the spearheads also belonged to this horizon. Finally, a pair of strap ends (**A053**, **A054**) was included within the grave assemblage accompanying a female burial (Grave 1) at Westness, Orkney.

5.10.3 Northern and Western Isles: summary

In summary, there is a small assemblage of imported glass and some metal finds from the Northern and Western Isles, including jewellery and a possible spearhead. Some are clearly the product of Viking activity, but most are from sites with pre-Viking, later Iron Age activity, sometimes re-occupation of earlier sites.

Chapter 6   Decorated and decorative metalwork

6.1   Introduction

This chapter surveys the brooches (section 6.2), buckles (6.3), pendants (6.4), finger rings (6.5), pins, including a single bone pin (6.6), strap ends (6.7), sword ornaments (6.8), horse harness fittings (6.9), pursemounts (6.10) and miscellaneous mounts (6.11) included in the catalogue. Map 6.1 shows the distribution of these metal finds, divided into pre 8th-century and 8th/9th-century objects. Because of the amount of decorated/decorative metalwork identified, other functional metal finds (styli, chest-fittings, weapons and coins) are dealt with separately in Chapter 8.
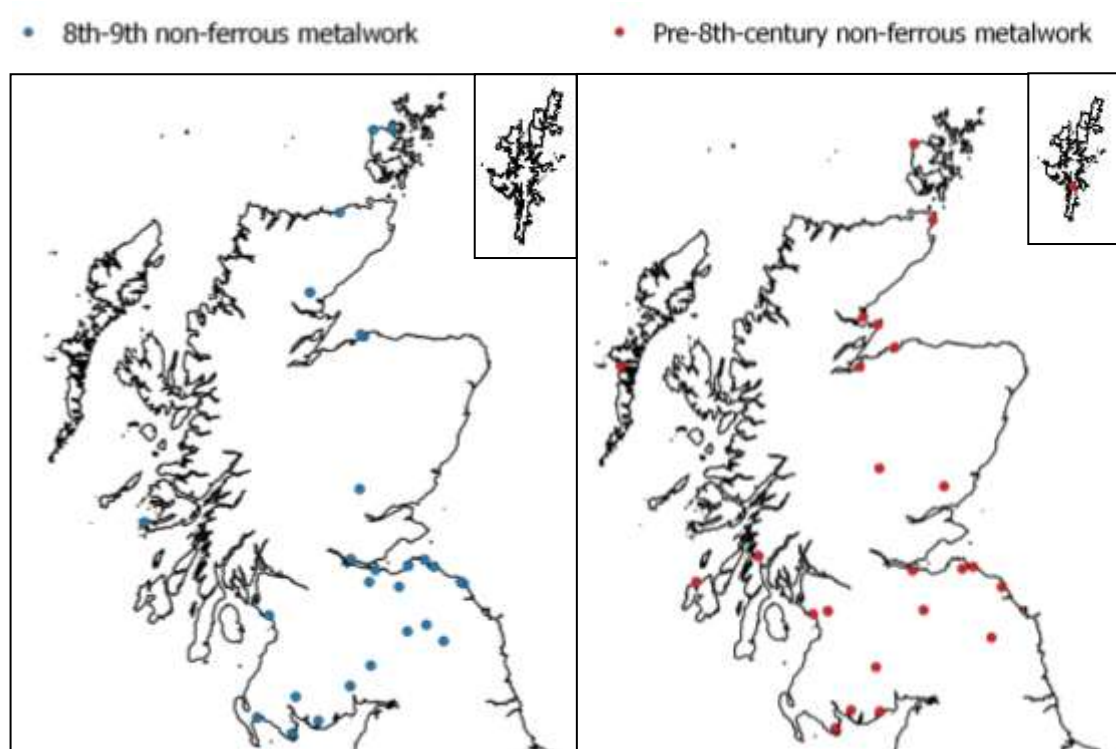
Map 6.1 Distribution of decorated and decorative Anglo-Saxon metalwork from Scotland, divided by date.

6.2   Brooches

6.2.1   Brooches: introduction

A small number of brooches have been identified (Map 6.2; Illus 6.1): two similar 6th/early 7th-century annular brooches, together with moulds for production of 6th/7th-century Anglo-Saxon-influenced penannular brooches and fragments from a possible 8th-century disc brooch.

6.2.2   Annular brooches

Two Type F annular brooches with half-round or round section (in contrast to the more common flat-sectioned annular brooches; Leeds 1945 Type G) are included in this study. Decorated Type F brooches usually feature moulded bead-and-reel decoration, or continuous or partial transverse grooves.

A011   Excavated from a Roman Iron Age settlement at Crock Cleugh (Scottish Borders; Illus 6.1) is a copper-alloy annular brooch hoop (pin missing), oval in section, decorated with groups of transverse grooves (Steer and Keeney 1946–7, 154–5, fig 7.8). Type F brooches decorated with groups of transverse grooves are known for instance from the Norton cemetery (Cleveland; Sherlock and Welch 1992, grave 112, 191, fig 64), and from Sewerby cemetery (East Yorkshire), grave 8 (Hirst 1985, fig 34).
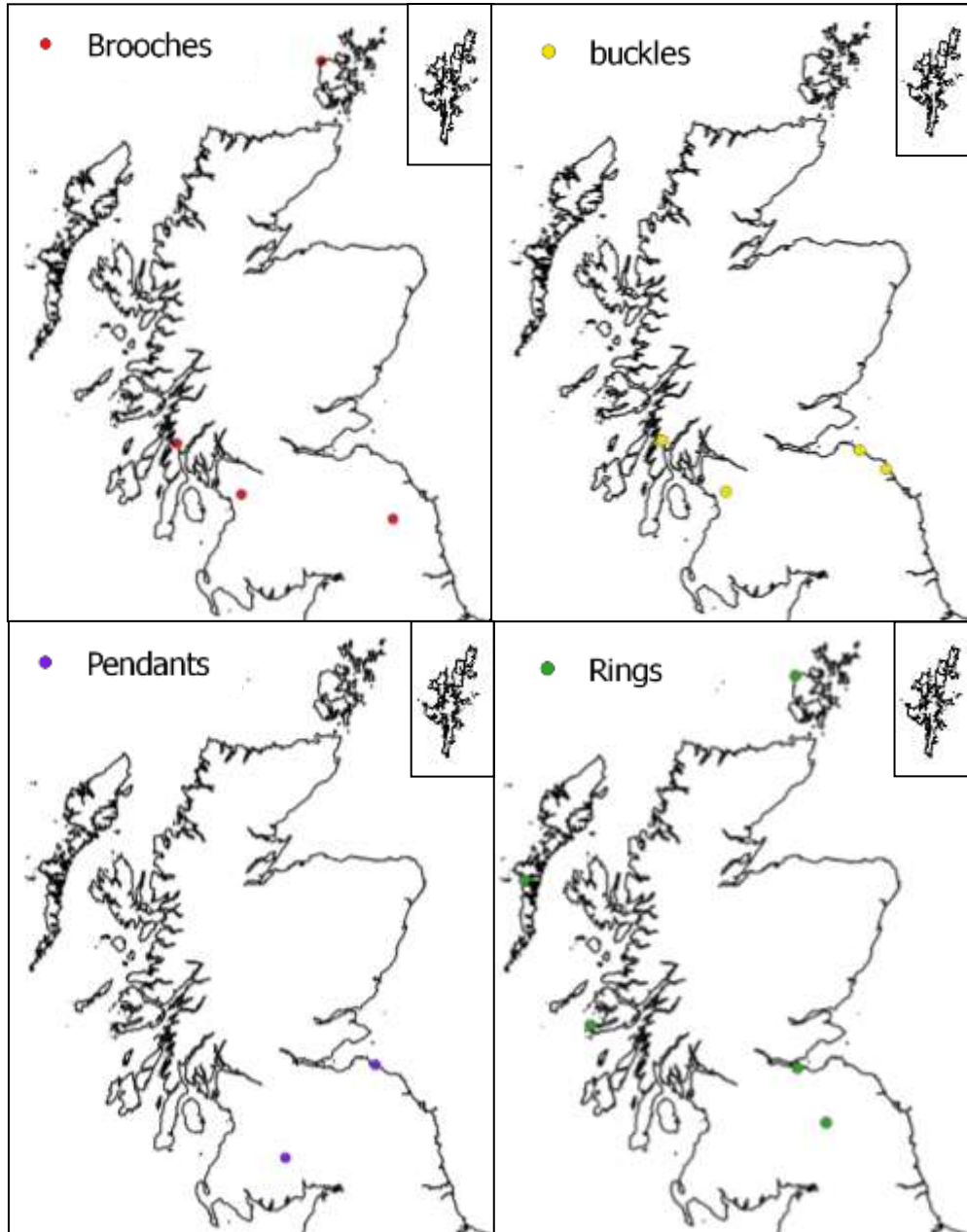
Map 6.2 Distribution of Anglo-Saxon brooches, buckles, pendants and rings from Scotland.

A011 Crock Cleugh, copper-alloy annular brooch. Photograph by author.
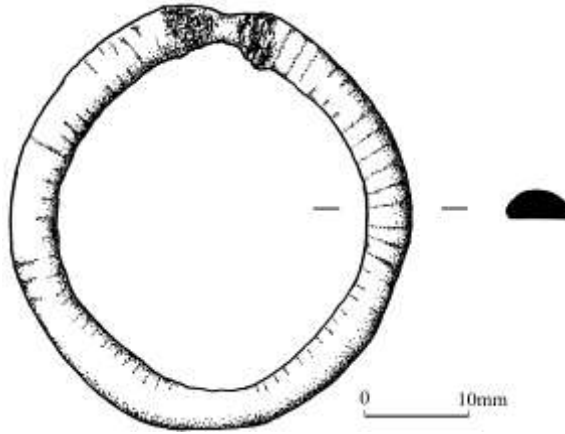
A014 Buiston, copper-alloy annular brooch. Drawn by author.
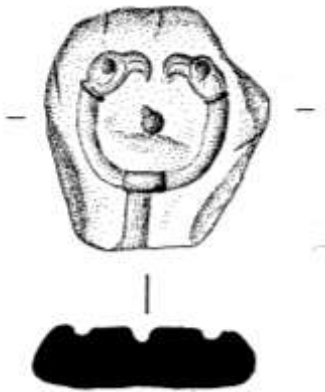
D012 Dunadd, pannular brooch mould. Drawing after Lane and Campbell 2000, illus 4.19, photograph copyright Trustees National Museums Scotland. Scale 1:1

A008 Birsay, gilt copper-alloy disc-brooch fragments. Photograph by author.

Illus 6.1 Brooches.

A014   The second Type F brooch is from Buiston crannog (Ayrshire; Illus 6.1; (Munro 1882, 228; Crone 2000, 144, fig 120.241). It is a copper-alloy annular brooch hoop, planoconvex in section, decorated with transverse grooves which are now worn, particularly where the pin rested. The pin is missing but was of iron, on the basis of surviving deposits on the hoop. At the Norton cemetery (Cleveland), annular brooches were the most common type of brooch, including both Type F (11 examples) and G (44 examples). They include two pairs of Type F brooches with transverse grooving around the whole of the hoop, as on the Buiston example (Sherlock and Welch 1992, graves 23 and 112, 135, fig 39 and 191, fig 64, respectively). Three of four Type F brooches from the Empingham II cemetery (Rutland) have transverse grooves similar to Buiston but these are more widely spaced (Timby 1996, 35–6, graves 91 and 105, figs 141, 152). These examples, and the majority of other annular brooches from Empingham II, had iron pins on a copper-alloy hoop, as on the Buiston brooch.

Type F annular brooches have a strikingly northern distribution, so much so 'as to be almost a type-fossil of areas of predominately Anglian settlement' (Ager 1985, 5). Annular brooches seem to have been in use from the late 5th to the early 7th centuries (Hines 1994, 55), but were most popular during the 6th century (Sherlock and Welch 1992, 41). The recent application of multiple dating methods to Anglo-Saxon grave goods confirmed a late 6th- to 7th-century date for the type, though the sample was small (Hines and Bayliss 2003, 367, fig 7.24).

6.2.3   Penannular bird-headed brooches

D002–D008   From Dunadd (Illus 6.1) are seven moulds for casting bird-headed penannular brooches, examples of early hybridisation of Germanic-style II decoration and native brooch type, that have been discussed at length by Lane and Campbell (Lane and Campbell 2000, 114–8, 245). Other cast Style II bird-headed penannular brooches are known from Clough (Co Antrim; Lane and Campbell 2000, illus 4.21a), Parknahown (Co Laois; Ó Floinn 2009, fig 10.5) and a further unprovenanced Irish site (Ó Floinn 2009, 243, fig 10.6), as well as from accompanied burials at Oceany Beck (Yorkshire) and Sewerby (in silver; Hirst 1985, fig 41). A related type from Ireland features birds' heads on sheet metal

(rather than cast) brooches, slightly larger than the Dunadd examples: these are known from Moynagh Lough and Lagore (Co Meath) and from an unlocated site probably in Co Westmeath (Ó Floinn 2009, 244).

The Clough brooch features large eyes as on the Dunadd moulds, but lacks the additional milled border found on **D004**. The Yorkshire brooches feature small eyes, and the Sewerby brooch is so similar to **D006** as to suggest a similar brooch acted as the model, although the design was changed to a true penannular form (Lane and Campbell 2000, 117). The Sewerby brooch has been dated to the first half of the 7th century or later on stylistic grounds. Campbell notes that the bifurcation of the bill medial line seen on **D006** and the Sewerby brooch is unusual, but also occurs on the Sutton Hoo gold buckle and hanging bowl no 1 (Lane and Campbell 2000, 117). It also appears on the Taplow drinking-horn terminals, one of which features a small eye, the other a larger eye (Smith 1923, fig 5). The interlace pattern on **D004** also appears on pieces of metalwork conventionally dated to the 8th century, such as the large penannular brooch from Mull, but is relatively simple and may have had a long life (Lane and Campbell 2000, 117). In any case, other mould evidence from Dunadd suggests that similar large brooches were being manufactured there in the later 7th century (Lane and Campbell 2000, 118). Several of the Dunadd moulds were securely stratified within the 7th-century metalworking deposits of Phase IIIA and IIIB (**D002**, **D006**, **D007**). **D003** and **D005** came from the undifferentiated dark Phase III deposits (Lane and Campbell 2000, 118).

6.2.4   Possible disc brooch

A008   From Birsay (Orkney; Illus 6.1) are four fragments of gilt copper-alloy, suggested to be part of a disc brooch (Bruce-Mitford 1956, 199), or a mount later adapted into a brooch (Bakka 1963, 6; Curle 1982, 63–4, illus. 40a). Three of the fragments are badly damaged and only have slight remains of gilding; the fourth and largest fragment is far better preserved. They are from an object very similar to a disc from a Viking grave at Hillesøy, Troms (Curle 1982, 63). The most significant difference is that the Birsay fragments are openwork, in contrast to the Hillesøy disc; other minor differences in decoration are incised rather than cast. Bruce-Mitford attributed the Hillesøy disc to a

Northumbrian context and dated it stylistically to the 8th century (Bruce-Mitford 1956, 199). The Birsay and Hillesøy zoomorphs find their closest parallels among 8th-century Mercian style metalwork (Webster 2001). In addition to Webster's published corpus, the Aberlady pin (**A005**) provides a new example of a Mercian-style beast from the east coast of northern Northumbria. These pieces have lively, sprightly beasts or birds, some playful with pricked ears and grinning jaws, which 'prance, step, perch or writhe, sometimes in interlace' or among vines (Webster 2001, 267). It is not clear whether all these similar pieces need be attributed to Mercia as Webster argued, or whether the style was also made and used in Northumbria.

6.2.5   Brooches: discussion

The scarcity of brooches among the Scottish finds is perhaps surprising given their prominence in Anglo-Saxon graves: in the migration period, paired brooches were the most common clothing fastener in Anglo-Saxon female dress, worn at the shoulders to fasten a loose medium-weight tubular garment that was worn over a long-sleeved inner gown (Walton Rogers 2007, fig 5.11, 144). As this *peplos* garment became less popular in the later 6th century, a long wool dress fastened by a belt continued to be worn in the north, possibly with a brooch-fastened cloak, though un-fastened lighter-weight mantles or shawls became increasingly popular (Walton Rogers 2007, 189). There is therefore probably a chronological dimension to the rarity of brooches in the north.

Brooches appear to have had different meanings and associations in Anglo-Saxon and non-Anglo-Saxon areas, which may also have contributed to their scarcity: in Ireland and Scotland, proxy evidence suggests they were worn by both men and women, including ecclesiastical figures (for example Whitfield 2004; Blackwell 2012), while in Anglo-Saxon graves they are restricted to female dress. There is virtually no evidence for cloaks in male Anglo-Saxon graves; capes and hooded cloaks may have been worn but have not left any metal fastenings (Walton Rogers 2007, 207). In early medieval Scotland brooches probably acted as signifiers of status and office, and perhaps of relationships between client and lord (Nieke 1993; Etchingham and Swift 2004, 47), a similar role performed by ornate buckles in 6th- and 7th-century Anglo-Saxon England (Marzinzik 2003).

Potential cross-cultural awareness of different brooch traditions is suggested by two early medieval written sources. The first is an 8th-century Irish law text that includes two foreign loan-words for brooch, one Anglo-Saxon (*briar* literally meaning 'thorn'), the other probably Pictish (Etchingham and Swift 2004). This suggests a familiarity with (and a need to distinguish between) different styles (and possibly different uses) of brooches in Ireland, England and Pictland. Specifically, the law tract attests to the use of brooches in legal pledges amongst the elite. The second source is the 10th-century Old English gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels which translates *pallium* ('cloak') as *bratt*, a non-Germanic word that survived into modern times in Welsh and Gaelic. By implication, this may have been a particular type of cloak that Northumbrians recognised as distinct from their own costume, perhaps because it was worn by men (Owen-Crocker 1986, 113–4; although other interpretations are possible). Both text sources suggest a mutual knowledge of the different styles and associations of dress involving brooches in Celtic and Anglo-Saxon societies, interesting given the rarity of Anglo-Saxon examples recovered from north of the Tweed.

It is interesting in light of this apparent familiarity but lack of material examples that brooches seem to have been a particular focus for hybridity, evident, for example, in the filigree-techniques and decorative styles on the Hunterston brooch and the cloisonné (recently recognised as glass rather than garnet) on the penannular brooch terminal from the Croy hoard (Stevenson 1974; Fraser and Anderson 1876). The 8th-century Irish law tract discussed above refers to the 'red briar'. While contemporary references to the description of 'red gold' are common and have been explained by the concept of gold falling under a macro-term incorporating red–orange–purple in Old English (Carol Biggam pers comm), it is possible that here the red instead signifies the distinctive use of garnet or imitation inlays (Etchingham and Swift 2004, 36). The use of garnet or amber in metalwork appears to be almost mutually exclusive in Anglo-Saxon and Insular metalworking, the Ripon Jewel being a very rare exception where both insets appear on the same object (see Hall et al 1999, 277). As amber beads are relatively common finds in Anglo-Saxon graves, the decision not to employ amber insets on Anglo-Saxon metalwork must have been the result of more than simply supply.

The hybrid brooches manufactured at Dunadd (Argyll) show apparent Anglo-Saxon influence in the adaption of style II birds' heads within the repertoire of existing Celtic

brooch types (Lane and Campbell 2000, 245). It is unclear where the bird-headed penannular was first conceived, however: Lane and Campbell suggest the Dunadd moulds are evidence of the copying of a Northumbrian type (Lane and Campbell 2000, 245), but alternatively, the Northumbrian examples may have travelled from Dál Riata. The Irish and Dunadd examples are true penannulars whereas the Yorkshire brooches are not, having fixed pins and sometimes a bar to close the terminal gap, now missing on the Sewerby example (Lane and Campbell 2000, 117). It might be interesting to speculate on the role that these Yorkshire pseudo-penannulars brooches, with Style II birds, played in the development of the Hunterston type with its closed gap and Style II bird decoration. Regardless, it seems likely that in some sense this bird-headed brooch type might be 'read' or understood in both cultural spheres, and it might be seen as a bridge between two brooch-wearing customs.

6.3   Buckles

6.3.1   Buckles: introduction

The buckles included in this study (Map 6.2; Illus 6.2 and 6.3) include two important and newly identified ornamented belt buckles (**A048**, **A009**), four simpler small iron buckle loops (**B003**, **B004**, **B005**, **B006**), one small copper-alloy buckle loop (**B007**) and two moulds (**A064**, **A065**) for a distinctive belt buckle component, one evidently cast in silver.

Two buckles have been excluded. A additional mould from Dunadd (**E010**; Lane and Campbell 2000, 127–9, cat no 1432, illus 4.30, 4.33, and 4.35) was originally identified as part of an Anglo-Saxon buckle by comparison with the Dunbar fragments, but it is unparalleled and impractical. It is more likely for casting part of an unidentified hinged object, Insular rather than Anglo-Saxon in origin. Amongst the metal-detected Anglo-Saxon assemblage from Aberlady (East Lothian; unpublished) is a zoomorphic buckle (**E015**). Similar examples have been dated to the 10th and 11th centuries (eg Beverley, East Yorkshire, Armstrong et al 1991; Whithorn, Dumfries and Galloway, Hill 1997, BZ18(6), 371, fig 10.57(6)), and therefore this type falls outside the scope of this study.
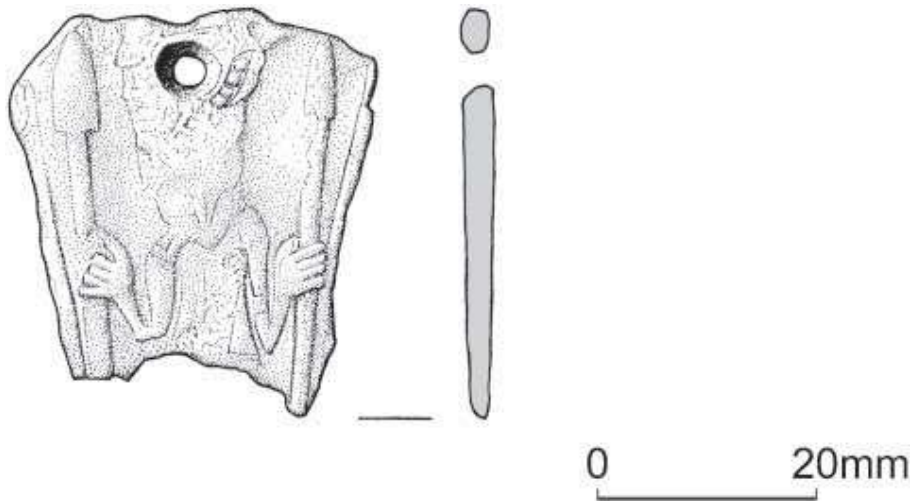
A009 Ayton, copper-alloy buckle plate.
Drawn by Marion O'Neil.

A048 Dunbar, gilt copper-alloy buckle plate.
Copyright Trustees of National Museums Scotland
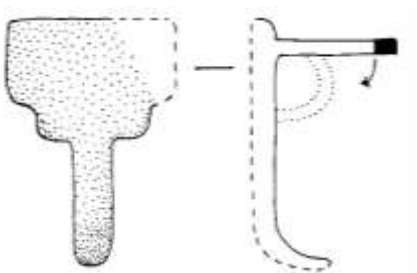
A063 Dunadd, reconstruction of buckle tongue from mould,
after Lane and Campbell 2000, illus 4.35. Scale 1:1

Illus 6.2 Decorated buckles.

6.3.2 Decorated buckles

A009 A fragmentary triangular buckle plate with evidence for secondary re-use was found by a metal-detectorist at Ayton (Scottish Borders; Illus 6.2; Blackwell 2007). It carries a version of a motif found on a small group of elite objects in England (including the Sutton Hoo helmet): an anthropomorphic figure wearing a horned helmet or headdress. Ultimately of Scandinavian origin, this figure is known only on one other buckle, a gilt copper-alloy example from Finglesham (Kent; Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006, 80, figs 2.24, 2.101 and 2.102; Chadwick Hawkes et al 1965). On the Ayton plate, the figure holds a spear in either hand and wears a horned headdress or helmet; it is too corroded to confirm whether the horns have eagle-head terminals as found on some versions. The eagle-headed horned helmet and the spears have been isolated as signifiers of the pagan god Woden, on the basis of 12th- and 13th-century Scandinavian saga evidence associated with Odin, though it would be misleading given the temporal and cultural distance to assume a direct connection here (Blackwell 2007, 169–70). The mid-7th-century date originally suggested for the Finglesham buckle has since been revised to earlier in the same century on the basis of the simplicity of the decoration and the accompanying grave assemblage (Chadwick Hawkes et al 1965; Chadwick Hawkes 1982). The Ayton plate appears to have been cut down and a secondary perforation added neatly between the helmet horns, and so the deposition date might well be later than this.

A048 From Castle Park, Dunbar (East Lothian; Illus 6.2) are two conjoining fragments of a gilded triangular buckle plate (Blackwell 2009; Perry 2000, 115, no 8, illus 95). The pattern of partial gilding allows the missing applied mounts to be reconstructed, and on this basis it can be suggested as a new, albeit smaller, parallel for the hitherto unique buckle found in 1861 in a male burial at Crundale Down (Kent; Blackwell 2009; Haith in Webster and Backhouse 1991, 24–5). Both buckles feature true hinges (cast and drilled lugs, rather than folded strips) connecting the buckle plate and loop, a feature regarded as possibly indicative of continental influence or manufacture (Sonja Marzinzik pers comm). The Crundale Down buckle has a vertical three-dimensional fish-shaped mount, with probable Christian significance. The pattern of gilding suggests the Dunbar buckle

probably also had a similarly-shaped mount in this position. Stylistic dating of the Crundale Down buckle is difficult because it is in several ways exceptional, but it has usually been regarded as the latest typological and stylistic example of the Kentish triangular buckle series. Speake and Bruce-Mitford both suggested manufacture dates c 650 or later (Speake 1980, 56; Bruce-Mitford 1975, 562). Geake argued there is no evidence that triangular buckles continued to be buried beyond the early 7th century (Geake 1997, 76–7; although she did not discuss the Crundale Down buckle specifically), though recent work on the chronology of Anglo-Saxon grave goods placed the end of their burial between 655–725 (95% probability; Hines and Bayliss 2003, 243, fig 6.8, sample BU3-c). Triangular buckles do continue into the second half of the 7th century on the continent (Sonja Marzinzik pers comm), which may be significant given the true hinge on both the Dunbar and Crundale Down examples. The Dunbar buckle is broken and shows possible evidence of repair, suggesting it may have been deposited some time after manufacture.

A063   From Dunadd (Illus 6.2) is an almost complete lower valve of a mould for casting a buckle with integrated plate and tongue (Lane and Campbell 2000, 127–9, cat no 298, illus 4.30, 4.32 and 4.35). The plate narrows towards the tongue in a series of two scallops. A sub-rectangular lug projects from the plate, and in this vicinity a small amount of silver remains from the casting. The bar would have been bent round the hinge between the back plate and loop. The end of the tongue curves sharply.

A064   Also from Dunadd (not illustrated) is part of an upper valve of mould for back face of buckle plate, identified through comparison to **A063** (Lane and Campbell 2000, 127–9, cat no 1314, illus 4.30).

Straight-edged, stepped-in tongue shields are far less common than the archetypical shield-shaped tongue shield. They are of continental origin (eg Types *Weingarten* and *Weihmörting*), but became popular in Anglo-Saxon England and were probably produced there too (Sonja Marzinzik, pers comm). Roughly they fall into two groups: larger shields found on a group of 7th-century Anglo-Saxon buckles, usually made from precious metals or gilt copper-alloy and often decorated with garnet cloisonné; and smaller shields on copper buckles found in England, all along the Rhine, in Switzerland and in south-west Germany, which may be the simpler precursors to the larger types (Marzinzik 2003, 21;

Hawkes in Philip 1973, 194). In size and material, the Dunadd tongue shields are most comparable to the first group. Among these is a single silver example decorated with Style II repoussé sheets from St Peter's, Broadstairs (Kent; Speake 1980, pl 9a; Lane and Campbell 2000, 127). Other examples include gilt-silver buckles from Gilton (Kent) and Rijnsburg (Holland; Speake 1980, pl 9g and 9b, respectively), a bronze buckle from Breach Down (Kent; Speake 1980, pl 9d), and the gold buckle with massive garnet slab inlay from Tostock (Suffolk; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 199, no 34.27). In terms of size, the Dunadd tongue (width 25mm) falls in the middle of the range of these buckles: smaller than the Rijnsburg (32mm) and Gilton (28mm) examples, and larger than the Tostock (21mm), Breach Down (19mm) and St Peter's (19mm) buckles. These buckles all feature decoration on the tongue shield, but given it is in the form of cloisonné and repoussé they may have a plain base plate, produced in a mould like that from Dunadd. As the mould shows the back of the shield, it is unclear whether the Dunadd buckle would have had the thick, three-dimensional tongue, often with a ridge down the centre, found on these examples.

6.3.3 Plain iron and copper-alloy buckles

B003–B006   From Dunadd and Buiston crannog (Ayrshire; Illus 6.3) are four small iron buckles (Lane and Campbell 2000, 167, cat nos 1299 and 1304, illus. 4.77 and 4.80; Craw 1929–30, 119, fig 5.30; Crone 2000, 144). Simple iron buckles are very common in Anglo-Saxon graves and have been classified by Marzinzik (2003). **B003** and **B005** fit her Type I.11a-I 'iron oval buckles', the largest group of her Type 1, 'buckles without plates' (247 examples identified; Marzinzik 2003, 32–3, pls 42–59). They vary in size from 13–60mm (**B003** and **B005** would both be classed as 'large'), and in date between the second half of the 5th century to the later 7th century (Marzinzik 2003, 33). **B004** from Dunadd and **B006** from Buiston fit into her Type I.10a-I 'Iron D-shaped buckles', the second most common type of buckle without plates (Marzinzik 2003, 29–30, pls 24–30). These buckles also date from the 5th to 7th century or later, and there is no clear link between date and buckle size (Marzinzik 2003, 30). Both the oval and D-shape types have similar distributions covering most of Anglo-Saxon England, with the exception that D-shaped examples are relatively scarce in Kent (Marzinzik 2003, 32, 34); they are also found on the continent. There are indications they were buried around a generation later in female

Anglo-Saxon graves compared with male graves (Hines and Bayliss 2003, 243, fig 6.10, sample BU8). They also seem to have continued in use in female graves slightly later, but went out of fashion in the third quarter of the 7th century (ibid).

B003 Dunadd, iron buckle. Photograph by author.

B004 Dunadd, iron buckle. Photograph by author.

B006 Buiston, iron buckle. Photograph by author.

Illus 6.3 Undecorated buckles.

B007   In addition to the iron examples, a small incomplete and heavily corroded copper-alloy D-shaped buckle hoop was also found at Dunadd (not illustrated; Lane and Campbell 2000, 159, illus 4.60, cat no 620). Copper-alloy D-shaped buckles (Marzinzik's Type I.10a-ii) are less common than iron examples (Marzinzik 2003, 30). Unlike iron buckles, there may be some correlation between size and date for copper-alloy hoops, with those smaller than 20mm (including **B007**) dating to the 6th and 7th centuries, and those larger than 30mm to the later 5th and 6th centuries (Marzinzik 2003, 30). **B007** is even smaller than **B004**, the small iron D-shaped buckle from Dunadd. Both will have been used to fasten small straps, perhaps on bags or shoes (Walton Rogers 2007, 125, 221, 224, figs 5.38, 5.63, 5.64). While recovered from topsoil layers, this and other unstratified finds from Site 3 were regarded as belonging to the early medieval Phase III occupation (Lane and Campbell 2000, 79).

6.3.4 Buckles: discussion

Belt buckles have been regarded as an Anglo-Saxon form of object, not usually worn in early medieval Scotland (Youngs 1989, 23; Hencken 1950; Lane and Campbell 2000, 127–9). They were used for a variety of purposes in Anglo-Saxon dress, beyond fastening a belt at the waist around trousers or a tunic, including on shield straps and sword belts. Smaller buckles (like **B003–B006**) appear to have fastened bags, purses, shoes or gartering straps (Walton Rogers 2007, 125, 221, 224, figs 5.38 5.63, 5.64). These small, unornamented, simple buckles might be regarded as too plain to identify confidently, although the find contexts, both from sites that have produced other Anglo-Saxon material, supports their inclusion. Buckles were worn by both men and women, although as women most frequently wore them under other clothes these examples are less commonly decorated (Walton Rogers 2007, 124).

The Dunbar (East Lothian), Ayton (Scottish Borders) and Dunadd buckles belong to a series of very high quality, prestigious buckles which developed in the late 6th to 7th centuries in south-eastern England, and particularly Kent. Buckles may have gained increased prominence in male graves in connection with what has been termed the 'warrior jacket', a wrap-around garment reconstructed from gold brocaded borders found in elite burials and depicted on high-status objects such as the Sutton Hoo helmet (Walton Rogers 2007, 210–4). The jacket-wearing figures on the Sutton Hoo foils have been linked with Woden and his cult (although see caution in Blackwell 2007). A further figure on the Finglesham buckle wears a clearly buckled belt, despite also being depicted naked; unfortunately comparable details of the dress on the buckle plate from Ayton (**A009**) are lost. Unlike the spear and eagle, belts have not been identified as a 'signifier' of Odin from (significantly) later Scandinavian literature, and while the horned-figure motif is common to both areas, the belt and buckle appears to have special significance in in this motif in Anglo-Saxon England. Whether or not the figures discussed were explicitly linked to Woden, they appear to be bound up with an elite male culture focused on ostentatious display, and martial capability, and these attributes may be extended to the large decorated buckles of the 6th and 7th centuries.

The distinctive buckles identified from Scotland date on stylistic grounds to the 7th century. The simpler buckles from Dunadd and Buiston have a broad date range of the second half of the 5th century to the later 7th century, although the contexts at both sites support a 7th-century date. The buckle evidence identified therefore appears to relate exclusively to the 7th century, although deposition dates of the broken Dunbar and Ayton examples could be later. Few other elaborate buckles are known from Northumbria and the buckles from both Dunbar and Ayton stand out as significant objects.

6.4   Pendants (other than beads)

6.4.1   Pendants: introduction

Only two fragments of pendants have been recognised, one from East Lothian, the other from Dumfries and Galloway (Map 6.2; Illus 6.4). Both are made from gold, with the former featuring garnet cloisonné, the latter beaded filigree decoration.

6.4.2   Gold filigree pendant fragments

A029   Fragments of filigree-decorated gold sheet, probably from a late 7th/8th-century type of pendant, are known from Tynron Doon hillfort (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.4; Williams 1971, 110–12, fig 6; it is not a bracteate pendant as described there). The fragments are tiny, and decorated with very fine gold beaded filigree forming 'hook and eye' shapes and possibly a border of the same gauge wire. The fragments (now set in perspex) fit together to produce one curving edge, indicating they are likely to be from a circular object; a further fragment of filigree appears to have run from the outside to the centre of the circle, dividing it into sections (reconstruction in Williams 1971, fig 6A). The fragments seem to be from a pendant-type decorated with beaded filigree and often with a central setting of garnet; they are often, but not always, divided into four quadrants producing a cross-shape. Two 7th-century examples from Milton Regis provide good

parallels, and are among a relatively small group of material to feature 'hook and eye' filigree designs (Anon 1926, fig on 447; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 54–5, figs 36a and 36c). Coins found with the Milton pendants date the deposit to c 700 (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 55). Two new pendant finds are known among the very rich assemblage from the Northumbrian cemetery at Street House (near Redcar, Cleveland; PAS record nos NCL-9F3c61, NCL-A09134).

A029 Tynron Doon, gold filigree-decorated pendant fragment. Photograph by author.

A023 Dunbar, gold and garnet cloisonné cross-shaped pendant fragment. Copyright Trustees of National Museums Scotland.

Illus 6.4 Pendants.

6.4.3   Cruciform pendant

A023   From Dunbar (Illus 6.4) is a small gold and garnet cloisonné fragment from a cross-shaped pendant (Perry 2000, 113–4, illus 94). The cloisonné is of hollow construction on a gold backing sheet, and is bordered by hollow gold boxing and two lines of different gauge beaded gold wire. A gold cross-hatched foil is visible behind the terminal garnet and others may well be present but not visible. The visible cell walls extend to the base plate, with the garnets set in hanging cells, some of which have sunk. Each of the cell walls is a separate piece of gold, soldered to the back plate, and the upper edges are burred over the garnets to hold them in place. XRF diffraction analysis of 'cream-coloured material found behind the garnet foils identified calcite', probably relating to backing paste or filler (La Niece in Perry 2000, 113), although this is no longer visible.

Five other garnet-bearing crosses are known, three of which are from within Northumbria: the Holderness cross from Burton Pidsea, East Yorkshire (MacGregor 2000, 217–22), the cross found within St Cuthbert's tomb in Durham (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 133–4, no 98; Bruce Mitford 1956), and a lost cross from near Catterick Bridge (Cramp 2013). The remaining two are from southern England, from Stanton, near Ixworth (Suffolk), and Wilton (Norfolk), and both have been regarded as products of an East Anglian workshop (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 26–8, nos 11 and 12). The shape of the Dunbar cross with its straight-sided arms is best paralleled by Holderness cross (three of the others have expanding terminals) although the arms are twice as wide (11mm). The Holderness cross also uses larger garnets than are found on the Dunbar arm, of various shapes forming a more complicated but less well executed pattern.

The cloisonné on the Dunbar arm can be most closely compared to St Cuthbert's cross, which uses a very simple and elegant arrangement of stones placed in pairs at the beginning of the arms and at their expanded terminals, and singly along the narrow space between, mirroring the curved outline of arms. Both feature very fine cloisonné work and unusually small stones (Hall et al 1999, 279). St Cuthbert's cross has been regarded as of distinct and complex workmanship with its 'architectural' or 'three-dimensional' construction (Hall et al 1999, 279). La Niece argued that it and the Dunbar cross were manufactured using similar techniques (La Niece in Perry 2000, 113–4). Given these similarities, the two pieces have been suggested to be part of a regional Northumbrian

cloisonné style (Lesley Webster pers comm cited in La Niece in Perry 2000, 114; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 134). St Cuthbert's cross has been suggested to have been manufactured in Northumbria between 640–670 (Bruce-Mitford 1956), the mid to late 7th century date supported by its poor gold content and the simply-shaped garnets (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 134).

6.4.4   Pendants: discussion

Both pendants date to either the 7th or 8th centuries but deposition may be later than this given that both are fragmentary and one shows evidence for repair. One is an explicitly Christian object, part of a pectoral cross; the other is part of a circular disc pendant which by analogy may have featured cross-shaped decoration.

6.5   Finger rings

6.5.1   Rings: introduction

Five finger rings are included in this corpus (Map 6.2; Illus 6.5). Of these five, one is a very high status 9th-century gold ring, one features a runic inscription, two are simple wire rings, and one comprises an ornamented bezel only. A sixth ring, from Abbey Park, St Andrews, previously published as bearing an Anglo-Saxon runic inscription, has been excluded: is in fact a 15th-century iconographic ring bearing a poor copy of Gothic Black Letter script (**E007**).
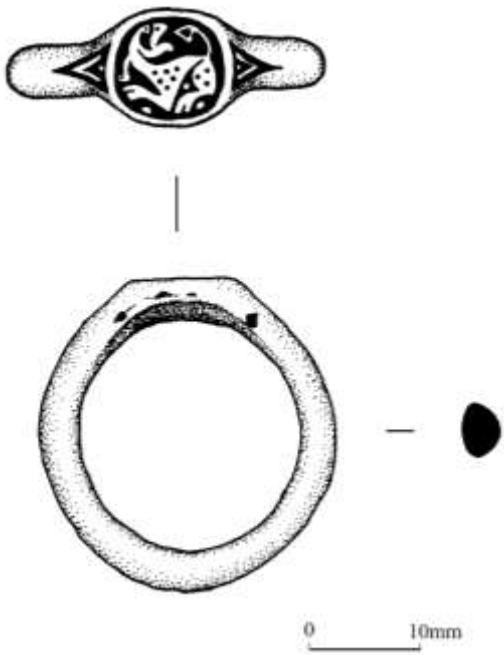
A015 Selkirk, gold ring, drawn by author.

B027 Iona, silver and gold filigree-decorated ring bezel. Photograph by author.
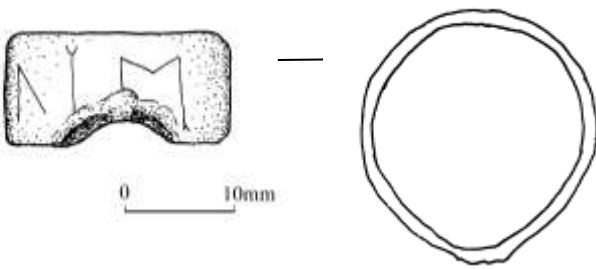
A019 Cramond, copper-alloy rune-inscribed ring, drawn by author.

B001 Birsay, copper-alloy wire ring. Photograph by author.

B002 Baleshare, copper-alloy wire ring. Photograph by author.

Illus 6.5 Finger rings.

6.5.2   Precious-metal rings

A015   From Selkirk (Scottish Borders; Illus 6.5) is a thick gold finger ring with a decorated bezel featuring a backward-biting Trewhiddle-style quadruped in niello (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 237, no 203). The creature has a long tail with pointed leaf-shaped terminal, a long scroll-like ear, and punched spots on its body. The ring is well paralleled by a silver example from Coppergate, York that was found in a 10th-century deposit and dated to the 9th century on art-historical grounds (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 237–8, no 204). Both rings, together with a further fragment from Hale (Cheshire) have been regarded as evidence of a simplified and distinctly northern variation of the Trewhiddle style (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 237). The Selkirk creature's head is also paralleled by the Lilla Howe strap ends (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 275–6, no 249), a northern type of strap end (see Thomas 2000, 191), further confirming a regional style.

B027   From a hoard discovered in the vicinity of the Abbot's House on the Isle of Iona (Argyll; Illus 6.5) is a cut-down silver lozenge-shaped ring bezel, decorated with gold and silver filigree and granules that surround a central circular green (probably) glass inset (Graham-Campbell 1995, 147). Leslie Webster (in Graham-Campbell 1995) highlighted the rarity of lozenge-shaped bezels during the Classical and medieval periods, demonstrating the unusualness and importance of the Iona example. Webster drew on two parallels from the Anglo-Saxon period, the Hitchin ring from Herefordshire set with a Roman intaglio of Mars, and an unprovenanced ring in the Ashmolean Museum (Webster in Graham-Campbell 1995, 49–50). The Ashmolean ring was dated to the mid-9th-century date and the Hitchin ring to the 10th or even 11th century (ibid), though this was based partly on the presence of a dog-toothed setting which Webster regarded as a late feature but which also occurs on a variety of earlier, 7th- and 8th-century Anglo-Saxon gold objects.

Since Webster's discussion, several further lozenge-shaped finger rings have been published, including examples from Southampton (Hinton 1996, 9) and Yorkshire (Marzinzik 2014). The Yorkshire ring was also dated to the 10th or perhaps early 11th century (Marzinzik 2014, 256–9), part of an outstanding hoard of late Saxon rings.

Ecclesiastical associations for this high-status group of rings are possible but hard to demonstrate. The earliest source mentioning bishops' rings refers to the Council of Toledo in AD 633 but it seems there was variety in the styles used (Marzinzik 2014, 266). One of the other rings in the Yorkshire hoard had a hollow box-like construction containing an unidentified organic object suggesting it served as a reliquary (Marzinzik 2014, 261). The Iona ring provides the only independent dating evidence for the lozenge-type, being part of a hoard consisting of over 360 coins found 'in a pear-shaped clump', together with a silver ingot, and a gold rod fragment. The coins provide a *taq* for deposition of c 986, perhaps a response to the historically recorded Viking raid of that year (Graham-Campbell 1995, 49, 147). Some of the parallels have been dated to the 9th century and it is included here on this basis.

6.5.3   Rune-inscribed ring

A019   A copper-alloy ring comprised of a broad band inscribed with 11 Anglo-Saxon runes on the outer surface and otherwise undecorated was found in Cramond churchyard (Midlothian; Illus 6.5; Stephens 1872). The runes span the whole circumference of the ring. Some are crisply and deeply inscribed, while others have been affected by wear and two are incomplete due to damage. The inscription is too worn to allow a firm reading or interpretation but surviving characters suggest the sequence '[.] *e* w o r [.] e l [.] u' (Page 1999, 157). Page has conjectured that the sequence 'wor' (for OE *worhte*, 'made') might indicate a maker's formula, although this is far from certain given there is no indication where the inscription begins; other possibilities include a single personal name or a pair of names (Page 1999, 157). While maker formulae occur frequently on other kinds of objects, only one other example on a finger ring (from Lancashire) is known (Page 1964, 75). Okasha's survey of inscribed Anglo-Saxon rings (including runes, Latin and Old English scripts) emphasises the variety among inscriptions. Three of her seven examples feature strings of nonsense, usually regarded as having an amuletic significance; amuletic significance remains a possible interpretation for the Cramond ring (Okasha 2003, 34).

While the decline of runes is often explained by the increasing dominance of the Roman alphabet, it is clear that in the north the church accepted runes and even extended their

use and application (Page 1999, 34). Most but not all of the characters on the Cramond ring have serifs, decorative additions used on Roman script that suggest a writer comfortable in both letter forms (Page 1999, 103). None of the rune-inscribed rings have been interpreted as carrying Christian texts, although eight non-runic inscribed rings have explicit Christian meaning, at least in part (Okasha 2003, 35). The simple form of the Cramond ring and the worn inscription mean that it cannot be firmly dated. Page was reluctant even to include in within his later group (post 650 to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period), despite the fact that other runic rings, and indeed virtually all runic inscriptions from Northumbria are so dated. Okasha regarded the Cramond example as from the 9th/10th century (Okasha 2003, 31, cat no 22). Rings carrying non-runic inscriptions tend to be made from precious metals, whereas four of the seven rune-inscribed rings are made from copper-alloy (Okasha 2003, 33).

6.5.4   Wire rings

B001   From excavations at Birsay (Illus 6.5) is a simple wire ring, made from a single piece of round-sectioned copper-alloy forming the hoop and a simple knot-like bezel (Curle 1982, 62, 116, ill 39, no 440). After the wire forms the hoop, each end turns a half-circle and interlocks in a spiral to give the appearance of a simple knot. The ends of the wire then wrap around the hoop 4–5 times on either side of the knot.

B002   From a probable midden deposit at Baleshare (North Uist; Illus 6.5) investigated in the early 20th century is a ring very similar to **B001** (Beveridge 2001, 228–9, pl facing 227). It is made from a single piece of copper-alloy wire, which has a flat section on the hoop and a round section at the bezel. The bezel is formed from the wire ends which twist together, each forming a half circle that then coils around the opposite side of the hoop.

Wire rings of the simple type represented by **B001** and **B002**, either made from copper-alloy or silver wire, are relatively common finds in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, where they date to the 6th or 7th centuries (MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 169). Round-sectioned wire hoops comparable to the Birsay example are most common, but examples with a flat-sectioned hoop like the Baleshare ring are known, and include a ring from Chatham Lines

(Kent; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 171–2, no 27.28). Two copper-alloy examples were excavated from Fishergate (York), one very similar to that from Birsay, and another with a hoop formed of four coils of wire (Rogers 1993, 1371–2, fig 668, nos 5415, 5416). Both were regarded as probably 7th century in date (Rogers 1993, 1372), but it is not clear if this is based on the date of the context (not discussed), or comparative examples from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. From Bolton (East Yorkshire) is a silver ring with a very wide bezel with triangular stamps containing pellets but with tapering ends which form the same knot. This ring was found by a metal detectorist, and has been regarded as of Viking manufacture, dating to the late 9th/10th century (Webster in Treasure Report 2001, 34, fig 45). Other examples with wide and often decorated bezels have also been attributed to the Viking period, for example an example from Great Flinborough (Suffolk; Ager in Treasure Report 2002, 62, no 52). While these rings demonstrate the knot continued into the Viking period, the wide bezels are very different to rings made entirely from thin wire. As yet, the thin wire examples appear to be restricted to the 6th and 7th century, and for this reason the examples from Birsay and Baleshare have been included in this catalogue. The recent application of a combination of dating techniques to Anglo-Saxon grave goods confirmed this type of ring is found across the 6th and 7th centuries (unlike some other types that were more common among 7th-century graves; Hines and Bayliss 2003, 366–7, sample WR3).

6.5.5   Rings: discussion

Okasha regarded finger rings as relatively rare finds in Anglo-Saxon England (2003, 32), but they are rarer still in early medieval Scotland. A long-lived type of spiral ring, with roots in the Bronze Age, may have continued in use in the north into the 6th/7th century AD on the basis of examples within the hoard of hacksilver from Norrie's Law, Fife (Blackwell et al 2017, fig 7.24) and two gold examples from Buiston crannog (Crone 2000, 144), but otherwise rings seem not to have been used.

In Anglo-Saxon contexts, simple wire rings like the examples from Birsay and Baleshare have been interpreted variously as finger rings, as belonging to bead necklaces (eg graves 62B and 69, Finglesham cemetery, Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006, figs 2.92, 2.95),

or as the contents of bags or purses (eg grave 58, Finglesham, Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006, 62–3, fig 2.12). All of the inhumations at Finglesham which produced these rings contained female skeletons, but most of the rings seem to be too large to be worn on a woman's hand. The Birsay and Baleshare rings are perhaps of a size more approaching a female finger ring but still a little too large for the author. Meaney suggested that they may have had an amuletic function, serving to deflect the evil eye through their knotted and convoluted form (Meaney 1981, 170). A knot bezel ring from a female grave at the West Heslerton cemetery was one of a set of objects interpreted by the excavators as amulets, worn as a necklace and from a girdle group at the hip, which also included a beaver's tooth pendant and a perforated walnut (gr 113, Haughton and Powlesland 1999, vol ii, 185–88). The Cramond ring may likewise have had an amuletic function. The Iona bezel seems to have become hacksilver by the time it was deposited in the late 10th century.

6.6　Pins

6.6.1　Pins: introduction

Twenty-one metal pins have been catalogued (Map 6.3 Illus 6.6–6.10); some are securely identified, while others, including some of the disc-headed pins and more simple forms from Dunbar, are more ambiguous. Three silver pins are known: a pair from the Talnotrie hoard and a single pin from Kilellan (Islay) with a cabochon garnet head. The remaining examples are copper-alloy; only one, an openwork disc-headed pin from Aberlady (East Lothian) is gilded. The majority are middle Saxon types with fairly long lives, dating to the 8th/9th centuries, although many of these types may have begun slightly earlier (Ross 1991). A single bone pin has also been tentatively identified and is discussed with the metal pins below.
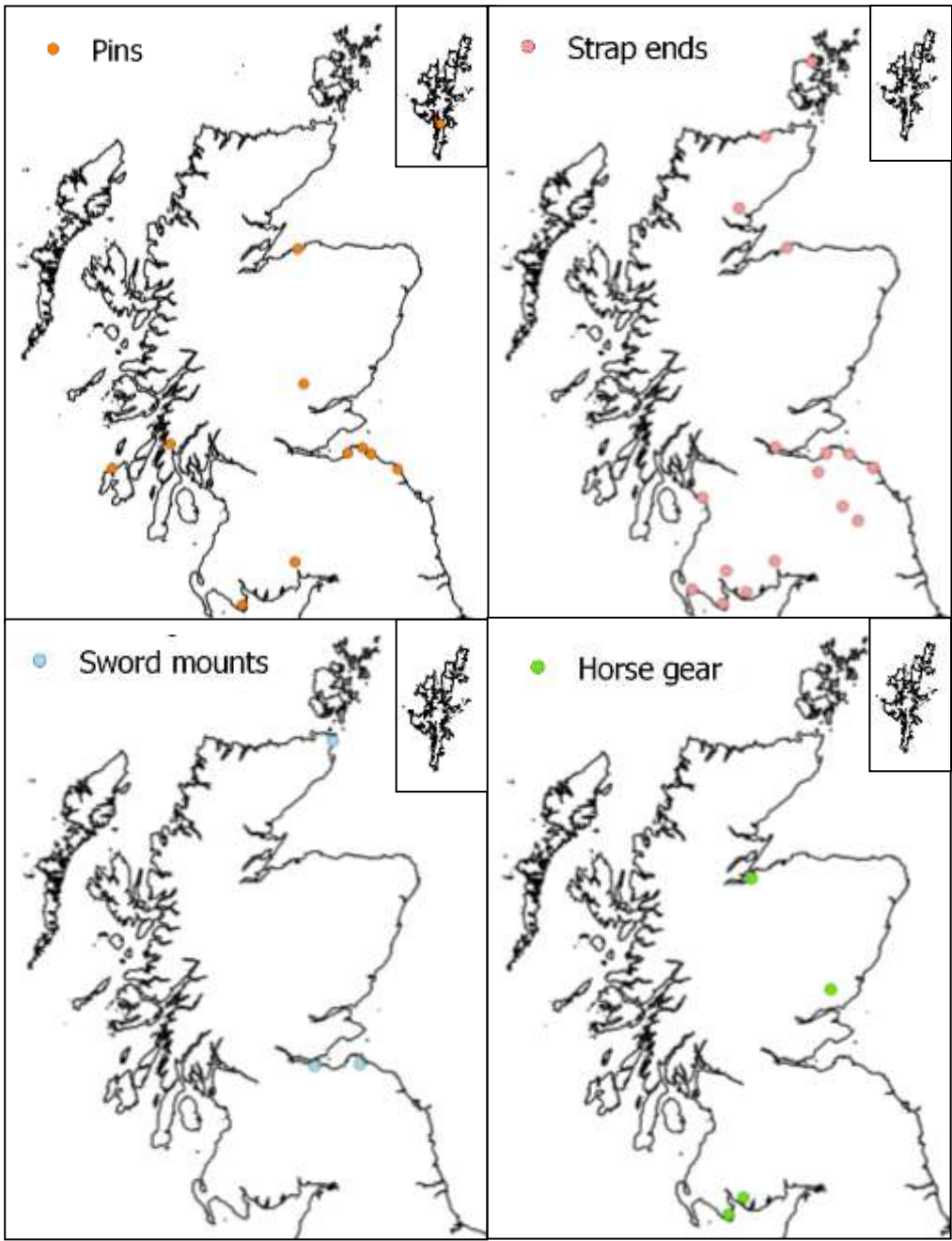
Map 6.3 Distribution of Anglo-Saxon and continental strap ends, pins, sword mounts and horse gear from Scotland.

6.6.2　Metal disc-headed pins of probable 7th-century date

A065　From excavations at Kilellan, Ardnave (Islay, Argyll; Illus 6.6) is a complete silver pin with a thick, disc-shaped head set with two convex cabochon garnets encircled by a decorated silver band, and a swollen, octagonal-section, decorated shaft (Ritchie 2005, 143–4, fig 90). There are no backing foils behind the garnets and a grey-greenish substance is visible through the stones which may be a filler/cement. While disc-headed pins set with garnets are a recognised Anglo-Saxon type (LXI; Ross 1991, 245), Ritchie argued the Kilellan pin was a hybrid on the basis of its proportions. But the short length of the Kilellan example is common among Anglo-Saxon Type LXI pins, part of the wider late 6th/7th-century fashion for short pins common to both Anglo-Saxon and Celtic areas. Ross identified a strong Kentish distribution of garnet-inset disc-headed pins, and dated them to the 7th century (Ross 1991, 247). An example with a part round, part facetted shaft similar to the Kilellan pin was found at Dover, grave 134 (Ross 1991, fig 5.27j). While some Type LXI pins are significantly thinner than the Kilellan pin, others are more comparable, including two gold pins from a burial in Seamer (North Yorkshire; Ross 1991, fig 5.27; Wright 1865).

The proportions of the Kilellan pin however are more commonly matched by examples of Ross' Kingston disc-headed pin Type (L; 1991, fig 5.22), which have undecorated discoid heads. A few of these pins also have facetted shafts below the mid-point, such as an example from Marlowe (sub Type L.ic; Ross 1991, 227, fig 5.22g). The diagonal lines and cross hatching on the Kilellan pin's silver setting band is difficult to parallel on other disc-headed pins but does appear on an Insular examples, for instance a spatulate-headed pin from Machrinhanish, Kintyre, tentatively dated on typological grounds to the 8th century (Batey 1990, 86–7). Shaft decoration generally appears to occur more frequently on Scottish pins than on Anglo-Saxon examples, and may support the identification of the Kilellan pin as a hybrid object. Given that the pin's proportions (Ritchie's main indicator of its hybrid nature) can be paralleled by other Anglo-Saxon examples, the remaining possibly hybrid features (incised lines and stamped shaft ornament) could have been added to a finished object after manufacture rather than indicate a pin of hybrid conception.
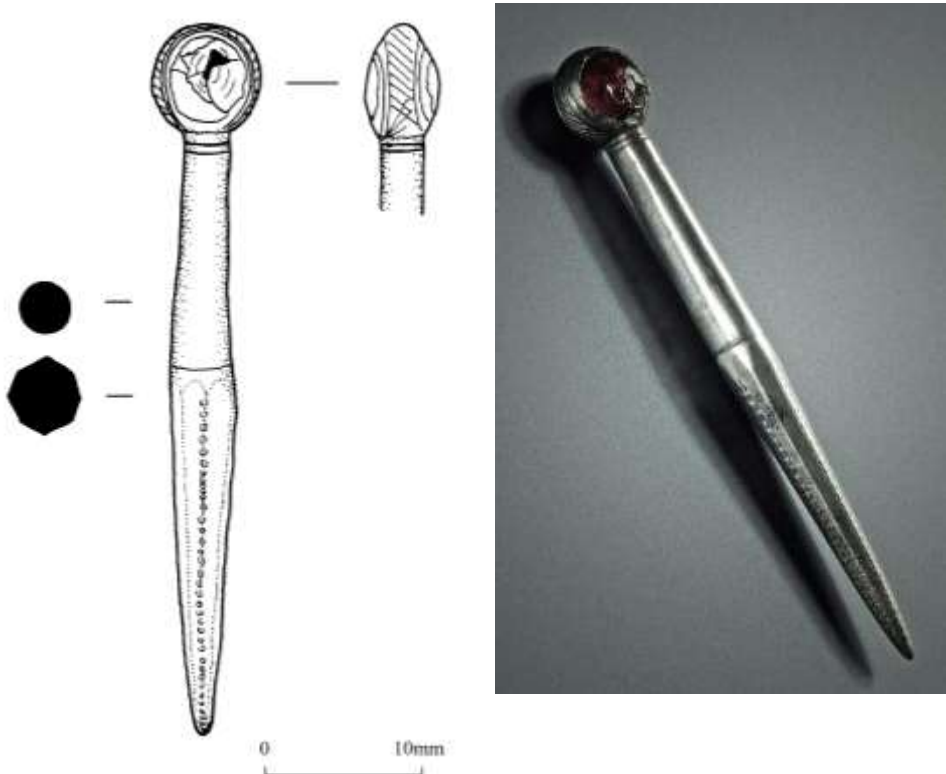
A065 Kilellan, silver and garnet disc-headed pin. Drawn by author, photograph copyright Trustees National Museums Scotland

B021 Culbin Sands, copper-alloy disc-headed pin, photograph by author.
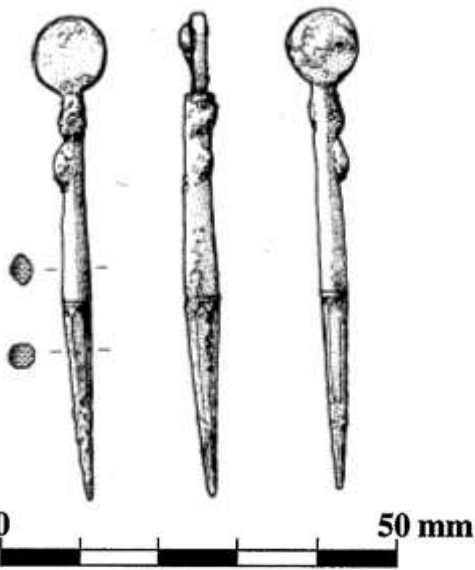
B022 Scalloway, copper-alloy disc-headed pin, after Sharples 1998 fig 109.
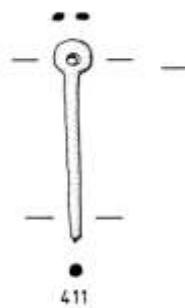
B028 Dunbar, bone disc-headed pin, after Perry 2000, fig 104. Scale 1:1.

Illus 6.6 Disc-headed pins.

B021, **B022**   Two metal disc-headed pins from Culbin Sands (Moray; unpublished; Illus 6.6) and Scalloway (Shetland; Illus 6.6; Campbell in Sharples 1998, 169–70, SF 5033, fig 109.15; **B022**) lack any form of head decoration, and therefore fall outside the definition of Foster's Late Iron Age disc-headed pins (Type 9A; Foster 1989, 55, 83). Campbell first highlighted the possible Anglo-Saxon origin of the disc-shaped head, drawing parallels between the Scalloway pin, a pin from Burray, and Anglo-Saxon disc-headed linked pins (Campbell in Sharples 1998, 170). However, Ross' Anglo-Saxon 'Kingston disc-headed' pin Type (Ross 1991, Type L, 224–31, fig 5.22) provides even closer parallels; they are of similar size and proportions to the Culbin Sands and Scalloway pins, and feature the same undecorated disc heads. The majority of Kingston-Type pins (c 575–650AD) are known from Kent, but others also occur in southern East Anglia, the Thames Valley, together with an outlier in Lincolnshire (Ross 1991, 231, 384). Of the Scottish disc-headed pin heads discussed by Campbell, the Scalloway and Culbin examples seem most closely linked to Anglo-Saxon Kingston Type examples. The Burray pin is considerably larger than the 'short' pin types, and has pelleted decoration around the edge of the head and decoration on the shaft; these differences mean it has been excluded here. The Scalloway and Culbin pins also feature swollen and part-facetted shafts found on several Kingston pins, apparently among the earliest type of pin in England to feature this.

6.6.3   Bone disc-headed pin

B028   From Castle Park, Dunbar (Illus 6.6) is a bone pin with a pierced disc-shaped head (Perry 2000, 151, cat no 411, illus 104). The group of around 20 probable LIA disc-headed bone pins (Type 9A) listed by Foster (Foster 1989, App. II) have not been included within this catalogue as there is not sufficient dating evidence to demonstrate whether they too relate to the same processes of cross-fertilisation suggested above for metal disc-headed pins. While pierced bone pins are common, particularly minimally altered fibulae, the Dunbar pin seems to be the only pierced example with disc-shaped head from Scotland. As such, it may be related to Ross' pierced disc-headed pin Type, dated to c 575–630, a slightly more restricted date range, finishing slightly earlier, than that suggested for the related Kingston Type (Ross 1991, 384). **B028** was found with Anglo-Saxon clay loom-weight fragments (**A024**), from a context assigned to Phase 7 and thought to be

associated with the *Grubenhäus* structure (Perry 2000, 182). Among the other bone pins from Dunbar is a nail-headed pin with clearly shouldered shaft – this may place Dunbar at the interface of Insular and Anglo-Saxon pin fashions along the eastern seaboard. A copper-alloy, nail-headed pin was also recovered from the palisade surrounding a *Grubenhäus* at the settlement site of Ratho, Midlothian (Smith 1995, 101, 103, illus 20). Two further disc-headed bone pins from Dunbar from a late and an unstratified context have not been included: both have dot decoration on the disc faces, and cross hatching on the shank, neither of which are found on Anglo-Saxon disc-headed pins.

6.6.4   Metal disc-headed pins of 8th-century or later date

A005   An openwork gilt copper-alloy disc-headed pin with a sprightly animal caught in interlace is one of a number of 8th/9th-century objects found by metal detecting at Aberlady (East Lothian; Illus 6.7; unpublished). Openwork of this quality is rare, and it is unparalleled among Ross' discussion of other decorated disc-headed pins (Ross 1991, Type LXXIV). It does however occur on the brooches of the Pentney hoard (Norfolk), suggested to be early 9th century in date (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 229–31, no 187). This collection of six brooches form a bridge between the 8th-century Mercian style and the emerging 9th-century Trewhiddle style (Webster 2001, 275–7). Elements of the emerging Trewhiddle style found on these brooches and elsewhere (including speckled animal bodies) are absent from the Aberlady pin, which might suggests a late 8th-century rather than early 9th-century date. The closest parallel in pin rather than brooch form are the three late 8th-century pins from the River Witham at Fiskerton (Lincolnshire), with similar style creatures rendered in chip-carving rather than openwork (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 227–8, fig 184). The style, rather than details, of the Aberlady beast is also paralleled by creatures on the Ormside bowl and within the St Petersburg Gospels (Smith 1923, fig 15), dated to the late 8th century.

Although our understanding of 8th-century metalwork is far less advanced than that from the 7th or 9th centuries, Webster has convincingly argued for a distinctly Mercian style and provenance for a group of 8th-century material (Webster 2001). Central to this style is the depiction of sprightly beasts or birds, some playful with pricked ears and grinning

jaws, which 'prance, step, perch or writhe, sometimes in interlace' or among vines (Webster 2001, 267). The Aberlady, Pentney, Witham and Ormside creatures share this characteristic sprightliness and some details of form, such as the incised collars. Other details differ, and the decoration on the Aberlady creature's hip is difficult to parallel among the recognised Mercian-style material. At present it is uncertain whether all the examples of this characteristic style are of Mercian origin, as argued by Webster, or whether a similar style might also have spread to Northumbrian metalwork of the same period. This seems possible given the widespread fashions for the slightly later Trewhiddle style. The Aberlady pin is an important new addition to the Mercian-style material in general, and given its northern find context it might be a bridge between the artistic similarities evident in Pictland and Merica visible in sculpture and the St Ninian's Isle hoard (Webster 2001, 272).

A030   From the Talnotrie (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.7) hoard are a pair of silver pins with flat discoid heads, pierced for a linking chain and decorated with geometric ornament (Maxwell 1913; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 273–4, no 248b, c; Graham-Campbell 2001, 20–6). The pins are almost identical in dimensions and decoration, the only difference being the absence of a second ring in the centre of the design on one of the pins. These pins have received surprisingly little critical attention. They have usually been regarded as Anglo-Saxon disc-headed pins, but Ross recognised that they were atypical and did not easily fit within his typology (1991, 334). While superficially similar to his 8th-century 'Witham disc-headed Type', the Talnotrie examples have a significantly smaller head diameter and feature completely different decorative motifs (Ross 1991, 334). Previously suggested parallels for the pins' ornament, usually described as 'geometric Trewhiddle' style, include sword mountings from Gilling (North Yorkshire; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 277, no 251), Acomb and Wensley (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 273). None of these objects offers close parallels however, and the Talnotrie pins lack the devolved foliate motif found on even simple geometric Trewhiddle designs.

0   10mm

A005 Aberlady, gilt copper-alloy pin head. Drawn by author,
photograph copyright Trustees of National Museums Scotland.

A030 Talnotrie, silver pins. Photograph by author.

Illus 6.7 Disc-headed pins.

A closer parallel is found on a circular gilt-bronze stud found by a metal-detector at Coddenham (Suffolk), with similar pointed cruciform motif and leaf-shaped lozenges, surrounded by concentric circles (West 1998, 23, fig 22.21). A 10th/11th-century pewter disc-brooch from Thetford (Rogerson and Dallas 1984, 68, no 6, fig 109) and a 9th/10th-century brooch from Castle Acre (Norfolk; Wilson 1964, 127, no 11, pl XVII) provide further parallels. Similarities between the design on the Talnotrie pins and a small disc-headed pin with thick, hipped, decorated shaft from an unknown provenance on Orkney have been previously recognised by Foster (Foster 1990, 158). Unlike the Talnotrie pins, both faces of the Orkney pin's small disc head are decorated: one with a pointed cruciform shape within a single encircling border, with a central roughly cross-shaped depression, the other with a pointed triangle motif. Finally, it is possible that inspiration for the Talnotrie design may lie in the piece of Insular chip-carved metalwork, re-used as a weight that accompanied the pins, and which features a similar pointed-diamond outline. The design there and on the pins may well have originally had Christian meaning. Also within the hoard are a small cross-shaped mount and coins likewise bearing cross motifs.

6.6.5   Metal pins with non-disc shaped heads

A007   In addition to the openwork disc-headed pin, two further copper-alloy pins are known from Aberlady (unpublished; Illus 6.8). One is a facet-headed pin with ring-and-dot decoration, incomplete shaft and sharply carinated collar. It is a Ross Type LXXII.iv 'Hamwic flattened facet-headed' pin (1991, 317–9), a subtype of the common mid-Saxon facet-headed pins. The majority are smaller than the Aberlady example but an equivalent pin is known from Whitby (Ross 1991, 317). Most are decorated with ring-and-dots, and examples are known from excavations at Fishergate (York), Southampton, Ipswich, Brandon and from a number of sites across London. Their archaeological contexts suggest they were made during the 7th and 8th centuries; they are notably absent from Coppergate (York; Ross 1991, 318–9).
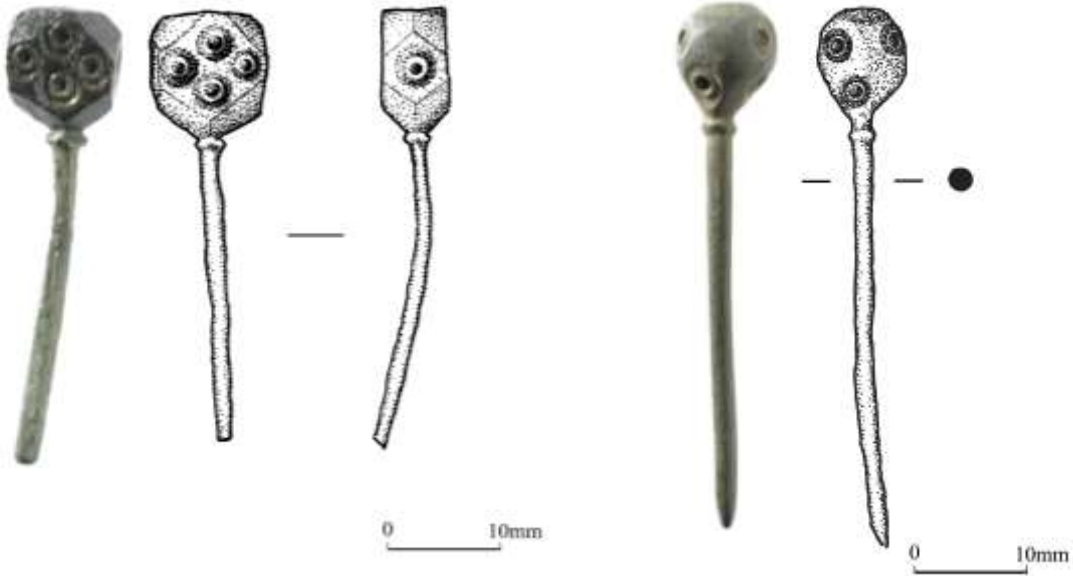
A007 Aberlady, copper-alloy pin. Drawn by author, photograph copyright National Museums Scotland.

A006 Aberlady, copper-alloy pin. Drawn by author, photograph copyright National Museums Scotland.

A062 Holywood, copper-alloy pin head. Crown copyright.

B012 Eyemouth, copper-alloy pin head. Photograph by author.

Illus 6.8 Faceted-headed pins.

A062   A copper-alloy facet-headed pin head with a short portion of surviving shaft was found by a metal detectorist at Holywood (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.8; unpublished). As with the Aberlady pin, the facets are decorated with ring-and-dot motifs and there is no collar between the head and shaft. A strap end (**A035**) and 9th-century coin (**A095**) were also found at Holywood.

B012   From Eyemouth (Scottish Borders; Illus 6.8; unpublished) is a copper-alloy undecorated facetted cuboid head with short section of possible shaft. The projecting shaft assumes a comma-shape in profile, and this combined with the large size relative to other pins makes identification of a pin-head uncertain. The closest of Ross' Anglo-Saxon types is his LXXII.iii 'Coppergate faceted heads greater than 6mm' group, but the examples quoted by him have a maximum head diameter of 8mm (Ross 1991, 315–7), significantly smaller than the Eyemouth object. In addition, the shaft is thicker than the 1–2.5mm typical of these pins, and rather than assuming a symmetrical projecting profile it is comma-shaped, suggesting it was designed to curve. It is possible this is a penannular brooch terminal rather than a pin head, though and it is difficult to parallel precisely the shape of the head within the corpus of Type G examples (Dickinson 1982).

A006   The third pin from Aberlady (Illus 6.8; unpublished) has a globular- or 'inverted pear'-shaped head decorated with ring-and-dots. The shaft is straight, with no swelling or hipping, and seems complete, tapering gently towards a slightly pointed tip. This is an 'inverted pear' pin, a fairly common late Saxon type (Ross 1991, Type LXIX, 228–295, figs 5.38, 5.39), also often simply called 'globular-headed'. The type was certainly established by the 9th century, but was probably fairly widely used during the 8th century as well, if not earlier (Ross 1991, 293). Ring-and-dot is the most common decorative motif on these and related pin types (Ross 1991, fig 5.38a–c, e–g), although wrythen-type ornament is also known (Ross 1991, fig 5.38d; see also **B011**, below). Ross further divided this type into sub groups, and on the basis of its flat top this example is a LXIX.iib pin. Many similar examples are known, for example from Fishergate (York) and South Newbald (Leahy 2000, eg fig 6.7.23).

B011 From Dunadd (Illus 6.9) is an iron globular-headed pin with spiral knurled ('wrythen') decoration, remains of tinning, a straight (incomplete) shaft and no collar (Lane and Campbell 2000, 166–7, no 1336). The line between Ross' 'ball/spherical-headed' pins and 'inverted pear-headed' pins is quite fine but this pin seems marginally closer to the latter in shape (1991, eg figs 5.39 and 5.41). Such pins are otherwise unknown from early medieval Scottish contexts, but can be paralleled by a number pins from middle-Saxon sites in England (Lane and Campbell 2000, 166). An example with very fine 'wrythen' decoration and straight shaft is known from Brandon (Suffolk; Ross 1991, fig 5.39d), while an example from South Newbold has decoration more comparable in quality to the Dunadd pin, although it extends down only half of the head's length (Leahy 2000, fig 6.6.6). Both the South Newbold and Brandon examples have collars between the head and shaft, a feature of most of the Anglo-Saxon examples but which the Dunadd pin lacks. Other examples from North Elmham and a second pin from Brandon have been dated to the late 9th and 8th century, respectively.

B038 From excavations at Dunbar (Illus 6.9) are three possibly Anglo-Saxon copper-alloy pins. The first is has an incomplete circular-sectioned shank, globular head and very wide globular collar (Perry 2000, 119, cat no 38, illus 95; note, the published catalogue mentions a central shaft expansion, but the illustration indicates a tapering shaft with no hip). This appears to be an example of Ross' Type LXX, ball-/spherical-headed pins. Pins with a head diameter smaller than 3mm, like the Dunbar pin, are classed by Ross as a separate sub-group (LXXi) and dated to the late 7th century to 8th centuries (Ross 1991, 295). An example from Barking (Essex; Ross 1991, fig 5.40d) has a comparably large and bulbous collar. Of the three pins from Dunbar, this example is the only one from a context assigned to the early medieval period. However there are a number of more certainly residual finds from late contexts at the site and intrusive features (see Blackwell 2009).

B011 Dunadd, iron pin. Photograph by author.

B038 Dunbar, copper-alloy pin, after Perry 2000, illus 95. Scale 1:1.

B039 Dunbar, copper-alloy pin, after Perry 2000, illus 95. Scale 1:1.

B040 Dunbar, copper-alloy pin, after Perry 2000, illus 95. Scale 1:1.
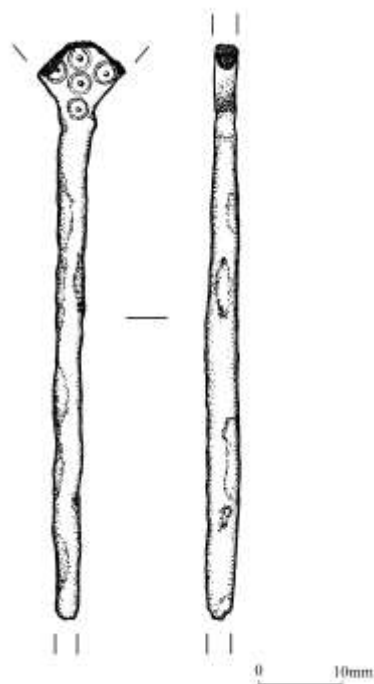
A004 Blackhill House, copper-alloy pin, drawn by author.

Illus 6.9 Globular- and flat-headed pins.

B039   The second pin from Dunbar (Illus 6.9) has a facetted inverted pear-shaped head, a circular-sectioned incomplete shaft and carinated collar (Perry 2000, 120, cat no 58, illus 95; the catalogue notes a central expansion on the shaft, but the illustration suggests a tapering shaft without hip). This may be an example of Ross' Type LXIX 'Inverted pear or hot-air balloon-headed' pins, established by the 9th century and probably widespread in the 8th century, if not earlier (Ross 1991, 293). The flat top of the Dunbar example suggests it would fit in the LXIX.ii.b subgroup. The head diameter and probable shaft extent fit well within his average for this type, but the shaft is slightly thicker at 3mm compared with 2.5mm. The sharp facets of the Dunbar pin also seem somewhat unusual, and suggest that a later date remains possible.

B040   The third pin from Dunbar (Illus 6.9) has a biconical-shaped head, collar, and round-sectioned incomplete shaft with a possible slight expansion or hip (Perry 2000, 120, cat no 59, illus 95). This pin may be an example of Ross' Type LXCIII.ii 'Medium biconical-headed' pin. Certainly its dimensions fit well within Ross' average for the type. Ross regarded these pins as Middle Saxon in date, seemingly absent on 10th-century and later sites (Ross 1991, 284). It was recovered from a Phase 21 context, dated to the 16th century and the French fort of 1560 (Perry 2000, 96, 119). Phase 21 however also produced a 9th-century strap end, a product of the considerable disturbance at the site.

A004   From Blackhill House, Caputh (Tayside; Illus 6.9) is a copper-alloy pin with a ring-and-dot decorated head, probably originally raquet-shaped but now incomplete (Laing 1973, 47; Laing 1975, fig 123.4). A small knop projects from one side below the head, and an area of corrosion on the other side suggests this is the remains of a collar. The shaft is corroded in places, while the head retains a largely smooth patina. This pin is the most northerly known example of Ross' 'raquet-headed Type' (LXXVI) (1991, 335–7, fig 5.49a–c). The majority occur in Yorkshire or further north, with many known from Whitby (Peers and Radford 1943, fig 13.7) and York; only a few outliers are known from the south of England (Ross 1991, 337). The shaft of the Blackhill House pin is considerably thicker than the 2mm typical of the type in general (Ross 1991, 335), being more akin to the diameter

of the stylus from Peebles (**A022**), although an example from South Newbold is similar. A fairly broad date range for the type has been suggested, certainly extending from the third quarter of the 8th century to the third quarter of the 9th, but possibly also from the early 8th to beginning of the 10th century (Ross 1991, 390).

B048   From Auldhame (East Lothian; Illus 6.10) are two pins with hipped shafts. The first has a thin wedge-shaped, perforated head, somewhat reminiscent of styli erasers in shape although too thin to have functioned in this way (Blackwell in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 57–8). Very slight facets run along the length of the shaft. This pin does not fit easily within Ross' typology of Anglo-Saxon pins (Ross 1991). Ross' 'wedge-headed' Type, which comprises a single pin from Castledykes cemetery only, is similar though its head expands smoothly from the shaft. A better parallel is an incomplete pin from South Newbald (Yorkshire) which also lacks a collar (Leahy 2000, fig 6.8 no 17) but features two similarly arranged perforations surrounded by rings. A similar pin found in the fill of a 9th-century *Grubenhäus* at Thwing (Yorkshire) and a further is known from Hotham (North Humberside; Leahy 2000, 71) suggesting it may be a northern type.

B049   The second pin from Auldhame (Illus 6.10) has a bent shaft and undecorated ball-shaped head with flattened top (Blackwell in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 57–8). The shaft swells slightly at around two-thirds of its length and there does not appear to be a collar. Simple ball-headed pins, some with flattened tops, are a common type and the simple head shape and lack of decoration means that close dating is not possible; Ross regards the type generally as firmly established by the 8th century, if not slightly before, continuing into the 9th and possibly the 10th centuries (Ross 1991, 228–295). While collars are very common, an example from South Newbald also lacks one. A further pin shaft fragment (SF 1053) was also found during excavations at Auldhame but has been excluded as it was regarded as too fragmentary to be diagnostic. It does however, exhibit possible hipping and is of a similar diameter to **B049**.
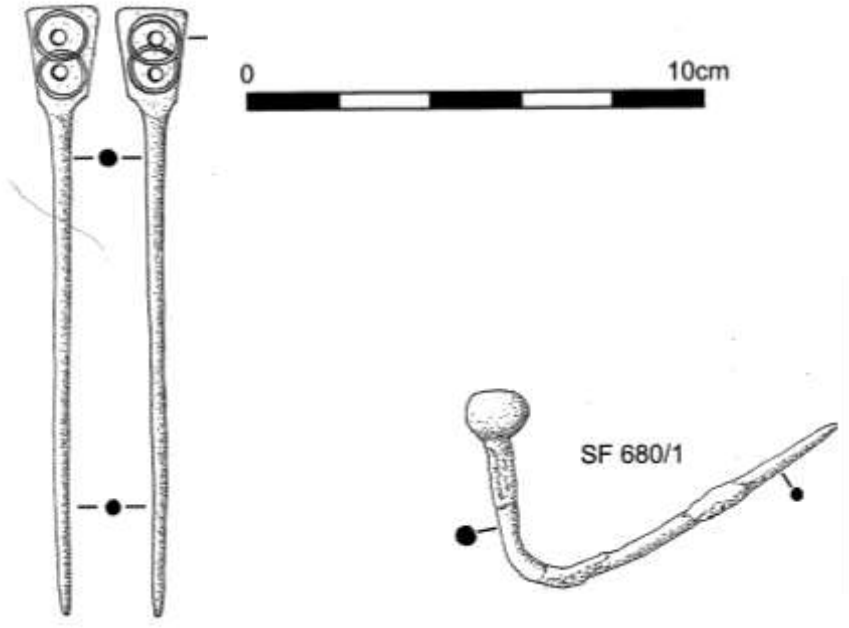
B048 Auldhame, copper-alloy pin, after Crone and Hindmarch 2016, fig 47.

B049 Auldhame, copper-alloy pin, after Crone and Hindmarch 2016, fig 47.

B055 Whithorn, copper-alloy pin, after Hill 1997, illus 10.51.

B056 Whithorn, copper-alloy pin, after Hill 1997, illus 10.51.

B058, Whithorn, copper-alloy pin, after Hill 1997, illus 10.51.
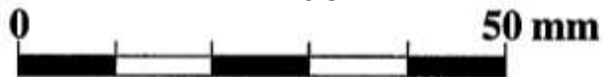
Illus 6.10 Globular-headed pins.

B055–B058   Three pins and a pin-head excavated from Whithorn (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.10) are included here. **B056** (Hill 1997, 363, BZ13.2, fig 10.51) is a mid-Saxon Type LXVIII.ii medium-biconical-headed pin (Ross 1991, 281, 284–88, fig 5.37). **B055** (Hill 1997, 363, BZ13.1, fig 10.51), **B058** (Hill 1997, 363, BZ13.7) and **B057** (Hill 1997, 363, BZ13.3, fig 10.51) are mid–late Saxon type LXX.iia.1.A ball-headed pins with no collar and plain tapering shaft (Ross 1991, 295–305; Hill 1997, 363, BZ13.1, fig 10.51). Two similar pins are known from Dunbar, one biconical (**B040**) and the other the smaller variant of the ball-headed type (**B038**).

6.6.6   Pins: discussion

Common characteristics have been identified in post-Roman pins from both Scotland and England, including a preference for short, hipped and sometimes part-faceted shafts (Foster 1989; Ross 1991). This common development has long been recognised but, while it seems likely that it results from contact between the two areas, the lack of precisely dated pins means it has not been possible to confidently identify where it developed. Foster regarded the preference for short (less than 69mm long) pins as a Late Iron Age II phenomenon (Foster 1989, 61; Foster 1990, 153), contemporary with a fashion for short pins in England (Foster 1990, 156). Ross dated the preference among Anglo-Saxon pins to the late 6th or early 7th century, and suggested in England it had a Kentish–Essex–East Anglian origin on the basis of distribution (Ross 1991, 370–1). The application of a range of dating techniques to 6th–7th-century Anglo-Saxon burial assemblages found that few types of pins were useful for chronological determination (Hines and Bayliss 2003, 520).

There are indicators that in England disc-headed pins were among the earliest types to feature these shared characteristics. Kingston disc-headed pins (Ross Type L, c 575–650AD) are among the earliest Anglo-Saxon type identified by Ross to conform to the fashion for short length, while the earliest types with part-facetted shafts are the Kingston disc-headed and related pierced disc-headed types (c 575–630), the garnet disc-headed type (Ross Type LXI, 625–650, but possibly 600–675) and the disc linked pin type (c 660–725/750, although Ross placed part-facetted examples of these types closer to 650; Ross 1991, 229, 384). The recent reassessment of Anglo-Saxon grave-good

chronology found that half of the sample of disc- and pierced disc-headed pins belonged to the early to mid-6th century, earlier than anticipated (Hines and Bayliss 2003, 368; their types PI1-e and PI1-f).

Only a few examples of these early pin types have part-facetted shafts, suggesting it was not very common at first. Other types of Anglo-Saxon pins continued to be manufactured with part-facetted shafts, including larger quantities of the common mid-Saxon types (eg biconical-, inverted pear-shaped-, and ball-headed pins), but the earliest types are all variants on the disc-shaped heads, suggesting this group was a particular focus in processes of the cross-fertilisation of pin fashions. Examples of each of these types have been included in this catalogue, including several examples with part-faceted shafts.

Hipping, a swelling of the shaft to hold the pin in place, is also found among Scottish and Anglo-Saxon pins, as well as on several from Ireland, but apparently does not feature on pins from Wales (notably absent from Dinas Powys for example) or the Isle of Man (Foster 1990, 151). In Scotland, Foster regarded hipping, together with the preference for short pins, as a LAI II development, not occurring before the early 7th century, and far more common in later 7th-century contexts (Foster 1989; Foster 1990, 151). This she suggested was slightly earlier than hipped pins from England, introduced c 700 (Foster 1990, 151). Ross subsequently argued that hipping becomes more popular in England *through* the 7th century (Ross 1991, 49), and its origins therefore remain uncertain.

Based on their associations in Anglo-Saxon graves, small pins appear to have been worn mainly by women. Despite a wealth of grave evidence Ross expressed some uncertainty as to their function, although the main likelihood is that they fastened head coverings or hair; their delicate size means they could not have supported heavy garments. Walton Rogers' comprehensive study of Anglo-Saxon costume concluded that head coverings were very common, and may have indicated marital status (Walton Rogers 2007 159–61). With the conversion to Christianity, head coverings gained added significance and associations with Marian virtue. Comparable evidence for how pins, and especially these Late Iron Age 'short' pins, were used in Scotland is lacking, though their size limits what they would be suitable for. The potential role of Christianity in changing Anglo-Saxon fashions means a similar role in covering the head is possible in early Christian England and Scotland, perhaps explaining the widespread nature of the common pin

characteristics. The two main shared features, a shift in the dominant size and the development of hipping, both relate to directly to the function of the pins, and thus might be seen as supporting a similar use in both areas.

Bone pins are far more common in early medieval Scotland than metal pins (Foster 1989). The relationship between metal and organic Anglo-Saxon pins is unclear: Ross focussed heavily on metal examples, but suggested that his 'typological framework probably characterises pins produced from organic materials as well [as metal]' (Ross 1991, 15). This assertion however remains untested. A single bone pin has tentatively been included within this catalogue.

6.7 Strap ends

6.7.1 Strap ends: introduction

Twenty-seven strap ends (one silver, the rest copper alloy) have been included within this corpus: 16 previously identified by Thomas (2000) together with eleven other examples, most of which are recent metal-detected finds (Map 6.3). Thomas's typology defines Class A, B1, B2 and B3 strap-ends as Anglo-Saxon, and Class B4–H as Anglo-Scandinavian; the latter have thus been excluded from this catalogue.

6.7.2 Class A1 strap ends

A033 A complete Class A1 copper-alloy strap end with zoomorphic terminal, split end and Trewhiddle-style decoration inlaid with niello and traces of silver wire is known from Coldingham (Scottish Borders; Illus 6.11; Thomas 2000, 77, cat no 315). It was reportedly found in the Priory churchyard at an unknown date and remained in private possession until donation to NMS in 1988. It is one of four examples (Type A1aviii) identified by Thomas as likely to be products of the same workshop or craftsman (Thomas 2000, 77). Each shares the distinctive and otherwise rare characteristic of a Trewhiddle-style animal

pierced by interlace that terminates in a second creature's head. All four also feature terminals with comma-shaped ears and looping palmettes, regional variations characteristic of northern strap ends (Thomas 2006, 160; Thomas 2001, 40, fig 4.1a). The find locations of the other three examples support Northumbrian manufacture: Wetheral, near Carlisle (Cumbria), Highfields near Doncaster (South Yorkshire) and Thorpe Salvin (South Yorkshire; Thomas 2000, fig 3.14 A, C and D, respectively). This distribution, like another related Northumbrian group (Type A1avii) extends both sides of the Pennines (Thomas 2000, 233).

A035   An incomplete copper-alloy Class A1 strap end, surviving as two conjoining fragments, was discovered by a metal detector at Holywood (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.11; unpublished). The main panel of decoration is incomplete but it seems likely to consist of a single animal caught in interlace (Class A1ax). A second example of this type is known from south-western Scotland at Glenluce Sands (**A049**). Thomas identified eight examples of this type, three of which (**A049**, and examples from Cottam and Whitby) might have originated from the same workshop in northern England (Thomas 2000, 78). They feature an animal with a head pointing up and left that is enmeshed in and pierced by double-contoured interlace with sub-foliate extensions. All likewise have a 'well-executed trilobate palmette with a small horseshoe incised on the central leaf' (ibid). The Holywood strap end seems to carry a rougher version of this type of motif – certainly the palmette could not be regarded as well executed – and while the animal is difficult to read because of the missing portion, it gives the impression of considerable stylisation.

A039   A silver Class A1aiv strap end with a Trewhiddle-style animal design on a background of niello inlay is known from the Talnotrie hoard (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.11; Thomas 2000, 74–5, cat no 273). It is decorated with a single left-facing animal with head turned backwards to face the terminal and belongs to a relatively common group (25 examples; Thomas 2000, 74–5). The terminal has a squared-off snout, bulbous eyes, and comma-shaped ears which form a heart shape with a central pellet. The edges of the strap end along the extent of the central design are punched with small circles to

resemble beading. This is the most high status and best preserved Anglo-Saxon strap end from Scotland. The Talnotrie hoard (deposited during the 870s) was discovered in 1912 and also included a pair of silver pins (**A030**), a Viking-type lead weight with re-used insular mount attached, an undiagnostic plain gold finger ring, and a mixture of 13 coins including Anglo-Saxon stycas and pennies (**A089**).

A040   A copper-alloy Class A1aii strap end with a simple Trewhiddle-style zoomorphic motif is known from the large multi-period stray-finds assemblage from Stevenston Sands (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.11; Thomas 2000, 74, cat no 252; Callander 1933). This sub-group of strap ends has a single field of Trewhiddle-style ornament comprising a single left-facing animal with head facing forward toward the split end (Thomas 2000, 74, cat no 252). The terminal has a pointed snout but the only facial feature is a low ridge which bulges slightly at the sides. The central panel contains a forward-facing crouching beast with feet indicated by two pairs of short incised lines, a possible diamond-shaped ear or pellet behind the head, and simple tail behind the creature's back leg. The surface is corroded but there seems to be remains of speckling on the body. Along one edge by the central panel are the faint remains of nick marks. The A1aii Type show some diversity and varying degrees of the stylisation that characterises this example.

A049   A copper-alloy Class A1ax strap end is one of three examples (**A050, A051**) among the massive stray-finds assemblage from Glenluce Sands (not illustrated; Thomas 2000, cat no 323). Class A1ax strap ends feature a single field of Trewhiddle-style decoration containing a single animal enmeshed in interlace (Thomas 2000, 78–79). Thomas identified eight examples, three of which (this Glenluce Sands example together with one from Cottam and one from Whitby) might originate from the same workshop somewhere in northern England (Thomas 2000, 78).

A033 Coldingham, copper-alloy strap end, photograph by the author.

A035 Holywood, copper-alloy strap end, photography by the author.

A039 Talnotrie, silver and niello strap end, photograph by the author.

A040 Stevenson Sands, copper-alloy strap end, photograph by the author.

A036 Chatto Crag, copper-alloy strap end, Crown copyright.

A037 Crichton, copper-alloy strap end, Crown copyright.

A041 Culross, copper-alloy strap end, Crown copyright.

0   20mm

Illus 6.11 Strap ends.

A050   A copper-alloy Class A1bi strap end is also known from Glenluce Sands (not illustrated; Thomas 2000, cat no 495). This type features multiple panels of Trewhiddle-style decoration; here there are two fields. This is a reasonably common type of strap end, with 39 examples identified by Thomas (2000, 86–87).

6.7.3   Class A2 strap ends

A051   The third strap end from Glenluce Sands is incomplete (not illustrated; Thomas 2000, 90–91, cat no 640). It is a copper-alloy Class A2e strap end, defined by the use of crescents which are either stacked one on top of the other (as on this example), laid end to end or worked into a more complicated design with conjoined, interlocking crescents.

A052   From Reay (Caithness; Illus 6.12) is a complete copper-alloy Class A2b strap end, defined as featuring step motifs, often in conjunction with prominent roundels (Thomas 2000, 89–90, cat no 613, fig 3.14d). Thomas identified eight examples, five of which were found in Scotland (**A053–A056**). Viking graves have been discovered at Reay (Batey 1993, 152–4) and it is almost certain that this strap end, as well as the other examples of the type, arrived as a result of contact with the Viking world.

A053 A054   Two copper-alloy Class A2b strap ends are known from a Viking grave at Westness, (Orkney; Illus 6.12; Thomas 2000, cat nos 615 and 616).

A055 A056   Two copper-alloy Class A2b strap ends attributed to Rogart (Highland; not illustrated) are in the collections of the Ashmolean (Thomas 2000, cat no 614).

0   20mm

A042 Aberlady, strap end,
photograph by the author.
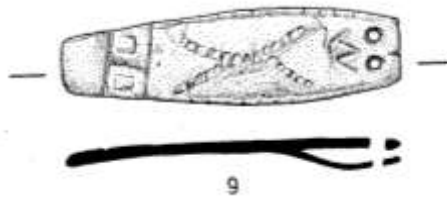
A043 Dunbar, strap end, after
Perry 2000, illus 95.

A044 Aberlady, strap end,
photograph by the author.

A045 Aberlady, strap end,
photograph by the author.
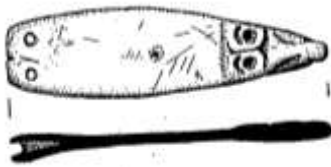
A046 Whithorn, strap end, after Hill
1997, fig 10.58.

A047 Bishopton,
copper-alloy strap end,
Crown copyright.

A052 Reay, strap end,
copyright Trustees of
National Museums Scotland.

A053, **A054** Westness, strap ends,
copyright Trustees of National Museums
Scotland.

Illus 6.12 Strap ends.

A044   A copper-alloy strap end with a single rivet hole, and a very narrow and simple zoomorphic terminal is among the assemblage from Aberlady (Illus 6.12; Thomas 2000, cat no 189). It has curving sides, a simple angular key-pattern design and lacks the common palmette design at the split end. Thomas identified this as a Class A1a strap end, that is with a single field of Trewhiddle-style ornament (2000, 73, cat no 189), but it better fits his A2 Class (geometric decoration, often lacking a palmette; Thomas 2000, 89). The delicate shape and narrow and pointed terminal is similar to the Class A2b strap end from Reay (Caithness) (**A052**).

6.7.4   Class A4/5 strap ends

A045   An incomplete copper-alloy Class A4/5 strap end with zoomorphic terminal is among the detected assemblage from Aberlady (Illus 6.12; Thomas 2000, 94, cat no 745, where the accession number is wrongly given as x.IG 8 instead of x.IG 11). The body has curving sides and the main field of decoration consists only of two linear groves running along the length of the strap end which would originally have contained enamel (Thomas A4) or silver wire (Thomas A5). The terminal has small and deeply gouged eyes and the split end is missing.

6.7.5   Worn or incomplete Class A strap ends

A036   A complete copper-alloy Class A strap end with the usual zoomorphic terminal and split end was found by a metal detector near Chatto Craig (Scottish Borders; Illus 6.11; unpublished). The decoration is difficult to read because of the corroded surface, but the impression is of a debased animal motif picked out with niello.

A037   A very worn copper-alloy Class A strap end with split end and zoomorphic terminal was discovered by a metal detector near Crichton (Midlothian; Illus 6.11; unpublished). No trace of surface decoration survives.

A038   An incomplete copper-alloy strap end, broken at the split end, with a zoomorphic terminal that has small but deeply gouged eyes was found by a metal detector at Clarkly Hill (Moray; not illustrated; unpublished). The decoration is very indistinct due to corrosion. Traces of niello survive and suggest an interlacing design in the main field. This strap end does not fit neatly into Thomas' typology. It most resembles a Class A, but is narrower and has only a hint of the curved sides normal to this type. Nonetheless, it is clearly not a medieval strap end, nor does it closely resemble Anglo-Scandinavian examples; its closest parallels remain with Anglo-Saxon examples from the 9th century.

A041   A copper-alloy Class A1 strap end was found by a metal detector at Culross (Fife; Illus 6.11; unpublished). The rivets survive intact but the main field of decoration is indistinct due to corrosion, although it appears likely to contain a simple zoomorph.

A046   A copper-alloy Class A strap end was recovered during excavations at Whithorn (Illus 6.12; Hill 1997, 374, no 3, illus 10.58). This is a Class A strap but it cannot be categorised further because, unusually, it bears no decoration on its main body (Thomas 2000, cat no 20). It was excavated from a rubbish deposit containing coins dating to c AD 840. A Class B strap end from the site is also included within this catalogue (**A057**); the remaining examples from the site are excluded because they are classified as Anglo-Scandinavian types by Thomas.

A047   An incomplete and corroded Class A copper-alloy strap end with partially surviving split end and zoomorphic terminal was recovered by a metal detector from Bishopton (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.12; unpublished). It is too corroded to assign to a subgroup in Thomas' typology.

A058 An Anglo-Saxon strap end was found by a metal detector at Maxton (Scottish Borders; not illustrated; unpublished). It was not examined and so cannot be attributed to Thomas' typology, but given strap ends are a reasonably common discovery in Scotland, the original identification by Treasure Trove has been accepted here.

A076–A078 Three Anglo-Saxon strap-ends and an Insular enamelled mount were found by detecting at Hallbank, near Coldingham (Scottish Borders; not illustrated; unpublished) in 2014. They are either worn or incomplete but one example may have the northern variant of comma-shaped ears. Another bears a speckled-bodied Trewhiddle-style animal motif.

6.7.6   Class B strap ends

A043 A copper-alloy strap end similar to **A042** was recovered during excavations at Castle Park, Dunbar (Illus 6.12; Perry 2000, illus 95, no 9). It has nearly straight sides which are nicked to roughly imitate beaded filigree. The main field of decoration consists of two curving lines of nicking, similar to that on the edge.

A042 A copper-alloy strap end from Aberlady (Illus 6.12; Thomas 2000, cat no 458) has straight sides that are nicked to roughly imitate beaded filigree, and very simple and crudely executed interlace within the main field of decoration. Thomas classes this strap end as an A1axix Type (2000, 85–86, cat no 458), that is with a single field of Trewhiddle-style decoration that features simple interlace. It fits better within his Class B strap ends with parallel sides and more stylised zoomorphic terminals. It is part of an unpublished assemblage of stray finds from the Glebe Field, which also includes pins (**A005–A007**), other Anglo-Saxon strap ends (**A044**, **A045**), an Anglo-Scandinavian-type strap end (Thomas 2000, cat no 1019), a 10th/11th-century zoomorphic buckle (**E015**) and a silver terminal from a crosier knop.

A057 A Thomas Class B strap end is among the finds excavated from Whithorn Priory (Dumfries and Galloway; not illustrated; Thomas 2000, 99–100, cat no 881). Like Class A strap ends, Class B have a split end and zoomorphic terminal, albeit usually more stylised. They are clearly related to Class A examples but have parallel rather than curving sides, are longer and narrower (with a width:length ratio of around 1:4.5) and more plainly decorated. Class B strap ends accounted for around 13% of Thomas' dataset, 170 examples in total (Thomas 2000, 99).

6.7.7   Strap ends: discussion

Anglo-Saxon strap ends have been regarded as multifunctional objects, used in conjunction with a variety of smaller belts and textile ribbons, fastening waist and sword belts, horse harness and bag straps, providing weight to make them hang properly and protecting their ends from fraying (Thomas 2000, 262; Webster & Backhouse 1991, 233). Thomas emphasised the stylistic diversity and individualism of strap ends, as reflected in his necessarily intricate classification, but also in the attention to detail encapsulated in their decoration. Strap ends and pins account for the vast majority of 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon finds from Northumbria (Richards and Naylor 2011), suggesting they were a very popular dress accessory.

Thomas suggested the Trewhiddle-style strap ends were a fully developed class by the first third of the 9th century but had origins in the 8th century, and continued at Cottam into the 10th (Thomas 2000, 188; Thomas 2006, 156–7). The small number of well-dated examples and lack of representative sub-types precludes closer dating of variants (Thomas 2000, 188). Regional stylistic differences, the large repertoire of motifs introduced seemingly over a relatively short period but which were comparatively long-lived, combined with strap-end specific Trewhiddle-style motifs also means it is difficult to date Class A1 strap ends more closely by art-historical means (Thomas 2000, 197). In general, Trewhiddle-style strap ends have a widespread distribution across Anglo-Saxon England, but those decorated with a single Trewhiddle-style animal (Types A1ai–A1avi) or a single animal enmeshed in interlace (A1ax) are more commonly found north of the

Wash (Thomas 2000, 232–33). The homogeneity of these types combined with well-defined distributions suggests manufacture in Northumbria (ibid). A fragmentary strap-end mould from Carlisle shows a number of the characteristic features of these northern groups (Thomas 2000, 234). Together, the northern groups account for five of the Scottish find spots (**A033**, **A039**, **A040**, **A035**, **A049**). Thomas also identified an important regional characteristic among his Class A strap ends which cuts across his typology: a zoomorphic terminal with curly comma-shaped ears, more commonly found on northern strap ends compared with circular or oval-shaped ears in the south (Thomas 2000, 191, map 4b). Only two of the Scottish strap ends (from Coldingham, Borders **A033**, and Talnotrie, Dumfries and Galloway **A039**) clearly have this northern characteristic; they are also the highest quality examples among the corpus.

In contrast to Class A1a strap ends, the distribution of Class A1b – those decorated with multiple fields of decoration – is more focused on southern England (ibid). An example from Glenluce (**A050**) is therefore an outlier compared with the main distribution. With the exception of the discrete group of five A2b strap ends from northern Scotland (discussed below), A2 examples are also not common in northern England (Thomas 2000, 238); again, an example from Glenluce (**A051**; Class A2e) is an outlier. Thomas identified one of the Aberlady (East Lothian, **A044**) examples as Class A1axix though it better fits his Class A2, making it also an outlier to the main distribution.

Class A2 strap ends were also dated to the 9th century, though he noted some examples (including **A052**–**A056**) may be 8th century on the basis of similarities to step-based motifs on 7th- and 8th-century Anglo-Saxon cloisonné work (Thomas 2000, 199–200). His suggestion that Class A2b may be early in the series of Anglo-Saxon strap ends might be supported by the distribution at Cottam (Yorkshire) which was restricted to areas of earlier 8th/9th-century activity (Thomas 2000, 200). Thomas also suggested that the association of the pair of A2b strap ends (**A055**, **A056**) with the pair of penannular brooches from Rogart might support a late 8th-century date (2000, 200); it is unclear however when the brooches were deposited, and it may be some time after their production. The cluster of five Class A2b strap ends from northern Scotland was noted by Thomas; who suggested it might indicate a manufacturing location in 'the Anglian region of northern Northumbria' (2000, 226), perhaps 'based somewhere in Anglian Scotland' (Thomas 2000, 238).

The other type of Class A strap end represented among the finds from Scotland is the A4/5 from Aberlady (**A045**). Dated to the 9th century (Thomas 2000, 201), this type has a predominately southern distribution, focused on two areas: the south coast from Kent to Dorset, and eastern England from Norfolk to Yorkshire (ibid, 240). The Aberlady strap end is therefore an outlier, and presumably arrived via the east coast. Class B strap ends (**A057**; Whithorn) have been recovered from contexts which span the mid-8th to the 11th century (Thomas 2000, 203); the Whithorn strap end is one of few examples from a dated context (by coins of c 840) used by Thomas to date the type (ibid). The Class B distribution covers much of southern and eastern England, with the most northerly example aside from Whithorn from Thwing (Yorkshire) (Thomas 2000, 243–244).

6.8 Sword ornaments and fittings

6.8.1 Sword ornaments: introduction

This section includes two pyramidal sword harness toggles and one scabbard mount (Map 6.3; Illus 6.13). Two are high-status gold and garnet cloisonné objects; the third, a silver pyramidal mount, is of doubtful provenance.

6.8.2 Gold sword ornaments

A016 From near East Linton (East Lothian; Illus 6.13) is a circular domed gold and garnet cloisonné mount of hollow construction, with a double beaded gold filigree collar around the base and gold hatched backing foils behind the stones (unpublished). This is one of only a small group of Anglo-Saxon domed gold and garnet cloisonné sword ornaments. Examples from the Sutton Hoo burial mounted were mounted on a sword sheath (Bruce-Mitford 1978, fig 208).

A016 East Linton, gold and garnet cloisonné sword mount. Photographs: copyright Trustees National Museums Scotland; by the author.

A002 Dalmeny, gold and garnet cloisonné sword mount, photograph by the author.
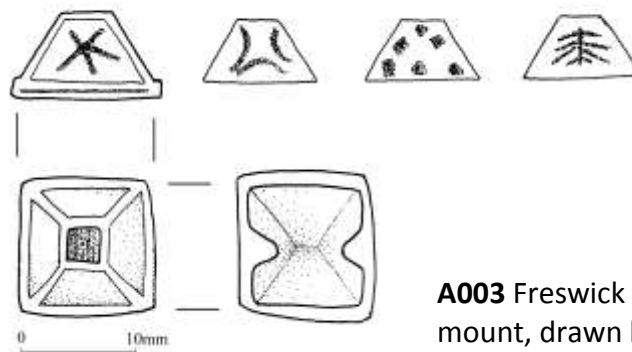
A003 Freswick Links, silver sword mount, drawn by the author.

Illus 6.13 Sword mounts.

The East Linton and Sutton Hoo mounts are of a comparable size, both use hollow construction and calcite-based filler, and share some common design elements, although the East Linton mount has simpler cloisonné work. Both also feature a ring of gold triangles around the base (Bruce-Mitford 1978, 296). On the Sutton Hoo examples these triangles are integral to the design and construction of the mount (Bruce-Mitford 1978, 296) whereas on the East Linton mount they are made of thin gold sheet. The bottom ring of cloisonné on the East Linton mount features unusual tooth-shaped garnets; the gold teeth serve to cover the missing portions of these stones. Gold teeth in combination with cloisonné are found on the centre of the Sarre brooch, the buckle from Tostock, St Cuthbert's pectoral cross (Bruce-Mitford 1956, 321, pl XVI), the glass and gilt copper-alloy cloisonné mount from Auldhame (East Lothian; **A028**), and a garnet cabochon pendant from the Street House cemetery in North Yorkshire (Sherlock 2008, 33). While not exclusive to Northumbria, this distribution suggests a particular fashion for tooth-edging in the region.

Both the Sutton Hoo and East Linton mounts carry a central cross motif, albeit of different design. The impression of the attachment staples on the leather scabbard revealed the orientation of the Sutton Hoo mounts respected the cross shape, suggesting to Bruce-Mitford it was used as a Christian symbol (Bruce-Mitford 1978, 304). The means of attachment of the East Linton mount has been repaired and may have at some stage featured a single staple as on the Sutton Hoo mounts, although the five or possibly six indents suggest a more complex arrangement later in the object's life. Despite differences in complexity of design, the similarities between the Sutton Hoo and East Linton mounts suggest an early 7th-century manufacture date for the latter. The East Linton mount appears to have been repaired before being lost, and so the deposition date is likely to be somewhat later than this.

A002 From Dalmeny (East Lothian; Illus 6.13) is a hollow gold pyramidal mount with eight cloisonné-set triangular garnets, a further empty square setting, gold twisted- and beaded-wire filigree and filigree-collared granules (Anon 1855, 217–8; Bruce-Mitford

1974, 268). A bronze core was reported soon after the pyramid's discovery in the 19th century, but no trace now survives. The means of attachment on this kind of mount varies; Anglo-Saxon examples feature a bar (as must have been the case with Dalmeny), while continental examples are usually either pierced vertically or riveted to a strap (*Treasure Annual Report* 2002, 67). The majority of gold examples feature all-over or near all-over garnet cloisonné work, making the Dalmeny example's space-filling filigree decoration unusual. A metal-detected find from near Swaffham (Norfolk; PAS NMS-A61494) provides a rare parallel. It features four small triangular garnets at the bottom corners of the faces bordered by a line of beaded wire; the remaining space is empty but scratches are visible on the surfaces and it may be that additional decoration existed but is now lost. The Swaffham pyramid was dated by the PAS on stylistic grounds to the late 6th/early 7th century but it is exceptional and this date should be treated as provisional.

Although the use of filigree and granular decoration on the Dalmeny pyramid is unparalleled on other examples of the type, it does occur on other types of object including various sorts of Kentish-type disc brooches. The combination of collared granules and triangular-shaped garnets are found for instance on mid-6th- to mid-7th-century Kentish composite disc brooches from Gilton (Avent 1975, 150–2, 46, no 175) and Sarre (Avent 1975, pl 67, no 178). Bruce-Mitford regarded collared granules to be a relatively late development in Anglo-Saxon filigree, not appearing until c 600 (Bruce-Mitford 1974, 127–9), and suggested a late 7th-century date for the Dalmeny pyramid, largely on the assertion that the tallness was indicative of a late development. But until further work on the type as a whole is undertaken, a general 7th-century attribution is safest. In the absence of a published corpus, a preliminary survey of the gold and garnet-decorated pyramidal mounts shows a scattered distribution across southern England: one or two examples are known each from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Isle of Wight, Kent, Wiltshire, and Oxfordshire, with the exception being Sutton Hoo from which five are known (Bruce-Mitford 1978, 300–2, fig 227, pl 21b; Carver 2005, 242, figs 102 and 96). The Dalmeny pyramid appears to be the only gold example from north of the Humber.

6.8.3   Silver sword ornament

A003   A silver pyramidal mount with simple incised decoration, different on each face, has been recorded from Freswisk Links (Caithness; Illus 6.13; unpublished). This mount was one of a number of objects reportedly found during metal detecting at Freswick Links in 1996. However, one was later recognised as a piece previously sold by a southern antiquities dealer, and considerable doubt exists over the provenance of this mount also (information from Trevor Cowie, pers comm and the Treasure Trove archive). Pyramidal mounts are usually divided into two groups depending on height, and this example belongs to the smaller of the two types, usually made of silver or copper-alloy. While the faces of gold examples are usually decorated with cloisonné and filigree work, the silver and copper-alloy examples tend to feature simpler decoration (including a series of triangular depressions, usually gilded arranged on each face) and sometimes niello inlay. The incised ornament on the Freswick example is relatively uncommon, although it is found on an example from Freckenham (Suffolk) dated to the early 7th century (*Treasure Annual Report* 2000, 42, no 58; PAS record SF4162). In general the type seems to have been most popular during the late 6th and 7th centuries, although some examples have been dated as late as the 8th century (eg an example from Bawtry, South Yorkshire; Evans in Carver 2005, 242).

6.8.4   Sword ornaments: discussion

Evidence from Sutton Hoo (which provides good parallels for one of the Scottish objects) demonstrates that Anglo-Saxon sword sets could consist of domed and pyramidal mounts, decorated pommel and hilt fittings, perhaps a decorated leather scabbard, large decorated buckles, and that they were sometimes worn with an ornate purse and shoulder clasps. Surviving components suggest these ornate sword sets were a late 6th- and 7th-century phenomenon. Simpler copper-alloy and silver sword pyramids are much more common, and indicate a wider participation in the fashion, though none (excluding the doubtfully provenanced example noted here) has been found in Scotland. It is assumed that simpler mounts served the same function as more ornate examples, although in practice they could decorate the end of other costume-related strings, thongs or laces, and need not necessarily have been used with swords (though they might

visually reference those that were). The high-quality gold pyramidal mounts appear to be distributed across the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; far fewer scabbard buttons are known. No comparable precious-metal sword fittings seem to be known from elsewhere in Northumbria, although copper-alloy pyramidal mounts have been found (eg Kilham, East Yorkshire, *Treasure Annual Report* 2001, 41, no 59; Flixton, North Yorkshire, *Treasure Annual Report* 2002, 67, no 58). The only comparable fittings known from early medieval Scotland are three cone-shaped mounts from the 8th-century St Ninian's Isle hoard, which also contains a decorated pommel cap and two scabbard chapes. These weapon fittings have been variously suggested to be of Anglo-Saxon (Webster 2012 144–5) or Pictish origin (Henderson and Henderson 2004; Youngs 1989); they have been excluded here because of this uncertainty inherent in unpicking fully-fledged Insular art. Otherwise, decorated toggle-type mounts are unknown from early medieval sites in Scotland.

The pyramidal and domed mounts considered here are the clearest decorative elements of sword harness, but several of the buckles and beads discussed above and in Chapter 7 may also have been associated with swords. Decorated sword hilt and pommel fittings often feature small garnet cabochon studs similar to the example from Dunadd (**A026**, see 6.11.1, below), raising the possibility that it too was associated with sword ornamentation (although a variety of other uses may also be suggested).

6.9　Horse harness fittings

6.9.1　Harness fittings: introduction

Four objects identified as pieces of decorated horse equipment are included in this catalogue (Map 6.3; Illus 6.14). Three are recent discoveries, one resulting from excavation (**A060**), and two from metal detecting (**A017**, **A073**). Other mounts that may have been used as horse gear but for which the identification is less certain are discussed separately (see section 6.11.3; **A018**, **A080**, **A027**, **A080**, **B051–B053** and **B054**).
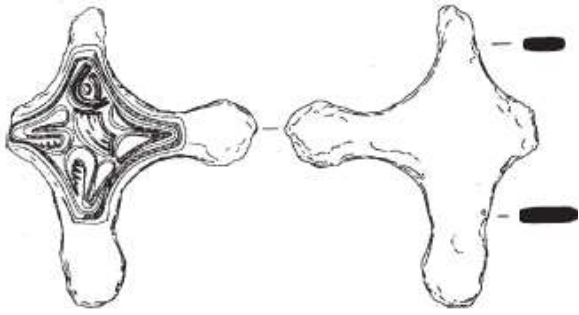
A017 Forfar, gilt copper-alloy bridle mount, after Dickinson et al 2006. Scale 1:1.

A074 Near Inverness, gilt copper-alloy bridle mount, Crown copyright.

A060 Trusty's Hill, copper-alloy bridle mount, copyright National Museums Scotland.
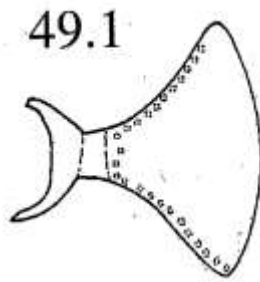
A067 Whithorn, copper-alloy bridle mount, after Hill 1997, fig 10.101.

Illus 6.14 Harness mounts.

6.9.2 Cruciform Style I harness mounts

A017   A copper-alloy cruciform bridle fitting featuring zoomorphic Style I decoration was found by metal detector at South Leckaway (Angus; Illus 6.14) in 2003 (Dickinson et al 2006). Similar mounts excavated from a horse burial at RAF Lakenheath were used to secure the junctions of bridle cheek-straps with the nose- and brow-band (Suffolk; Dickinson et al 2006, 250). Twelve other examples are known from across Anglo-Saxon England, including two from Northumbria (Easington, County Durham and Cheesecake Hill at Driffield, East Yorkshire; Dickinson et al 2006, fig 7). While these cruciform fittings date to the 6th century, many pieces of high status horse gear are found in female Anglo-Saxon graves, altered and reused as dress items such as brooches or belt plates. Because portions of the South Leckaway mount are missing and the surfaces are very corroded, it is not clear whether it was functioning as a piece of horse harness when it was lost, or whether it had been adapted for some other use. The date of deposition may, therefore, be later than the date of manufacture. The South Leckaway mount is decorated with a single simplified Style I beast, although the condition of the surface means it is not possible to read the details of the abstract design (Dickinson et al 2006, 255).

A074   A second cruciform Style I-decorated bridle mount was found recently to the east of Inverness by metal detecting (Illus 6.14; unpublished) and replaces the South Leckaway example as the northernmost findspot of a Style I-decorated object in the UK. Like **A017**, this mount is worn and lacking means of attachment, and as a result may have been subject to secondary use and deposition significantly later than its early 6th-century manufacture date.

6.9.3 Circular Style II harness mount

A060   A circular copper-alloy mount, probably from a horse harness, was found during recent excavations at Trusty's Hill (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.14; Blackwell in Toolis and Bowles 2017). It is decorated on the front with chip-carved Germanic Style II birds' heads arranged around a central boss, with organic remains preserved on the reverse in

the region of three copper-alloy attachment lugs. Flat, circular copper-alloy, chip-carved mounts of varying sizes have tended to be grouped together under the identification 'harness mounts'. The intact remains of a horse harness from Sutton Hoo Mound 17 (Evans in Carver 2005, 221–41, figs 109–12) demonstrate that several sizes (and shapes) of mounts could indeed be used in this way and that they could be attached using various arrangements of rivets to suit the number and orientation of straps to be joined. At Sutton Hoo, larger circular mounts (ibid; D 60mm, fittings 25a and 25c, figs 111 and 112) joined pairs of bridle straps (from the brow-band to head-band, and from the nose-band to head-band) using five rivets arranged in a cruciform shape. Smaller, more comparably-sized mounts (ibid; fitting 21a, figs 109–110) were attached to the iron snaffle bit but the arrangement of rivets was obscured. Although difficult to interpret with certainty, the remains on the reverse of the Trusty's Hill mount suggest it may have been attached to a primary strap by all three lugs, with a second, less substantial strap attached via the central lug only.

No exact parallel for the design on the mount has been identified, although several relevant objects can be cited. Chip-carved circular mounts of a similar diameter to the Trusty's Hill example have been recorded by the PAS from England. PAS NMS-36DB44 (incomplete, D 25mm), which features two Style I chip-carved eagle heads, was suggested to be an applied stud from a great square-headed-brooch but images of the reverse suggest that, although now missing, three points of attachment were originally present, paralleling the arrangement on the Trusty's Hill mount. PAS BUC-24D605 (D37 mm) has five integral rivets in a cruciform arrangement on the reverse. The front is decorated with a complex frieze of Style II interlocking creatures that run around the mount and, like the Trusty's Hill mount, it has a central copper-alloy annular-shaped boss. PAS BH-5D35E5 (incomplete, estimated D 35 mm) has a single, centrally-placed surviving integral lug on the reverse, and featured a frieze of Style II interlocking creatures around a central, domed boss. In terms of decoration, the two Style II mounts provide the closest parallels and are dated to the late 6th or early 7th century on stylistic grounds; a similar date can be suggested for the Trusty's Hill mount. There is no evidence that the mount was adapted for a secondary function.

6.9.4 Axe-blade-shape harness mount

A067 An incomplete iron axe-blade shaped cheek-bar bit decorated with what was described in the exacavation report as non-ferrous plating and border of small circles is known from Whithorn (Illus 6.14; Hill 1997, 421, IN49.1). This axe-blade shaped bridle fitting was included within Fern's 2005 re-examination of Anglo-Saxon horse gear (2005, 48). He regarded it as one of group of seven distinctive cheek-bar bits, a group which also included examples from Sutton Hoo. These bits are predominately found in eastern Anglian England, but there is one other outlier, in addition to the Whithorn example, from Lagore (County Meath) (2005, 48). The group features an axe-blade-shaped lower bar partnered with either a lozenge-shaped upper bar or an off-set disc head terminal; the incomplete Whithorn example is missing this second element and so cannot be further categorised. It is likely to be late 6th or early 7th century in date. It was thought by the excavator to have been re-deposited into a Period I/4 grave and therefore probably earlier than the 7th century (Hill 1997, 421).

6.9.5 Harness fittings: discussion

Two of the harness mounts are significantly early objects – the only pieces of Style I metalwork recognised from Scotland. Both are cruciform in shape, and in worn condition, and both were found significantly north of the Forth; no comparably early metalwork is known from between the Forth and Tweed. Both may have been deposited some time after their manufacture, and both may have been adapted or reconceived. Only the mount from Trusty's Hill has surviving evidence demonstrating it was being used to fasten leather straps when deposited. This mount, the bridle mount from Whithorn and manufacture evidence for other interlace-decorated mounts at the Mote of Mark (see section 6.11.3, below) suggests an interest in decorated harness gear in south-west Scotland. Otherwise, harness mounts are unrecognised in early medieval assemblages from Scottish sites.

6.10   Pursemounts

6.10.1   Pursemounts: introduction

Also known in the literature as firesteels or strike-a-lights, four pursemounts from three find spots have been included within this corpus (Map 6.4; Illus 6.15).
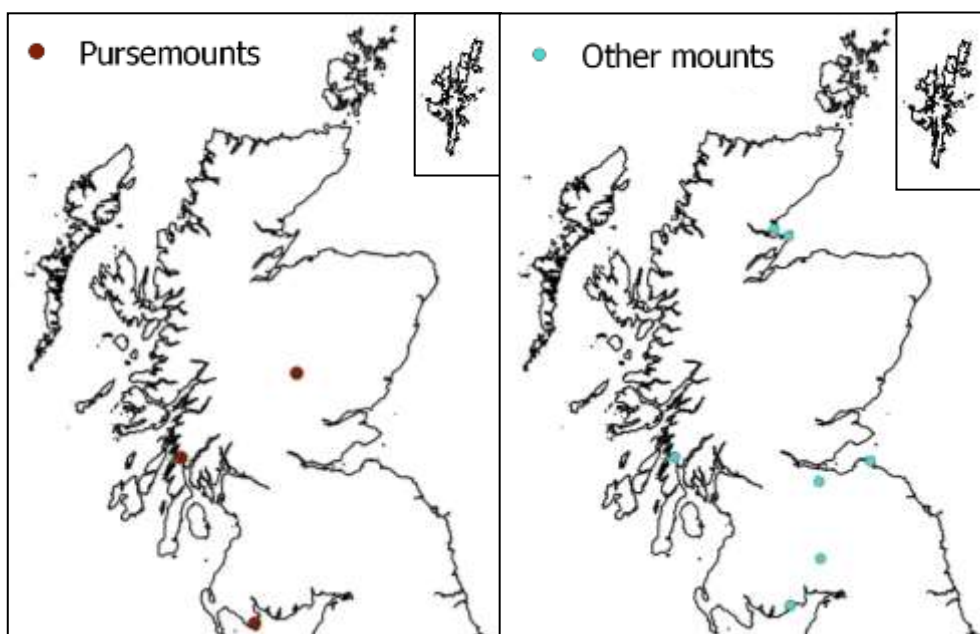
 Map 6.4 Distribution of pursemounts and other mounts from Scotland.

6.10.2   Iron pursemounts

B008   Excavated from Aldclune (Perthshire; Illus 6.15) is a possible iron pursemount. It is an elongated triangular-shaped piece of iron, with curved upper edge, terminating at one end in the beginning of a small upward curve which is the remains of a coil that deteriorated since excavation (Hingley et al 1997, 419, 436–9, illus 14, cat no 10); the other end probably terminated in the same way, but is now badly corroded. The excavators noted similar symmetrical objects with coiled terminals in 5th/6th-century Anglo-Saxon graves, along with two examples from Garryduff in Ireland (Hingley et al

1997, 436–439). Various designs of pursemounts, including some with zoomorphic terminals, are also found on the continent (Brown 1977) but in England, simple, coiled terminals (similar to the Aldclune mount) are far more common. While they do occur in graves dated to the 5th to 6th centuries, Geake also noted 24 examples from conversion-period graves (Geake 1997, 79–80). Chadwick Hawkes regarded slender mounts to be typical of the 6th century, and more humped or triangular-shaped mounts to date to the 7th century (Chadwick Hawkes in Philip 1973, 195), although the thinner type do appear to continue beyond the 6th century (Geake 1997, 79–80). The closest parallels to the Aldclune mount are found among conversion-period graves, including an example from Snape (East Anglia) that is closely comparable in size to the Aldclune example (length 100mm, grave 31; Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 75, fig 101.31.Ei), and from Buckland, Dover (Kent; length 89mm, grave 157; Evison 1987, 250–1, fig 62.157.7).

B009   From excavations at Dunadd (Illus 6.15) are two possible pursemounts. **B009** is an iron rod with loosely curved (not coiled) ends; one end incomplete. The rod is square-sectioned, tapering and flattened towards the terminals (Lane and Campbell 2000, 167, illus 4.77, cat no 1319). It was excavated from high up in the undifferentiated black soil of Phase III, deposits which produced metalworking evidence (ibid).

B010   A second possible pursemount, an iron strip with curled terminals, is known from excavations at Dunadd (Lane and Campbell 2000, 167, illus 4.77 and 4.81, cat no 1100). The strip splits in two, with the second strip folded to produce symmetrical curved scrolls before it rejoins the main strip. It was excavated from an irregular line of stones in Phase IIIB, overlying earliest metalworking deposits of Phase IIIA (ibid).
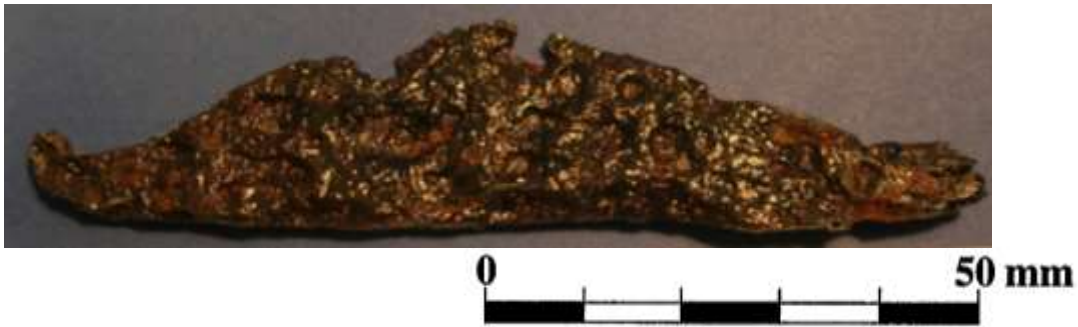
B008 Aldclune, iron pursemount, photograph by author.
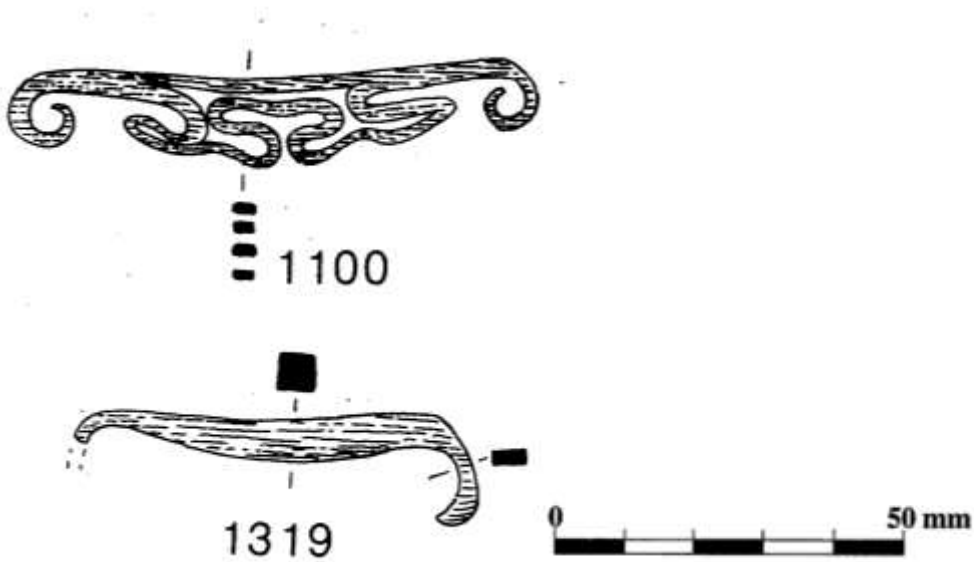
B009 and B010 Dunadd, iron pursemounts, after Lane and Campbell, illus 4.77.

B059 Whithorn, iron pursemount, after Hill 1997, fig 10.102.

Illus 6.15 Pursemounts.

The two Dunadd mounts were compared with pursemounts from Anglo-Saxon and continental contexts, although the apparently decorative additional scrollwork on **B010** is difficult to parallel (Lane and Campbell 2000, 167). **B009** is more slender than the pursemount from Aldclune (**B008**) and its parallels, lacking their defined triangular shape. Comparably slim mounts are known from Anglo-Saxon graves at Mill Hill (Kent; Chadwick Hawkes in Philip 1973, 195). The loosely curved projecting terminals of **B009** (as opposed to tight coils on **B008**) can be paralleled on a pursemount from the Hadleigh Road cemetery, Ipswich (Suffolk), although this example is not quite as slender as the Dunadd mount (West 1998, fig 77.24). Among the continental examples are comparably thin mounts (eg Brown 1977, fig 17.2–3) although here the illustrated examples include a central projection for a buckle, less common on English examples. Similarly slender examples without a buckle projection are known from the cemetery at Lovoye in north-eastern France (Joffory 1974, fig 14.235), and at Schretzheim in southern Germany (Koch 1977, taf 180). While the main characteristics of **B009** can therefore be paralleled in Germanic pursemounts, the decorative scrollwork on **B010** is more problematic. A pursemount from Ipswich with an additional twisted metal strip split from the body of the steel and extending between the terminals demonstrates that additional metal elements did occasionally occur (West 1998, fig 77.25).

B059   A further iron pursemount with spiral terminals was found unstratified during excavations at Whithorn (Illus 6.15; Hill 1997, 423, cat no IN61.1), and is best paralleled by the examples from Anglo-Saxon graves considered above. A second object identified as a possible pursemount and recovered from post-Medieval deposits at Whithorn, has been excluded – it is poorly formed, and not closely paralleled by other examples.

6.10.3   Pursemounts: discussion

The objects from Aldclune, Dunadd and Whithorn are suggested to be examples of a type of object known from Anglo-Saxon graves as either pursemounts or strike-a-lights. There they have been interpreted as steels from which to strike a spark for firelighting in conjunction with bags that contained tinder (Brown 1977), although there is extremely

limited evidence for associated flints in Anglo-Saxon graves (Geake 1997, 80). On the basis of their position and association in graves (for instance, sometimes with chatelaines), firesteels may not always have been used with a pouch (Geake 1997, 80). While the Scottish examples are paralleled in form by examples in Anglo-Saxon graves, it is unclear whether they are necessarily culturally diagnostic or whether similar objects may have been part of the material culture of early medieval Scotland.

6.11   Other mounts

This section includes miscellaneous mounts of uncertain function (Map 6.4; Illus 6.16–6.20). It is divided into mounts with garnet or red-glass inlay (6.11.1), thin sheet-metal mounts (6.11.2), interlace-decorated mounts and moulds (6.11.3), other decorative mounts (6.11.4) and rim binding mounts (6.11.5).

6.11.1   Mounts with garnet or red glass inlay

A026   Excavated from Dunadd is a small, complete cylindrical gold and cabochon garnet stud (Illus 6.16; Lane and Campbell 2000, 150–1, cat no 777; Cowell in Lane and Campbell 2000, appendix 2, 273–4). It is of very high quality, as indicated by the fineness of the hatching on the garnet's gold backing foil which is comparable to some of the Sutton Hoo jewellery, and by the complexity of the filigree work (Lane and Campbell 2000, 150). It is part of a larger composite object of uncertain form or function; the backing plate has a central perforation which would have originally accommodated a rivet, now lost. Cabochon studs are occasionally found on Anglo-Saxon buckles, as on one from Boldon (Tyne and Wear) in Northumbria (Miket 1980), and a second from Ford (Wiltshire) (Marzinzik 2003, pl 131) and composite brooches. Similar studs also feature on the gold decorative strip of the Sutton Hoo sceptre and on sword fittings found by a metal detectorist in the Market Rasen area (Lincolnshire) in 2002 (Evans 2002, no 58, 68–70, fig 58.3).

A026 Dunadd, gold and garnet mount, photograph by author.

A028 Auldhame, gold and glass cloisonné mount, photograph by the author.

Illus 6.16 Garnet and glass mounts.

A028   From Auldhame (East Lothian; Illus 6.16; Blackwell in Crone and Hindmarch 2016) is a small cylindrical mount with four translucent red glass cloisonné inlays and a double filigree collar. No means of attachment survives and the base plate is unperforated. It is composed of two elements of different workmanship and materials: a well-made central cloisonné unit of gilt copper-alloy, and an additional outer gold–silver-alloy cylinder and filigree collars on which rough cut marks are visible. The mount is unusual in its use of gilt-copper alloy (rather than gold) cloisonné and red translucent glass (rather than garnet) inlays. Copper-alloy cloisonné does occur on some composite disc brooches, where it is

constructed differently to gold cloisonné (Pinder 1995). Copper-alloy cloisonné should not necessarily be regarded as a product of cruder workmanship, particularly as it is easier to form fine cell-work from gold (Pinder 1995, 26).

There has been little comprehensive research into the incidence and significance of the use of transparent red glass inlays, imitating garnets, in Anglo-Saxon cloisonné, although it appears to be a relatively rare occurrence (eight other occurrences from England are listed in the catalogue entry). The simple arrangement of the Auldhame inlays, divided by cross-shaped cloisonné walls, is also fairly unusual but can be paralleled on a dome-shaped stud from Barham (Suffolk) (West 1998, 7, fig 5.47), found by a metal detector and not closely dated.

6.11.2 Thin metal sheet mounts

A034   Around 50 thin gilt copper-alloy repoussé sheet fragments, some of which had been folded into packets, were found at an unknown locality in Dumfriesshire before their first mention in 1905 (not illustrated; Webster and Backhouse 1991). de Paor originally suggested (1961) that some belonged to a late 6th-century continental helmet, but Webster and Backhouse since made a convincing case for an 8th-century iconographical purpose, possibly decorating an altar cross. They identified four discrete groups of mounts: at least two strips with running vine-scroll (c 28mm in width, and reconstructed as over 400mm in length; Webster and Backhouse 1991, no 135a); part of a wide sheet with heavier and larger arcaded vine pattern (ibid, no 135b); chased figural decoration with vegetal and perhaps architectural background (ibid, no 135c); and fragments from five bosses (59–67mm diameter), with holes around the edges to attach to a backing (ibid no 135d). Wegner (2006, 65) has since suggested the figural fragments may belong to a book cover.

B024   From Dalmahoy fort (Midlothian; Illus 6.17) is a small circular thin gold fitting with upturned edge and central perforation surrounded by eight circular depressions, a chance find by R B K Stevenson (Stevenson 1948). It is closely paralleled by an incomplete gold

example from Fishergate in York, found in a pit assigned to Period 4, late 10th to 12th centuries, but belonging to a series of features (termed Period 4z) that produced many residual Period 3 (Anglian) objects (including crucibles, virtually all the copper-alloy dress pins and vessel glass, and the vast majority of bone and antler working debris; Rogers 1993, 1211, 1356, figs 656 and 658). The excavators concluded that 'On the basis of these residual finds, it seems very likely that a high proportion of the rest of the undatable material recovered from Period 4 features is also residual', resulting from continuous digging of pits and graves across the site during Period 4 (Rogers 1993, 1444). The Anglian Period 3 at Fishergate is dated from the late 7th/early 8th century to the mid-9th century (Rogers 1993, 1205). The function of the Dalmahoy and York objects remains uncertain, but they appear to have been decorative fittings of some kind which were held in place using the perforation.

D009 From Dunadd (Illus 6.17) is a very thin copper-alloy sheet, now fragmentary but probably originally sub-triangular in shape, with a stamped backward-biting beast and apparently irregularly interlaced trails (Lane and Campbell 2000, 152–4, illus 4.55, 4.56, 4.57, pl 18). The narrow end of the sheet has the remains of a projection with an oval perforation in the centre, presumably for attachment. Stamped foil mounts (*Pressblech*) are commonly found on Anglo-Saxon objects, with similar triangular-shaped examples known from drinking horns (eg Taplow, Speake 1980, pl 1a), cups, and buckets. While these are riveted through the apex, they lack the extension with large oval perforation found on the Dunadd mount (Lane and Campbell 2000, 152). *Pressblech* are also known on Kentish-style triangular buckles (eg Breach Downs, Speake 1980, pl 6.g) although filigree designs are more common. Most similar to the Dunadd example are triangular book mounts with comparably large rivet lugs which have been assigned to a late 7th- or 8th-century Northumbrian milieu (Lane and Campbell 2000, 152). Nonetheless, while the design on the Dunadd mount is clearly heavily influenced by Anglo-Saxon art, a number of elements, including spiral hip joints and the lack of a lappet, suggest it is a hybrid (Lane and Campbell 2000, 153). The function of the mount may also have been adapted.

B024 Dalmahoy, gold mount, after Stevenson 1948.

D009 Dunadd, copper-alloy mount. Photograph copyright National Museums Scotland.

A018 Dornoch, gilt copper-alloy mount, Crown copyright.

A027 Dunadd, gilt copper-alloy mount. Photograph copyright National Museums Scotland, reconstruction drawing after Lane and Campbell 2000, illus 7.10.

Illus 6.17 Miscellaneous mounts.

6.11.3   Interlace-decorated mounts and moulds

A018   From Dornoch (Easter Ross; Illus 6.17; unpublished) is approximately one-third of a gilt copper-alloy disc mount with empty settings, chip-carved running Style II backward-biting creatures and more ambiguous zoomorphic interlace, separated by imitation beaded filigree. It is very similar indeed to the disc from Allington Hill (Cambridgeshire; Speake 1980, fig 8a, b, pl 15.b). The Dornoch mount provides a new example of this backward-biting motif from Scotland and demonstrates stylistic links between Anglo-Saxon and Insular metalwork (such as the Dunadd *pressblech* **D009** discussed above) and illuminated manuscripts.

A027   From Dunadd is a circular gilt copper-alloy disc in poor condition, decorated with degraded remains of non-zoomorphic chip-carved Style II interlace, surrounded by a raised nicked border (Illus 6.17; Lane and Campbell 2000, 241, 246, illus 7.20; Craw 1929–30, 115, fig 4). Remains of gilding survive on the decorated face and border. Corrosion (previously described as enamel; Craw 1929–30, 115; Fowler 1968, 303) covers over half of the decorated face and its condition makes it difficult to reconstruct the interlace. The importance of the Dunadd mount was highlighted by Sue Youngs who identified it as an Anglo-Saxon Style II-decorated disc, perhaps a piece of aristocratic horse gear similar to Sutton Hoo mound 17 (pers comm cited in Lane and Campbell 2000, 241). However, the Sutton Hoo mounts have projecting iron roundels integral to the bit ring, with a gilt copper-alloy panel that is riveted onto the roundel. The Sutton Hoo roundels are also slightly larger (c 37.5mm) in diameter than the Dunadd disc (30.0mm), and are decorated with zoomorphic interlace consisting of four serpents with open jaws that bite their triple-strand bodies, arranged in symmetrical interlace. While the difference of material and lack of projection on the reverse of the Dunadd mount means it is not an integral bridle mount of the type found in the Sutton Hoo mound 17 grave, it may nonetheless have been part of a set of horse gear (see for instance the surviving leather strap fastening on the Trusty's Hill harness mount, **A060**).

A080   A circular gilt copper-alloy mount with disconnected triple-strand ribbon interlace was excavated from Portmahomack (Easter Ross; Illus 6.18; Carver et al 2016, 91–2, illus 4.23, and Digest 6, D70, illus D6.1.3). It was compared with the Anglo-Saxon horse harness gear from the Sutton Hoo Mound 17 horse burial (manufactured late 6th century, deposited 600–625), and interlace-decorated mounts from Dunadd (**A027**) and moulds from the Mote of Mark (**B051–B054**, see below; Carver et al 2016, 91–2). Like the Sutton Hoo and Dunadd examples, the Portmahomack mount bears triple-strand interlace; unlike the others it is discontinuous, a very unusual feature. Carver et al saw zoomorphic features, but did not otherwise note the unusual form of the Portmahomack interlace. If it does represent disjointed animal limbs, it may represent a transition between Style I and Style II decoration. It was excavated from a trample layer near a pit in the 'settlement' part of the site (Sector 2, Glebe Field, associated with structure S11), features that features were all assigned to 7th-century Period I occupation (Carver et al 2016, 91–2).

B051 B052 B053   Three fragments of moulds excavated from the Mote of Mark (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.18) represent those most confidently identified as for the production of axe-blade shaped objects from the site (Laing and Longley 2006, 51–2, 148, fig 30, fig 56 for reconstruction, SF1104, SF1093, SF1191). Other possible candidates (for example see ibid, SF1096, SF1101, SF1106, SF1098, fig 30) may also have been for producing similar objects but lack sufficient surviving outline to be sure. Interlace-decorated axe-blade-shaped objects have been discussed in detail by Speake (1989) in the context of thin sheet mounts found on the Swallowcliffe Down satchel. An axe-blade shape combined with interlace decoration appears to be a distinctly Anglo-Saxon combination, with examples including high-status Anglo-Saxon horse gear at Sutton Hoo (Carver 2005) and Faversham, mounts preserved on wood from Caenby (Lincolnshire), and a pin from Wingham (Kent) among others (Speake 1989; Laing and Longley 2006, 148). That there was hybridisation of this shape of mount is clear from its appearance with trumpet spirals on the Swallowcliffe Down mounts and as an escutcheon on the Lullingstone hanging bowl (Kent) (Speake 1989).

A080 Portmahomack, gilt copper-alloy mount, after Carver et al 2016, illus 4.23.
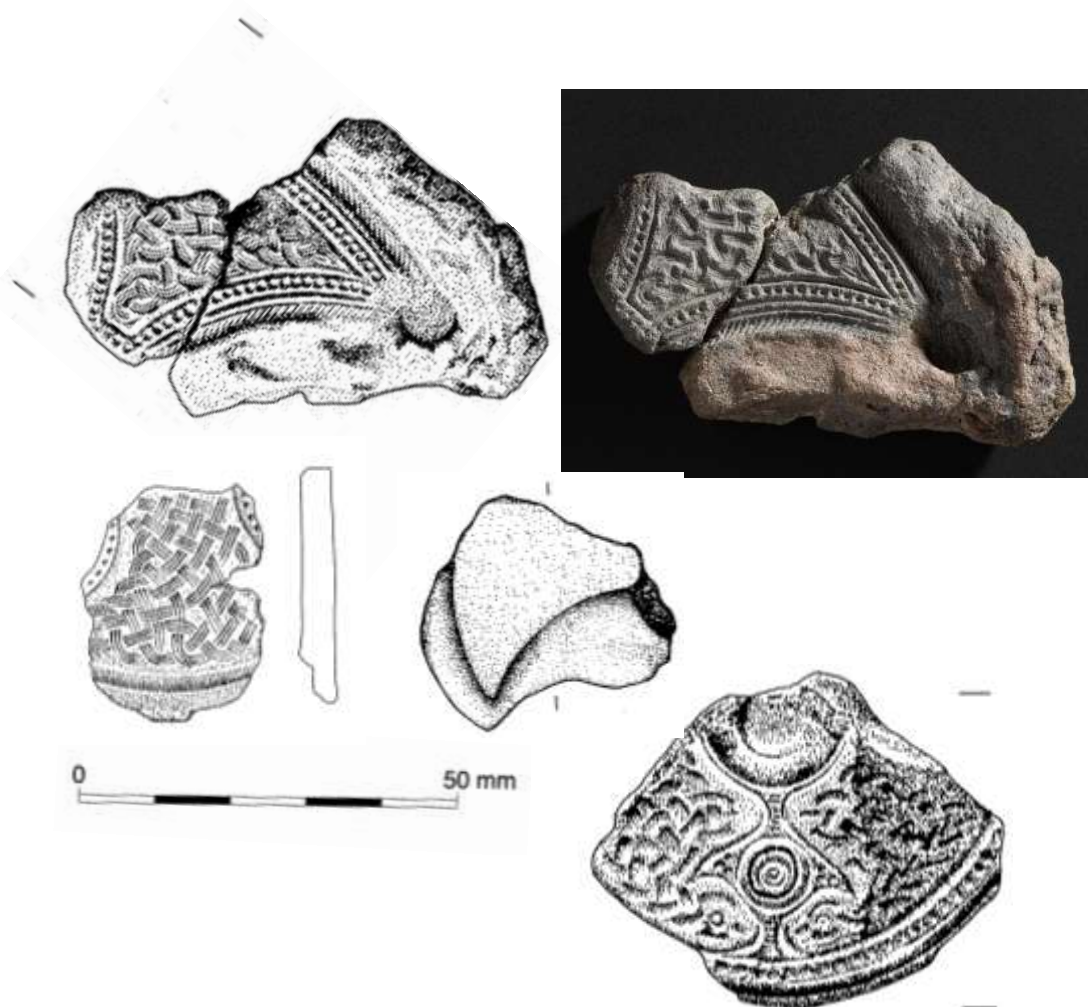
B051—B054 Mote of Mark, moulds for casting interlace-decorated axe-blade and roundel mounts. Drawings after Laing and Longley 2006, illus 21 and 30; photograph copyright National Museums Scotland.

Illus 6.18 Miscellaneous mounts.

The distribution of decorated axe-blade mounts is predominately within south-eastern England, and the vast majority are decorated with Anglo-Saxon interlace, often Style II (Laing and Longley 2006, 150). The lack of zoomorphic interlace on the moulds from the Mote of Mark appears to be the main reason for their categorisation as 'influenced by or owe their inspiration to Anglo-Saxon objects' rather than as Anglo-Saxon objects in their own right (Laing and Longley 2006, 151). An example recorded by the PAS from Dorset (SOMDOR-1440D6) provides a good parallel for triple-stranded interlace appearing on an axe-blade shaped object; its preservation means subtle Style II zoomorphic elements consisting of feet and a stylised head are identifiable. These would be unlikely to be apparent on the incomplete and worn mould fragments, but their presence must remain a possibility. In his reconsideration of Anglo-Saxon horse gear, Fern noted a shift from cruciform mounts to disc- and axe-blade-shaped mounts in the late 6th to early 7th centuries (2005, 53). Laing and Longley regarded metalworking at the site to have been undertaken until at least the mid-7th century (2006, 168).

B054 A further metalworking fragment from Mote of Mark is included here (Illus 6.18; Laing and Longley 2006 52, 148, fig 21, SF1103): a quarter of a mould for making an interlace-decorated roundel with possible Style II zoomorphic terminals. It is the most confidently identified of a number of possible interlace-decorated roundels and is the only one included here (but see moulds for axe-blade shaped plates **B051**–**B053** above). It is also the only fragment identified from the site to feature possible zoomorphic interlace, and is therefore of added importance. The association of interlace-decorated roundels with axe-blade-shaped plaques appears to be a distinctly Anglo-Saxon phenomenon, perhaps with (now lost) symbolic significance. It appears, for instance, among high-status horse gear at Sutton Hoo and Faversham, and on the hanging bowl from Lullingstone (Laing and Longley 2006, 148).

A059   From Wamphray (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 6.19; unpublished) is a metal-detected gilt copper-alloy disc-shaped mount or pin head, decorated with two off-set registers of shallow chip-carved interlace and backward-biting beasts. The outer ring contains four panels of interlace. The inner field is divided into four quadrants that each contain a backward-biting animal with spiral hip-joints on their rear haunches and a row of deeply punched spots running along the length of the body. The style of the beasts places them between the late 8th-century Witham beasts – with their lightly speckled bodies, caught in delicate interlace – and 9th-century Trewhiddle-style animals. A central perforation is likely to be secondary; no other means of attachment is visible on the reverse of the object, nor is there any sign of the remains of a pin-shank along the surviving edge, meaning that the original function remains unclear. The disc is very close in size to the disc-shaped pin heads from the River Witham (Webster 1991, 227–8, no 184) but other similar discs of unknown function are also known (for example see Webster 1991, 228, no 185). It was found by a detectorist in the immediate vicinity of two 8th-century Insular interconnecting mounts, both of which were clearly re-used. It seems likely that the group represent a disturbed Viking burial.

6.11.4   Other mounts

B023   A small copper-alloy dumb-bell-shaped fitting with a single rivet hole at both of the circular terminals was excavated from Dunadd (Illus 6.19; Lane and Campbell 2000, 158–9, cat no 1310). Lane and Campbell drew analogies with Anglo-Saxon belt fittings (Lane and Campbell 2000, 158), though they are not particularly common finds in excavated Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Similarly-shaped fittings are known from four graves (57, 7, 180, 62b) at the Finglesham cemetery (Kent), two of which each produced two examples (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006, figs 2.88, 2.72, 2.130). These are slightly smaller than the Dunadd mount, ranging from 16–19mm in length, and were also decorated with simple groups of incised lines. They were identified as catch fittings for leather pouches or boxes, and in two graves were found to have been below, and perhaps suspended from, chatelaine sets (gr 7, 180, Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006, 37, 62). Other similar fittings, also interpreted as box catches, have been metal detected from Barham and Coddenham in Suffolk (West 1998, figs 6.67 and 21.17–20,

respectively). These are more comparable in size to the Dunadd mount, and the Coddenham (West 1998, fig 21.21) example likewise is undecorated. None of the mounts have been closely dated; both Barham and Coddenham have produced material of 7th-century and later date (eg West 1998, figs 5.47, 5.48, 21.22). They do not seem to be a particularly common or long-lived type of object. Similarly-shaped objects in iron are known from the Swallowcliffe Down burial, but here were identified as cleats associated with the bed (Speake 1989, fig 76). A larger fitting from Dunadd has been compared with **B023** but it has proportionally far bigger terminals, not paralleled on any of the examples discussed above, and for this reason it has been excluded here. It remains possible that the two Dunadd fittings are related, and are an Insular rather than specifically Anglo-Saxon type.

A031   From Burghead (Moray; Illus 6.19) is an incomplete silver horn-rim binding with a thin decorative strip of triangular fields containing plant and animal Trewhiddle-style motifs in niello (Graham-Campbell 1973). A thick suspension ring is attached to a bordered but otherwise undecorated trapezoidal field on the ornamental strip. The strip is attached to the rim binding by rivets between each triangle, of which 12 survive. The rim binding was attached to the inner face of the horn by three rivets placed at fairly regular intervals around its circumference. It has been dated to the mid- to late 9th century on the basis of similarities with rim mounts from the Trewhiddle hoard and the Poslingford ring (Graham-Campbell 1973, 48–9; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 237, no 202, 272; Wilson 1964, pl XXIII a and b). It has been seen as the typological descendent of earlier Anglo-Saxon horn mounts, with Burghead's short triangular fields reflecting longer triangular mounts found on the 7th-century Sutton Hoo and Taplow examples, despite the lack of similar 8th-century mounts (Wilson 1964, 87–8, 272; Webster and Backhouse 1991). The suspension ring led Graham-Campbell to suggest that the Burghead mount was from a blast horn rather than drinking horn or cup. The basis for this supposition was that there is no obvious reason for a suspension loop on a drinking cup, and that other extant drinking horns lack suspension loops (Graham-Campbell 1973, 50). This last point is not quite accurate and Webster notes its antecedents at Taplow and a horn mount from Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 273, no 247).

A059 Wamphray, gilt copper-alloy mount, Crown copyright.

B023 Dunadd, copper-alloy mount, photograph by the author.

A031 Burghead, silver horn mount, copyright Trustees of National Museums Scotland.

Illus 6.19 Miscellaneous mounts.

A068   From Whithorn is a silver gilt strip mount, now ovoid in shape, decorated with simple two-strand interlace (Illus 6.20; Hill 1997, 398–399, SR10a, fig 10.82). It may have adorned a cup (in which case it has been subsequently bent out of shape) or the mouth of a scabbard (Hill 1997, 398). It is smaller than other known sheath mounts and, as Hill notes, no similar fittings are known from the smaller scramasaxes. It has no means of attachment and would have required separate strips to secure it, likely to have been folded sheet-metal riveted in place. Hill notes that the simple interlace, formed by two entwined strands, is paralleled on the leather binding of the Stoneyhurst Gospels, dated to the late 7th century (Hill 1997, 398; De Hammel 1994, fig 2.7).

6.11.5   Rim binding mounts

A012   From Buiston Crannog (Ayrshire; Illus 6.20) are two small folded metal bindings which originally would have been attached to wooden vessels (Munro 1882, 228; Crone 2000, 144). The first is a square rim binding/clamp formed by a thin sheet of bronze folded in two, with two rivet holes near the bottom edge. In section the clamp preserves the projecting shape of the rim.

A013   The second mount from Buiston is a triangular rim binding/clamp formed by folding a thin sheet of bronze in two, with one rivet hole placed centrally near the apex (Munro 1882, 228; Crone 2000, 144). The section is an extended U-shape and is roughly symmetrical, unlike **A012**. A small fragment of wood is loosely held in the binding but is not riveted nor in its original position as a partial perforation does not correspond to the binding rivet hole though it is similar in size.
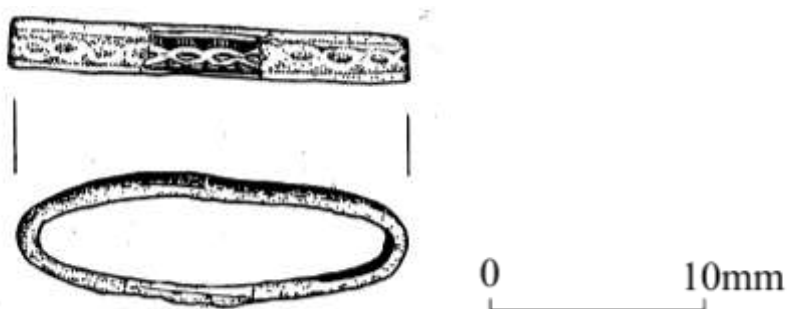
A068 Whithorn, silver interlace-decorated mount, after Hill 1997, fig 10.82.
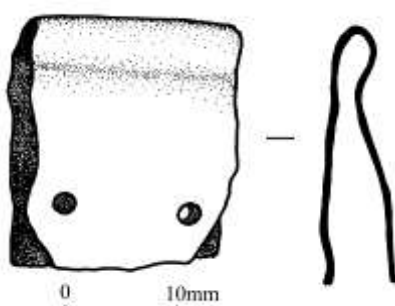
A012 Buiston, copper-alloy rim mount, drawn by the author.
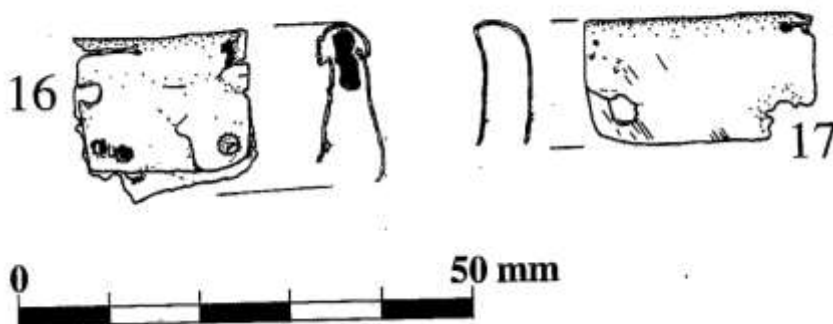
A069—A071, Whithorn, copper-alloy rim mounts, after Hill 1997, fig 10.59.
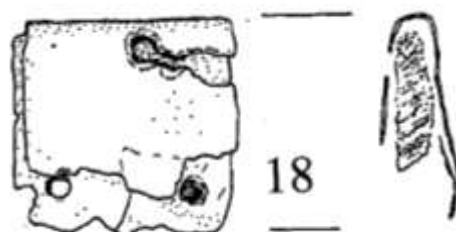
Illus 6.20 Vessel rim mounts.

A069–A071   From Whithorn are four folded sheet metal rim mounts (Illus 6.20), each with two rivet holes and one with a third, secondary hole (Illus 6.20; Hill 1997, 374–75, BZ19b, no 16, fig 10.59). One of the mounts has a decorative scalloped edge.

The bindings from Buiston and Whithorn can be widely paralleled in Anglo-Saxon graves where they were used to clamp metal rims or handles to wooden stave-built buckets, or to repair or cover a weak point in other wooden vessels. Examples of square double-riveted bindings are known for example from Empingham II (Rutland), graves 24 and 127 (Timby 1996, figs 100, 161), and from six graves at Sewerby (East Yorkshire) (Hirst 1985, 94). Single-riveted triangular bindings are known from Long Wittenham (Oxfordshire) grave 92 (Cook 2004, fig 8). Examples of the latter type are usually associated with buckets, while the double-riveted type seem to be repair bindings on other types of wooden vessels (such as turned bowls) due to the lack of other metal fittings found in association. However, both types of fittings were recovered from a single grave at Finglesham (Kent) where they were suggested to represent, together with a copper-alloy plate and a staple, a possible wooden platter (grave 56, Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006, 57–8, fig 2.87). Both types were also recovered from 5th/7th-century deposits at Dinas Powys (Glamorgan) where they were regarded as a characteristic Anglo-Saxon type (Alcock 1963, 10, 110, fig 20, 14; Graham Campbell 1991). Two of the Whithorn mounts came from contexts attributed the late 7th to early 8th century (Hill 374–5, fig 10.59). As well as occurring in Anglo-Saxon contexts, similar shaped mounts are also known on the continent, for example at Schretzheim in southern Germany where both Buiston types occur in a single grave (grave 543, Koch 1977, taf 139, nos 11 and 15).

Chapter 7 Beads, glass vessels and window glass

7.1 Introduction

This chapter surveys the beads (section 7.2), glass vessel sherds (7.3) and window glass (7.4) included in the catalogue.

7.2 Beads

7.2.1 Beads: introduction

In total fifty-one beads have been identified during this study (Table 7.2; Map 7.1). Of the examples identified by Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly, only the group of 11 beads from a burial at Dalmeny are retained (**A001**; Illus 7.2); the remainder have been excluded.
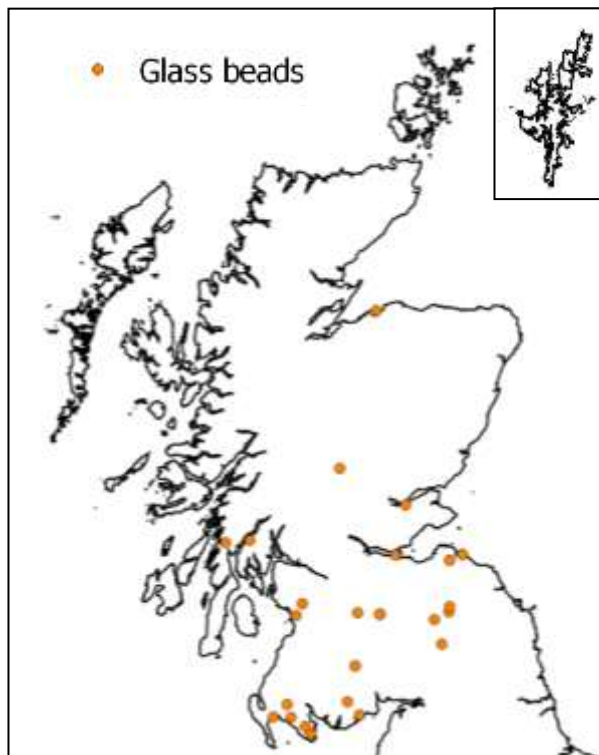
Map 7.1 Distribution of Anglo-Saxon and continental glass beads from Scotland.

The publication of typologies of Anglo-Saxon beads (Guido 1999; Brugmann 2004) and early medieval beads from Ireland (Mannion 2015) have greatly aided identification, resulting in a significant rise in numbers, and provided insights into the dating and place of manufacture. The increase is also due to undertaking a survey of beads within NMS collections, and particularly the accession sequence 'x.FJ' which includes miscellaneous beads mainly from antiquarian sources. As a result, many of the beads included here have little or no provenance/context information.

The relative lack of research on Scottish glass beads has hampered identification. Small blue beads are relatively common on early medieval and late Iron Age sites and have been regarded as undatable and culturally undiagnostic (although Guido included one from Clatchard Craig in her Anglo-Saxon schedule); after preliminary examination, further scrutiny was not attempted here. A further group of blue beads decorated with white waves found in Iron Age to Viking period contexts have also regarded here as undiagnostic. Amber beads have likewise been regarded as common insular finds, and have been omitted from the catalogue.

Bead identifications have been made on the basis of visual examination only (with the exception of beads from Morham **E002** and **E003**). The benefit of non-destructive scientific analysis has recently been demonstrated (Blackwell and Kirk 2016; see also below) and it is possible that further work will show some of the below identifications to be incorrect. This would be particularly valuable given the numbers that are poorly provenanced or stray finds.

Beads that appear to have been made on the continent have been treated separately (prefix **C** to the catalogue number) from the (smaller number) of beads of insular manufacture, in order to distinguish potentially different mechanisms of arrival. This division should be regarded as tentative: in the absence of the identification of more than a handful of manufacture sites it is based on bead distributions. Four of the six insular-Anglo-Saxon-made beads are from south-east Scotland; one each is known from the Dumfriesshire and from Perthshire (Map 7.2).
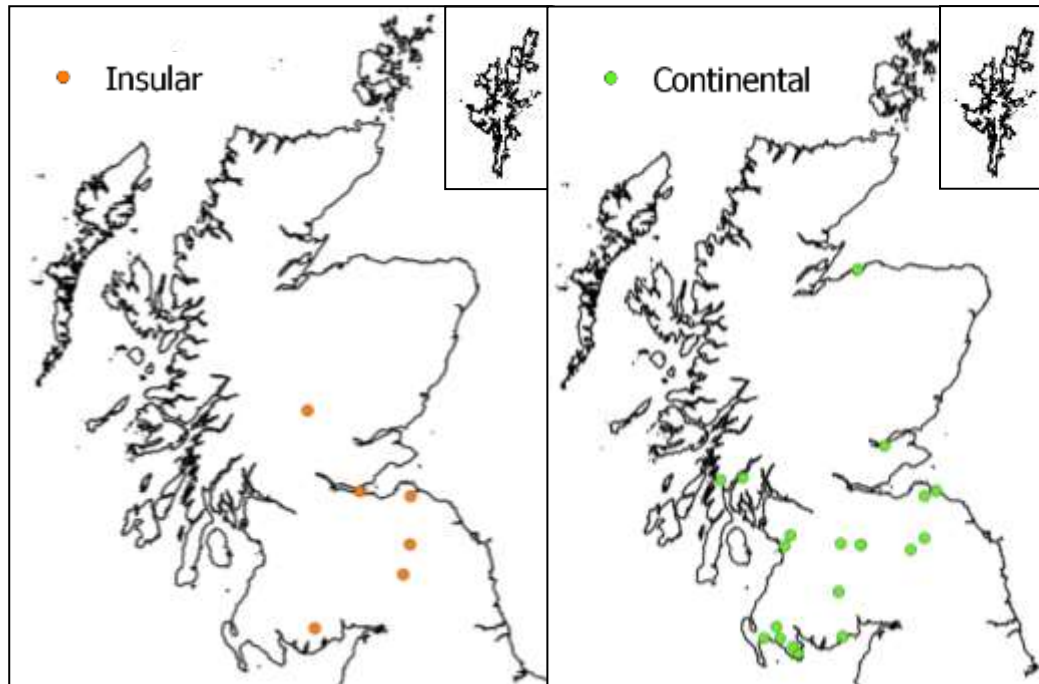
Map 7.2 Distribution of insular-Anglo-Saxon and continental-made glass beads from Scotland.

Among the beads excluded from this study (but previously published as Anglo-Saxon) are post-medieval beads from Morham (**E002** and **E003**) and Mousald (**E004**). Beads reportedly found at Ratho (**E001**) were excluded on the basis of poor information (lost and described only as 'some large beads of a blue and yellow colour'). A bead from Whithorn (**E008**) was excluded because cited parallels were rare and a poor match for the bead and it too bears similarity with post-medieval beads.

7.2.2   Monochrome 'doughnut' beads

A001.2 A group of 11 glass beads (one now missing) and one re-used glass vessel sherd were found in 1915 in a cist grave on Hound Point, Dalmeny (East Lothian; Illus 7.1; Baldwin Brown 1914–15). One of the beads from the Dalmeny string is an example of Brugmann's 'doughnut' type (Illus 7.2; Brugmann 2004, fig 97). 'Doughnut' beads were manufactured by piercing and as a result usually have the distinctive combination of a convex side and a flat side, the latter from its forming on a flat surface (as on this example).

A001.1 **A001.2** **A001.3** **A001.4** **A001.5**

A001.6 **A001.7** **A001.8** **A001.9** **A001.10** **A001.11**

0   10mm

A001.1

A001.11
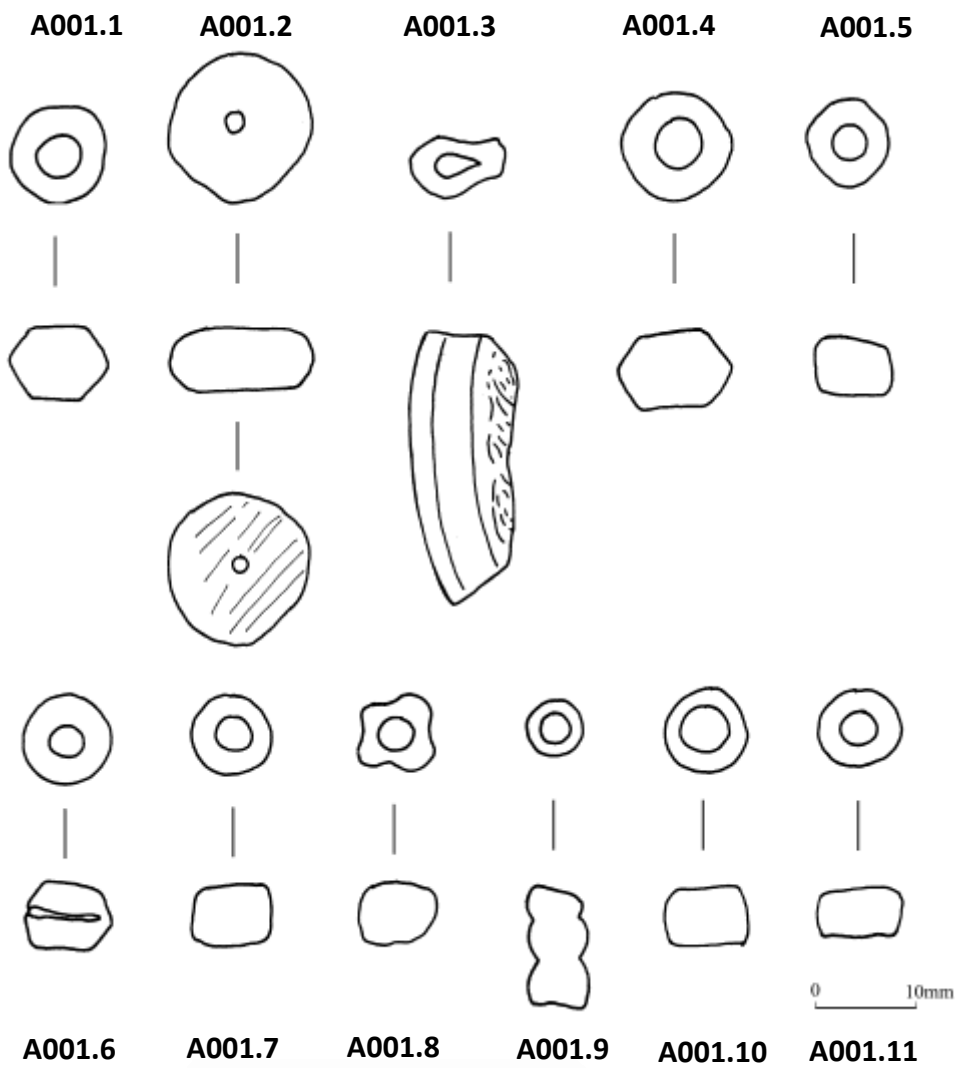
A001 Dalmeny, beads. Drawn by the author, photograph copyright Trustees of National Museums Scotland. The beads are drawn in the same order they appear in the photograph.

Illus 7.1 Glass beads from Dalmeny.

'Doughnut' beads have been regarded as an Anglo-Saxon insular bead development, rather than a continental import (Brugmann 2004, 41, 75–6). The recent application of a combination of dating methods to early Anglo-Saxon burial evidence suggested 'doughnut' beads were one of a few types restricted to the middle of the 7th century (Hines and Bayliss 2013, 458). Brugmann's sample demonstrates a distribution across Anglo-Saxon England, with a concentration in the Humber region, as well as in East Anglia, Kent and the Upper Thames Valley (Brugmann 2004, fig 43). There are examples from the Street House cemetery in colourless glass, translucent bottle green, deep translucent red-brown, and translucent mottled light and mid blue (Sherlock 2008, 33).

B018   A second possible 'doughnut' bead is known from Traprain Law (East Lothian; Illus 7.2; Curle and Cree 1915–16 1916, 110, fig 26, no 12). Curle also noticed the similarity of this bead to the Dalmeny example, although he regarded the latter as Roman because of the reused glass vessel sherd (Curle and Cree 1915–16, 110). The Traprain bead has the characteristic 'doughnut' appearance, flat on one side, convex on the other. It is significantly smaller than the Dalmeny example but falls within Brugmann's definition.

7.2.3   'Annular twist 'beads

A010   From Denholm Hill, in Cavers parish (Scottish Borders; Illus 7.2) is an 'annular twist' (Guido's Type 12) bead of translucent green body with applied and marvered finely twisted trails of opaque red and the same translucent green glass as the body (Anon 1928–29, 20–1; Guido 1999, 339). Guido's corpus was dated to the 7th century but this has been expanded by Brugmann who puts them in her phase C: c 650 to the end of the furnished burial practice (Brugmann 2004, 41, 70, 78, figs 51, 132, 133). The nineteen examples included in Brugmann's sample had a predominately south-eastern distribution. None are known from outside the British Isles, and together with the 'doughnut' type bead (see **A001**, **B018**), the 'annular twist' is regarded as a 7th–8th-century insular Anglo-Saxon type (Brugmann 2004, 41). No exact parallel for the Denholm Hill colour combination has been identified but red and bottle green occur among the relatively small number of published examples, which themselves vary in the combinations used.

0   10mm

A001.2 Dalmeny, 'doughnut' bead, photograph by author.

B018 Traprain Law, 'doughnut' bead, photograph by author.

A010 Denholm Hill, 'annular twist' bead, photograph by author.

0   10mm

B019 Crossmichael, 'annular twist' bead, photograph by author.

C001 Buiston, combed bead, photograph by author.

C002 Dunadd, combed bead, photograph by author.

0   10mm

0   10mm

C004 Earlston, combed bead, photograph by author.

C003 Buiston, reticella bead, photograph by author.

Illus 7.2 'Doughnut', 'annular twist', combed and reticella glass beads.

B019 From the parish of Crossmichael (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 7.2) is a further possible 'annular twist' bead (Guido Type 12; Anon 1932–3, 314). It was first identified by Guido as an Iron Age type ('Class 9: annular beads decorated with two-colour twisted cables', Guido 1978, 78, 186), though she noted it was atypical. The Crossmichael bead's cable is made of one twist of yellow and a second twist of the same glass as the body of the bead, indeed atypical in the Iron Age but found among Anglo-Saxon 'annular twist' beads (including **A010**). The same colour combination occurs for instance on an Anglo-Saxon bead from Fetcham (Surrey; Guido in Speake 1989, 51). The Crossmichael bead has larger loops of cable covering less of the total bead surface than some Anglo-Saxon examples, but nonetheless it remains typologically closer to Anglo-Saxon than Iron Age types. It was found with a Roman-period melon bead apparently beneath a grave mound in the parish of Crossmichael. Roman-period melon beads (as opposed to post-Roman sub-melons) are found in later contexts, including Anglo-Saxon graves.

7.2.4   Beads with combed trails and yellow terminal bands

C001, C002 Two broken and similarly decorated beads are known from excavations at Buiston crannog (**C001**; Ayrshire) and Dunadd (**C002**; Argyll) (Illus 7.2; Crone 2000, fig 140b; Guido in Lane and Campbell 2000, 176). Both are opaque dark glass beads with combed trails (white on the Buiston bead, yellow on the Dunadd bead) and an overlying opaque yellow band at the top and bottom. The Buiston bead is barrel shaped and has a glossy metal whereas the Dunadd bead is a short cylinder of dullish metal. Though very similar, these two beads have not previously been considered together. Guido identified the Dunadd bead as Frankish, probably from northern France or Belgium, and cited various French parallels, predominately of 5th- or 6th-century date (Guido in Lane and Campbell 2000, 176; contra her earlier identification, following Craw 1929–30, 119, of it as an exotic Roman-period bead in Guido 1978, 235). Henderson drew a comparison between the Buiston example and a similar bead from 7th/8th-century contexts in Maastricht, Holland (Henderson in Crone 2000, 141). Chemical composition analysis of the Buiston bead suggested to Henderson similarities with 8th/9th-century Viking bead

making, but the reliability of this as a chronological indicator is unclear given other typological parallels (see also Henderson's chemical analysis of the millefiori rod from Dunadd which suggested a date significantly later than that derived by comparison of similar vessel glass from England; Lane and Campbell 2000, 174).

This type of bead appears to be a relatively uncommon find in England, and is not included in Anglo-Saxon bead typologies (Guido 1999; Brugmann 2004). However, a number of parallels from Anglo-Saxon graves can be suggested, detailed in the catalogue entries. All examples from Anglo-Saxon contexts are short-cylinders, similar to the Dunadd bead; the barrel-shaped example from Buiston remains apparently unparalleled in England. While parallels on the continent appear to date to the 5th to 8th centuries, the beads from England are mostly from contexts dated to the late 6th to mid-8th centuries. The Buiston bead was from an unstratified context during the 1989–90 excavations but deposition predates destruction of the site in the mid-7th century, while the Dunadd bead was from Craw's excavations and lacks any stratigraphic context.

7.2.5   Other beads with combed decoration

C004   From Earlston (Scottish Borders; Illus 7.2) is a short cylinder bead of opaque reddish-brown with opaque yellow combed-wave decoration and a slightly off-centre perforation (Anon 1913–14, 16; Guido 1999, 317). It was included in Guido's catalogue as a Type 8xviib (Guido 1999, 317, 64–6), although it more readily fits in her Type 8vii (see catalogue entry). Cylinder combed-wave beads (Type 8vii) occur in England in 6th- and 7th-century contexts. The example from Earlston pushes the distribution of this type further north, with examples known also from West Heslerton (Yorkshire) and Barton-on-Humber (Humberside; Guido 1999, map 23). Brugmann also defined a type of red cylinder bead with yellow combed decoration, her 'Koch 49/50 Type'. The type is associated with her Group A2b, dated to c 530–580, and in her view is a continental import (Brugmann 2004, 38, 80, figs 155, 157, 158). The Earlston bead is however considerably shorter than Brugmann's definition (a long or very long cylinder; Brugmann 2004, 80), as well as shorter than many of the examples included in Guido's Type 8vii.

7.2.6 'Reticella' beads

C003 A second imported bead is known from Buiston (Illus 7.2; Munro 1882, 232, fig 249; Crone 2000, 144, fig 120). It is a short cylinder reticella bead comprising two twists of opaque red, opaque yellow and smokey transparent (which appears dark) glass, forming an irregular herringbone pattern. It is an example of Brugmann's 'Reticella' Type (Brugmann 2004, 78, figs 127, 128), fairly common among Anglo-Saxon grave assemblages. They are presumed to be imports from the continent where the majority of examples are found, but unlike some other imported beads are evenly distributed across Anglo-Saxon England (Brugmann 2004, 37, 38, 78, fig 50). In Anglo-Saxon contexts they belong to Brugmann's phase A2b, c 530–580 (2004, 70, 78). The type could not formally be modelled by Hines and Bayliss but radiocarbon dates for their sample spanned the 6th century (Hines and Bayliss 2003, 363). The continental examples have similar date ranges but in northern France and south-western Germany belong to the late 6th century and very early 7th century (Brugmann 2004, table 3).

C073 A further bead described as having reticella decoration was found by J Roberts, a fieldwalker active during the 20th century in the Scottish Borders and Moray, particularly at Culbin Sands (not illustrated). It was identified as Anglo-Saxon by Birgitte Hoffmann (unpublished report) but cannot now be located within Perth Museum and so has not been examined first hand.

7.2.7 'Traffic light' bead

A066 A single 'traffic light' bead (Illus 7.3; Brugmann 2004, fig 114; Guido's Type 8xviiib, 1999), named because of its distinctive colour combination of red, yellow and green, has been identified from Scotland. It was found during excavations in 2011 at the probable early monastic site of Fortingall (Perth and Kinross; unpublished, Oliver O'Grady pers comm). Brugmann argued that 'traffic light' beads were likely to be of insular manufacture as the use of reticella twisted trails is not a characteristic found among contemporary beads from the continent or Scandinavia (2004, 34). There are a number of

sub-types such as 'twisted' and 'imitation' but it is not possible to further classify this example without examination or publication. The main distribution is across East Anglia, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and the East Midlands, suggesting likely zones of manufacture (Brugmann 2004, 34–35, 44, fig 49). They are dated to Brugmann's Group A1, c AD450–530 (2004, 44–52, 70; see **A017**, a Style I harness mount from Angus for a comparably early find).

7.2.8   Small, monochrome wound beads

These beads fall into Brugmann's 'wound spiral' type, a large group of wound beads that encompasses many colours and biconical, globular and short cylinder shapes (Brugmann 2004, figs 93–96, 166, 169). They are found in 'final phase' graves (dated to c 650 to the end of furnished burials) all over Anglo-Saxon England (2004, 76, figs 93, 94, 41). Brugmann suggests they demonstrate links between Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian bead fashions, with evidence that some were produced at Helgö (Sweden), although she notes they may be part of a long-lived bead-making tradition and not all examples were likely to be produced at that site (Brugmann 2004, 40–1). In a postscript to her study however she noted that recently published examples suggest they may be more common on continental Europe than previously assumed (Brugmann 2004, 41, n 39), opening the possibility that they were imported to England from several areas. Guido hypothesised a Frankish source for some of these short-cylinder beads, and a date range extending from the 6th to the 8th century, although her examples occurred consistently in 6th- and 7th-century graves (Guido 1999, 44, 60). Recent application of various dating methods to Anglo-Saxon grave assemblages suggested 'wound spiral' beads may be restricted to the middle of the 7th century (Hines and Bayliss 2003, 363–3). While some examples, such as those from Dalmeny, can be confidently identified as the Anglo-Saxon 'wound spiral' type, the wide range of shapes and colours means that other identifications remain tentative; simple, wound monochrome beads are amongst the many thousands of types of 17th- to 19th-century trade beads manufactured in Europe for distribution across the world, meaning caution is required (see Blackwell and Kirk 2016).

A066 Fortingall, 'traffic Light' bead, photograph by O O'Grady.

A001.1   **A001.4**   **A001.5**   **A001.6**

A001.7   **A001.10**   **A001.11**

A001 Dalmeny, 'wound spiral' beads, photographs by author.

C064 C065 Dalmeny, 'wound spiral' beads, photographs by author.
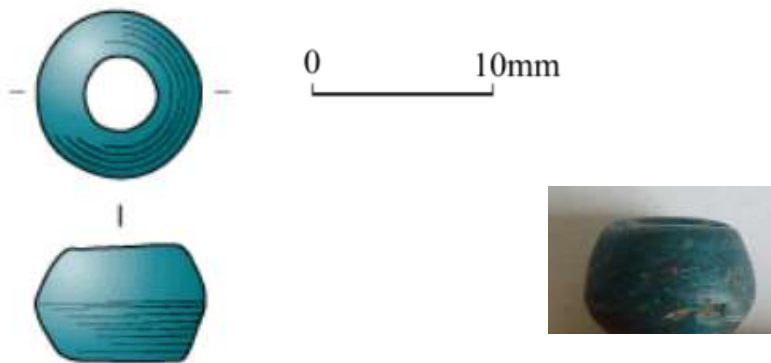
C075 Whithorn, 'wound spiral' bead, after McComish and Petts 2008, fig 25.

C072 Unprovenanced, 'wound spiral' bead, photograph by author.

Illus 7.3 'Traffic light' and 'wound spiral' glass beads.

A001 Excepting three beads (**A001.4**, **.8** and **.9**) and the re-used rim sherd (**A001.3**), the remaining beads from Dalmeny are all small monochrome wound beads of either biconical or short cylinder shape (Illus 7.1; 7.3). Two yellow biconical examples (**A001.1** and **.6**) seem very closely related to the short-cylinder examples in terms of the quality of the glass metal, while the third biconical bead (**A001.4**) is an unusual dark green-blue glass flecked with maroon. A short cylinder bead of similar glass is known from Buckland, Dover (Evison 1987, colour pl 3, B40, from grave 1, no 4c).

C062 From excavations at Dundonald (Ayrshire; not illustrated) is a biconical 'wound spiral' bead of opaque green glass (Ewart and Pringle 2004, 110, fig 50, cat no 106). There are major problems with the published excavation report which precludes certainty about the context in which this bead was found, although the site also produced E ware, a bone nail-headed pin and two iron spearheads which attest to early medieval activity from the later 6th/early 7th century.

C064, **C065** Two further small biconical 'wound spiral' beads are known from excavations at Castle Park, Dunbar (East Lothian; Illus 7.3; Perry 2000, cat nos 516 and 515). The smaller of the two is of green-blue glass (**C064**) and came from a Phase 8 context assigned to the Northumbrian period (although see Blackwell 2009). The second bead is slightly larger, of blue-green glass (**C065**) and came from a much later, medieval phase, although there is significant disturbance at the site. A third bead from the site, found in a medieval-phase context is made of amber, not orange-coloured glass as published and is of uncertain date or origin (Perry 2000, 162, cat no 513).

C075 A 'wound spiral' biconical glass bead of bubbly turquoise glass was found during the YAT excavations of the Fey Field at Whithorn (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 7.3; Campbell in McComish and Petts 2008, 92, illus 95 SF00563).

C072 A further similar 'wound spiral' bead of uncertain provenance is in the collections of Perth Museum and Art Gallery (Illus 7.3). It was donated by J Roberts, a fieldwalker active in Moray (especially Culbin Sands) and the Scottish Borders (especially Selkirkshire). It was first identified as Anglo-Saxon by Birgitte Hoffmann (unpublished catalogue), and is slightly biconical in shape, green-blue in colour, with clear wind marks.

C012, **C013** Two 'wound spiral' beads of opaque red glass are known from early excavations at the broch at Dun an Iardhard (Isle of Skye; not illustrated; Macleod 1915): one is barrel shaped (**C012**), the other is biconical (**C013**). In Guido's classification of the Roman and Iron Age beads from Britain, some unspecified Dun an Iardhard beads were regarded as 'Dark Age' (Guido 1978, 200), though none were included in her Anglo-Saxon catalogue; their identification here remains tentative.

C066 From Castle Island, Mochrum (Dumfries and Galloway; not illustrated) are two biconical-shaped blue-green beads which Guido included within her catalogue (Type 5iv, 1999, 243; Stevenson in Radford 1949–50, 62). However, as there are no published illustrations and they remain in private ownership their identification remains tentative. Late Roman-period small biconical beads, usually smaller and more flattened in shape than examples from Anglo-Saxon graves, are most commonly found in green (Guido 1978, 97–8). Other Roman finds are recorded from Castle Island, including a Samian ware sherd and a melon bead (Stevenson in Radford 1949–50, 62, no 2). A spiral-decorated bead from the site remains of uncertain date, but more closely resembles Iron Age than early medieval examples. The biconical beads formed the basis for Radford's suggestion of an early Christian phase at Castle Island.

C008 From excavations between 1914 and 1920 at the broch at Dun Beag (Isle of Skye; not illustrated) is an opaque greyish-white short cylinder glass bead with shiny surface,

very thin walls and a large perforation (Callander 1921, 126). It was included within Guido's schedule as a Type 3ii (opaque white cylinder beads: round and polygonal, short single or double beads'; Guido 1999, 197). These beads seem to have arrived to England via the Rhineland and the Netherlands, but may have originated in south-west Germany (Guido 1999, 32). Guido suggests the majority were imported to Kent between the 6th and 7th centuries, although they continue at Buckland into an early 8th-century phase (Guido 1999, 32). The distribution in England centres on Kent and East Anglia, with few found further north. The West Heslerton (North Yorkshire) cemetery produced 2 short cylinders (grave 22, 8AM, and grave 96, 150AJ; Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 32–3, 156, not illustrated), the most northerly English finds. There is however reason to question Guido's identification here as the lack of clear winding marks, shiny surface and thin walls seem to differentiate it from typical Anglo-Saxon examples. There is little helpful information on the context of the beads from Dun Beag. Several hundred beads were recovered during the excavations (Callander 1921), and those that are preserved in the NMS collections are a mixed group. They include several with good archaeological parallels: for instance GA 1104, a blue barrel-shaped bead with marvered white criss-cross trails, an early medieval Irish type closely paralleled by an example from Dunadd (Lane and Campbell 1998, 176, pl 24, cat 1593). Others (eg x.GA 1106–x.GA 1111) may, on analogy with beads from Morham (Blackwell and Kirk 2016), be post-medieval in date.

7.2.9   Monochrome segmented beads

Segmented beads were a long-lived type (Guido 1978, 93; Guido 1999, 51–2) but different manufacturing methods and other differences in their size, shape and colour may help distinguish between beads of different dates. Viking examples are usually quite large (sometimes between 1–1.5cm in diameter) with a relatively wide collar between each segment (Guido 1978, 93; Guido 1999, 52). Roman examples are usually relatively small and are made by winding. The post-Roman examples were thought to be most commonly formed by pinching (Guido 1999, 51–2) but Brugmann has refined this, identifying two types: 'constricted segmented' (Brugmann 2004, 75, figs 84, 86, 173) which is drawn and dates to the Roman period to the late 6th century; and the 'segmented globular' (Brugmann 2004, 75, figs 86, 89, 173) which is wound and dates to the 6th century.

Brugmann's study suggests the dating and identification of segmented beads is likely to be more complicated than previously regarded, and as such the identifications of the below beads, with the exception of the Dalmeny example, remain tentative.

A001.9 Guido included the globular three-segmented bead of almost opaque dark green-blue glass from Dalmeny (Illus 7.1) in her schedule of small segmented Roman-period beads, albeit suggesting a possible 6th-century date (Guido 1978, 204). The other beads in the Dalmeny group are early medieval, though the re-used piece of Roman vessel glass shows an interest in curated pendants. The rounded segments of bead 9, without straight links between them, is closer to Brugmann's 'segmented globular' examples than the 'constricted segment' examples (2004, fig 85; Guido 1978, fig 37) and this, together with the lack of draw marks, supports an early medieval date. A similar segmented bead in deep blue translucent glass is known from the Street House cemetery (Sherlock 2008, 33).

C027 From the Mote of Mark (Dumfries and Galloway; not illustrated) is an opaque white monochrome two-segmented bead, found in the topsoil but possibly relating to the 1913 excavations (Laing and Longley 2006, 101, fig 46, cat no 3057). Laing and Longley argued that similar beads are commonly found in early medieval Scottish (eg Dunadd and Dundurn), Anglo-Saxon and Frankish contexts (Laing and Longley 2006, 101). The colour here is significant however; no white examples were included in Guido's Roman bead schedules, while examples from early medieval sites in Scotland are blue or green-blue (excluding the metal-in-glass examples of different origin). White segmented beads are however a well-recognised type within Brugmann's study (Brugmann 2004, 75, fig 89). Unfortunately, she did not distinguish between different colours (which in addition to white, are also found in opaque yellow, red and greenish blue) in her discussion of their distribution and dating. As a general type however, their main distribution is focused on the continent, while in England they date to her phase B2, c 580–650 (Brugmann 2004, 75, 70).

0   10mm

A001.9 Dalmeny, segmented bead, photograph by author.

C014—C016 Culbin Sands, segmented beads, photograph by author.

A001.8 Dalmeny, lobed bead, photograph by author.

C071 Philiphaugh, lobed bead, photograph by author.

C017 Coulter, lobed bead, photograph by author.

C022 Aberdeenshire, lobed bead, photograph by author.

C067 Tynron Doon, lobed bead, after Williams 1971, 112, fig 7, no 2.

0   10mm

Illus 7.4 Segmented and lobed glass beads.

C014–C016   Three segmented beads from Culbin Sands (Moray; Illus 7.4; unpublished) are in NMS collections. **C014**, of opaque dark blue glass, has two globular-shaped and relatively large segments, with clear draw-marks. **C015** is a small two-segmented bead of dark blue transparent glass, with one clearly nipped end. **C016** is a small two-segmented bead of opaque turquoise glass, with a large perforation and nipped segments. These three beads therefore are in different glass, and vary in characteristics such as size of perforation. None are sufficiently large to fall within Guido's Viking criteria, and nor do they resemble her description of Roman examples, and Guido regarded them as almost certainly post-Roman examples (Guido 1978, 204). The apparent nipping of the segments of one of the beads is unparalleled in a segmented bead, but commonly occurs in single beads of post-Roman date. The site has produced many beads of various dates, including a reticella type (**C073**).

7.2.10   Monochrome lobed or sub-melon beads

A001.8   From the Dalmeny group (Illus 7.1, 7.4) is a small 4-lobed bright turquoise-blue bead, either Guido's Type 6viii (if regarded as blue) or Type 5x (all turquoise beads) (Baldwin Brown 1914–15). Large, well-formed melon beads of faience paste are Roman in date, but smaller variants made from different kinds of glass are virtually unknown from Roman contexts (Guido 1978, 99); they are usually translucent and more variable in shape than Roman examples (Guido 1999, 52). Simple four-lobed beads do not seem to appear in Scandinavian contexts (Callmer 1977). Lobed beads in blue translucent glass are common finds in Anglo-Saxon contexts, found across Anglo-Saxon England as far north as County Durham, as well as on the continent (Guido 1999, 52–3). Four-lobed translucent blue beads are known from Norton (Cleveland; Sherlock and Welch 1992, gr 87 and 102: 181, fig 59; 186, fig 62), while a small 6-lobed bright turquoise bead of similar metal to the Dalmeny bead was found at the Street House Anglo-Saxon cemetery, part of a group of beads that included other beads in the Dalmeny string (a 'doughnut', 'wound spirals' in green, red and turquoise, and a segmented bead in deep blue; Sherlock 2008, 33, top left group). A sub-melon bead (with 10 lobes) in a similar bright turquoise is also known from

Morning Thorpe (Norfolk; Green and Rogerson 1987, grave 30, fig 303 Dvi and front cover, volume II).

C071   From Philliphaugh (Scottish Borders; Illus 7.4; unpublished) is a bead first identified by Hoffmann (unpublished catalogue), and very similar to **A001.8** from Dalmeny. It has 7-lobes and is in the same bright-turquoise glass with shiny metal and many visible bubbles.

C017   Among a number of beads found in uncertain circumstances at Coulter (Lanarkshire; Illus 7.4; unpublished) is a small irregular wound opaque dark glass bead with 11 lobes. Translucent blue examples of comparably irregular shape are known from Finglesham (Kent; gr 96, Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006, fig 2.105). Opaque black examples are also known but are far less common (Guido includes 11 examples) and have a more restricted distribution in England, limited to southern England and the Midlands (Guido 1999, 21, 174, map 2). The English beads tend to be smaller and more irregular than finds from continental sites like Trier, suggesting potentially multiple manufacture centres. Other beads from Coulter include three possible 'crumb' beads (see below, **C018–C020**), as well as beads of post-medieval date (eg NMS, X.FJ 32; X.FJ 30).

C022   Probably from Aberdeenshire (provenance and find context unknown; Illus 7.4; unpublished) is a large, wound, 5-lobed irregular sub-melon bead of bright blue-turquoise, almost opaque glass with a large perforation. Blue and green sub-melon or lobed beads are relatively common finds in Anglo-Saxon graves (Guido 1999, 243–5, 265–7) and several turquoise examples are also known (Guido 1999, 252–4). However, a few post-Roman examples are known from Ireland, and they continue into the Viking period (Guido 1978, 100), making this identification very tentative.

C067 Approximately half of an irregularly lobed bead, described as 'cobalt blue', was excavated from Tynron Doon hillfort (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 7.4; Williams 1971, 112, fig 7, no 2). Neither this bead, nor a second from the site (**C030**) could be located and have not been examined. The site produced a fragment of an Anglo-Saxon gold filigree-decorated pendant (**A029**).

7.2.11   Spiral-decorated beads

B020 From field walking near Newstead Roman fort (Scottish Borders; Illus 7.5 unpublished) is an annular-shaped bead of opaque white glass decorated with a single encircling marvered spiral of light blue transparent glass. It is a Guido's Type 11a 'white annular bead with light-blue surface spirals' (Guido 1999, 74, 332–4, map 31, pl 8) and a new addition to her corpus. These are relatively common beads in Anglo-Saxon graves (Guido included over 30 examples) with a wide distribution in England from Kent to Northumberland (Guido 1999, 74, 332–4, map 31). They seem to be relatively rare on the continent and this, together with the late dating of Kentish examples suggests an insular origin for the type is possible (Guido 1999, 74). In England they appear during the 5th century, become more common during the 6th century and then rarer during the 7th (Guido 1999, 45). While the vast majority are known from Anglo-Saxon graves, two (aside from this example) were found in the vicinity of Roman-period remains: an atypical example, possibly late Roman rather than Anglo-Saxon, from the Roman fort at Chesters (Northumberland; Guido 1999, 336); and from within the fort at Corbridge, found near several Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches (perhaps the disturbed remains of a grave; Guido 1999, 334).
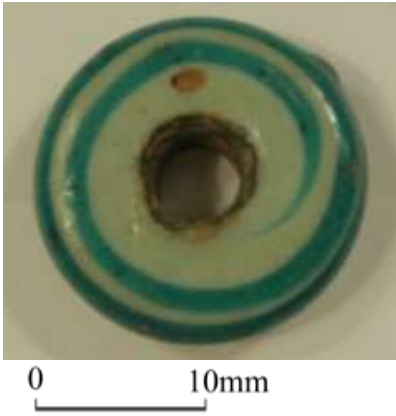
B020 Newstead, spiral-decorated bead, photograph by author.

C030 Tynron Doon, spiral-decorated bead, after Williams 1971, 115, fig 7.1 .
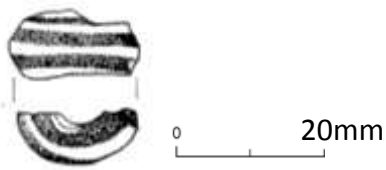
C029 Mote of Mark, spiral-decorated bead, after Laing and Longley 2006, fig 46.
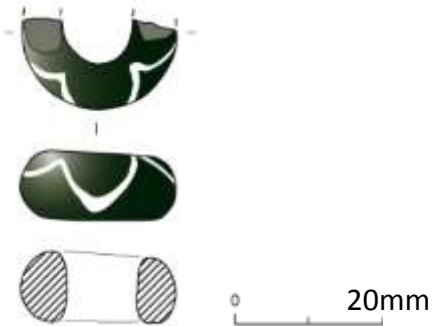
C023 Whithorn, wave-decorated bead, after McComish and Petts 2008, fig 25.

C006 Clatchard Craig, wave-decorated bead, after Close-Brooks 1986, illus 28.

C025 Wigtownshire, wave-decorated bead, photograph by author.
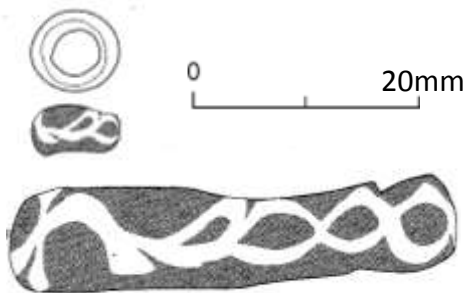
C028 Mote of Mark, crossing-wave decorated bead, after Laing and Longley 2006, fig 46. Decoration not to scale.

Illus 7.5 Spiral- and wave-decorated glass beads.

C030   From Tynron Doon (Illus 7.5) is half a globular 'sky blue' glass bead with white trails in either slightly irregular parallel bands or an encircling spiral (Williams 1971, 115, fig 7.2). Neither bead from the site could be located. No similar beads are included in Guido's Iron Age or Roman schedules (Guido 1978). Williams drew parallels with a bead from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Chamberlains Barn (Williams 1971, 115), but this is a white annular with light blue spiral (Guido's Type 11a, Guido 1999, 332–4) rather than a blue bead with white trails. Several apparently similar beads are grouped together as 'miscellaneous blue beads' in Guido's Anglo-Saxon schedules, but she did not regard them as a type. Brugmann did define a type similar to the Tynron Doon bead, her 'white spiral' beads which are globular or barrel-shaped in greenish-blue (Brugmann 2004, 80, 36, figs 153, 154, 173). Brugmann dated them broadly, from her phase B2 (c 580–650) to phase C (c 650–end of 'furnished' burials; Brugmann 2004, 80, 70). However, Brugmann's definition is larger than the Tynron Doon bead, 15–20mm in diameter (although an illustrated example in fig 154 does seem to be smaller than this), and as such this identification remains tentative.

C029   From the Mote of Mark (Illus 7.5) is half a small annular bead of semi-transparent emerald-green glass, decorated with applied opaque white linear decoration (Laing and Longley 2006, 101, 168, fig 46, cat no 2245). Laing and Longley suggested it was an Iron Age 'Meare variant' bead (Guido's Class 11d, 1978, 81–2), but this is erroneous and closer parallels can be suggested from Germanic contexts. Because it is incomplete, is it uncertain whether the applied white decoration constituted parallel lines, or an encircling spiral. Guido groups all colour combinations (except blue spiral on white body) of annular spiral-decorated beads together (Type 11b) but several green, rather than green-blue, examples are included and dated to between the 5th to 7th centuries (Guido 1999, 335–7). A further example from Finglesham (Kent) can also be added (gr 35, Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006, fig 2.85). While the Mote of Mark bead is similar to Brugmann's 'white spiral' type (Brugmann 2004, 80, figs 153 and 154), these beads are very short globular or cylinders and do not appear to occur in green.

7.2.12 Beads decorated with a single wave

C026   Two annular beads of dark (appearing black) glass decorated with white waves are known from Dumfries and Galloway; this example is of uncertain provenance but was regarded by Guido as possibly from Glenluce Sands (not illustrated). It was initially dated by Guido to the Iron Age (a Group 5d, Guido 1978, 135), though she noted black examples with white wave from England, Scotland and Ireland, and suggested that they may be slightly later then the 4th century. This position has since been refined and she defined two similar Anglo-Saxon types: Type 2via, 'black annular beads with white zig-zags', which are relatively common in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Guido 1999, 22–3, 178–9, pl 2), and, distinguished only by the smoothness of the wave, Type 2v 'black annular beads with white or yellow wave'. Both have similar date ranges that cover the 5th and 6th centuries, occasionally found in the 7th, and distributions across most of England (Guido 1999, 176–8, 178–9, maps 4 and 5). Black beads with white wave are likely to be imports from the continent, where they appear for example at Trier and in Belgium (Guido 1999, 23).

C023   The other dark wave bead is from the York Archaeological Trust excavations at Whithorn (Illus 7.5; Campbell in McComish and Petts 2008, 93, SF00191; context not otherwise discussed). Campbell thought this bead's wide perforation was unusual, suggesting it may be a local type. However, the looseness of the wave and the large diameter perforation is found on a dark blue wave bead from Buckland, and the same grave also contained a black wave bead (grave 133, Evison 1987, fig 55.133.1c). The wave is a very simple design; on blue glass Guido regarded them as so long-lived as to be impossible to date (Guido 1999, 53).

C006   From excavations at the Clatchard Craig hillfort (Fife; Illus 7.5) is an annular bead of opaque dark olive-green glass with dense, unmarvered opaque yellow angular wave (Guido in Close-Brooks 1986, 167, illus 28). This example was included in Guido's Anglo-Saxon schedules (Type 2vi; 1999, 260). Although she distinguished between white, yellow

and red zig-zags in the schedules, they were thought to be culturally and chronologically very similar (1999, 22). They are fairly a fairly common type from northern Europe where they occur in both late Roman and early medieval contexts. They seem to be imported to Britain from the continent (Guido in Close-Brooks 1986, 167; Guido 1999, 22). Examples with yellow angular wave are not very common in Guido's schedule, though very similar beads are known from Morning Thorpe (Brugmann 2004, fig 158) and Norton (Cleveland; Sherlock and Welch 1992, fig 34). It was excavated from the upper enclosure, within rampart 1, from the same area that produced most other early medieval material from the site (Close-Brooks 1986, 146).

C025   Just over half of an annular bead of light translucent green glass, decorated with a thick, unmarvered opaque yellow zig-zag trail is provenanced to Wigtownshire only (Illus 7.5; Guido 1978, 135). Guido included it in her schedule of Iron Age beads in the miscellaneous spiral-decorated category (Group 5), though she noted it may be 'possibly post-Roman' (Guido 1978, 135). It can be better paralleled in Anglo-Saxon graves, an example of her Type 5viii (Guido 1999, 248–9, 45–6, pl 4). Most are from 6th- or 7th-century contexts, and were regarded by Guido as imports (Guido 1999, 46). A good parallel comes from Morning Thorpe (grave 309; Green et al 1987, fig 396.Aviii); it is a thicker annular shape, but features a similarly angular trail, also unmarvered, and was dated by Guido to the 6th/7th century (Guido 1999, 249). Guido noted that a few annular beads with a simple wave were imported to Roman Britain, but they are rare and neither of the two she cited bear any resemblance to the Wigtownshire example (Guido 1999, 45). A single example of a green bead with yellow trail is illustrated in Callmer's study of Scandinavian beads (Callmer 1977, pl 14, B640T), but it is cylindrical rather than annular in shape.

7.2.13   Beads decorated with crossing waves

C028   A third bead is known from the Mote of Mark (Illus 7.5; Laing and Longley 2006, 101, fig 46, cat no 3015) but could not be located. It is a small red-brown annular bead with opaque white crossing waves. No parallels were offered in the excavation

monograph. No similar beads are included within Guido's study of Iron Age and Roman beads. Brugmann's 'Koch 34 white' beads (Brugmann 2004, 81, fig 161) and Guido's Type 7xiv (Guido 1999, 63, 304–6) feature the same combination of opaque white crossing waves forming a figure-of-eight pattern on a red body. On the Mote of Mark bead, these waves degenerate half way around the circumference, though some irregularity also occurs among the 'Koch 34 white' beads. Brugmann dated them (including several different colour combinations) to her phase B2, c 580–650 (Brugmann 2004, 81, 70); their main distribution is on the continent. Guido argued they arrived from the continent via Kent and the Thames estuary in the 6th–7th century (Guido 1999, 63). Recent work on the dating of Anglo-Saxon grave goods suggests they were restricted to burials of the middle 7th century (Hines and Bayliss 2003, 458). **C027**, the white segmented bead discussed above, is a second probable continental import from the site, also dated to in Anglo-Saxon graves to Brugmann's phase B2.

7.2.14 Beads decorated with wave and spots

C021   From Strathlachlan (Argyll; Illus 7.6; unpublished) is a thick annular of opaque dark glass, decorated with crossed opaque yellow waves and large spots of degraded (but possibly turquoise) glass. Guido notes that while the crossed wave motif is very long lived, continuing into the Viking period, examples on an opaque dark body can be assigned to the 6th century, with a few continuing into the 7th century (Guido 1999, 26). This bead seems to be an example of Guido's Type 2ix (Guido 1999, 26, 184–6, pl 2). She regarded them as continental imports to Anglo-Saxon England, possibly Rhenish in origin (Guido 1999, 26). The colour combinations vary considerably, and only one example, from Canterbury, with an unusually early date of c 400, features the same yellow waves and turquoise spots, though another from Faversham reverses the combination (Guido 1999, 185), and a third (Alfriston, Sussex, Guido 1999, 186) has turquoise spots and unknown coloured waves. A black bead with comparable pattern but different colours is also known from Little Wilbraham; it has light blue crossing waves and red dots and was used as a 'sword bead' (Evison 1967, 83, pl VIIId).

C021 Strathlachlan, crossing-wave and spot bead, photograph by the author.

C024 Lesmahagow, crossing-wave and spot bead, photograph by the author.

C070 Unprovenanced, crossing-wave and spot bead, photograph by the author.

C007 Loch Ronald, spot-decorated bead, photograph by the author.

C009 Dowalton, spot-decorated bead, photograph by the author.

C005 Berwickshire, eye-decorated bead, photograph by the author.

Illus 7.6 Spot- and eye-decorated beads.

C024 From Lesmahagow (Lanarkshire; Illus 7.6) is a thick annular bead of light blue-green translucent glass decorated with an opaque white wave overlaid by an opaque red band on each perforation face, now partially surviving only on one face (Anon 1899–1900, 435). It is not a recognised Iron Age or Roman type (Guido 1978) but does bear similarities to Guido's Anglo-Saxon Type 1vii (Guido 1999, 167, 16) and Type 5viii (Guido 1999, 248–9, 45–6). Type 1vii encompasses a range of motifs and colours, albeit with re-occurring combinations of white and red/crimson/pink. The most similar beads cited by Guido are unfortunately unpublished. Among the Type 5viii beads is a 6th/7th-century light green thick annular with 'white wave and red streak' from Haslingfield (Cambridgeshire; Guido 1999, 248). Some in this group are described as light green or light green-blue and there might be a continuum from beads defined by Guido as Type 1vii. She regarded Type 5viii as probable continental imports, mostly from 6th- or 7th-century contexts.

C070 An unprovenanced opaque white bead with decayed (perhaps light blue) crossing waves and red dots is in the collections of Perth Museum and Art Gallery (Illus 7.6; unpublished). It was first identified by Birgitte Hoffmann (unpublished report) and is from the collections of the fieldwalker J Roberts, active in Moray (especially Culbin Sands) and the Scottish Borders (especially Selkirkshire). It appears to be a Guido Type 3iiic (Guido 1999, 33). Guido did not distinguish between different shapes and in many cases it is not noted; biconical examples include beads from Chamberlain's Barn I (Bedfordshire), dated to the late 6th to early 7th century (Guido 1999, 202), and from Mucking (Essex), dated to the 5th to 6th century (Guido 1999, 203). Brugmann's 'dot 34' beads have identical decoration but are globular or barrel-shaped rather than biconical. Given that Brugmann's study did not seek to be comprehensive, it is possible that **C070** and the other biconicals noted by Guido are variants or a related type. 'Dot 34' beads are part of Brugmann's group B, dated to the mid-6th to mid-7th century (although it was not included within her correspondence analysis); they were assumed to be mainly distributed on the continent (2004, 70, 40–41).

7.2.15 Beads decorated with large spots

C007   Two beads from Dumfries and Galloway have related decoration consisting of relatively large spots on a different coloured body. From Loch Ronald is an opaque reddish-brown biconical bead with opaque yellow spots arranged in three lines (Illus 7.6; Anon 1904, 149, fig 1). It is a Guido Type 8xii, though was not included in her schedule (1999, 301–2, 63). It is very similar to examples from the Norton cemetery (Cleveland; gr 30, Sherlock and Welch 1992, 141, fig 41, colour microfiche no. 30), and from Faversham (Kent; Guido 1999, pl 6, 8xii right). Both are rather large and biconical (like the Loch Ronald example) compared with the majority of Guido's series (Guido 1999, 63). Type 8xii beads occur in 5th- to 7th-century contexts across Anglo-Saxon England, although they are almost certainly imports (Guido 1999, 63). However, Guido's Type 8xii includes a variety of decoration and the majority of beads with yellow spots are dated to the 6th century (Guido 1999 301–2). Brugmann (2004) defined a 'regular dot' type that is similar but not identical to the Loch Ronald bead. 'Regular dot' beads are medium biconicals with three encircling lines of regular dots (with the peripheral lines staggered in relation to the central line) in either red with yellow dots, or blue with red or white dots (Brugmann 2004, 80). Brugmann dated them to her Phase B, c 555–650 (Brugmann 2004, 80, 70), while the recent application of multiple dating techniques to grave assemblages suggests they span the 6th and 7th centuries (Hines and Bayliss 2003, 364).

C009   The second spotted bead from Dumfries and Galloway is from Dowalton Loch (Illus 7.6; NMAS 1892, 254; Guido 1999, 209; Munro 1885). It is an opaque white, slightly biconical barrel-shaped bead, decorated with three lines of opaque red spots. It was included in Guido's schedules of Type 3v 'opaque white globular or biconical beads with red or blue spots' (Guido 1999, 34, 208–9, pl 3). Few are known from England, and all except for this and one other (from West Heslerton, North Yorkshire, gr 76; Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 117–8, not illustrated) are from southern England (Guido 1999, 208–9). Despite also being relatively uncommon on the continent, Guido regarded them as probably Frankish in origin. On the continent they are dated to the 6th/7th century and in England from the 6th until mid-7th century (Guido 1999, 34).

C005 A third bead of uncertain provenance but possibly from Berwickshire may also be discussed here (Illus 7.6; Anon 1920–1, 20). It is barrel-shaped, opaque blue, with (two of) four opaque-red on opaque-white eyes. It is similar to Guido's Type 6xiii, 'blue beads with red-centred white eyes' (Guido 1999, 273, 54, pl 6), although it was not catalogued by her. She listed 10 examples, the majority dated to 6th/7th century (1999, 273; Brugmann 2004 did not define any bead types with eyes in her selective study). The tradition of three equidistant eyes seems to be linked to the Iron Age 'South Harting' Type (Guido 1999, 54). Iron Age examples do feature red-on-white eyes on dark blue beads, although blue- or green-on-white eyes are more common. They are almost always a consistent size 'thick annular' shape, quite distinct from this short barrel bead. Blue beads with red-on-white eyes are also known from very late 8th-/mid-9th-century Scandinavia (Callmer 1977, 77, 87, colour pl II, B482ST1), but **C005** has a larger diameter that places it well beyond the definition of this Scandinavian type. While not certainly of early medieval date, in shape this bead bears more resemblance to examples from Anglo-Saxon graves than either Iron Age or Viking beads.

7.2.16 Beads with speckle ('crumb') decoration

C011 From Traprain Law (Illus 7.7), and possibly from part of the site since lost to quarrying, is a dark annular glass bead with red, green, and yellow specks. It is a Guido Type 2xi 'crumb' bead (Guido 1999, 27, 187–8). Their origins remain unclear: while Guido noted they have a 6th-century horizon in England, she compared them to a widely scattered type found mostly in eastern Europe that were most common in the Roman Iron Age but continued into at least the 5th century (Guido 1999, 27). She suggested that Roman soldiers or their camp followers might have introduced them to Britain (Guido 1999, 27), though only one example appears to be known from a pre-6th-century context in England (from Mucking II, dated to the first half of the 5th century; Guido 1999, 187). Crumb beads not included in Guido's schedules are known from graves at West Heslerton (North Yorkshire; gr 60; Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 111, pl 49.C5b) and Sewerby (Hirst 1985, 68, Type C5b). Similar beads are dated to the second half of the 6th century

at Schretzheim (Germany) on the Danube (Hirst 1985, 68). Lagore crannog, Ireland, also produced a bead resembling Guido's crumb group (Hencken 1950, 145, fig 68D), and other similar examples are also known from Ireland (Hencken 1950, 145, n 5).

C018–C020   Three further possible 'crumb' beads are provenanced only to Coulter (Lanarkshire; Illus 7.7; unpublished); they are all dark glass decorated with white and grey irregular spots. They are unusual: no similar beads are discussed in Guido's Iron Age and Roman catalogue, but eight opaque dark beads decorated with irregular spots were included in Guido's Anglo-Saxon Type 2x (Guido 1999, 27, 186–7) and the majority of these feature white or grey spots. They are not a common type and Guido did not attempt discussion of their origin. The identification of the Coulter beads remains very uncertain; analysis might help rule out post-medieval manufacture. Other beads provenanced only to Coulter in NMS collections include a small lobed bead (**C017**) and post-medieval beads (eg NMS, X.FJ 32; X.FJ 30).

7.2.17   Re-used glass vessel sherd

A001.3   The glass vessel rim re-used within the Dalmeny bead group (Illus 7.1, 7.7) has been identified as Roman, from a small tubular-rimmed bowl (Isings Form 44a), c AD70–160/170 (Ingemark 2003, 273–4). While Roman glass is a relatively common find in Anglo-Saxon graves, possibly held in 'amuletic bags' (Meaney 1981, 227), the frequency of re-used Roman glass as beads in Anglo-Saxon graves is less clear. Meaney suggested several occurrences, including a greenish rim sherd from Abingdon (Oxfordshire; Meaney 1981, 228), while Evison cites two examples of folded vessel rims, both from children's graves: Market Lavington (Wiltshire) and Great Chesterford (Essex; Evison 2000, 49). The top of a 2nd-century Roman glass bottle is known from Dunadd (Argyll), and Guido suggested this may likewise have been re-used as a bead (Guido in Lane and Campbell 2000, 176).

0   20mm

C011 Traprain Law, crumb-decorated bead, photograph by the author.

C018 Coulter, crumb-decorated bead, photograph by the author.

A001.3 Dalmeny, re-used Roman vessel rim , photograph by the author.

0   20mm
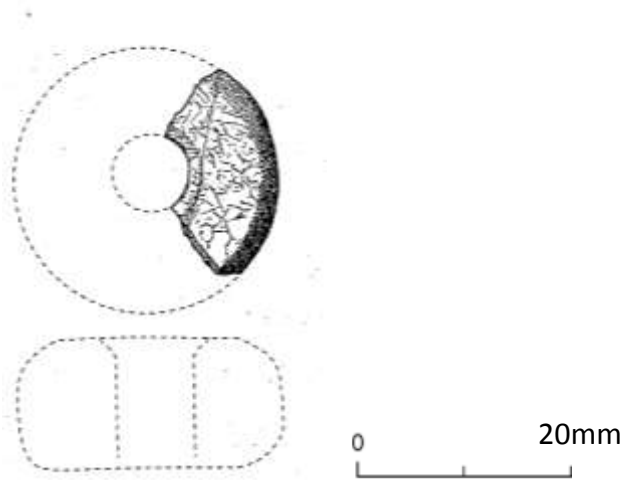
C010 Mote of Mark, crystal bead, after Laing and Longley, 2006, fig 46.

Illus 7.7 Crumb beads, re-used vessel glass and rock crystal bead.

7.2.18   Rock crystal bead

C010   From the backfill of the early excavations at the Mote of Mark is approximately two-thirds of a rock crystal bead with a projected diameter of 24mm, projected perforation diameter of 7mm and bevelled outer and inner edges (Illus 7.7; Laing and Longley 2006, 96, 168, fig 46, no 2009). Crystal beads in Anglo-Saxon graves were cited as parallels (although they are far less common than amber beads) while they are absent from early medieval northern and western Britain (Laing and Longley 2006, 96, 168; Laing 1973, 41). Crystal, amber and jet beads seem to be at their most common in Anglo-Saxon graves dated to the second half of the 6th century (Hirst 1985, 70), although examples are also known from early 7th-century graves, and from a 5th-century grave at Mucking (Huggett 1988, 70). An example from Sewerby (East Yorkshire) seems comparable in form and size to the Mote of Mark bead (Hirst 1985, fig 24 F3); three others from the site are of different form, and this variation is representative of the type in general. Crystal beads, together with amber beads and ivory rings, are imported items with a reasonably wide distribution within Anglo-Saxon England, in contrast to rock crystal balls which are focused on Kent (Huggett 1988, 70, 76, fig 4). Crystal beads were known from four sites north of the Humber at the time of Huggett's study.

7.2.19   Beads: discussion

In Anglo-Saxon graves, beads are predominately associated with female burials and worn as strings around the neck or between brooches; they range from being a small part of a very rich grave assemblage to being the only objects included (as apparently was the case with the string from the cist burial at Dalmeny; **A001**). The recent application of a suite of dating techniques to early Anglo-Saxon graves and grave goods underlined the persistence of beads in female costume during the 6th and 7th centuries (Hines and Bayliss 2013, 520). Two of the bead types that could be formally modelled in that study are found in the Dalmeny string: both appear to be types restricted to the middle of the 7th century (Hines and Bayliss 2003, 359 and 362). The form of bead strings and how they were strung between brooches varied according to period, place and age of the individual

buried (see Walton Rogers 2007, fig 5.49 for sixteen different arrangements), with a general trend away from long strings in migration period burials to necklaces comprised of fewer beads, sometimes combined with pendants and metal rings (Walton Rogers 2007, 193–5). Some of these bead-rings are very similar to wire finger rings, including two from Scotland (**B001** and **B002**). In contrast to the quantities of glass beads, only two pendants have been catalogued from Scotland (see Chapter 6); both are high-status finds with Christian associations: a gold and garnet cross-shaped pendant from Dunbar (**A023**), and a gold filigree disc pendant with probable cross motif from Tynron Doon (**A029**).

Beads are the most common grave find in child burials (Walton Rogers 2007, 217), while large beads could have alternative uses, some as whorls for spinning yarn, some as sword talismans in male graves (although examples identified by Evison were restricted to the south of England; Evison 1967). Metal sword rings have been suggested as symbolic of the bond between lord and retainer, or to indicate an office or status (Evison 1967, 63). While the sword rings are attached to a loop on the pommel, sword beads are usually found at a little distance from the sword, consistent with being suspended from or attached to the sheath. Although Evison saw sword beads and rings as distinct (Evison 1967, 64), it is possible both carried similar symbolic significance. Meaney regarded all Anglo-Saxon beads as having had amuletic potential (Meaney 1981) although others have focused on large or unusual beads and pendant-like objects such as animal teeth, miniature buckets and shield-shaped pendants (Walton Rogers 2007, 128–132). The amuletic properties of beads made from rock crystal and amber, the latter with electro-static properties, were also emphasised by Meaney (1981).

The lack of accompanied burials in Scotland means there is little evidence about the use of beads in dress in the early medieval north, and even whether they were worn as necklaces. Unlike brooches, there is no proxy evidence for their use from sculpture. There is a reference within *Y Gododdin* to a warrior winning amber beads (Clancy 1998, 48, A text, verse 4, line 2; although Koch 1997 translates this more broadly as amber jewellery). Their mention here in amongst numerous references to the appropriate activities and properties of warriors suggests they may have had some martial significance. The possible association of sword beads and lord-retainer relationships suggested in an Anglo-Saxon context is interesting in this context, and four amber beads associated with Anglo-Saxon swords were identified by Meaney in the 1960s (Meaney 1964). Martial associations

might provide context to the widespread use of amber insets on early medieval Insular metalwork, and particularly high-status brooches.

In Anglo-Saxon dress it is the nature of the beads, how they were combined and how they were worn that is distinctive. While conventions are apparent in the composition of Anglo-Saxon bead strings, the opportunity to combine an array of different coloured, shaped and patterned beads in necklaces offered scope for individuality. In this, bead groups may be contrasted with more standardised metalwork. Given that each bead is a single object, necklaces can easily be broken down turned into something quite different, providing opportunity for re-interpretation and use in different ways. Individual beads require no physical alteration to do this – they may simply be used differently – and so they might be seen as more flexible than decorated metalwork and perhaps more readily translatable across social, cultural or political boundaries. This might help explain the relatively high number included in this study.

Translucent blue beads are common to both Anglo-Saxon and non-Anglo-Saxon areas during the early medieval period, a significant overlap which presumably was recognised as such. The beads from the Lothians, the Borders, and Dumfries and Galloway show a variety of bright colours and colour combinations. Many of these bead types can be paralleled by examples from the Northumbrian cemetery at Street House, Cleveland (Sherlock 2008), and in terms of colours appear to be reasonably representative of Northumbrian beads generally.

In contrast, 'dark' glass beads (which appear black but which are made from other colours of glass metal) are proportionally more frequent amongst the bead assemblages from the central-west area of Scotland (five of eight beads), Argyll (two of two beads) and, to a less marked degree, north of the Forth (one of seven beads). In contrast, only two of 14 beads from Dumfries and Galloway and one of 19 from the south-east region are 'dark' (Map 7.3). Guido (1999) dated the majority of her black bead types to the late 5th or 6th centuries meaning that this pattern may have chronological significance. This is likely for the bead from Traprain Law (**C011**), a type found in very late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon contexts, and potentially for the similar beads from Coulter (**C018–C020**).
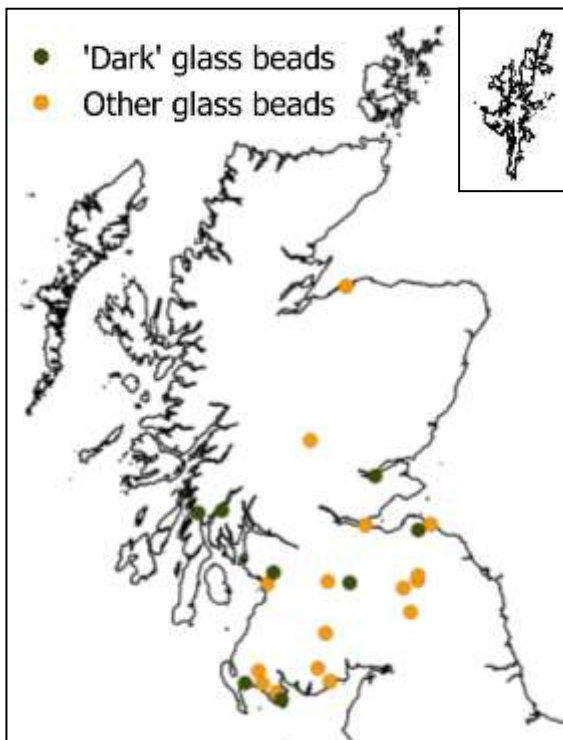
Map 7.3 Distribution of Anglo-Saxon and continental beads from Scotland divided by colour.

As well as chronology, origin appears to be significant: several dark beads are types definitely made on the continent (Buiston, **C001**; Dunadd, **C002**), while several more are possible continental imports (Whithorn, **C023**; Glenluce Sands, **C026**); darkness may therefore be linked with production centre or supply route. However, given that many other brightly coloured beads were also manufactured during this period, choice also seems to have played a role in this apparent preference. This might be a local choice, or it might reflect Anglo-Saxon associations, for instance in indications that specific colours of beads were chosen for swords beads. Of the 19 Anglo-Saxon graves containing sword beads identified by Evison in 1967, 14 were glass, and of these, seven were green, two black, one reticella (green, red, yellow), and one yellow (the colour of the remainder was not noted). One of the beads from Scotland (from Strathlachlan in Argyll, **C021**) resembles a sword bead illustrated by Evison.

7.3   Glass vessels

7.3.1   Glass vessels: introduction

Imported glass vessels found in the Atlantic west of the British Isles have recently been discussed by Campbell (Campbell 2007) who distinguished between different traditions, manufactured in different areas. In addition to imports from the Mediterranean (Campbell's Group A) and Bordeaux region of France (Groups C and D), he identified 'Anglo-Saxon or Germanic tradition' vessels (Group B; Campbell 2007, 54). Group B glass includes a variety of vessel forms found in England and the continent, which occur in a metal distinct from the other imported glass groups (Campbell 2007, 54, 60–4, 73, fig 41). This study has included Campbell's Group B glass (but not his other groups, certainly made on the continent); only a few recent sherds have been added to his published corpus (Map 7.4).

Campbell suggested that most Group B glass arrived in the Atlantic west from eastern England, either via the east coast (for sites in northern and eastern Scotland) or via the Thames Valley and the west coast (for sites like Whithorn and Mote of Mark) (Campbell 2007, 60, 135, fig 48). There appear to be two chronological horizons to the Group B imports found at Scottish sites, each with distinct distributions (Map 7.4). The earliest Group B glass, perhaps dating to the early to mid-6th century appears to be limited to Whithorn, and perhaps the Mote of Mark, in contrast to the much wider distribution of middle-Saxon sherds. There is some evidence to suggest a further intermediate horizon of glass exchange during the 7th century, a period when contacts are more clearly indicated in metalwork at sites like Dunadd. These chronological horizons seem to relate to different trade/exchange mechanisms, explored further below. While the 7th-century and later glass may have arrived via direct exchange with England, this is less likely for the early 6th-century glass at Whithorn – redistribution from the south-west of England and Wales, or arrival direct from the continent is preferred here. Interestingly, only two sites in south-eastern Scotland, Castle Park, Dunbar, and Auldhame have produced glass vessel fragments.
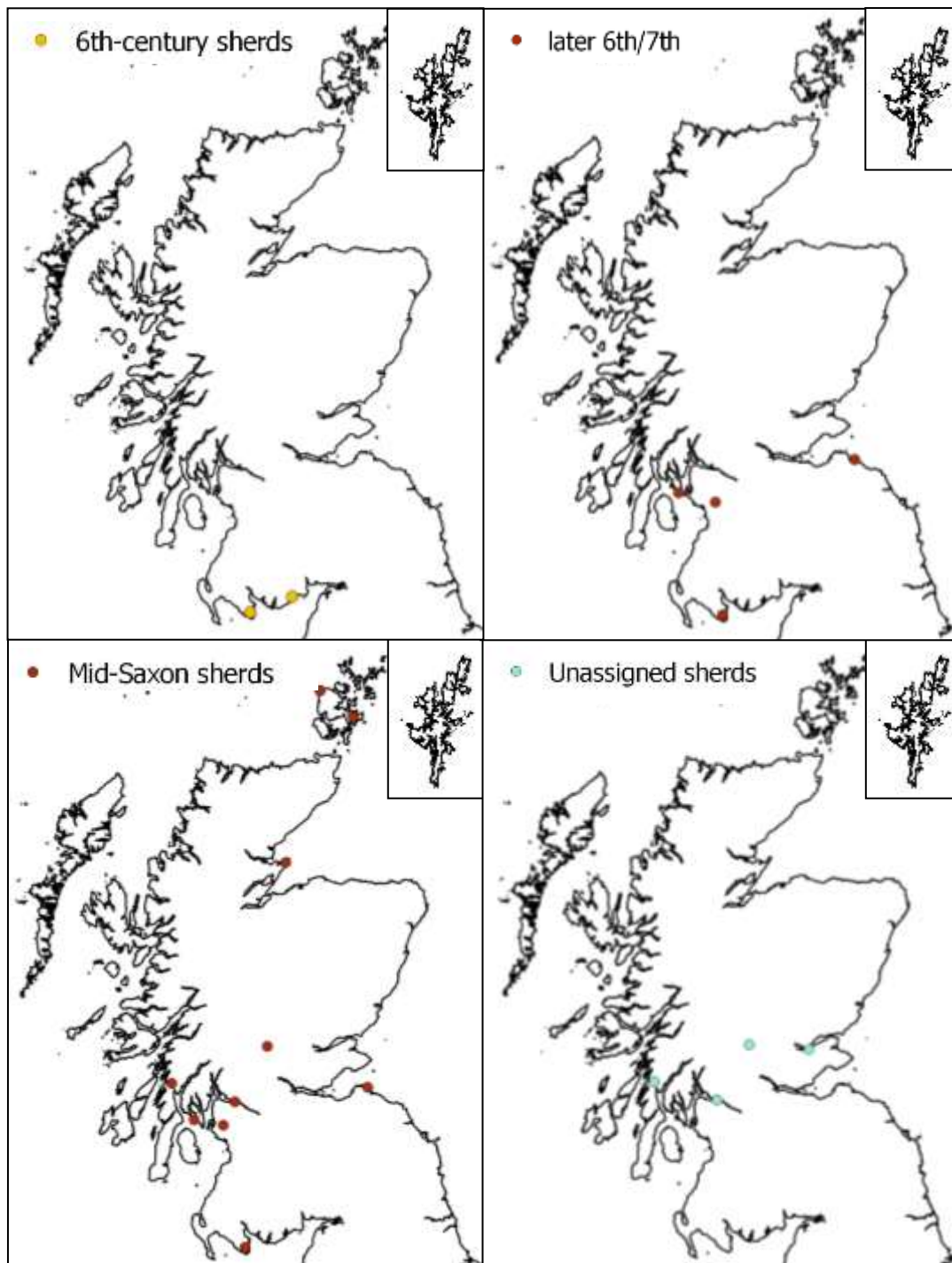
Map 7.4 Distribution of Anglo-Saxon and Group B glass vessel sherds from Scotland, divided by date.

7.3.2   6th- and 7th-century Germanic glass

The earliest identifiable vessel types are claw beakers and Kempston-type cone beakers: in Scotland both are represented only by sherds from Whithorn. Ribbed palm cup sherds are also known from Whithorn, in addition to several possible sherds from the Mote of Mark. Sherds of unidentifiable vessels which are nonetheless likely to be 6th or possibly 7th century in date from Whithorn and the Castle Park, Dunbar are also discussed here.

B035–B037   Whithorn produced sherds from two claw-beakers (Illus 7.8): **B035** (Campbell in Hill 1997, 302, illus 10.5, vessel 12), **B036** (Campbell in Hill 1997, 302, illus 10.5, vessel 11) and **B037** (ibid, illus 10.5, vessel 13). **B035** appears to belong to Evison's Type 3c claw beaker, the most common of the claw groups found in England (Campbell 2007, 60; Evison 2000, 63–5, 75; Evison 1982a). This example has been dated to the 6th century on typological grounds, with the context at Whithorn suggestive of a date early in that century (Campbell 2007, 60; Campbell in Hill 1997, 302). Few Type 3c claw beakers are found in Kent or on the continent suggesting an English centre for production, perhaps in East Anglia (Evison 2000, 55). None are otherwise recognised from north of the Humber, but several sherds have been identified at Dinas Powys in Wales (Campbell 2007, 60–1). **B036** is a similar colour to a claw beaker from Dinas Powys but is too small to assign to any subtype (Campbell 2007, 60). **B037** might either be a sherd from a claw beaker, or a Kempston-type cone.

C032, C033   The second identifiable early vessel type is the Kempston cone, which makes an appearance in England early in the 5th century, and becomes most numerous during the 5th and 6th centuries (Evison 2000, 62). **C032** was from a disturbed context at Whithorn, but may have been deposited slightly later than the claw beaker **B047** (Illus 7.8; Campbell in Hill 1997, 302, illus 10.5, vessel 14). **C033** was from a context suggestive of a late 6th/7th-century date, but was stratigraphically earlier than most of the E ware (ibid, illus 10.5, vessel 15). In England, Kempston-type cones are known from Kent, Sussex, the Thames Valley, together with a few further north, including at Barton-on-Humber (Evison 2000, 62). On the continent their distribution is centred in the middle Rhine valley, with isolated finds in northern France, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, and other parts of Germany (Evison 2000, 62). On the basis of these distributions they appear to have been produced both in the Rhineland and in Kent (Evison 2000, 62). However, the colour of **C032** may link it to a group probably produced in northern France and Belgium, and perhaps also imported to Cassington (Oxfordshire) and Alfriston (Sussex; Evison 2000, 62). Other Kempston-type cones from the Atlantic west are known from Cadbury Congresbury and possibly from Cadbury Castle. As noted above, **B037** might possibly be from a Kempston-cone rather than a claw beaker, as might **C053**.
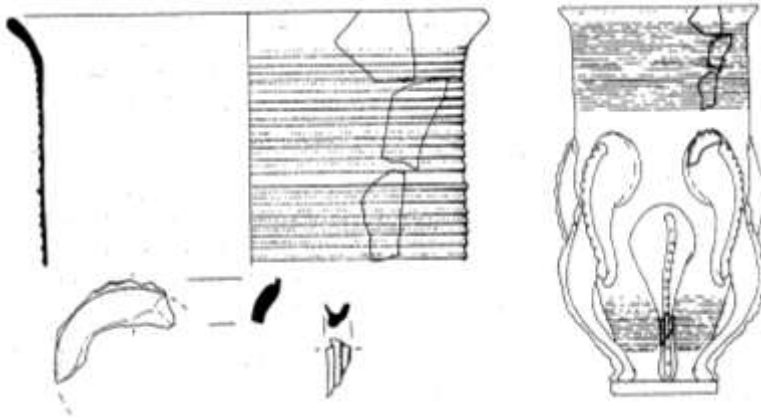
B035 Whithorn, claw-beaker sherds, after Campbell 2007, fig 41.
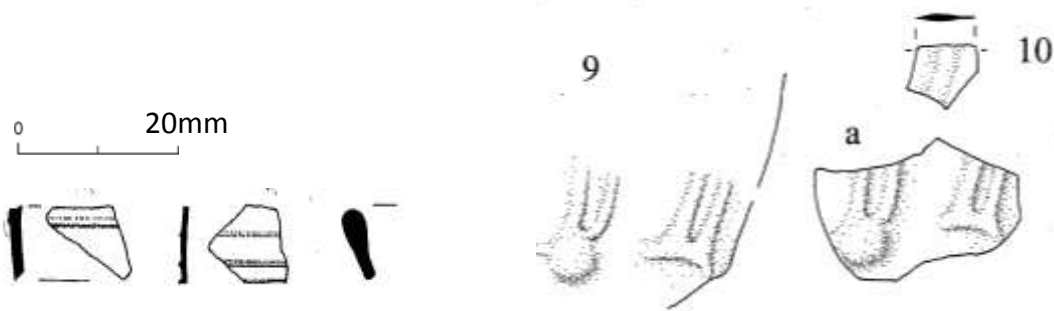
C032 C033 Whithorn, Kempston-type cone sherds, after Hill 1997, fig 10.5.

C035 C036 Whithorn, ribbed palm-cup sherd, after Hill 1997, fig 10.5.
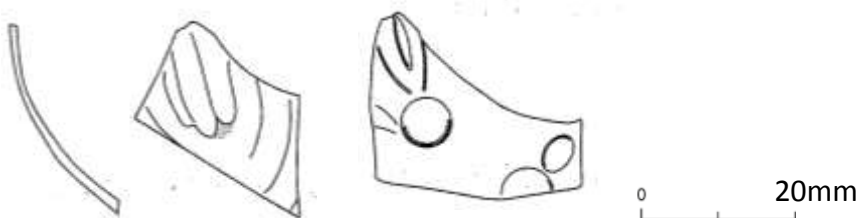
C037 C038 Mote of Mark, ribbed palm-cup sherds, after Laing Longley 2006, fig 50.
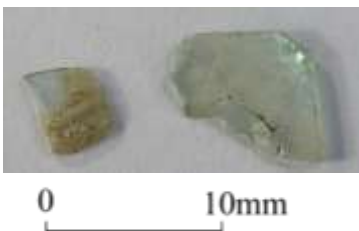
C068 C069 Dunbar, unassigned vessel sherds, photograph by author.

C045 Buiston sherds, after Crone 2000, fig 140.

Illus 7.8 Early Group B glass sherds: claw-beaker, Kempston-cone and palm-cup.

C035, **C036**   Whithorn has produced the only confidently identified palm cup sherds in the Atlantic west (Illus 7.8): eight sherds from a single vessel (**C035**; Campbell in Hill 1997, 301–2, illus 10.5, vessel 9), and a sherd from another possible palm cup (**C036**; ibid, illus 10.5, vessel 10). Ribbed palm cups appear on the continent and in England during the 6th century (Evison 2000, 68); the stratigraphy here suggests the first half of the 6th century, with a further sherd contemporary with deposits producing E ware (stratigraphy reassessed in Campbell 2007, 62, figs 74 and 76). These ribbed palm cups (as opposed to plain cups, Evison's Types 56–60) have a restricted distribution in England centred on Kent (Evison 2000, 75–6).

C037, **C038**   Other palm cup sherds are known from old excavations at the Mote of Mark (Illus 7.8; Campbell in Laing and Longley 2006, 104–5, 122; vessel 17, cat no 1253, and vessel 18, cat no 1259); both are effectively unstratified. They are from a ribbed vessel, similar to **C035** from Whithorn. Possible plain palm-cup sherds are known from Dalkey Island (Co Dublin) and Lagore but both appear to be 7th/8th century (Campbell 2007, 62) and are probably unrelated to the Whithorn and Mote of Mark examples. None are known from south-west England or Wales.

C052   From Whithorn is a sherd from an unidentifiable vessel, which was assigned to Group B by Campbell on the basis of its fabric and or colour (Campbell in Hill 1997, 303, vessel 17). It came from a Period I/4, pre-Northumbrian context, though Campbell's recent reassessment of the stratigraphy suggests a possible 7th-century date, contemporary with deposits producing E ware (Campbell 2007, 106–7, figs 74 and 76).

C053   Campbell suggested this sherd from Whithorn may be from a Kempston-type beaker (Campbell in Hill 1997, 302–3, vessel 16; see **C032**, **C033**), although the colour is also found in later, mid-Saxon vessels and he ultimately regarded it as from an

unidentifiable vessel. It was from a Northumbrian period wall trench but may have been displaced from earlier material.

C068, **C069**   Two sherds identified during the course of this thesis from Castle Park, Dunbar (Illus 7.8) are probably from early Group B vessels. Unfortunately both are small and of uncertain vessel form. The first and most likely sherd (**C068**; Perry 2000, 162, cat no 518, SF 528) is very thin, clear glass with a single narrow trail of the same coloured glass, found in a Phase 8 (Northumbrian-period) context. The second sherd (**C069**; ibid, 162, cat no 520, SF 383) is slightly thicker with a slight curvature and no trails or decoration. It is less diagnostic and was found in a soil deposit (Phase 6) that marked the interface between the Iron Age and Northumbrian phases, though there was significant disturbance at the site.

C034   From Little Dunagoil (Argyll; not illustrated; Campbell 2007, 61–2, table 14 electronic appendix, cat no G380) is a bodysherd of deep blue glass with applied trail, possibly from a cone beaker with trails, though the sherd is too small to be certain. It is one of a number of deep blue sherds recognised in the Atlantic west that belong to Campbell's group B glass, though none can be attributed to specific forms. Deep blue vessels appear to have been distributed from Kent in the 7th century, and outside this kingdom they are confined to high-status sites, suggesting perhaps that they may have been diplomatic gifts (Campbell 2007, 61). Other deep blue sherds are known from the south-west of England (eg Cadbury Congresbury), Wales (eg Dinas Powys), and Ireland, although some of these may in fact belong to Campbell's Group A, Mediterranean glass (Campbell 2007, 61).

C045   From Buiston are three sherds of a bi-chrome vessel in pale apple-green with pale red streaks (Illus 7.8; Campbell in Crone 2000, 140, fig 140, a). One is a rim with a shape suggestive of a beaker or cup. Bichrome vessels became prominent during the 8th and 9th centuries, but began by the beginning of the 7th century as revealed by this sherd which is securely dendrodated to AD 598/604 (Campbell 2007, 63).

7.3.3   Mid-Saxon glass

Major technological developments produced an improved fabric and a new range of colours in mid-Saxon glass (Campbell 2007, 64; Evison 2000, 85–6). The end of accompanied burials means that far less information about vessel forms is available compared with the earlier period, and much of the mid-Saxon glass survives only as small sherds from settlement sites (Evison 2000, 78). The sherds from Scottish sites are also very small, and cannot be assigned to specific vessel forms, but the range of bright and strong colours, including blue-green, emerald, red and black, are not found in earlier glass in England or on the continent, meaning they can be identified with some confidence (Campbell 2007, 63).

C041–C044, C046–C051 Campbell grouped these sherds together in his discussion of Group B Germanic tradition glass, as their deep and stronger colours are characteristic of the mid-Saxon period (Campbell 2007, 63). They are from Whithorn (Whithorn (**C041**, **C042**; Price and Hill in Hill 1997, 314–5, vessel 81; Campbell in Hill 1997, 308, illus 10.8, vessel 52); Dumbarton Rock (Dunbartonshire; **C043**; Campbell 2007, 63, table 14 e-appendix, cat no G127); Dundurn (Perthshire; **C044**; ibid, cat no G142; Alcock et al 1989, 216); Birsay (Orkney; **C046–C049**; Curle 1982, 121; Hunter 1986, 46); Castlehill (Ayrshire; **C050**; Campbell 2007, 63, pl 28, table 14 e-appendix, cat no G64; Smith 1919, 127) and Dunadd (**C051**; Campbell 2007, 63, pl 28, table 14 e-appendix, cat no G137). Parallels for the colours and metal can be found in mid-Saxon high-status contexts and particularly at York, Barking Abbey and Brandon (Campbell 2007, 64).

C051 Dunadd, mid-Saxon sherd, after Campbell 2007, pl 29.

C046 Birsay, mid-Saxon sherd, after Campbell 2007, pl 29.

C047 Birsay, mid-Saxon sherd, after Campbell 2007, pl 29.

C040 Birsay, reticella-decorated sherd, after Campbell 2007, pl 26, copyright Trustees of National Museums Scotland

C055 Portmahomack, reticella-decorated sherd, after Carver et al 2016, ill 6.5.

A032 Auldhame, inkwell sherds, copyright Trustees of National Museums Scotland.

Illus 7.9 Mid-Saxon glass vessel sherds.

C063   Since publication of his corpus of imported items, Campbell identified a further sherd from Mine Howe as belonging to his Germanic Group B glass (not illustrated; Campbell forthcoming). Whilst small and decayed, its dark colour is characteristic of mid-Saxon glass and vessels from Carolingian contexts (Evison 1982b). The dark colour and marvered white trails can be paralleled individually, but the combination in a single vessel is less easy to match, not surprising given the small and fragmentary corpus of middle Saxon glass (Campbell forthcoming). Black glass does not appear among deeper colours found in contemporary Scandinavian glass (ibid). A remoter possibility is that the sherd is from an Islamic vessel: one of dark glass with white trails is known from Britain, but it has combed rather than swag decoration (ibid).

C039, **C040**, **C055**, **C031** Four reticella-decorated vessel sherds have been identified by Campbell. They come from Whithorn (**C039**; Price and Hill in Hill 1997, 314–5, illus 10.12, vessel 83) Brough of Birsay (**C040**; Illus 7.9; Campbell 2007, 63, pl 26, table 14 e-appendix, cat no G7), Portmahomack (**C055**; Illus 7.9; Campbell 2007, table 14, e-appendix, cat no G385) and Inchmarnock (**C031**; Campbell pers comm; misidentified in Lowe 2008). Reticella-decorated vessels are known from late 7th- to 9th-century contexts at sites in England, northern Europe and Scandinavia (Price and Hill in Hill 1997, 314). Many of the British contexts are monastic – including three of the four Scottish find spots. However, they are also found on secular settlement sites such as London, York, Ipswich and Hamwic. They may have been manufactured at sites like *Hamwic* (Hunter & Heyworth 1998), though unused reticella rods have also been found at western monastic sites such as Iona and Armagh, perhaps suggesting a role in manufacture (Campbell unpublished report).

A032   The glass inkwell sherds from Auldhame (Illus 7.9) are an important new find (Campbell in Crone and Hindmarch 2016). Anglo-Saxon inkwells have only recently been recognised as a type, and only a handful of examples are known from England (ibid;

Evison 2000, 82). All the known examples from England are from 8th- or 9th-century contexts, with four sherds from monastic contexts at Lurk Lane, Beverley (Henderson in Armstrong et al 1991, 126, no 217), and Brandon (Evison 2000, 82, fig 14c, d). Two further examples are known from the Six Dials area of *Hamwic* (Hunter and Heyworth 1998, 16, pl 5, fig 13, 24/510, and pl 8, fig 13, 169/770) where inkwells were perhaps produced or traded. One of the *Hamwic* examples features a similar colour scheme to the Auldhame inkwell, generally characteristic of middle-Saxon glass. Other examples are darker blue or black, with and without yellow trails (Campbell in Crone and Hindmarch 2016).

7.3.4   Unassigned Group B glass

In addition to the identifiable early forms of vessel and the distinctly bright later sherds, Campbell identified a group of Group B sherds which he could not assign to a vessel form or precise chronological horizon. This includes several undiagnostic sherds from Dunadd (**C056**, **C057** from Craw's early excavations (Campbell 2007, table 14, e-appendix, cat nos G135 and 139) and a sherd from Clatchard Craig (**C061**; ibid, G65; Hunter in Close-Brooks 1986, 167, illus 29, 119) which has no find context information. Two sherds from Dumbarton Rock (**C059**, **C060**) do not certainly belong to Group B, and are part of a larger assemblage of glass from the site which probably includes significantly later material (Campbell pers comm). A dark olive-green sherd from Dundurn (**C058**; Campbell 2007, table 14, e-appendix, cat no G141; Alcock et al 1989, 216) was suggested to be 7th century or later and perhaps from a cone beaker, although these become rare in England after the 6th century. Its context was carbon dated to 580–780AD (ibid).

7.3.5   Glass vessels: discussion

Glass sherds from the Celtic west were thought to have arrived as cullet until Campbell demonstrated that they were from vessels used on sites. Campbell proposed Group B glass at Whithorn, Dunadd, Mote of Mark and Buiston arrived overland via Northumbria (Campbell 2007, 73). Whilst likely for 7th-century and later glass from Buiston, Dunadd and Dumbarton, this explanation is less satisfactory for the earliest Group B glass from

Whithorn which have potentially early 6th-century deposition contexts. There are no equivalent vessel-types recognised from Northumbria (although see the newly recognised sherds from Dunbar, of uncertain vessel type).

The early 6th-century context of the **B047** claw beaker and the **C035** palm cup sherds suggests they arrived before E ware pottery (from the late 6th century but with a *floruit* in the 7th, Campbell 2007, 41, 46) and around the same time as various kinds of Mediterranean pottery and glass (Group A; Campbell 2007, 26). Campbell argued that although in contemporary contexts, it was unlikely that Group B glass and Mediterranean pottery imports were transported in the same cargoes because of the absence of latter in England (Campbell 2007, 73). The distribution of Mediterranean pottery and glass in the British Isles is heavily weighted towards south-western England, with only a very limited occurrence in Scotland that is clearly centred on Whithorn (Campbell 2007, figs 8, 13, 16, 83), suggesting a primary trade in Mediterranean wares with south-western England and Wales and redistribution north up the west coast to Whithorn. However, this redistribution mechanism via south-western Britain might also explain the early glass at Whithorn. Anglo-Saxon glass found in Wales and south-western England has been suggested to have arrived via an overland route along the Thames Valley from eastern England (Campbell 2007, 73; Campbell 1989). Other material that appears to indicate contact between the south-west of England, Wales and the south-west of Scotland includes Type G penannular brooches; Dickinson regarded a penannular brooch from Luce Sands as belonging to a distinctively Welsh and south-western group (Dickinson 1982, 52).

While the claw beakers appear to have been manufactured in south-eastern England, perhaps East Anglia, the Kempston-type beakers (**C032**, **C033**) and palm cups (**C035–C038**) have distributions more focused on Kent and the continent, suggesting dual production centres in both areas. It is possible that the Whithorn palm cups were manufactured in Kent and, as was suggested for claw beakers, travelled via the Thames Valley and the south-west before arriving in Whithorn. However, unlike the other vessels discussed above, no examples have been identified from south-west England or Wales. A Kempston-type beaker from Cassington in Oxfordshire is a similar colour to the Whithorn sherd and might support a Thames Valley route. However, this specific group of pale yellow-green Kempston beakers appear to have been produced in northern France and

Germany and imported to England (Evison 2000, 62). It is therefore possible that the Whithorn vessel arrived from the continent direct, rather than via England. Against this, objects from the Rhineland are not a recognised feature of trade networks in Mediterranean and continental imports to the Atlantic west. A single phial from a 6th-century context at Whithorn (Campbell 2007, 62–3) might have arrived from the continent; only larger bottles are found in Anglo-Saxon contexts (Campbell 2007, 62) and other examples from the Atlantic west are from 7th-century contexts in Ireland. Phials and bottles are found in Frankish burials and in Late Antique contexts in the south of France and Mediterranean (Campbell 2007, 62).

Other possibly relevant material might include glass beads, specifically from Whithorn the black bead decorated with white wave (**C023**). Similar beads are found in Anglo-Saxon graves largely dating to the 5th and 6th centuries, but are almost certainly imports from the continent, with known examples including beads from the lower Rhine, Belgium and Trier. This might provide evidence of other objects imported from further east in northern France or Germany than the Bordeaux-centred trade in E ware and glass vessels. This material might have been imported via a distinct, but roughly contemporary, trade, although the numbers make it more likely that a small number of objects of diverse origins were brought alongside first the Mediterranean and then continental pottery and glass.

Two further possible palm-cup sherds are known from the Mote of Mark (**C037** and **C038**), the only Group B vessel types known from site. The Mote of Mark and Whithorn share a number of vessel types that are otherwise rare, suggesting they enjoyed contemporary supply by the same merchants or that some relationship existed between them, perhaps as part of a re-distribution system along the Solway coast (Campbell in Laing and Longley 2006, 113). The only Mediterranean imports from the site were two joining sherds of a Bi (LR2) amphora, which Campbell argued was not sufficient to indicate participation in the earlier phase of imports. Campbell (and Laing and Longley) see no evidence to suggest occupation at Mote of Mark before the mid-6th century which makes participation in the earliest redistribution from Whithorn problematic. The interlace-decorated moulds from Mote of Mark (see Chapter 6) can be paralleled on material from both Anglo-Saxon England and the continent (Laing and Longley 2006, 154); Laing and Longley argued the interlace arrived indirectly via Anglo-Saxon England (Laing

and Longley 2006, 153. The glass sherds raise the possibility that contact with the continent may also be a legitimate explanation. Three glass beads (**C027–C029**) from the site can be roughly paralleled by examples discussed by Brugmann that occur in Anglo-Saxon England but which have their main distribution on the continent.

More securely dated evidence for 7th-century glass exchange exists in the green sherd with red streaks from Buiston which was excavated from a context securely dated to some time between 598 and 604. Buiston has also produced two glass beads likely to be continental imports (**C001**, **C003**) and rare finds in England. The glass sherds from Dunadd are less closely datable and lack any contextual information, though one is distinctive bright turquoise metal, a colour found in glass beads in 7th-century Anglo-Saxon graves (see **A001.8**). Dunadd lacks earlier imported pottery or other finds securely datable to the 6th century, while other material from the site attests to contacts with Anglo-Saxon England. The sherd from Little Dunagoil (**C034**) appears to be a distinctly 7th-century blue metal found in vessels largely restricted to Kent, and perhaps exchanged beyond this as diplomatic gifts (Campbell 2007, 61). Finally, the sherd from Dundurn (**B078**) Campbell regards as 7th century or later and its context was carbon dated to 580–780AD suggesting it too may relate to an intermediate period of glass exchange.

The later vessels of mid-Saxon date were imported to the Atlantic west on a greater scale than has previously been appreciated. They may have travelled via several routes overland and perhaps along the eastern seaboard from England (Campbell 2007, 64, 73). The inkwell sherds from the coastal site of Auldhame in East Lothian (Campbell in Crone and Hindmarch 2017) support this.

Some glass vessels have been suggested to play a role in political relations and gift exchange. However, this review of the Scottish glass sherds suggests that they predominately fall into two groups. The earliest glass, from the 6th century, may have arrived in Scotland via redistribution from south-western Britain or the continent rather than through direct contact with the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Ecclesiastical relations may have played a role in the arrival of the later group of middle Saxon vessels, although developing trading links have also been suggested. The best case for political relationships bringing glass vessels belongs to the intermediate group of sherds, from sites like Dunadd and Buiston.

7.4   Window glass

A075   Whithorn produced the first recognised early medieval window glass from Scotland (not illustrated; Cramp in Hill 1997). Other important assemblages include Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, Escomb, Beverly, Brandon, Barking, Dacre, Flixborough, Repton and Glastonbury (Cramp in Hill 1997, 327). The largest Northumbrian assemblage is from Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, and the glass from Whithorn is closely comparable in terms of its appearance and colour range (ibid). Window glass has long been assumed to indicate the presence of stone buildings, but the 132 fragments from Whithorn, together with a sherd from topsoil overlying timber buildings at Thirlings, and glass associated with timber buildings at Brandon suggests this may be misguided (Cramp in Hill 1997, 328). The lack of lead calmes from Whithorn may indicate the windows were also fixed using wooden frames. Though the Whithorn sherds were from various contexts (see Cramp in Hill 1997, fig 10.25, and table 4.9), there was some correlation between their distribution and the location of wooden buildings. A particular concentration of rich coloured sherds came from a restricted area along the south and east walls of the burial chapel, hinting at a particularly impressive coloured window (ibid).

Chapter 8   Weaving equipment, functional metalwork, weapons, and coins

8.1   Introduction

This chapter deals with clay loom weights and bone pin beaters (section 8.2), styli (8.3), chest-fittings (8.4), inscribed stone and bone (8.5), spearheads (8.6), other weapons (8.7) and coins (8.8) included in the catalogue. The distribution of the finds covered in this chapter is presented in Map 8.1.
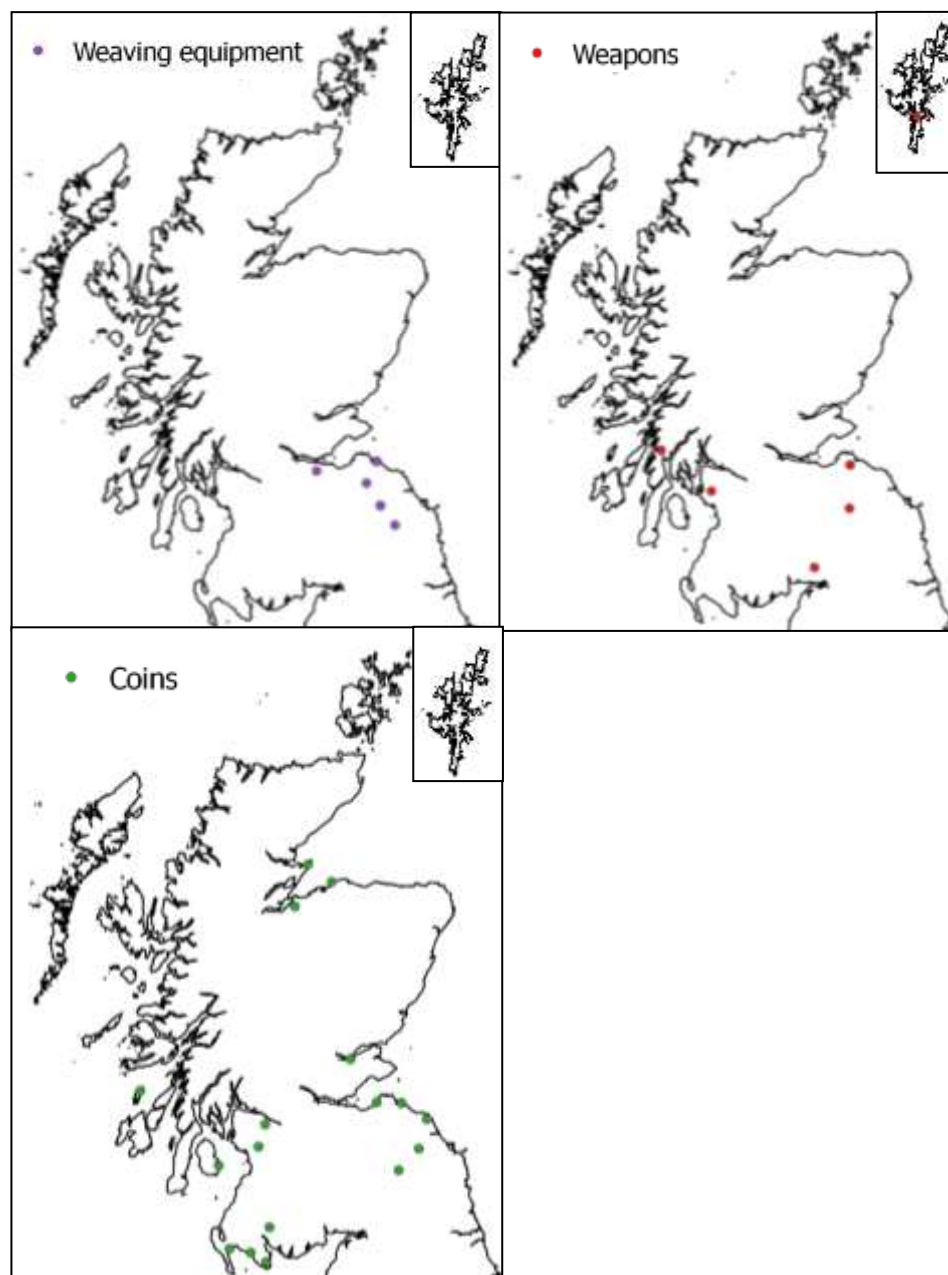
Map 8.1 Distribution of Anglo-Saxon or continental weaving equipment, weapons and coins from Scotland.

8.2 Weaving equipment

8.2.1 Weaving equipment: introduction

The loom weights included here are all formed of clay and comprise the large assemblages from Castle Park, Dunbar (East Lothian; 19 complete examples plus fragments; **A024**), and Ratho Quarry (Midlothian; 68 weights; **A025**), together with five fragments excavated from Longformacus (**B061**; Scottish Borders), two possible weights recovered as stray finds from Sourhope (**B029**) and Chapelhaugh (**B030**), and a group of four stray weights from a single location at Stichill (all Scottish Borders; **B031–B034**). The assemblages from Dunbar and Ratho have been included in section **A** of the catalogue because of their association with *Grubenhäuser* structures, while the identification of stray weights (**B029–B034**) is more tentative. Four pin beaters from Dunbar (**B044–B047**) are also discussed here (section 8.2.3).

8.2.2 Loom weights

A024   A large assemblage of weights was excavated from Castle Park, Dunbar from contexts suggested to date to the 6th/7th centuries (Illus 8.1; Perry 2000, 165–7). While loom weights should not be used to securely date sites or features (Hedges 1980, 91), some chronological trends have been identified. The annular form is the earliest of the three types, occurring in early settlement sites, whereas the intermediate form occurs at Mucking in a 6th-century context and becomes established during the 7th century, followed by bun-shaped weights in the 8th century (Walton Rogers 2007, 30). The Dunbar weights are primarily of the intermediate form. It seems likely that weight forms overlapped, as indicated by several intermediate weights from 11th–12th-century contexts at York (and as such fairly cautious date ranges have been suggested for **B029–B034** below).
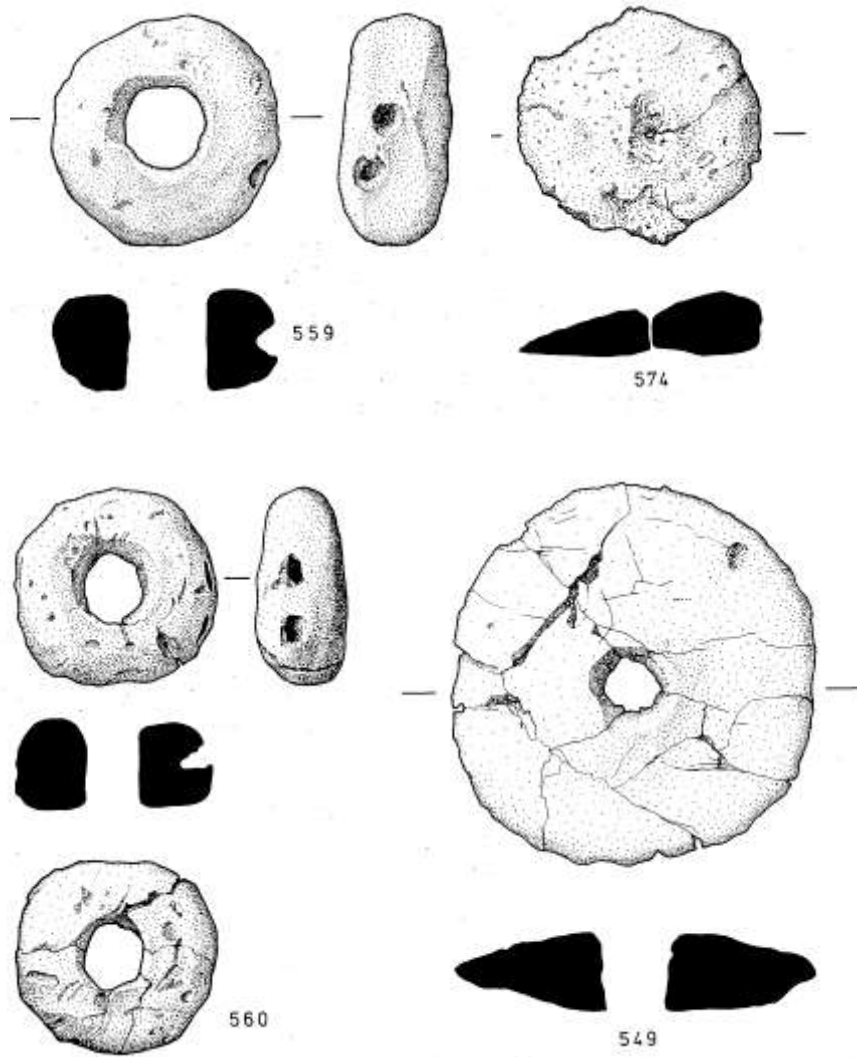
A024 Dunbar, selection of clay loom weights, after Perry 2000, illus 107.
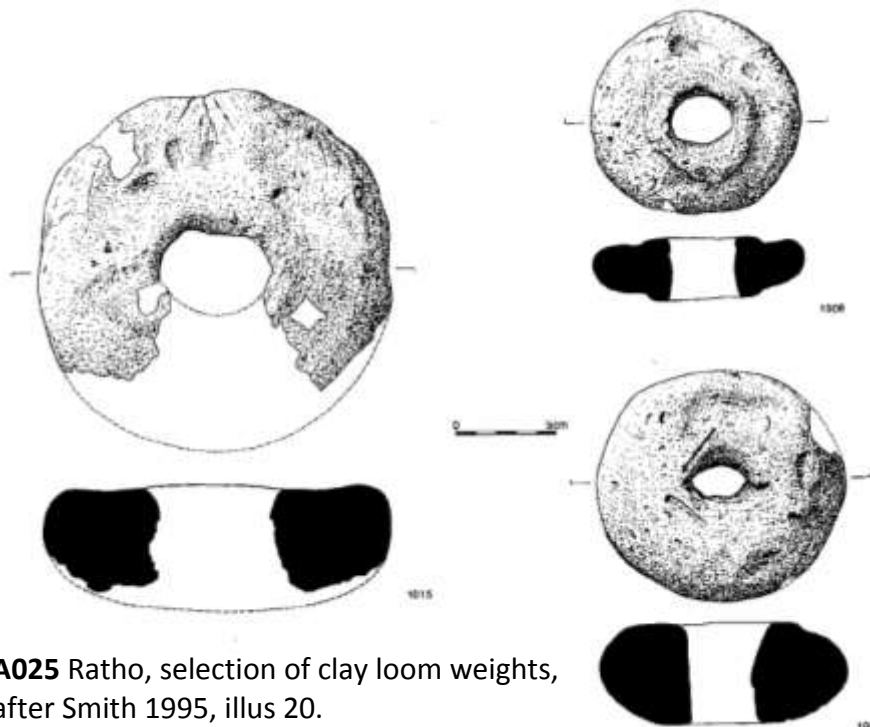
A025 Ratho, selection of clay loom weights, after Smith 1995, illus 20.

Illus 8.1 Loom weights from Dunbar and Ratho.

Three weights from Dunbar each have a pair of depressions, perhaps made by fingers. Two of these show clear wear marks, and the position of the depressions in relation to the wear marks is the same on both examples. The function of these depressions is unclear. Perry remarked that if they served a function, perhaps for the insertion of weight-increasing plugs, they should be expected to be centrally placed in relation to the wear marks, rather than 90 degrees away (Perry 2000, 165–7).

A025　A substantial assemblage of intermediate weights is known from excavations of a *Grubenhäus* at Ratho Quarry (Midlothian; Illus 8.1; Norton and McSween in Smith 1995, 106–8, illus 20, Appendix 4, 133–4). Several have deep impressions which the excavators suggested might have resulted from the loss of inclusions; a weight from Dunbar has a rounded circular inclusion of bright red clay, which might, if lost produce a similar depression. Complete examples range between 225g–1330g, with the majority 400g–900g. Some variation in both the shape and section was noted.

B061　Five fragments of clay weights were amongst the excavation assemblage of Fallago Rig, Longformacus (Scottish Borders; not illustrated), excavated by CFA (pers comm Melanie Johnson). The fragments were not examined and their form was not discussed in the unpublished finds report. Too little information about the rest of the assemblage was available to justify inclusion within the current catalogue, but it includes a sherd compared by the excavator to Anglo-Saxon pottery, a bead tentatively identified as an Anglo-Saxon type but regarded here as undiagnostic, and an iron knife blade.

B030　A further intermediate weight of fine reddish fabric from Chapelhaugh (Scottish Borders; Illus 8.2) has a partially surviving lip around the perforation on one face (Aliaga-Kelly 1986, fig 11.3). This can be paralleled by one of the weights from Ratho (**A025**) (Smith 1995, 107, illus 20, Appendix 4, no 1008), although this has a lip on both faces.

B030 Chapelhaugh, clay loom weight, photograph by author.

B029 Sourhope, clay loom weight, photograph by author.

B031 Stichill, clay loom weights, photographs by author.

B047 Dunbar, bone pin beater, after Perry 2000, illus 105.

Illus 8.2 Loom weights from Chapelhaugh, Sourhope and Stichill, and pin beater from Dunbar.

B029, **B031**   Bun-shaped weights were recovered as stray finds from two further sites in the Scottish Borders: Sourhope (Illus 8.2; Laing 1973a, 46, fig 2) and Stichill (Illus 8.3; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996, 5). The Sourhope weight is of a coarse fabric and has a ring of relatively evenly placed small circular depressions around the perforation on one face. As yet this has no parallel.

8.2.3   Pin-beaters

B044–B047   Four complete double-pointed bone pin-beaters were excavated from Castle Park, Dunbar (Illus 8.2; Perry 2000, 156, cat nos 454, 455, 457, 458). Pin beaters were used to pick individual warp threads for forming patterns or for beating up specific areas of the weft.

8.2.4   Weaving equipment: discussion

Circular clay loom weights for use with a warp-weighted loom (Walton Rogers 2007, fig 2.21) appear on the continent during the later Roman Iron Age and seem to have been introduced to England during the early Anglo-Saxon period (Walton Rogers 2007, 30). The groups of weights from Dunbar and Ratho were either associated with or excavated from within the interior of sunken floored *Grubenhäuser* structures. The association between sunken floored buildings and weaving is well recognised at Anglo-Saxon sites in England, such as New Berwick (Northumberland; Gates and O'Brien 1988), Eriswell (Suffolk; Walton Rogers 2007, 32), Upton (Northamptonshire; Walton Rogers 2007, fig 2.24) and Mucking (Essex; ibid, 32). Sunken-floored buildings have been interpreted as temporary structures used for craft production, including weaving. No evidence for a loom was recovered from either Dunbar or Ratho, though at Grimeston End, Pakenham (Suffolk) weights alone were interpreted as the remains of a loom, burnt down with the building (Walton Rogers 2007, 32). The combined mass of a full set of loom weights makes storage close to where they were used likely. At Upton, weights appear to have been stored within the sunken-floored structure on a wooden pole. At Castle Park, Dunbar weights were recovered from both within the sunken-floored structure and on the ground outside

its west wall (Perry 2000, 165), possibly indicating storage immediately outside the building. The excavators identified a probable loom weight manufacturing area within the sunken-floored structure, where clay discs and partially formed weights were recovered.

While loom weights vary in shape, the only functionally crucial factor is their mass, linked to the weight of cloth produced. At Flixborough, light weights of c 200g suggest the production of fine textiles (Walton Rogers 2007, 31). Anglo-Saxon loom weights range between 100g–1460g, with the majority between 150g–550g (Walton Rogers 2007, 31). The loom weights from Ratho Quarry range between 225g–1330g, with the majority between 400–900g (based on estimated weights in Smith 1995, Appendix 4). At Dunbar the weights of complete examples range between 226g–1243g, with three examples over a kilogram, and the majority between 300g–500g (Perry 2000, 165–7). Loom weights would be most commonly used in sets of even weights, although theoretically a set comprising different mass weights could be accommodated by tying proportionally more warp threads to the heaviest examples (Norton and McSween in Smith 1995, 107). If the weights were suspended on a pole, as the weaver of the reconstructed Orkney hood found helpful (Wood nd, 4), the mass of individual examples would matter less. At Ratho, several groups of similar mass weights were noted, including a line of six weights (plus fragments) of between 508g and 630g (except for one 255g weight; Norton and McSween in Smith 1995, 107).

The loom weights considered here vary in the extent and evenness of firing; examples from sites in England demonstrate that both fired and unfired (but dried) examples were used. The numbers of unfired examples from sites like Mucking and West Heslerton (Yorkshire) suggest that unbaked weights were commonly used in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Walton Rogers 2007, 32). Several sites, such as Eriswell, have produced unevenly fired weights; here and at Dunbar, this was interpreted as a result of the accidental burning of the building (Walton Rogers 2007, 32; Perry 2000, 165).

Pre-Roman Iron Age weaving used a warp-weighted loom with different shaped weights. In the Roman period, a non-weight using two-beam vertical loom was introduced but there is then virtually no evidence for its use again until the 10th century (Walton Rogers 2007). The use of annular clay weights in England has been seen as indicative of a new technology with substantial social implications including a shift from single-person to

communal weaving; surveys from 18th-century Sweden indicated that women spent as much as eight months a year making textiles with more efficient technology than was available in the early medieval period, giving an indication of the impact on this change (Walton Rogers 2007, 9). Several studies of post-Roman textile production do include Scotland, but limited evidence compared with England has meant proportionally it has received far less attention, hindering evaluation of whether weaving-associated objects can be regarded as culturally diagnostic. Possible loom pegs were excavated from Buiston crannog (Crone 2000, 121) and clay weights from Wales suggest they may not be as distinctive as has been assumed (pers comm Campbell; Parkhouse in Robinson 1988, 63, fig 26, cat no 11; Edwards and Lane 1988, 30; Varley 1976, fig 2). However, in Scotland, they are the only Anglo-Saxon object type confined to the south-east, within 7th-century Bernicia.

Some have suggested that ancillary weaving equipment was exclusively used with particular loom types (Walton Rogers 2007) and therefore can indicate which loom was in use. Double-ended pin beaters (**B044–B047**) have been linked exclusively with the warp-weighted loom and single-ended beaters with the two-beam vertical loom (Walton Rogers 2001, 159, 162), though there is no obvious practical reason why this should be so. There is a correlation between double-ended pin beaters and annular clay loom weights, with both occurring almost exclusively in Anglo-Saxon contexts, but it is not clear what equivalent tool was used elsewhere. Other objects used in textile manufacture like spindle whorls and weaving plaques are common to both areas; while Anglo-Saxon spindle whorls have been typologised (Hedges 1980; Walton Rogers 2007, 23–6), the shape or material type is not indicative of date or cultural association, with similar shapes found in the medieval period. As such, no examples are included in this catalogue.

8.3   Styli

8.3.1 Styli: introduction

Two styli are included in this catalogue, one a stray find from Peebles, the second excavated from the monastic site at Whithorn.

8.3.2 Styli finds

A022   From Peebles (Scottish Borders; Illus 8.3; unpublished) is a metal-detected find of a copper-alloy stylus with a triangular eraser and round-sectioned shaft. The shaft swells slightly below the mid-point either side of a double-moulded collar. The shaft tapers below this to a tip which is splintered. There is a further, more distinct double-moulded collar on the shaft below the eraser. Remains of possible incised lines survive on one side of the eraser, parallel to its three edges; these may be simple decoration, but could conceivably be stress lines in the metal. In form this stylus can be closely paralleled by a 7th/8th-century example from the mid-Saxon high-status site at Brandon (Suffolk; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 86–7, no 66t).

A073   From Whithorn (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 8.3) is a second copper-alloy stylus with baluster decoration between the eraser and shaft and half-way along the shaft (Hill 1997, 378–79, BZ25.1, fig 10.65, 225–26). Above the mid-point baluster the shaft is round-sectioned, below it is octagonal. The triangular-shaped eraser has a gently curved upper edge. This stylus was included in Pestell's handlist of Anglo-Saxon examples (2004, table 1, fig 9), which comprised 97 styli from 32 sites (although this does not include the example from Peebles, **A022**); of these, only 11 examples were found at documented monastic sites (2004, 41). Although it was excavated from a later Period IV context, the Whithorn example is clearly Anglo-Saxon and dates to the 8th or 9th century. Examples from Flixborough, albeit with decorated erasers, exhibit similar baluster decoration below the eraser and half-way along the shaft (Pestell 2004, fig 11), and recent finds since Pestell's summary include a gilt example from near Louth (Lincolnshire; LIN-01A6A1) with a plain eraser and similar baluster decoration to the Whithorn stylus. An iron object published as a potential stylus from Whithorn (Hill 1997, 425, IN64.1, fig 10.102) has been

excluded from this catalogue as its identification is doubtful (Campbell 2010, 140); it was not included in Pestell's 2004 handlist

A022 Peebles, copper-alloy stylus, photograph by author.

A075 Whithorn, copper-alloy stylus, after Hill 1997, illus 10.65.

Illus 8.3 Styli.

8.3.3   Styli: discussion

Styli are relatively common finds in Roman and Anglo-Saxon contexts. The extent to which styli and writing generally was limited to the church and ecclesiastical sites during the Anglo-Saxon period has been debated (for example Blair 2005, 209–10; Pestell 2004, 135–7). Conversely, they are very rare finds from early medieval Ireland and northern and western Britain, though there is clear evidence for the practice of writing on bog tablets (Campbell 2010). It is possible that styli of different design were used in western and northern Britain and that they have not been recognised to date.

8.4 Chest/coffin fittings

B060 Six graves excavated at Whithorn contained wooden boxes with iron fittings (Illus 8.4), suggested to be chests that had been reused as coffins (Hill 1997, 412–15, IN32). The fittings all followed a consistent design, and comprised angle-irons with rounded ends, hinges, pins, and sliding bolt locks. The practice of burial within coffins with these kinds of iron fittings appears to be associated with mid-Saxon monastic houses, though it need not necessarily indicate the burial of ecclesiasts (Hill 1997, 415). Comparable fittings are known from Garton Slack (East Yorkshire), Dacre (Cumbria), Monkwearmouth, Rippon, Thwing and York Minster (Hill 1997, 415). The chest/coffin burial rite was identified by the excavator of Whithorn as one of the three most distinctively Northumbrian elements from the small finds assemblage (together with window glass and coins; Hill 1997, 47).
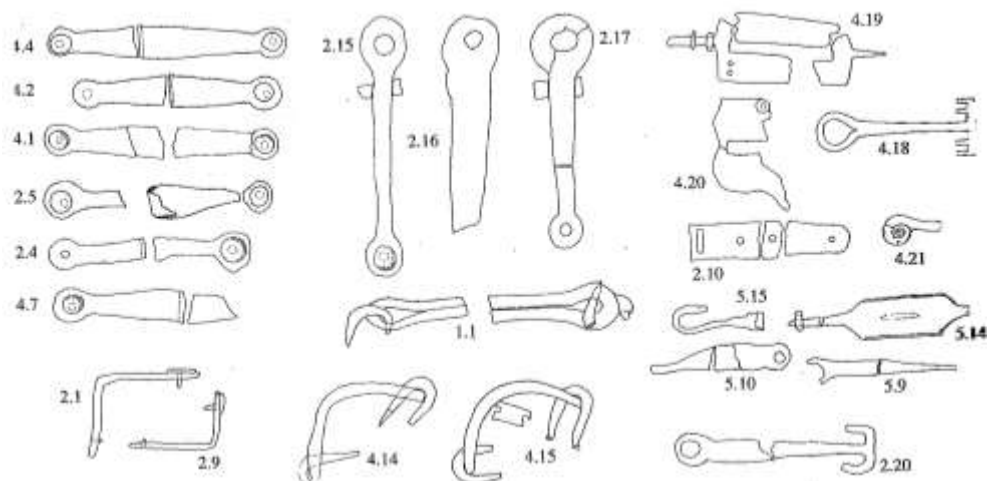
B060 Whithorn, iron coffin-chest fittings, after Hill 1997, illus 10.93.

A061 Mote of Mark, rune-inscribed bone, after Laing and Longley 2006, fig 43.

Illus 8.4 Coffin-chest fittings and rune-inscribed bone.

8.5   Inscribed bone and stone fragments

A061   Found during excavation at the Mote of Mark (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 8.4) is a bone fragment inscribed with five Anglo-Saxon runes (Page in Laing and Longley 2006, 92–3, SF2252, fig 43). It is unclear if the whole inscription remains, but what survives has been transliterated as 'aÞili' (Page in Laing and Longley 2006, 92). The 'a' rune is diagnostic and confirms it is an Anglo-Saxon, rather than Scandinavian, runic inscription. Page suggested might be a personal name, with the Old English diminutive ending -ili (ibid). While urging caution, he suggested a date no later than the early 8th century, based on the absence of the shift from i to e in unstressed syllables; nothing about the form of the runes is sufficiently diagnostic to indicate a closer date (ibid).

B050   Also from the Mote of Mark (not illustrated) is a sandstone fragment bearing a possible runic inscription (Laing and Longley 2006, 96, SF2150, fig 44). Page identified a likely Þ rune, but in his opinion there was 'no identifiable sequence and runically this object serves only to add another plot on a distribution map' (Page, pers comm, quoted in Laing and Longley 2006, 96).

8.6   Spearheads

8.6.1   Spearheads: introduction

Eleven spearheads have been included very tentatively as possible Anglo-Saxon objects. Those included within previous surveys have been re-evaluated and one from Watten (Caithness; **E011**) has been excluded as a Viking object. Another, part of a collection of weapons from Hunthills (Scottish Borders; **E013**) has also been excluded due to lack of

information. A typology of Anglo-Saxon Spearheads was developed by Swanton (Swanton 1973; Swanton 1974) but shared features, particularly blade shape, combined with a lack of typologies for native early medieval and Viking examples complicate identification outside of Anglo-Saxon contexts. It is likely that some of the examples identified here, and further spearheads discussed below but not catalogued, are part of general insular metalworking traditions rather than distinctly Anglo-Saxon types. For this reason, all have been included within the **B** catalogue.

8.6.2   Possible spearheads

B016, **B017**   A spearhead from Scalloway (Shetland; **B016**; Illus 8.5) has been identified as an example of Swanton's Anglo-Saxon D2 group, dating to the 6th and 7th centuries and predominately found in Kent (Campbell in Sharples 1998, 159). Campbell regarded the separate socket (**B017**) as from the same type if not the same example (the hollowness of the shaft on **B016** is from corrosion and so does not contradict this). The length of the shaft between socket and blade is not found on other spearheads from Scotland, and it is this, rather than the presence of the split socket, that suggests a possible Anglo-Saxon origin.

B013 B014   Two spearheads are known from Castlehill (Ayrshire; Illus 8.5) one of which was identified by Swanton as an example of his F1 Type, a design that fell out of use in England during the 6th century (Swanton 1974, 40; Swanton 1973, 91; Smith 1918–19). Type F1 spearheads are found between the Thames and Humber, and from Kent, with several outliers at Bantham (Devon; Swanton 1973, 91). Of the two, **B013** bears the most resemblance to Anglo-Saxon examples; **B014** has a subtly D-shaped profile which is more difficult to parallel among Anglo-Saxon examples. Cessford (2000) argued that a stone feature apparently associated with a spearhead, iron axe and Samian ware sherds at Castlehill represented the remains of an Anglo-Saxon burial. (He assumed that the **B013** spearhead came from this feature, although in fact the original publication doesn't say whether it was **B013** or **B014**.) This interpretation seems unlikely; the feature is ambiguous, the records very limited, and burial within such a fort unknown. No iron axe is

in the NMS collections from Castlehill, and it is possible that the report included a mistaken reference to a polished stone axe known from the site.

B025, **B026**   Two spearheads with possibly cleft shafts are known from Craw's excavations at Dunadd (not illustrated; Duncan 1982, fig 10, GP 306, HPO 307; the cleft on the latter may be the result of corrosion). **B025** is similar to Swanton's Type C1, although these have a less pronounced diamond blade profile and slightly longer shaft. They are found in relatively large numbers in most areas of Anglo-Saxon England; around half a dozen examples from north of the Humber were known to Swanton, who dated them to the 6th century (Swanton 1973, 49, fig 10). The diamond blade profile also occurs one of the Castlehill (**B013**) examples. **B026** might be compared with Type D1; although its blade is incomplete, it appears to have been leaf-shaped, and its flattened lentoid profile fits better with Anglo-Saxon examples (Swanton 1973, fig 9). The date range of Type D1 spearheads encompasses the whole of the pagan period and they are found mainly in the Midlands and northern England (Swanton 1973, 66–7).

B041–B043   Two spearheads with split sockets from Traprain Law (**B041**, **B042**), and one javelin or small spear head (**B043**), were considered by Burley (Illus 8.5; Burley 1956, 202, no 397, 398). The split has been seen as characteristic of early medieval spearheads, though Burley also noted some examples from Roman contexts. She regarded these two examples as later than other spearheads from the site; their high stratification would not contradict this. They have previously been compared with Swanton's Type E1, but these have angular rather than leaf-shaped blades. The corrosion of **B042** makes identification difficult, but **B041** has a leaf-shaped rather than angular blade. While the incomplete state makes identification difficult it compares generally with Swanton's Type D1. D1 spearheads occur during the 'whole pagan period' and are one of a group of long socket types that Swanton thought characteristic of the Midlands and northern England (Swanton 1973, 64–7).
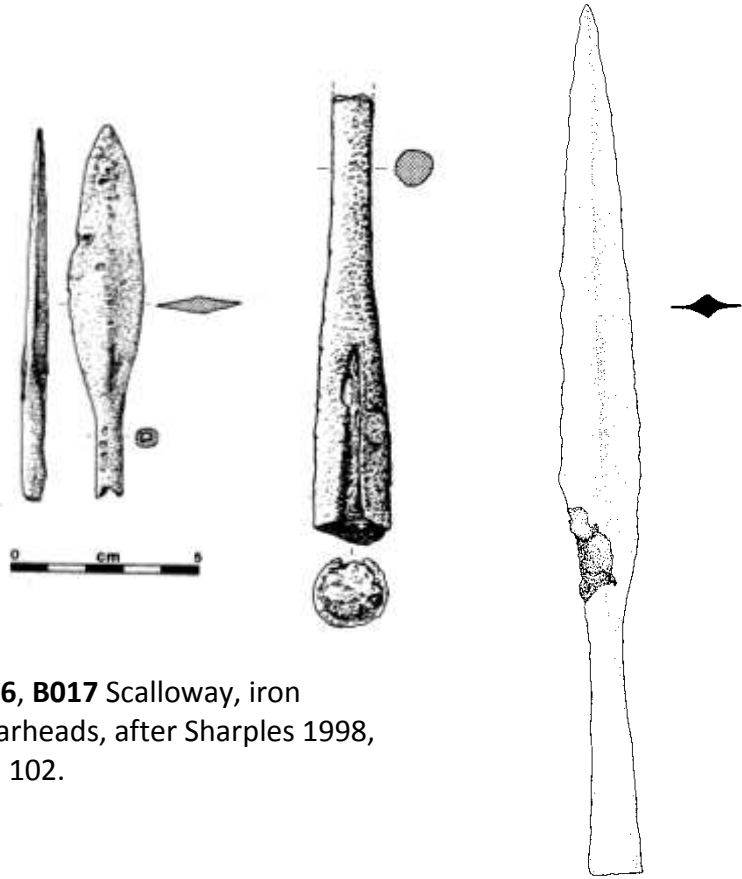
B016, **B017** Scalloway, iron spearheads, after Sharples 1998, illus 102.

B015 Newstead, iron spearhead, drawn by the author.
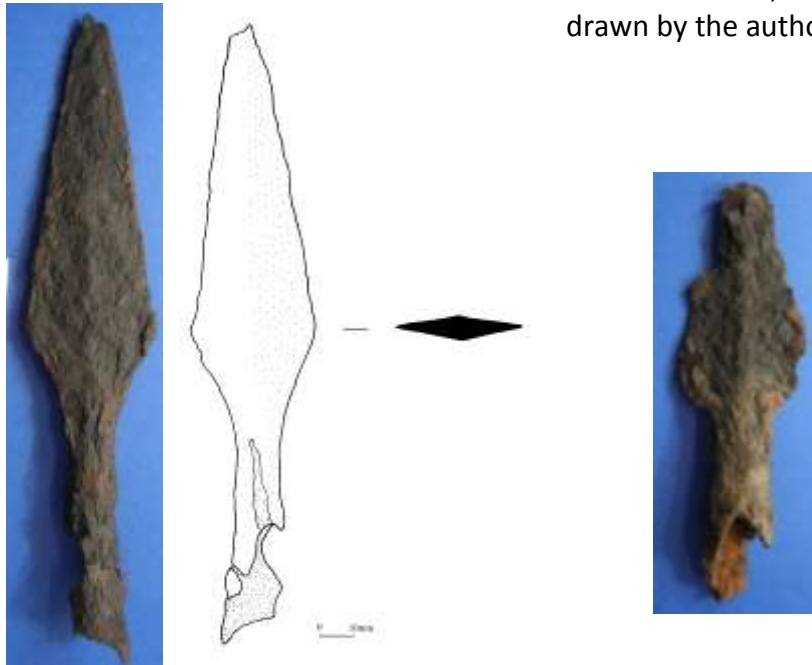
B013 Castlehill, iron spearhead, images by the author.

B014 Castlehill, iron spearhead, photograph by the author

Illus 8.5 Spearheads from Scalloway, Castlehill and Newstead.

B015   A non-cleft socketed spearhead from a burial in a pit at Newstead (Scottish Borders; Illus 8.5) appears to be an example of Swanton's Type B2, a derivative form associated with Germanic auxiliary troops and found in late contexts at Roman forts and in early Anglo-Saxon graves with late Roman objects (Curle 1911, 5–6; Wilson 1863, 51–2; Etheridge 1993, 5; Swanton 1974, 6–8). Among Anglo-Saxon spearheads, Type B2 is unique in having a light mid-rib that produces a distinctly different blade profile. B2 spearheads vary in size, have leaf-shaped blades, and closed, usually welded sockets. By the 6th century, the prominent mid-rib no longer occurs. The Roman fort at Richborough provides a similar spearhead from an apparently similar context (Bushe-Fox 1949, pl LXIII, 349): a grave around 700ft north of the fort that contained a prone burial accompanied by a shield and pewter bowl (Bushe-Fox 1949, 80). However, pits surrounding the feature in which the Newstead spearhead was found have been regarded as Roman in date (Fraser Hunter pers comm) and so this identification remains uncertain.

8.6.3   Spearheads: discussion

This study has not added any new spearheads to the corpus, but has re-evaluated those previously identified as Anglo-Saxon. All remain tentative identifications: the lack of examples from modern excavations hinders resolution of their dating and cultural ascription in northern Britain. As most Scottish examples come from old excavations with very limited records, at sites with often lengthy occupation sequences, even assigning spearheads to the early medieval period is often problematic. Few other spearheads are known from early medieval Scottish sites: Dunadd, Brough of Birsay and Buiston crannog have produced examples not catalogued here that have been regarded as a development of the simplest pre-Roman type and 'the normal Celtic and Pictish type in the post-Roman period' (Campbell in Sharples 1998, 159). In her review of early medieval Scottish material culture, Duncan found no cultural differences between British and Dál Riadic spearheads, and noted also that similar forms are found in Irish and Anglo-Saxon contexts (Duncan 1982, 108). However, while corrosion hinders identification, there are hints of distinctive 'Celtic' traits that do not occur among Anglo-Saxon spearheads. The example from a

Pictish horizon at Birsay (Curle 1982, 44, no 269, ill 27) is incomplete but has a D-shaped blade section, which is unparalleled in Swanton's corpus. There are several different types of spearheads from Dunadd, including one tanged, several socketed, one with prominent rib and several triangular-sectioned blades (Duncan 1982, vol 2, 10, pl 5, figs 10–12), perhaps indicative of the variety in northern and western Britain.

While some Anglo-Saxon blade types (eg corrugated blades, Swanton's Types I–L), appear to be distinctive, the majority appear to be common to several periods. Swanton regarded cleft sockets as the norm among Anglo-Saxon spearheads, but this alone is not diagnostic; they occasionally occur on Roman and 6th- and 7th- century continental examples (Swanton 1973, 8; contra Campbell in Sharples 1998, 159); whether it is essentially a trait restricted to Anglo-Saxon rather than insular spearheads remains unclear. Burley argued that two split-socket spearheads from Traprain Law (**B041** and **B042**) need not necessarily be Anglo-Saxon given a further split example from the Roman fort at Newstead, and suggested an earlier, Roman dating may be possible for some examples (Burley 1956, 202). Swanton also suggested that it became normal 'to some extent at least, [in the] Celtic hinterland [in Britain]', but cited only the Traprain spearheads as examples. Against this is the observation that the majority of Scottish sites with cleft-socketed spearheads have also produced other Anglo-Saxon material.

8.7 Other weapons

8.7.1 Other weapons: introduction

One apparently hybrid shield boss and one Anglo-Saxon sword have been included within the corpus. A lost shield boss from Ballindaloch (**E012**), a lost group of weapons from Hunthills (Scottish Borders; **E013**) and part of an angon from Brodick (**E005**) have all been excluded.

8.7.2   Possible weapons

D001   A shield boss from Millhill, near Lamlash (Isle of Arran; not illustrated) has traditionally been ascribed an 8th-century Viking origin, and thus thought to be indicative of the earliest Viking activity in the British Isles (Balfour 1910; Shetelig 1954; Crawford 1987). Grieg however suggested that the boss resembled 'Anglo-Saxon or Merovingian bosses somewhat more than it [did] Norse ones' (Grieg 1940, 27), and Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly followed him in including it in their 1996 corpus (Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996, 6). The Millhill boss has since been reassessed by Harrison who demonstrates that it belongs to an small group of shields from the Irish Sea region (Harrison 2000). Their distribution indicates an Irish Sea Norse origin, but typological precedents appear to be lacking among Viking material from elsewhere, with the exception of some similar Norwegian later Iron Age examples (Harrison 2000, 71). Harrison demonstrated morphological similarities with early medieval 'sugar-loaf' bosses found in north-western Europe, with the closest parallels in examples from late Anglo-Saxon graves (Harrison 2000, 72). This led him to argue that 'it seems almost certain that the Irish Sea type as a whole owes its origins not to an exceptionally early Scandinavian prototype, but rather to contemporary Anglo-Saxon traditions of shield manufacture' (Harrison 2000, 72). His identification of the 'bolt' on the Millhill boss as the remains of a composite shield grip affirms this association: such a grip would be unusual in a Viking-Age Scandinavian context where they are usually made only of wood, but fits well with Anglo-Saxon bosses (Harrison 2000, 73–4).

Harrison's reassessment of the Millhill boss rejects the 8th-century dating, preferring instead a loose 9th/10th-century date (Harrison 2000, 74). However, there is a dearth of Anglo-Saxon bosses after conversion-period burial in England, leaving at present a chronological gap of around 150 years before the earliest deposition of the Irish Sea bosses. Evison believed the 'sugar loaf' Type continued in England into the 8th century (Evison 1963), and Wilson used manuscript sources to demonstrate the continuation of large conical bosses beyond the end of burial (Wilson 1981, 122–3) making continuation into the 9th century possible (Harrison 2000, 72). Harrison suggested various scenarios to explain the Anglo-Saxon origins of the type, including acquisition of an Anglo-Saxon

shield, either following hostile encounters or other interaction, or local insular Norse emulation. The lack of direct Anglo-Saxon parallels for the Millhill boss presently favours its interpretation as an Anglo-Saxon-influenced type rather than a rare late Anglo-Saxon boss *per se*, but this may change with new discoveries.

A020   A sword from Torbeckhill (Dumfries and Galloway; not illustrated) was found in 1913, apparently a lone deposit (Curle 1913–14, 335, fig 2). Grieg (1940), following Curle (1913–14), identified it Viking, but was later corrected by Shetelig (1954, 108, n 21) who noted it was an Anglo-Saxon type. The confusion results because examples are known from both England (Wheeler's Wallingford Type, wrongly named after a sword actually from Abingdon, Oxfordshire; 1927). Examples are known from the Thames at Westminster and from the River Witham (Lincolnshire; Laing 1973, 47; Davidson 1962, figs 66–68), as well as in Scandinavia where it was designated by Petersen Type L (Petersen 1919). Its origins are now usually regarded as Anglo-Saxon because Trewhiddle-style ornament is found on most examples from both areas (Davidson 1962, 56, 70). In England they are the most common form of 9th-century sword, with a date of 875–950 suggested by Wheeler (Wheeler 1927). A second outlier from the English distribution is known from Powys, Wales (Redknap 1991, 27–8).

Grieg originally described the Torbeckhill sword as having a 'carefully elaborated central knob on the sword pommel, which latter is decorated with a stamped ornament' (Grieg 1940, 13). The decoration no longer survives, but remains of a circular impression and the knob on the top of the central pommel lobe are both paralleled on swords from Grønneberg, Høven, Kaupang (Davidson 1962, figs 41b and 42; Wilson 1964, pl VIIIc), Dolven and Nedre Store-Var (Petersen 1919, figs 94 and 95). The Grønneberg pommel was regarded by Davidson as very similar to the Witham sword, and Bruce-Mitford noted that the decoration on the Høven pommel is paralleled on the Fuller brooch (Davidson 1962, 70).

8.8 Coins

8.8.1 7th-century coins

C074 A 7th-century Merovingian gold tremissis was found during metal detecting at Coldstream (Scottish Borders; Illus 8.6; unpublished). Like most examples, it names only the mint and moneyer. It appears to be the first recognised example of a new type (unpublished Treasure Trove report).

A079 An ancient copy of a 7th-century Anglo-Saxon issue gold tremissis ('London-derived Type, Sutherland III.ii') was found at Buiston crannog (Ayrshire; not illustrated; Crone 2000, 148; Abdy and Williams 2006, 61, no 284). Only 13 (non-imitation) examples of this type have been recognised in the most recent catalogue: nine from the Crondall hoard plus one single find each from Kent, Wiltshire, Hertfordshire, and Lincolnshire (Abdy and Williams 2006, 60–1). An ancient copy of a Merovingian-issue tremissis is known from Yeavering (Abdy and Williams 2006, 46, no 170).

8.8.2 8th-century coins

C076 An 8th-century silver 'porcupine' (Type E) sceat minted in the Low Countries between 715–35 was found during excavations at Portmahomack (Ross and Cromarty; Illus 8.6; Blackburn in Carver et al 2016). This is the northernmost find of a pre-Viking coin in Britain. Metcalf noted an unusual feature that might suggest it was a contemporary imitation. He also noted a lack of testing marks, which, had they been present would have suggested the coin had been in Scandinavia (cited in Carver et al 2016, D84).

C074 Coldstream, gold tremissis, Crown copyright.

C076 Portmahomack, silver sceat, after Carver et al 2016, illus D6.1.4.

C077 Dunbar, silver sceat, after Perry 2000, illus 110.

A081 Barhobble, silver sceat, after Cormack 1995, fig 37.

A083 Dunbar, copper-alloy stycas, Eanread (left) and Aeðelred II (right), after Perry 2000, illus 109.

Illus 8.6 Coins.

C077   A Series X silver sceat struck in Denmark, perhaps at Ribe, between 710–40 was found during excavations at Dunbar (Illus 8.6; Blackburn in Perry 2000, 169). Only one other example of a Type X sceat is known from north of the Humber (ibid).

A081   A Northumbrian issue Series Y silver sceat of Eadberht (c 737–58) was found during the excavation of a 12th-century chapel at Barhobble (Dumfries and Galloway; Illus 8.6; Cormack 1995, 74, no 10, fig 37). Aside from the Whithorn finds, it is the only 8th-century coin from the south-west of Scotland.

A082   Eight 8th-century sceattas are among the 65 early medieval coins recovered during excavations at Whithorn (not illustrated; Pirie in Hill 1997). Notable coins include the earliest sceat (Series J), an issue from the Midlands, struck in the early 8th century when Northumbria had no coinage of its own (ibid, no 61). Other notable coins include a Beonna sceat, usually restricted to East Anglia (ibid, no 62). The sceatta can be broken down as: five of Eadberht (c 737–58), one of Eadberht and archbishop Ecgberht (c 737–58), one of Alchred (765–74), and one of Aethelred I and archbishop Eanbald I (c 778–80) (ibid, nos 1–8).

8.8.3   9th-century coins

A085   An early silver styca was found around 1882 at Coldingham (Borders; not illustrated). It was minted by the moneyer Eaduulf for Archbishop Eanbald II of York (c 810–30; Pirie in Perry 2000, 168), and may be contemporary with the Eanred styca from Aberlady (see **A083**). Coldingham has produced a Northumbrian-style silver strap end of late 8th/9th-century date (**A033**).

A083 Two unworn Northumbrian copper-alloy stycas were excavated from Castle Park, Dunbar: Eanred, by the moneyer Wihtred (c 837–41) and Aethelred II (issued around 844; Illus 8.6; Pirie in Perry 2000, 168). Other stycas are known from coastal sites in the region – Aberlady to the north and Coldingham, Lindisfarne and Bamburgh to the south (ibid; see below).

A084 Two copper-alloy stycas were found by metal-detecting in 1989 at Aberlady (East Lothian; not illustrated; Pirie in Perry 2000, 168): one for Eanred by the moneyer Eaduini (c 830–35), one for Aethelred II by the moneyer Eanred (c 843–49). The latter is mistruck but from an authorised issue. The Eanred coin may be contemporary with an early silver styca from Coldingham (see below), while the Aethelred II coin is from the same section of later Northumbrian coinage (Phase II, Group Cii) as one of the stycas from Dunbar (see **A083**) though it must be slightly earlier in date (Pirie in Perry 2000, 168). These two coins are part of the metal-detected assemblage from Aberlady that includes 8th/9th-century pins and strap-ends.

A086 Amongst the substantial stray finds assemblage from Luce Sands (Dumfries and Galloway; not illustrated) are a scatter of stycas by Aethelred II, 841–4 (Stevenson 1966, no 28) and Wigmund, 837–54 (Stevenson 1966, nos 47 and 50).

A082 Aside from its substantial size, the coin assemblage from Whithorn is unusual in the long span of Northumbrian issues, from c 737 to c 855 and the presence of more phase I (27 examples) than phase II stycas (not illustrated; Pirie in Hill 1997, 334). Twenty-seven Northumbrian-struck phase I stycas were recovered, from c 790–835 (ibid, nos 9–35); of these, 22 were intermittent silver issues and five were copper alloy. Twenty-three later copper-alloy issues (c 837–55) were also recovered (ibid, nos 36–58). The presence of a coin of Aeðelred's successor Osberht, one of the kings killed by the Great

Army in 867, demonstrates Whithorn was integrated within the Northumbrian economy right up until its fragmentation (Woolf 2007, 79).

A087 From Jedburgh (Scottish Borders; not illustrated) is a single coin of Osberht (849–67), found near the River Jed in the mid-19th century (Smith 1857–59; Stevenson 1966, no 42).

B062 A coin hoard was found at Bongate, near Jedburgh, though accounts are confused and the coins are lost (see Stevenson 1950–1, 174); it appears to have contained 9th–11th-century coins including some of Ecgbert (800–36; Stevenson 1966, xx).

A088 In 1782 a 'considerable number' of coins, now lost, were found at Paisley (Lindsay 1845, 262; Stevenson 1950–1, 174), including some possibly of Aeðelred I (774–96).

A089 Amongst the Talnotrie hoard (Dumfries and Galloway; not illustrated) are ten 9th-century Anglo-Saxon coins: Aeðelred II, 841–4 (Stevenson 1966, no 20); Redwulf, 844 (ibid, no 34); Osberht, 849–67 (ibid, no 41); archbishop Wulfhere 854–900 (ibid, no 53); four pierced or fragmentary Mercian coins of Burgred 853–74 (ibid, nos 60–63); and two indecipherable coins (Maxwell 1913).

A090 From an apparent Viking boat burial at Kingscross Point on Arran a single coin was recovered, of archbishop Wigmund (837–54; not illustrated; Stevenson 1966, no 44; Balfour 1909).

A091 At Lindores (Fife) 'a number of coins including some of Ecgbert' (802–38) were found in 1814 (Stevenson 1950–1, 174). There were subsequent reports of medieval coins from nearby.

A092 From the 9th-century hoard of metalwork and amber beads found at Croy (Inverness; not illustrated; Ross 1886), are two pierced Anglo-Saxon coins: Coenwulf of Mercia (796–822) and Aeðelwulf of Wessex (838–58; Stevenson 1966, no 82).

A093 A pierced coin of Aelfred (871–901) is known from Burghead (Moray; not illustrated; Stevenson 1950–1, 174; Stevenson 1966, no 81).

A094 From the Viking burials at Kiloran Bay (Colonsay; not illustrated) are several Anglo-Saxon coins, including a pierced styca of archbishop Wigmund (837–54; Stevenson 1966, no 43), and a possible coin of Eanred (807–41; Stevenson 1950–1, 174).

A096 An unidentified 9th-century Anglo-Saxon coin found at Holywood, Dumfries and Galloway (unpublished; not illustrated) was reported to the Treasure Trove Unit with a middle-Saxon strap end (**A035**) and pin (**A062**).

8.8.4   Coins: discussion

The distribution of the coin finds is not significantly different to that of all non-ferrous metalwork (see Map 5.3). Pre-Viking coins are rare finds in Scotland, but a surprisingly high proportion of the small number are imports from the continent or Scandinavia: a 7th-century Merovingian gold tremissis from the Borders, and 8th-century silver sceattas

from Portmahomack (minted in the Low Countries) and Dunbar (minted in Denmark). The imported examples are all from eastern Scotland.

In the past, the Coldstream tremissis would have been interpreted as evidence of contact with Kent. However, the distribution has changed significantly in recent years: around 40% of the comparable mint-and-moneyer gold coins are from Kent, but significant numbers now also known from East Anglia and Lincolnshire (compare Abdy and Williams 2006, nos 155–239, with Rigold 1975). The Coldstream coin, and an ancient imitation Merovingian tremissis from the palace site at Yeavering (Abdy and Williams 2006, 46, no 170) may have arrived via contact with various areas of southern England or conceivably via direct connections across the North Sea. However, very few examples are found beyond the south of England: aside from Coldstream, single comparable mint-and-moneyer examples are known only from Derbyshire, North Yorkshire and Cumbria (Abdy and Williams 2006, 52, no 216; and 47, no 178; PAS LANCUM-3E51D8 c 620–40, probably minted Austrasia or Frisia). There are two Irish finds but both are from mints in western France on the Loire suggesting they may be part of long-distance trading networks importing pottery and glass to Atlantic Britain (Campbell 2007, 76; Ó Floinn 2009, 233).

The imported 8th-century sceatta from Portmahomack and Dunbar may likewise have arrived direct across the North Sea, or via circulation in England. Blackburn favoured the former interpretation because imported continental coinage of this date would have been in the minority in English circulation. Only one other example of the Type X sceat from Dunbar is known from north of the Humber; this kind of coin constitutes a much larger proportion of the coinage circulation in Denmark/Frisia than in England suggesting it may have arrived directly over the North Sea. Coins of this date would not have circulated in England beyond the mid-8th century, but remained in use in Denmark (and could have thus arrived at Dunbar) later (Blackburn in Perry 2000, 169).

Only three other sites have produced 8th-century coins, all in southern Scotland: fourteen insular-struck sceattas from Whithorn (including Northumbrian and one East Anglian issue), a Northumbrian issue from Mochrum, and a Northumbrian issue from Aberlady. Both of the western finds are from church sites, suggesting a related supply mechanism. Amongst the Whithorn assemblage is a type of sceat found in other outlying monastic sites and which bears iconography (bird-on-cross) suggesting they were struck under

ecclesiastical rather than royal authority (seven later coins also have ecclesiastical connections; Pirie in Hill 1997, 335).

Ninth-century stycas are more widely distributed and include examples from Viking burials and Viking-age hoards as well as stray finds. As well as find spots in south-eastern (Aberlady, Dunbar, Coldingham, Jedburgh) and south-western Scotland (Holywood, Whithorn, Talnotrie, Luce Sands), examples are known from Kiloran Bay, Arran and Paisley in the west, and Lindores, Burghead and Croy in the east.

Chapter 9   Discussion

9.1   Introduction

This chapter integrates discussion of the finds' distribution and context (from Chapter 5) with consideration of their social significance and materiality (Chapters 6–8). It also draws on other historical and archaeological sources, including data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) for northern England, to contextualise the Scottish small finds. The distinct regional distribution patterns identified in Chapter 5 indicated that access to, and use of, Anglo-Saxon material culture differed substantially across Scotland. This meant that it was logical to structure the broader discussion in this chapter regionally. First south-eastern Scotland is considered, with discussion broken down into three chronological periods: pre 7th century (section 9.2.1), 7th century (9.2.2) and 8th–9th century (9.3). Here, data from both the Borders and Lothians is compared and contrasted, and contextualised with data from the PAS. Discussion of the remaining regions is broken into two chronological periods: pre 8th century and 8th–9th centuries: south-western Scotland, including comparison with PAS data (9.3), followed by central-western Scotland (9.4), western Scotland (9.5) and Scotland north of the Forth (9.6). A conclusion summarises the main findings of this chapter (9.7).

9.2   South-eastern Scotland

9.2.1   *To AD 600: Roman Iron Age to early medieval in south-eastern Scotland*

The roots of Bernicia have been sought in the evolving late Roman frontier zone, with the transformation from imperial soldiers to warbands situated in continued occupation/reoccupation of fort sites in the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall (summarised and

synthesised recently by Collins 2012). Recently, this view has been supplemented by the recognition of villas south of the Wall but north of the traditional 'villa zone', providing evidence for late Roman to early Anglo-Saxon continuity at some high-status, non-military settlements (Petts 2013a, 325; 2013b). This demonstrates that forts were part of wider networks of power dispersed across the countryside, fitting well with a late Roman army that increasingly recruited locally, became more established and engaged within the region and contributed to a hybridised frontier culture incorporating elements drawn from Germanic *limitanei* (Petts 2013a, 329; Collins 2011; 2012).

In contrast there has been little evidence for comparable reuse of Roman military sites north of the late Roman frontier zone. Recent work has demonstrated that several early medieval power centres were sited along the course of the Antonine Wall, including a 9th-century hall at Callendar Park in Falkirk aligned with the Military Way, and an early medieval church at Old Kilpatrick some 350m from the fort (Maldonado 2015, table 1, 237–8). These examples substantially post-date Roman occupation and represent appropriation, following a significant hiatus, motivated by a desire to bolster church and secular authority from the 8th century. This practice continued into the medieval period with the siting of mottes adjacent to the wall (Maldonado 2015, table 1). Reuse of Roman stone for earlier burials (for example at Thornybank) or buildings (at Hoddam) in southern Scotland suggests that Roman sites were actively sought out for quarrying but otherwise left unoccupied (Maldonado 2015, 228). The recent dating of a mass grave inserted into the Roman bath house at Cramond to the 5th/6th century (John Lawson pers comm) likewise implies the site was not otherwise occupied; only during the 8th/9th century are there indications of early medieval use of the site in the form of stray finds: an Insular enamelled mount (Bourke and Close-Brooks 1989) and the Anglo-Saxon rune-inscribed ring (**A019**; a stray Byzantine coin of Justinian (527–65) is likely to be a modern loss).

Tentative identifications of two objects from the vicinity of the Roman fort at Newstead in the Scottish Borders may alter this picture. Both finds are paralleled in late Roman–Early Anglo-Saxon contexts: a spearhead associated with Germanic auxiliary troops and early Anglo-Saxon graves (**B015**), and a glass bead (**B020**) paralleled in Anglo-Saxon graves and at the Roman forts at Chesters and Corbridge. Together with the stray find of a late Roman spur from near Newstead (Fraser Hunter pers comm), these objects suggest the potential for a long-abandoned Roman site north of the frontier to have been reoccupied

around the same time as continued (but changing) occupation along Hadrian's Wall to the south, occupation linked there to the emergence of post-Roman warbands. A small number of both glass beads and weapons paralleled by examples from late Roman and Anglo-Saxon contexts have also been identified from the Roman Iron Age hillfort at Traprain Law (**B018**, **B041–B044**). Like earlier Roman imports from the site, they may represent local contact with the military zone, contact that was evidently on a much smaller scale than previously, presumably due to change and contraction that saw horizons become more local to Hadrian's Wall and its surroundings. Whether this coincidence of beads and weapons at the LRIA power centre and a Roman fort implies a relationship between the two sites remains unclear. Likewise, whether beads and weapons were especially desirable or available is uncertain given the small numbers involved. Greater numbers might have indicated a repeated selection of specific object types, and therefore have indicated relational entanglement, wherein objects are drawn into local classification systems, connected with practices, and given new meaning.

Traditionally, the roots of post-Roman polities in south-eastern Scotland have rested on a combination of Roman and medieval written sources, melded into the Votadini–Gododdin and variously placed in East Lothian (for example Mattingly 2006) or within a large swathe of land from Hadrian's Wall to north of the Forth (for example Jackson 1955; 1959; Smith 1983). But leaving the later and complicated *Y Gododdin* aside, Ptolemy's *Geography* associates the Votadini with a discrete area comprising the Tyne valley and adjacent valleys of north Northumberland, a densely settled territory within a triangle of Roman roads south of the Wall that followed a discrete regional practice of dedicating votive altars to the deity *Vitiris* (Goldberg 2015, 205).

The patterning of 2nd–3rd-century Roman coin hoards, best seen as payments to powerful figures to secure the frontiers, likewise suggests a more localised picture than many interpretations of the Votadini have allowed, with regionally-distinct practices and a recurring (if not continuous) distinction in precious-metal use/deposition in southern Scotland on either side of the Lammermuir Hills (Hunter 2007a, 2007b; 2009; 2015). While the coin hoards from the Borders suggest the area was the recipient of Roman gifts/bribes, the region centred on Traprain Law has the characteristics of a more significant and longstanding strategic imperial ally, reflected in the lack of Roman sites in the vicinity, the intensive occupation and density of Roman objects at the site from the

time of first contact with Rome, and the presence of the late Roman silver hoard (but also by the absence of *denarii* hoards; Hunter ibid).

Finds from the 4th–6th centuries indicate a renewed difference in metal use between the Tweed Valley and the region to the north. Massive silver neck-chains from Hoardweel, Greenlaw (lost) and Whitlaw found at or just beyond the southern extent of the Lammermuirs on the northern edges of the Tweed plain define the southern extent of a late–post-Roman silver-rich area (see Youngs 2013 for a summary of the known examples; and Blackwell et al 2017, 95–105; 141–2 for recent reinterpretation of the type and context of silver use). The core chain distribution covers East Lothian and the Lammermuirs, though the access to silver clearly reached north of the Forth, with a distinctly east-coast distribution (see Blackwell et al 2017, fig 11.6). Reconsideration of the chains' dating suggests they belong to the 4th or 5th century AD, linked to late Roman hacksilver payments to southern Scotland and developing in a hybrid frontier context (Blackwell et al 2017, 103–4, 141–2). The southern slopes of the Lammermuirs define the extent of this silver-rich north: to the south there is no comparable quantity of silver known from the Tweed to Hadrian's Wall. Thus the distribution of both *denarii* hoards and silver chains suggest a repeated (if not continuous) demarcation at the Lammermuirs that may be political – a difference in relationships with the Roman/post-Roman military zone to the south – and/or cultural, in governing the deposition (or otherwise) of precious metals.

Around or soon after the massive silver chains were buried, another distinction is apparent in material culture use in the region in the distribution of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork. Brooches, mounts and bridle gear have been regarded as rare finds from the (English-only part of the) Northumbrian kingdom (Richards and Naylor 2011). This is still the case, but recent PAS data for the Northumberland region has altered the picture slightly (Map 9.1). At the time of writing, 20 fragments of late-5th to 6th-century Anglo-Saxon brooches have been recorded by the PAS from Northumberland (Table 9.1), including ten (plus other non-brooch finds) representing a likely cemetery by the River Till between Ford and Etal, just across the national border from Coldstream. Further south, two brooch fragments are recorded from Whittingham in the upper Aln Valley. The numbers are small, but their presence in the Tweed Valley and from seven other locations north of the wall makes the virtual absence of comparable metalwork from south-eastern

Scotland striking. The Roman Iron Age upland settlement at Crock Cleugh produced the only pre-7th-century non-ferrous metal object from the Borders and the only brooch (of any type or date) from within south-eastern Scotland (**A011**). While the kind of site represented by Crock Cleugh seems to be key in understanding the continuity or change in settlement locations between the 4th–6th centuries, dating evidence is poor: very few radiocarbon dates have been obtained or artefacts recovered from Iron Age settlement sites in the Borders (Smith 1990, 380–2; Dent 2012).
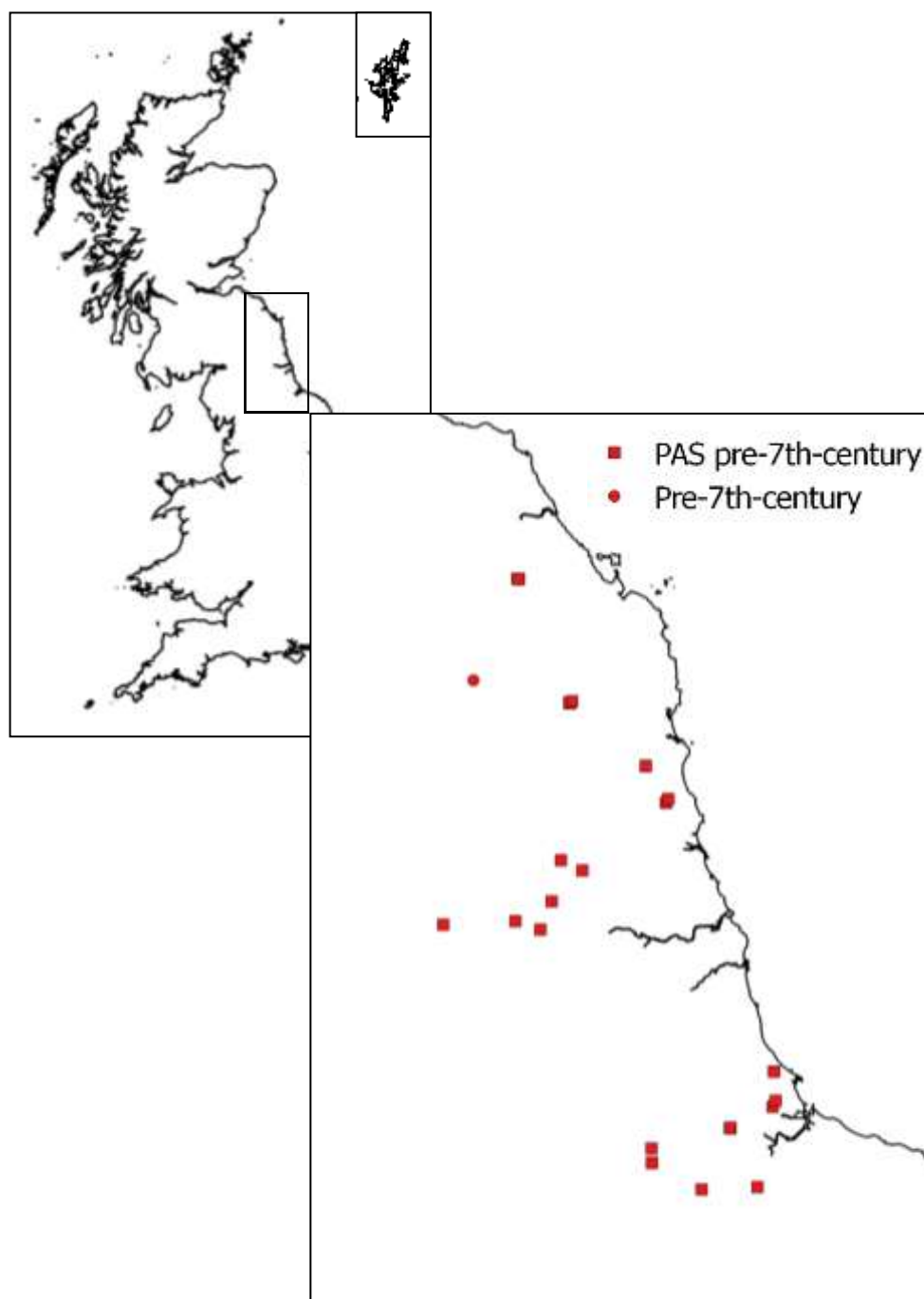
Map 9.1 Pre 7th-century decorated metalwork from southern Scotland and Northumberland (incorporating data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme).

Might this distribution of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork hint at the different use of material culture resources across different areas or perhaps even between what became different shires within Bernicia (see for example Barrow 1973; O'Brien 2002; Wood 2011)? Interpretation remains tentative: the picture is new, based on small numbers of objects and may be affected by different Treasure Trove laws and systems either side of the border (though there is no single, identifiable reason why they should cause this pattern). The River Tweed, rather than the slopes of Lammermuirs, appears to mark the change, but this is likely to be a product of different types of deposition: Anglo-Saxon metalwork predominately from lowland and in some cases perhaps burial contexts, and deposition of chains at higher, wetter contexts, perhaps as part of votive practices (though interestingly, the upland site at Crock Cleugh to the north contradicts this pattern).

While this difference in the use and deposition of metalwork cannot simply be equated with political or ethnic control or coherence during the later 5th or 6th centuries AD, it seems that people either side of the Tweed looked in opposite directions – south to bronze (including Style I) and north to silver. The silver chains' development in a hybrid Late Roman Iron Age frontier context suggests their burial may have had more to do with the end of a close and long-lasting relationship with the late Empire (a relationship not shared with territory in the Borders or northern Northumberland) than with early medieval ethnic change. The high-status practices of depositing *denarii* and chains are archaeologically visible because the Empire provided the materials and local agency decided to bury them. When this changed, different practices become less visible, until the restricted use of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork makes a difference apparent in the region. This deposition of early Anglo-Saxon brooches appears to be another instance of repeated local difference either side of the Lammermuirs, and one that cannot be interpreted in straightforward ethnic terms. Instead it seems to be one in a series of expressions of difference to the neighbouring area to the north, an area that may have cultivated an identity with a late Roman emphasis, albeit hybridised and reimagined (see Fraser 2013).

9.2.2   South-eastern Scotland, AD 600–750

A larger body of 7th/8th century finds has been recognised from southern Scotland. Reconstructions of the political geography of early medieval northern Britain based on written sources mean it is possible to compare this patterning with proposed areas of Anglo-Saxon – and particularly royal – influence. The Scottish portion of the northern Bernician heartland encompassing Bamburgh–Yeavering–Tweed (Rollason 2003, 48–53) has produced a small pre 8th-century finds assemblage that includes several significant objects redolent of status and connections: a buckle plate bearing iconographic affinities with Scandinavia (**A009**) and paralleled by a gold buckle from Kent; and a 7th-century Merovingian gold tremissis (**C074**).

But do these objects represent direct contacts between Northumbria and the continent and Scandinavia, or are they a product of connections with high-status elites elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon world? In the past, the tremissis would have been interpreted as evidence of contact with Kent rather than the continent, though significant changes in the distribution now suggest both wider circulation of coinage within Britain and that a number of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms besides Kent had direct contacts across the North Sea (Williams 2006, 170, 188). Northumbria's connections with the continent have recently been characterised as two-fold: ecclesiastical connections in northern Northumbria from the late 7th century, as reflected by imports to Whitby, Jarrow and Wearmouth; and economically-motivated contact between the continent and the York–Humber estuary in the 8th and 9th centuries, evidenced by assemblages reflective of wics in the North Sea basin (Ferguson 2011, 296–7). An early 8th-century silver sceat struck in Denmark from the *urbs regis* at Dunbar (**C077**, see below) is part of the later phase, but contact with Kent, East Anglia or Lincolnshire remains more likely to explain the 7th-century Coldstream tremissis given the rarity of comparable coins north of the Humber.

Connections to the Anglo-Saxon south are readily apparent in a small but significant cluster of high-status objects from the Lothians, an area apparently beyond the limits of the northern Bernician royal heartland and usually described only in frontier terms (eg Rollason 2003, 32–4). They comprise two gold sword jewels (**A002**, **A016**), part of a gold cross-pendant (**A023**), a gold foil mount (**B024**), a red-glass cloisonné mount (**A028**), and a

prestigious copper-alloy buckle (**A048**) that, like the Ayton example, is paralleled by a unique precious-metal equivalent from southern England.

The richness of this assemblage (more substantial than that from the Borders) requires some exploration. Two of these objects were found during excavation at Castle Park, Dunbar, a site identified as a Northumbrian *urbs regis* (*VW* §36, 38). These excavations provide an important picture of the marshalling and processing of local resources during the 7th century, including the biggest assemblage of faunal remains from an early medieval excavation in Scotland. Dunbar also stands out as the only known find spot of imported glass (**C068**, **C069**) from south-eastern Scotland (the later Auldhame inkwell is likely to be insular-made). James Fraser suggested that access to the long-distance Atlantic trading system may have been a factor in Bernicia's expansion into Lothians (along with securing the overland route between Lindisfarne and Iona; Fraser 2009, 172) but the absence of E-ware pottery and continental-made glass from Northumbria makes this unlikely. The strength of excavations at Dunbar is the picture of economic organisation in East Lothian, together with hints of elite connections to the south. These finds do not date putative Northumbrian 'expansion' into the region but a combination of the successful exploitation of the region's resources (which need not be the same thing) and wider shifts in identity (discussed below).

There are specific connections to elite martial material culture from Kent and East Anglia in the Lothian assemblage. The Dunbar buckle (**A048**), with its Kentish parallel, is likely to have been part of an elaborate sword harness. Buckles were explicit parts of the costume of military offices during the Roman period and were awarded by Frankish military leaders in the 5th and 6th centuries as a sign of friendship and loyalty (Marzinzik 2003, 4– 5). Prestigious 6th/7th-century Anglo-Saxon examples seem likely to have had a similar special significance in elite political relationships. An elaborate buckle, albeit not made from precious metals, could be an appropriate gift to the *prefectus* of an *urbs regis*. But while the buckle and the gold sword fittings from Lothian are clearly elite, martial objects, they also bear (or bore) designs with Christian significance: a possible fish-shaped mount (now lost from the Dunbar buckle), and a simple cross-shape on the East Linton mount. The cross-shaped garnet pendant from Dunbar adds a further example of elite Christian material culture to the region's assemblage.

This clutch of gold and garnet objects shows the northern extent of an elite identity with connections to the kingdoms in the south of England, and for a time this makes political influence visible in the material record of south-eastern Scotland. These objects are part of a developing common identity amongst the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, traced by Hines in the emergence of extensive cultural conformity in material, ethnic and linguistic elements that he contrasted to a benign approach to diversity exhibited in Roman Britain (Hines 1996). While Anglo-Saxon material culture took a marked shift toward uniformity during the late 6th century, it complemented rather than superseded previous divisions, providing a 'common mode in which regional differences can still be marked and asserted in new, though subtler ways' (Hines 1996, 265). This unifying trend has been linked to the consolidation of elites in increasingly stratified societies, and manipulation of material and group identity that seems to have become increasingly political from the 7th century (Hines 1996, 266).

This is the root of the sense of Englishness evident in Bede, and Hines sees it as part of a rudimentary form of Anglo-Saxon imperialism developing in the late 6th/early 7th century. It took the form of hegemony or power over diverse groups, including British kingdoms, which 'was not, it seems, accompanied by any significant appreciation of cultural diversity' (Hines 1996, 267). Yorke has explored the royal dimension of this development, arguing the Anglo-Saxon royal courts were so interconnected as to almost jointly constitute a polity, encouraging a common elite culture (Yorke 2008). While the power and reality of Anglo-Saxon overkingship is debated, a shared experience of overlordship where kingdoms faced similar demands during temporary authority from outside shows that all kingdoms were enmeshed in ways conducive to a homogenous elite culture, including within Northumbria – overlord of all other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms at some point during the 7th century (Yorke 2008, 84). The church and its connections to Rome have also been highlighted as a catalyst (Wormald 2006), anticipated perhaps by the use of the cult of Woden to underpin royal and elite power in the 6th and 7th century (Hedeager 1998); interesting in this context is the Ayton buckle (**A009**, Scottish Borders) which carries imagery common to the Odin and Woden cults, though we cannot assume a straightforward transfer of meaning from Scandinavian mythology (Blackwell 2007).

The finds from the Lothians suggest the presence of several active power centres: in the vicinity of Dunbar in East Lothian (**A048**, **A016**, **A023**, **A028**) and perhaps around Dalmeny

in West Lothian (**A002**, **B024**). Woolf has recognised a circuit of ecclesiastical estates claimed by Lindisfarne in the *Historia Regum Anglorum* for AD 854 and suggested a territorial division of the Lothians at the River Esk: a western half with its centre at Abercorn, and an eastern half centred on Tyningham (Woolf in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 166). The small-finds distribution may represent an earlier version of this split.

But could this regional assemblage constitute a hitherto unrecognised royal/political heartland(s)? Expectations of the material signature of royal power have changed recently thanks to several newly recognised royal Anglo-Saxon sites. While in the past, the minimal finds assemblage from the palace site of Yeavering could be interpreted as in-keeping either with Northumbrian poverty in material culture or as indicative of the site's hybrid cultural origins (see Chapter 2), recent excavations at other royal complexes in England suggest Yeavering may not be unusual. The great hall complex at Sutton Courtenay – a composite site with political, cultic, commercial and craft functions (Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 347) – also produced few finds beyond pottery and animal bone (although metal-detector finds from an adjacent area suggest the presence of several richly furnished burials; Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 343). Instead of rich small-find assemblages, status at Yeavering and Sutton Courtenay was expressed architecturally: by the exceptional scale of the timber buildings, the increased control of space indicated by internal partitions and external fencing, and the 'ritual symmetry' of building alignments (Brennan and Hamerow 2015). Surviving remains suggest their role was to create the spaces required for the expression and enacting of kingly power and relationships; though none have been recovered, high-status weapons and dress accessories would certainly have played a role within these spaces.

The wider recognition of earlier monuments and features at Anglo-Saxon sites (including Sutton Courtenay) also suggests that Yeavering is no longer distinctly 'northern' in its employment of created continuity in an earlier landscape (contra Driscoll 2005); it now fits better within a range of other 5th–7th-century high-status complexes from around the North Sea zone (Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 347; Hedeager 2001; Semple 2013; Reynolds 2003; though Crewe 2012 shows that prehistoric features are also associated with lower-status settlements). In fact, the level of similarity between Yeavering and Sutton Courtenay has been suggested as a product either of a shared court culture or a specific political alliance between the two areas in the early 7th century (Brennan and

Hamerow 2015, 346). Interestingly for East Lothian, the complexes of Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham (connected by a track that continues to the royal centre and bishopric at Dorchester-on-Thames) lay within an increasingly contested frontier zone in the 7th century, suggested as part of the motivation behind the scale and location of their construction (Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 328, 347); political heartland and contested frontier were not mutually exclusive.

While Sutton Courtenay and Yeavering show that material culture deposition is not a straightforward indicator of status or associations, the limited occurrence of precious-metal objects north of the Tyne–Wear remains a powerful reason to make a royal connection with the Lothians. Aside from the 7th-century tremissis (**C074**) and a 9th-century ring (**A015**) from the Borders, the next gold found south of East Lothian is from Bamburgh and beyond that (as recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme) from the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall and within the Tees Valley.

But precious metals and a shared elite material vocabulary are not the only reasons to suggest that East Lothian had a special status and royal connections during the 7th century. Potent political connections to Bamburgh were also created through a network of secular and religious centres. For Bede, Bamburgh had traditional associations with the mythical Ida and place-name links to Aeðilfrith. The church established at Bamburgh was a dynastic chapel created to house the relics of Oswald by his brother Oswy (642–70). The highly unusual treatment of Oswald's body – his head to the cult-centre at Lindisfarne and his arms to the power-centre of Bamburgh – suggests a deliberate articulation of the dual nature of Christian kingship, while Oswy's choice of Bamburgh emphasised his family's descent from Aeðilfrith and the continuity of the Bernician royal line (Shapland 2015, 513). But Bamburgh's potency as political symbol was also grounded in connections to other sites, part of a powerful combination of royal power centre, monastic settlement (Lindisfarne) and island retreat (Inner Farne; Petts 2009, 85–8). Aside from the presence of gold, the second powerful link between East Lothian and Bamburgh is the replication of this same combination of power centre, monastic settlement and island retreat at Dunbar, Tyninghame (and possibly Auldhame before it), and Bass Rock (Petts 2009, 85–8).

Though the place-name strongly suggests that Auldhame was in some sense a predecessor of Tyninghame (Woolf in Crone and Hindmarch 2016), the small finds

evidence shows that far from being eclipsed as the lowland monastery grew, Auldhame flourished with it. The earliest datable small find from the site is the reworked and damaged gold mount (**A028**), unlikely to have been deposited before the 8th century, later than the proposed c 650 start of monastic activity at the site. These finds do not date the establishment of a chapel complex, or a putative arrival of Northumbrian influence. But they do tell us something quite specific about its trajectory, perhaps connected as a 'para-monastic' satellite to the nearby centre at Tyninghame (Woolf in Crone and Hindmarch 2016), but plausibly also part of the crafting of wider landscapes of St Balthere's cult and royal and monastic power.

Aside from the presence of elite material culture, the Lothians and Borders have other material culture traits in common by the later 6th/7th century which distinguish them from the rest of Scotland (and which provide a contrast to the distinct pre-7th-century assemblages). The similarities are restricted to a handful of object types – insular-made glass beads and ceramic loom weights. While 'Germanic' glass beads have been recorded from across Scotland (with the exception of the Northern and Western Isles) and represent the biggest increase in data gathered in this thesis, many were probably manufactured on the continent rather than in England. Six insular-made beads have been identified: four from south-eastern Scotland (**A001.2**, **B018**, **A010**, **B020**), one possible example from the south-west (**B019**) and one from Perthshire (**A066**). Loom weights, which infer the use of a warp-weighted loom, are likewise restricted to south-eastern Scotland (**A044**, **A025**, **B029**, **B030**, **B031–B034**, **B061**). They imply the take-up of a new technology that had substantial social implications, including a shift from single-person to communal weaving (Walton Rogers 2007, 9). Poor contextual information means the date of this technological change is uncertain: one of the Borders examples (**B030**, Chapelhaugh) is probably pre 8th century, as are both excavated assemblages associated with *Grubenhäuser* structures in the Lothians (**A024**, Dunbar; **A025**, Ratho), but other stray examples from the Borders may be later. While the corpus of elite precious metal objects makes political power and connections with the south evident, the restriction of both loom weights and insular-made beads to south-eastern Scotland suggests wider participation in technology and exchange networks reaching southwards.

Interconnected centres of secular and monastic power and rich material culture in the Lothians (and to a smaller extent the Borders) show political and cultural connections to

other similar elite centres in southern England. The network of Sutton Courtenay, Long Wittenham and Dorchester-on-Thames demonstrates that heartlands and contested frontiers are not mutually exclusive and indeed may be causally related. Lothian seems to have been presented as a 7th-century royal heartland with real and symbolic links to the other northern political centre at Bamburgh. But it was also conceived as being at a frontier by Bede who drew the line at the Forth. Recently, Maldonado has suggested that the *Grymisdike* identity of the Antonine Wall, attested from the 14th-century, may have originated in the Anglo-Saxon period, implying an overt conception of the area as a frontier containing a linear boundary (Maldonado 2015, 233–4). Aside from a scatter of possible finds some distance to the south and west (stretching into Lanarkshire) there is a gap in Anglo-Saxon material culture beyond the Lothians until the north Ayrshire coast and the Clyde. There is likewise a virtual absence of Anglo-Saxon finds from Fife (see section 9.6.1, below).

While small finds do not necessarily map political or cultural entities, the presence of powerful material culture, new technology and evidence of contacts with elite centres and trading networks to the south, combined with a near total absence of comparable material to the immediate north and west is powerful. The distribution may not co-map with the reality of political or economic organisation, but broadly it shows quite different material connections and identities in Lothian and the lands to the north and west. This represents a change: pre 7th century, the quantities of silver and the absence of gilt metalwork had connected the Lothians to Scotland north of the Forth. By the 7th century, links to the Bernician heartland around Bamburgh and new a material identity with connections to southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms had been created. Both should be seen as deliberate political statements rather than passive reflections of encroaching settlement.

Close dating of this shift to a southern-facing elite Anglo-Saxon material identity within 7th-century Lothian is problematic: the objects have limited contextual information, few finely-dated parallels, and most show evidence for re-use or repair. It is possible that this developing identity ran parallel to Fraser's putative shift from a hypothetical Bernician origin legend created around Aeðilfrith, to one (at some point recently to 731) focussed on the more ancestral (but still less so than other regions) figure of Ida, (Fraser 2009, 149–54). Here we can perhaps glimpse the materiality of different Bernician identities: an early topographically-defined territory, within which an origin legend centred around

someone embroiled in multi-ethnic struggle for Bernicia (and tied to leadership of something with a Bernician identity), followed by a shift in the 7th (or perhaps early 8th) century to origins tied to the creation of an older ancestor during a time of the promulgation of a more Anglo-Saxon or proto-English identity, albeit one was also regionally Northumbrian and connected to the wider North Sea world.

9.2.3   South-eastern Scotland, AD 700–900

The battle of Nectansmere has loomed large in the narrative of 8th- and 9th-century Northumbria, with Bede's record of the desertion of Abercorn becoming a leitmotif for a widespread contraction of Northumbrian power and influence. The sculpture from the region has stood in opposition to this statement, and the small finds reinforce that it is misleading: in south-eastern Scotland there is no major expansion or contraction in the distribution of 8th/9th-century finds compared with 7th-century material, though there are changes in the types of objects recovered. The Forth estuary continues to mark a change in the availability or use of material, with only a single 8th/9th-century object recognised from Fife. If anything, the later assemblage from the Lothians and Borders serves to reinforce similarities with the rest of Northumbria; while the finds suggest the Lothians had a special status during the 7th and early 8th centuries, in the later 8th- and 9th-century assemblage, prestigious metalwork had largely been replaced with common types of copper-alloy strap ends and pins, with a handful of high-status exceptions.

The distribution of 8th- and 9th-century finds covers both coastal and inland find spots. South of the national border, PAS data shows regional concentrations in both the north-east and north-west of England: in the north-east, 8th/9th-century finds overlie and extend concentrations of earlier metalwork around Hadrian's Wall and the Tees Valley, while in the north-west they expand considerably beyond the very restricted pre 8th-century distribution (Map 9.2). In south-eastern Scotland the distributions of pre and post 8th-century material are broadly comparable: there is a similar scatter along Dere Street, a string of finds along the Tweed, and a spread up the coast.
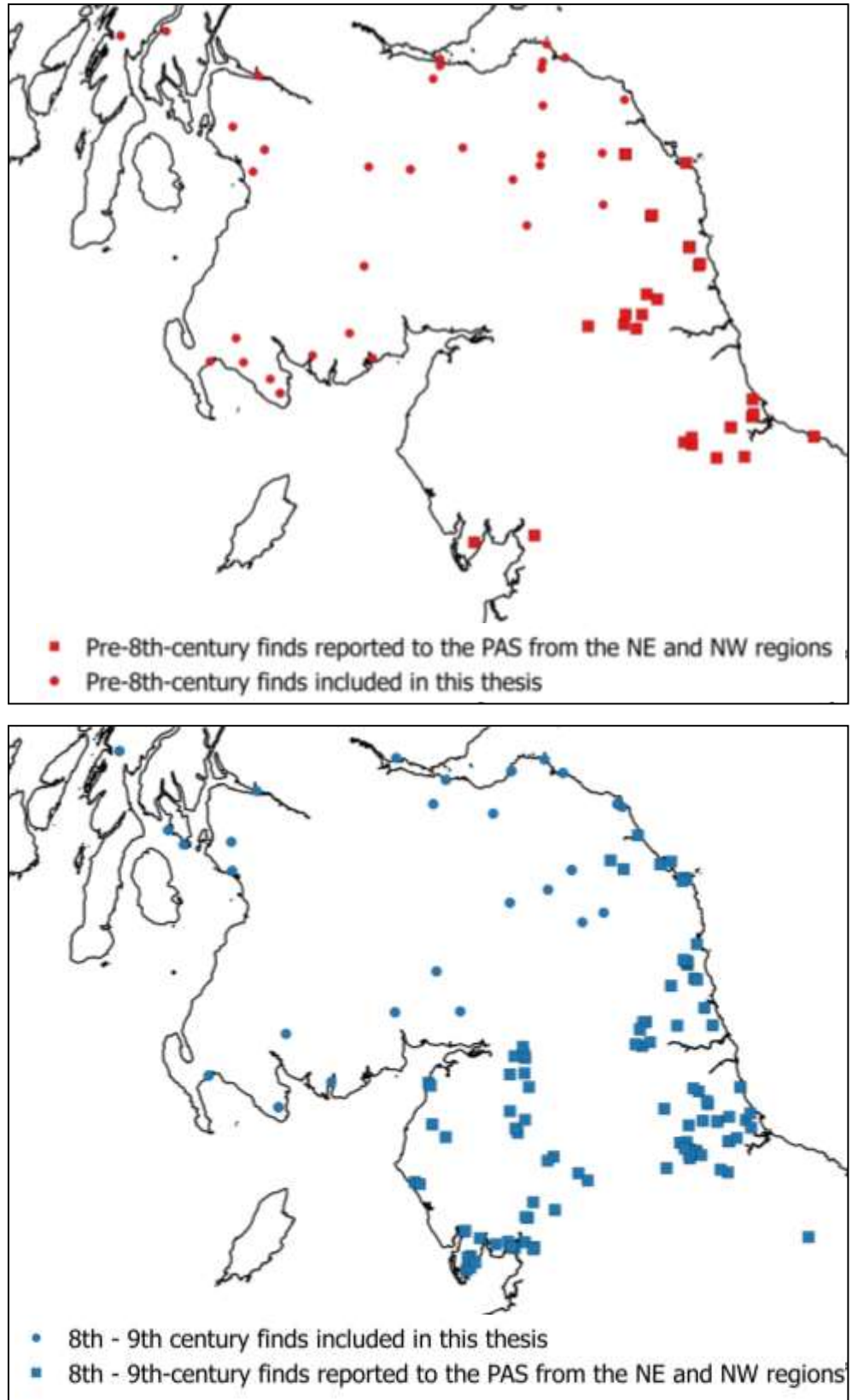
Map 9.2 Scottish Anglo-Saxon finds compared with Portable Antiquities Scheme data for the NW and NE regions of England: top, pre 8th-century finds; bottom, 8th/9th-century finds.

However, with one exception, the Scottish 8th/9th-century finds are restricted to east of Dere Street (or are far enough away to be part of the distribution relating to south-western Scotland); there seems to be a firmer demarcation in the use of objects towards the west than during the earlier period (though this may be due to the ease of identifying increasingly standard types, meaning there is less potential for red herrings to distort the distribution than for the earlier period). Small scatters of finds from along the northern stretch of Dere Street and in the vicinity of other Roman routes stretching into Dumfriesshire suggest they continued to facilitate inland travel. This is expected – as late as the 10th century the community of St Cuthbert recognised Dere Street as a boundary (*Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* 12; 24) and it has long been noted as marking the edge of Anglo-Saxon sculptural traditions and place-names (Smith 1983, 37, 204, 241–2, 345, 353, 425), even if recent interpretation stresses this as evidence of its continuing significance (perhaps tied primarily to its topographical position) rather than as an actual frontier (eg Dunshea 2012, 65–6).

Coastal travel clearly continued to be important (Carver 1990; Ferguson 2011), evident for instance in the distribution of pins from Aberlady, Dunbar, Auldhame and Eyemouth. Elsewhere, pin distributions suggest coastal contacts between Kent and Humberside during the 7th and 8th centuries (Ross 1991, 450), and the Scottish find spots extend this pattern further north. Disc-headed types appear to have been a particular focus for the processes of cross-fertilisation of insular pin fashions that saw the use of hipped pins in the north and south of Britain. Dunbar is one east-coast meeting of different pin fashions, including an Anglo-Saxon style bone disc-headed pin (**B028**) and a hipped insular nail-headed bone pin (Perry 2000, illus 104, 425); Ratho also produced an insular nail-headed pin (Smith 1995, 101, 103, illus 20) as well as Anglo-Saxon loom weights.

The openwork disc-headed pin from Aberlady (**A005**) is also a significant find, providing an artefactual step in the 8th-century stylistic links between Mercia and Pictland identifiable in sculptured monuments, and underlining the importance of the east coast in the contacts that produced the well-recognised stylistic similarities in both areas. Southern Scotland seems therefore to be more important in this material hybridisation than has previously been recognised.

But this does not appear to be part of a wider practice of hybridisation in portable material culture: from the Lothians or Borders there is nothing comparable or contemporary with the 7th-century hybridity at the Mote of Mark (in the production of interlace-decorated metalwork including horse gear) and Dunadd (in creation of new types of brooches, manufacture of buckles and recycling of garnet components). There is evidence in the south east for recycling and reuse – the careful use of gold foils to conceal ill-fitting recycled garnets on the 7th-century East Linton mount (**A016**), and the adaptation and reworking of the slightly later Auldhame mount (**A028**). But pins are the only type of clearly hybridised material, drawing on characteristics of insular and Anglo-Saxon examples, identified from within Northumbrian south-eastern Scotland. Christianity and changes in female costume linked to the need to cover women's hair may lie behind the material entanglement and hybridisation of pin characteristics (Ross 1991, 431; though see section 9.6.1, below).

Many of the later objects are stray finds, but of those with some archaeological context several show continuity at pre 8th-century sites. Continued occupation of the *urbs* at Dunbar is demonstrated by an imported early 8th-century silver sceat (**C077**), one of only two examples of its type from north of the Humber (Blackburn in Perry 2000, 169). Until recently, the Dunbar coin was the most northerly imported coin from the UK, and it remains a rare 8th-century coin find from Scotland. The Dunbar coin and a new sceat from Portmahomack (**C076**) have both been suggested to have arrived direct from Denmark (perhaps Ribe) and the Low Countries, rather than via Anglo-Saxon England, where statistically speaking imported sceattas are a lower proportion of the circulating coinage (Blackburn in Carver et al 2016, D84). Blackburn regarded both as rare evidence for Northumbrian contacts across the North Sea, though he acknowledged that the possibility of arrival via southern England cannot be ruled out (Blackburn in Perry 2000, 169; Blackburn in Carver et al 2001, D84). In England, these coins did not circulate beyond the mid-8th century, while they remained in use longer in Scandinavia and may have arrived directly during the second half of the 8th century.

The rest of the later Dunbar assemblage comprises pins (**A038–40**) and a strap-end (**A043**), and, notwithstanding the sceat, it is at some remove from the imported glass and high-status metalwork of the 7th century. This apparent change in fortune might be related to the prominence of the monastic centre at Tyninghame and a consequent

contraction in Dunbar's remit to the north of the River Tyne (Woolf in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 169). Woolf suggested that the name Auldhame indicates the site was the predecessor of the monastery at Tyningham, a modest cliff-top monastic foundation that was already the 'old minster estate' by the mid-9th century (Woolf in Crone 2016, 166). This kind of shift to large monastic endowments in fertile and low-lying situations seems to be paralleled elsewhere in Northumbria from the later 7th century (Woolf in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 168).

Despite this shift, Auldhame retained status or, on the basis of the small finds evidence, gained from it. Woolf has suggested this might have been thanks to a hagiographical role in the cult of St Baldred, with the church acting as a non-corporeal relic. He envisaged 'a secular priestly household, intimately connected, as satellite, with a more significant monastic establishment' at Tyninghame, a role that might 'explain the mixed signals given off by the archaeological evidence from the site' (Woolf in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 168–9). In this scenario it is not hard to see Auldhame gaining materially (**A028**, **A032**, **B048**, **B049**) as Tyninghame flourished. On the other hand, the later medieval miracle of Baldred's triple corpse might preserve memory of a dispute between Tyninghame, Whitekirk and Auldhame that ended in split burial of the saint's remains and tensions between the different sites (Cross in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 148). Auldhame formed its own pre-reformation parish, unusually small compared with medieval parishes in the vicinity, suggesting it might be 'fossilised unit of defunct land division.. due to.. [a] Northumbrian traditionalism in land management' (Cross in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 147). It is however only one layer of apparently preserved territorial organisation, with Tyninghame providing some of the strongest evidence for mother churches with substantial shire-sized *parochia* anywhere in the Anglo-Saxon world (Woolf in Crone and Hindmarch 2016, 169).

Other sites such as Aberlady have produced only 8th/9th-century material – pins (**A005–A007**), strap ends (**A042**, **A044**, **A045**) and coins (**A084**) – suggesting either *de novo* activity or substantial changes in status or connections. Aberlady has previously been suggested as a coastal productive site involved in pre-Viking trade, and comparable with (much larger) assemblages from Culbin Sands, Glenluce Sands and Stevenston Sands (Griffiths 2009, 267). But recent excavations have revealed evidence of antler working and substantial structures suggestive of a more permanent craft centre, perhaps, given

the proximity of the parish church and the find spot of an Anglo-Saxon sculptural fragment, tied to a monastic or para-monastic community in the vicinity. The size of the Aberlady assemblage is also tiny compared with other Anglo-Saxon 'productive sites' such as Barham, Brandon and Coddenham in Suffolk (Newman 2003) or Cottam in East Yorkshire (Richards 2003); northern Northumbria lacks any site comparable to these examples from East Anglia or Deira. Full interpretation of the Aberlady assemblage awaits post-excavation analysis, but it compares well with the later material from Castle Park, Dunbar and Coldingham – strap ends, pins and several contemporary Northumbrian stycas.

Amongst the 8th/9th-century finds are several objects likely to be specifically Northumbrian products: the strap end from Coldingham (**A033**); and the gold ring from Selkirk (**A015**); both have northern parallels and represent a distinctly Northumbrian development of the Trewhiddle style (also expressed in related geometric ornament as found on the Talnotrie pins from Galloway, **A030**). Interestingly, within the whole corpus of Scottish strap ends, only the Coldingham example and one from the Talnotrie hoard (**A039**) have the 'comma-shaped' ears characteristic of northern strap ends (Thomas 2000); they are also the best made examples recognised from Scotland. Many of the remainder, including strap-ends from Maxton (**A058**) and Chatto Craig (**A036**) in the Borders, appear to have arrived from further afield. This is not perhaps surprising given the widespread distribution of Class A strap ends across England (Thomas 2000, 257) but it demonstrates something more than Northumbrian-produced objects travelling northwards. These two Northumbrian objects are also the highest-status objects recognised from the region: the Coldingham strap-end is finely made and features silver-wire inlay, and the Selkirk ring is gold; the Northumbrian-style strap end from south-west Scotland is silver.

9.3 South-western Scotland

9.3.1 South-western Scotland, AD 500–700

There are similarities between the assemblages from Dumfries and Galloway and south-eastern Scotland: a significant number of finds; a similar proportion of decorated metalwork; and a similar proportion of glass beads to the Lothians (but not to the Borders where beads are over represented) in a similar range of colours (in contrast with other parts of Scotland, discussed further below). However, there are a number of differences too. The south-west produced finds from a greater range of site types, including three hillforts. While there is a piece of gold jewellery and a silver cup mount from the south-west, there is no cluster of precious metals or garnet-bearing objects comparable to that from the Lothians (contra Laing and Longley 2006, 168). Of the total decorated metalwork, only 20% is pre 8th century, despite several significant excavation assemblages: the metal-detected 8th/9th-century finds are a significant part of the region's assemblage. Finally, no clay loom weights and only one potentially insular-made bead (**B019**) have been identified from Dumfries and Galloway. These contrasts between the assemblages from south-western and south-eastern Scotland suggest differences in how the two areas accessed and used Anglo-Saxon material.

The pre 8th-century material comprises stray finds (the majority of which are tentatively identified glass beads) and objects from three hillfort excavations. Excavation and interpretation of one of the sites, Tynron Doon, has been very limited indeed, and it is difficult to comment further other than to note the hillfort produced the south-west's only gold find and Dumfriesshire's only find spot of a pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon object (**A029**; two glass beads are also known from the site, **C030** and **C067**). The Tynron Doon gold fragment probably post-dates assemblages from the other two hillforts, Mote of Mark and Trusty's Hill in Kirkcudbrightshire. As will be explored below, Tynron Doon is an outlier in the regional distribution of Anglo-Saxon finds in south-western Scotland and its finds may be unrelated to the processes that resulted in the Galloway assemblage: the gold is probably part of a cruciform-design pendant, explicitly Christian when made, suggesting a possible motivation for its arrival and use.

Analysis of the Mote of Mark assemblage has changed between interim (Laing 1973) and full (Laing and Longley 2006) publication, with the number of suggested Anglo-Saxon finds now reduced (12 objects have been included in the present catalogue). Recent re-excavation at Trusty's Hill has provided a single new find (**A060**) and greater dating information (Toolis and Bowles 2017). The small-finds assemblages from these two Galloway sites have significant characteristics in common: evidence for the production of fine metalwork, imported glass and pottery (limited for the 6th century, increasing during the later 6th to mid-7th century), and some Anglo-Saxon material. Interpretation of the two by the excavators has been subtly different: both have been seen as fortified metalworking centres, but Trusty's Hill has also been identified as a royal residence.

Anglo-Saxon 'influence or inspiration' was identified among the Mote of Mark finds and metalworking evidence, though whether a product of 'direct Northumbrian involvement or, more probably, the assimilation of contiguous cultural influences … is now difficult to establish' (Laing and Longley 2006, 168). However, the extent of these Anglo-Saxon elements remains uncertain because the site's vessel glass (**C037**, **C038**), interlace-decorated mounts (**B050–B054**) and glass beads (**C027–C029**) have affinities in both Anglo-Saxon England and continental material.

The origins and interpretation of the interlace at the Mote of Mark has proved particularly problematic (Laing 1975; Graham-Campbell and Close-Brooks 1976; Laing and Longley 2006), part of wider issues surrounding the development and transmission of interlace and Style II in England (and northern Europe); latterly, Laing and Longley favoured an Anglo-Saxon connection to explain its presence at the site (Laing and Longley 2006, 153). The Mote of Mark moulds together with triple-strand interlace mounts from Dunadd (**A027**) and Portmahomack (**A080**) Carver et al 2016, 91–2, fig 4.23) suggest an apparent receptiveness towards non-zoomorphic Style II in parts of Scotland. Høilund Neilsen (1999) has distinguished between two English traditions of Style II, an Anglian variant with affinities to Danish material, characterised as dynamic and zoomorphic-focussed, and a Kentish type with links to Frankish material that became more focussed on non-zoomorphic interlace. The proportion of Scottish find spots of non-zoomorphic versus zoomorphic interlace, together with the absence of other Style II metalwork from southern Scotland, might suggest either Kentish influence or connections with Francia at play at the Mote of Mark. However, while Neilsen's distinction is statistically significant, it

serves only as a broad trend rather than an indication of origins of specific objects; non-zoomorphic interlace does occur beyond Kent, including at Sutton Hoo, if not as frequently as within it. In addition, zoomorphic Style II is known from Scotland, though of the Anglo-Saxon rather than Insular expressions, only the Dornoch mount (**A018**) carries interlacing beasts; neither the Trusty's Hill Style II birds' heads nor Dunadd pressblech Style II beast (**D009**) are combined with ribbons.

More sherds of Germanic Group B vessel glass have been recognised from the south-west than pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon finds. The Mote of Mark and Whithorn share a number of vessel types that are otherwise rare, suggesting either they enjoyed contemporary supply by the same merchants or were part of a re-distribution system along the Solway coast (Campbell in Laing and Longley 2006, 113). But there are significant difficulties in interpreting this glass, both regarding its point of manufacture and whether its arrival route involved direct or indirect contact with the Anglo-Saxon south, Northumbria or the continent.

The early glass from Whithorn appears to be from a variety of production centres, including East Anglia (claw beakers), Kent (early ribbed palm cups), and the Rhineland (Kempston cone). Campbell suggested overland distribution via Northumbria was most likely for the Scottish finds spots of Germanic Group B glass (Campbell 2007, 73), though few comparable vessels have been identified from northern England and the dating of contexts at Whithorn are early. Campbell has interpreted the early Anglo-Saxon vessel glass at Whithorn as the 'preliminary stages of Northumbrian influence in the south-west', part of a specific gift-exchange of glass vessels at a diplomatic level that was the first step in asserting political control over neighbouring areas (Campbell 2009, 256–7). Campbell also saw the first recognised comparable vessels in Ireland as 'a sign of Anglo-Saxon interest in extending some sort of hegemony or alliance in these areas from the later 6th to 8th centuries' (Campbell 2009, 257). Campbell saw this glass as wholly separate from the Atlantic trading system, though several (but not all) of these vessel types are also known from south-western Britain. The non-English find spots of these vessels include two sites in Ireland and the centres in Galloway, particularly Whithorn, that are so prominent in the trade bringing E ware to western Britain. It therefore seems possible that the earliest Whithorn glass also arrived via the British leg of the Atlantic coast network, perhaps following redistribution along the Thames Valley from south-

eastern England to Wales/south-west England. If so, its presence in western Scotland (and Ireland) has fewer political implications for the region.

In general the south-west's bead colour profile appears comparable to that from the south-east of Scotland. A range of colours and types are represented, including one possible example of an insular-Anglo-Saxon-made bead (**B019**). This suggests that redistribution from Northumbria is a possible explanation for their presence in the south west. The range of different colours evident in southern Scotland contrasts with a slight tendency toward darker beads in the central-west and west (see Chapter 7 and Map 7.3). This distinction may be due to a distinct supply mechanism for dark beads involving the Atlantic network; amongst the dark beads are two convincing Frankish imports from Buiston and Dunadd (Campbell 2007, 81).

The south-west of Scotland has also produced several examples of bead-types that seem to be mainly found on the continent, both from sites with continental imports and as isolated finds. These also happen to be 'dark' beads, further suggesting that colour may be linked to production source or arrival mechanism. The south-west's 'dark' beads are from Whithorn (**C026**) and (possibly) Glenluce Sands (**C023**). On the basis of their colour and apparent origin, together with the findspots at and near Whithorn, these two beads might be linked to the Atlantic redistribution of E ware, and, as suggested above, small numbers of early Anglo-Saxon glass vessels to south-west Scotland. This apparent selection of 'dark' beads could be seen as relational entanglement – not the physical hybridising of objects, but the selective reinterpretation of unchanged imports.

The issues surrounding the vessels, beads and interlace metalwork from south-western Scotland can be summarised as: potentially complicated patterns of the redistribution of objects that have affinities with (and possibly production at) multiple centres but with few recognised parallels from Northumbria. Tentative interpretation of this muddled picture suggests a hypothesis: that the early Whithorn glass and several dark glass beads from nearby arrived via the Atlantic network, some possibly redistributed from southern England rather than brought from the continent direct. The remaining pre 8th-century material is suggestive of a switch in emphasis and a wider range of Anglo-Saxon objects. The crannog at Buiston in Ayrshire (discussed fully below, section 9.4.1) has sufficiently fine wood preservation and dendrochronological dating to suggest a chronological

distinction in these two apparently distinct supply mechanisms: vessel glass (and perhaps imported beads) only in the late 6th–early 7th century, followed by a change to access to a wider array of (more clearly insular) Anglo-Saxon material during the second third of the 7th century. In this interpretation, the early glass need not imply early Northumbrian political aspirations expressed in diplomatic gifting, but adds to understanding of the complex Atlantic coast network (and its concomitant relationships and obligations) and connections with south-western Britain and Ireland.

Laing and Longley's 2006 interpretation of the Mote of Mark assemblage shifted away from the earlier equation between objects and settlement (Laing 1973), but retained a pseudo-historical framework of Northumbrian political control gained by encroachment from Aeðilfrith's reign. Possible contexts for 'Anglicising tendencies' were sought in a hypothetical requirement to provide Northumbrian overlords with appropriately Anglo-Saxon gifts or tribute and personal relationships between members of the Northumbrian and British elites and their entourages (Laing and Longley 2006, 168). Hybridisation in this secular context is seen in negative terms, in contrast to the less weighted language often applied to the 'flowering' of Insular art in ecclesiastical contexts.

Recent interpretation of the Trusty's Hill assemblage placed it within the broader context of cultural hybridisation in post-Roman Britain (Toolis and Bowles 2017, 129–32), and argued that Anglian influence should be expected within the region. Toolis and Bowles characterised Trusty's Hill, the Mote of Mark and Whithorn as centres of the production of Insular art (Toolis and Bowles 2017, 131). Though Trusty's Hill has not yet produced sufficient evidence to justify their status as an 'epicentre of cultural creation' (Toolis and Bowles 2017, 131), their study allows for more local agency, contextualising Anglo-Saxon-style finds from both sites in the production of other fine metalwork and exotic imports. The conclusion of that report and this thesis is that there is no need to assign (political/ethnic) primacy to the Anglo-Saxon elements within the sites' assemblages.

The presence of an Anglo-Saxon runic inscription at the Mote of Mark (**A061**) can most plausibly be interpreted as direct personal contact with the Anglo-Saxon north. But there is no evidence from Dumfries and Galloway for the kinds of connections to the 7th-century Anglo-Saxon shared court culture embodied by the high-status objects found in Lothians. This absence from a putative royal centre (at Trusty's Hill) and a settlement of

significant (and perhaps higher) status at Whithorn means there is little convincing evidence for elite personal ties between Bernicia and the south-west, as evoked in many narratives for the region (see Chapter 2). In general terms, the south-west's hillfort assemblages could be compared with that from the royal centre at Dunadd in Argyll: all have produced imported pottery and glass, evidence for fine metalworking, and Anglo-Saxon-influenced objects. However, the presence of a gold and garnet stud (**A026**) and buckle manufacture at Dunadd (**A063**, **A064**) provides better indications of access to Anglo-Saxon elite martial material culture in Dál Riata than are apparent in the south-west (discussed further below, section 9.6.1). While the south-west did not fall under a comparable political/royal gaze to the Lothians, nor produce the high-status metalwork from Dunadd, the Galloway assemblage shows an openness to using and adapting influences from elsewhere, entanglement that is both relational and physical.

Although recent interpretation of the Trusty's Hill excavations removed the link between the presence (and manufacture at Mote of Mark) of small finds and external political control, the excavators pushed a link between the site's destruction and campaigns by Bernicia (Toolis and Bowles 2017, 134) further than the interpretation of Mote of Mark (Laing and Longley 2006, 168). This narrative, built on archaeological and placename interpolation, promotes a major cultural shift from the 7th century. The small-finds catalogued here provide both an interesting new lens on this question, with small numbers found more widely than previously appreciated. The finds also provide a contrast to previous work on the distribution of Anglo-Saxon sculpture from the region. Craig and Toop have both emphasised the lack of Anglo-Saxon-style monuments from the vicinity of Whithorn, with the River Cree identified as a boundary between different styles (Craig 1991, 55; 1992, 271–2; Toop 2011, 99). In contrast, this thesis has identified possible find spots of pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon finds west of the Cree: material from Whithorn and two other sites on the Machars (**C007**, **C009**) and one to the west from Glenluce Sands (**C026**). Most are potentially Anglo-Saxon glass beads, and this altered distribution shows the benefit of looking beyond decorated metalwork.

Recent reinterpretation of the function and phasing of activity at Whithorn has changed the site's narrative substantially, and given its importance in the historical framework for the region (providing for many a *taq* for Northumbrian 'expansion') this has significant implications. Work since the original excavation publication (Hill 1997) suggested that the

weight of imports had more in common with high-status secular centres (Campbell 1991; Campbell in Hill 1997; 2007). Whithorn's supposedly early enclosures and 'shrines' have been reinterpreted, some as relating to manufacturing evidence, for instance associated with glass working (Gondek 2003, 281–2; Toop 2005, 279–86; Maldonado 2011, 183). Maldonado has also highlighted unusual features at Whithorn: a significant number of intercutting graves, association between burial, settlement and manufacture evidence, and the use of boundary ditches and walls (Maldonado 2011, 203). There were clearly early burials, but whether other activity was secular or ecclesiastical, perhaps linked to early monastic site at Kirkmadrine (Forsyth and Maldonado 2013), remains unclear. Excavations at Portmahomack (Easter Ross) might provide a model – there a 'family estate' akin to Irish 'settlement-cemeteries' may have preceded the monastic foundation (Carver et al 2016).

The shift in Whithorn's layout that has in the past been attributed to Northumbrian reorganisation of a pre-existing monastic site appears to coincide with the cessation of continental imports, the arrival of Anglo-Saxon coinage, and the restriction of burial to a handful of high-status graves within a stone chapel and a children's burial ground (Maldonado 2011, 183). While this remains compelling evidence for significant change at the site, it may relate to the establishment of a *de novo* Northumbrian minster rather than Northumbrian reorganisation of an earlier monastery. Though this shift saw the addition of new burial rites and a change in burial orientation, Maldonado could detect no evidence for an imposition of top-down burial organisation: 'neither the foundation of churches nor the arrival of migrants seems to fundamentally change the multifocal, ultra-local nature of the burial rites in Whithorn' (Maldonado 2011, 206).

There is little evidence that pre-Northumbrian Whithorn obtained Anglo-Saxon material equivalent to or contemporary with assemblages from the high-status metalworking sites of Mote of Mark and Trusty's Hill. The majority of the diagnostic Anglo-Saxon finds from Whithorn are later and can be linked to the minster (see below). Possible exceptions include a piece of undecorated horse harness dated to the 6th/7th century (**A067**), together with several finds only broadly datable (6th/8th-century vessel bindings, **A069–A072**; and a 7th/8th-century purse mount, **B059**). A silver mount (**A068**) might also be included in this group – it has previously been dated to the 7th century on art-historical grounds (Hill 1997, 398), though given its simple design this is not compelling. The

harness mount (**A067**) is one of a type of bit predominately found in eastern Anglian England (together with one other outlier from Lagore, Co Meath; Fern 2005, 48), and in the context of the manufacture of axe-blade and roundel mounts at the Mote of Mark (**B051–B054**) and the presence of the Style II roundel at Trusty's Hill (**A060**) suggests a certain interest in horse gear in Galloway in the later 6th and early 7th century. But this focus is small when compared with the scale of Whithorn's imported continental pottery and glass.

The openness to Anglo-Saxon material culture evident in Galloway appears to contrast with material attitudes in the eastern and southern Solway region (Map 9.2, top). The only pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon finds from Cumbria recorded by the PAS are from the southernmost extent of the region, and all stand out as significant or otherwise rare finds: a Frankish tremissis (minted c 620–40) from Burton in Kendal, and two pressblech dies, from Walney North and Urswick (PAS LANCUM-3E51D8; LANCUM-6597B4; LANCUM-52E1C3). The tremissis might (as suggested for two coins from Irish find spots) be another type of continental material arriving via the Atlantic trading system. However, no continental pottery or glass has been recognised from north-west England, and unlike the (earlier) vessel glass the coin can now be paralleled by an example from Northumbria (**C074**), suggesting Anglo-Saxon involvement is more likely. The 8th/9th-century finds recorded by the PAS from Cumbria and the TTU in Dumfriesshire show that the dearth of earlier material is not a product of the amount of metal-detecting activity generally – there is a striking difference in the distribution of pre 8th-century versus 8th/9th-century finds (compare Map 9.2, top and bottom). O'Sullivan's catalogue of Anglo-Saxon finds from Cumbria adds two further pre 8th-century finds but neither can be well provenanced: a 7th-century interlace-decorated roundel (similar to moulds from the Mote of Mark) and gold filigree decorated sword mounts, both attributed only to Cumberland (O'Sullivan 1993).

Mapping both the Cumbrian and Dumfries and Galloway finds together suggests local, competing strategies to material culture use on either side of the Solway, with Dumfries-shire more comparable to Cumbria than Kirkcudbrightshire or Wigtownshire to the west (Map 9.2). While relations with Bernicia might be part of this context, we should not ignore local motivations for this presence/adoption of Anglo-Saxon objects: material culture habits may have had more to do with relations across and along the Solway rather

than (directly) to Bernicia/Northumbria through the Tweed/Solway Gap. Though it is unwise to attempt naming and defining these entities (see critique of various attempts in Dunshea 2012, 89–98), recognising different approaches towards material culture is one means of distinguishing discrete attitudes and practices within the wider Solway region.

9.3.2 South-western Scotland, AD 700–800

Changing interpretation of the archaeological remains at Whithorn has been paralleled by a shift in the interpretation of historical sources for the Northumbrian foundation (see Chapter 2). As these sources provide the main historical evidence upon which narratives of the Anglicisation of the region have been built, unravelling the motivations behind their creation has substantial consequences, consequences that Fraser highlights but which have not yet been dealt with in detail by historians (Fraser 2002, 58–9). In the meantime it is clear that, until recently, both archaeologists and historians have been too ready to see continuation between the pre-Northumbrian and Northumbrian periods at Whithorn. In both the archaeological and textual evidence, cases for deliberately created continuity can be made: in the siting of a Northumbrian minster at an existing high-status site, and the lack of top-down change to existing burial practices; and in the appropriation of a local saint to create a place and person that logically supported Whithorn's elevation to a Northumbrian see.

The small finds can add something to this picture, both at the site and in the wider region, though the issue of dating remains a significant hindrance. Changes in the material culture at Whithorn seem to be more apparent than shifts in burial practice, visible in the ending of Atlantic imports and the presence of greater quantities of Anglo-Saxon-style objects and fittings by at least the later 8th century. The majority fit chronologically and functionally with the Northumbrian minster: window glass (**A075**), coffin fittings (**B060**), stylus (**A073**), strap ends (**A046**, **A057**), pins (**B055–B058)** and coins (**A082**). The assemblage is small compared with middle Anglo-Saxon 'productive' (and perhaps monastic) sites such as Brandon (Suffolk) and Flixborough (Lincolnshire), though these are now recognised as exceptional, the top of a hierarchy, rather than representative

assemblages (Blair 2005, 206–12; Ulmschneider 2000; Loveluck 2001; Loveluck and Evans 2009).

Although a material culture shift linked to the establishment of the minster is visible, it does not dominate Whithorn's assemblage: the proportion of distinctly Anglo-Saxon small finds recovered during the major excavation programme remains relatively small. It is possible that a Northumbrian controlled foundation, overseen by Acca from Hexham, had been established at Whithorn prior to its elevation (Fraser 2002), but if so there is little material that can be readily associated with it. Possible candidates include the silver mount, rim mounts and bridle piece, discussed above, but none are objects typical of a minster, and the rest of the material – the coffin fittings, window glass, pins and the strap-end – belongs to the mid-8th century onwards.

Fourteen 8th-century sceattas are known from Whithorn, the only concentration from Scotland, and one of only five find-spots (Pirie in Hill 1997). Most are Northumbrian issues, and in general terms Whithorn fits well with other Northumbrian 'productive' sites in its coin profile, differing from southern Anglo-Saxon sites in the significant numbers of base stycas circulating in the mid-9th century (Blackburn 2003, 30–1, compare figs 3.4 and 3.5). One other site in the south-west, Barhobble, Mochrum, also produced an 8th-century sceat (Pirie in Hill 1997, 334), suggesting links to Whithorn. Aside from its size, the Whithorn coin assemblage is unusual in the long span of Northumbrian issues, from c 737 to c 855. It contains one type of sceat otherwise restricted to East Anglia, and another with monastic associations and iconography suggesting it was struck under ecclesiastical rather than royal authority (ibid 335). Amongst the stycas is a coin of Aeðelred's successor Osberht, one of the kings killed by the Great Army in 867, demonstrating that Whithorn was integrated within the Northumbrian economy right up until its fragmentation (Woolf 2007, 79).

The region's pre 8th-century assemblage, reviewed above, consists of small numbers of finds focussed at high-status sites, suggestive of the elite adoption in Galloway of limited aspects of Anglo-Saxon material culture. The small finds do not support notions (deliberately) embedded within the written and archaeological sources of the logic and inevitability of Northumbrian influence in the area. There is a marked increase in the number of 8th/9th-century Anglo-Saxon objects from the south-west, an increase that is

in sharp contrast to most of northern and western Scotland (southern Pictland maintains the same low levels across both periods). As discussed in Chapter 5, this may in part be a product of variable metal-detecting activity across Scotland: detecting seems to play a particular role in the recovery of 8th/9th-century metalwork and reported activity is low generally across Strathclyde, Argyll and Northern and Western Isles. However, Dumfries and Galloway has produced the same number of strap ends and pins as the Lothians and Borders combined, suggesting that its visibility is down to more than just recovery bias: there are closer connections between material culture practices in south-eastern and south-western Scotland during the 8th and 9th centuries than in the preceding centuries. This is also reflected in the coin profile at Whithorn, which as mentioned above, fits comfortably in the pattern for Northumbrian 'productive' sites (Blackburn 2003).

The region's only stylistically Northumbrian (rather than generically Anglo-Saxon) 8th/9th-century object is, in common with the south-eastern assemblage, also notably high status: a northern-style silver strap end (**A039**), compared with eight copper-alloy examples from the region that lack the northern characteristics. Unlike the equivalent Northumbrian-style objects from south-eastern Scotland, the Galloway strap-end is demonstrably part of a hoard. Graham-Campbell accepted all of the Talnotrie hoard's contents as Anglo-Saxon with the sole exception of a lead weight decorated with reused Insular metalwork, a type usually associated with Viking economic practices (Graham-Campbell 2001). However, most of the material, including the gold finger ring and spindle whorls, is effectively culturally undiagnostic, and besides the silver strap end, only the pair of Anglo-Saxon silver disc-headed pins (**A030**) have been included in this thesis. Interpretation has tended to focus on a Viking context for the hoard's accumulation and burial in Galloway, with little consideration of what the combination of Anglo-Saxon and Viking material means for cultural attitudes or material realities in Galloway specifically, or for elsewhere in northern Britain and the Irish Sea region.

Interpretation of this combination of high-value Anglo-Saxon objects and Viking material will be altered by the discovery of the Galloway hoard (see www.nms.ac.uk/gallowayhoard). At the time of writing, even the full contents of this internationally-significant discovery remain uncertain, with several groups of objects still concealed within organic bundles. While this makes any substantive comment presumptive, it is clear that the Galloway and Talnotrie hoards differ not just in

magnitude and in the presence/absence of Viking silver, but also in the nature of the Anglo-Saxon objects they contain. The Galloway hoard includes a significant ecclesiastical component (a pectoral cross as well as potential aestels concealed within organic remains) alongside multiple brooches. The Talnotrie hoard also contains a cross-shaped mount, as well as pins, the weight and coins that bear all simple cross-based imagery. James Graham-Campbell's preliminary interpretation of the 'Galloway hoard' has found nothing distinctive to Galloway in its make-up, though he identified the pectoral cross as potentially of Northumbrian manufacture (Graham-Campbell 2017). The hoard's place in narratives of Northumbria and early medieval Scotland remains for the present unclear.

In addition to the two hoards and the group of stray dress accessories, the association of an Anglo-Saxon mount from Wamphray (**A059**) with several Insular interconnecting mounts suggests the presence of a Viking-style burial in the vicinity. At the moment there is a disconnection between material related to the core Northumbrian minster activity at Whithorn and narratives of the Hiberno-Norse activity in the region. The background distribution of Anglo-Saxon strap ends and pins in Dumfries and Galloway (and to the south in Cumbria), together with the Wamphray mount, should be part of the interpretation of the wider context of both the Galloway and Talnotrie hoards, and one that has the potential to build a more connected understanding of the cultural contacts and horizons in the region during the 8th and 9th centuries.

9.4   Central-western Scotland

9.4.1   Central-western Scotland, AD 500–700

The early medieval political geography of the region defined here as central-western Scotland, embracing the modern counties of Ayrshire, Lanarkshire and Dunbartonshire, seems to have encompassed a convergence of borders: of Dál Riata, polities (with extents that fluctuated over time) associated with the stronghold at Alt Clut and, from 750 but perhaps earlier, Northumbria in the Kyle around north Ayrshire (Woolf 2007, 4–9; see below). The region's Anglo-Saxon finds assemblage consists of a cluster from Buiston

crannog in Ayrshire with only a very few finds found beyond it. This pattern probably partly reflects historically low levels of chance-find reporting from the region, but may also suggest local differences in the availability of and/or attitudes to Anglo-Saxon imported material culture (discussed further below).

Excavations at Buiston crannog in the 19th and 20th century produced relatively modest numbers but a significant range of types of Anglo-Saxon material; depending on how the data are grouped, Buiston has the third highest range from Scotland, greater than the *urbs regis* at Dunbar. Though most of the 1989–90 excavation assemblage resulted from a short period of occupation between AD 594 and c 613 (Crone 2000, 111), the only potential Anglo-Saxon finds recovered from these levels were sherds of Germanic glass. The rest of the catalogued material was from Munro's 19th-century excavation of a 'refuse heap' which Crone has since dated dendrochronologically to after AD 630 (Crone 2000, 111). The fineness of Buiston's dendrochronological framework suggests a change in access to Germanic imports: from vessel glass only in the late 6th–early 7th century, to a wider array of more clearly insular Anglo-Saxon material culture during the second third of the 7th century. As noted above, there are hints of such a shift (though less precisely dated) elsewhere, most clearly at Whithorn but perhaps also at the Mote of Mark. At Buiston the arrival of Anglo-Saxon material culture seems to coincide with a change in status of occupants, evident in new access to oak and an increase in domestic floor area (Crone 2000, 165).

Crone had suggested that Bernician pressure may have been part of the motivation for the reuse of the crannog substrate in the late 6th century AD (Crone 2000, 161), though the resurgence in crannog construction is a wider early medieval phenomenon, found in Ireland as well as elsewhere in western Scotland. Woolf has suggested that Edwin's 8th-century annexation of north Ayrshire represented the retaking of territory lost in 685, raising the possibility of some level of Northumbrian control during the 7th century (Woolf 2007, 4). If this was the case, there are no material indications of 7th-century elite political investment in the new border area comparable to that near the north-eastern frontier in Lothian.

In material terms, Buiston can be better compared with the hillfort assemblages from Galloway (but not on present evidence with pre-minster Whithorn). Galloway, Ayrshire

and part of Dál Riata appear to exhibit similar attitudes towards the value of exotic Anglo-Saxon material culture in the early 7th century, in contrast to their immediate neighbours: Cumbria, Dumfriesshire, southern Ayrshire, and north of the Clyde. But these similarities need not belie the same political standing/relations with Bernicia – rather than passive evidence for Northumbrian control, this material tells us about the active use of material culture in local spheres. The reality of connections to Northumbria may or may not correlate with the material: the exotica could be as much local propaganda as the spoils of meaningful relationships.

Buiston was not interpreted as a royal site but home to a 'wealthy freeman farmer who controlled local resources and manpower but who may well have been bound to a more powerful overlord' (Crone 2000, 165), suggesting the shift apparent in the material assemblage may be a result of changes in the status or connections of those sitting higher up within the redistribution system. Crone suggested links between Buiston and Alt Clut, natural perhaps given the historical prominence of the stronghold combined with the (partial) excavations at Dumbarton Rock. But Woolf's putative border between (Northumbrian) Kyle in the 7th century would separate Buiston from Alt Clut (Woolf 2007, map I.2). Excavations at Dumbarton Rock recovered Germanic vessel glass (**C043**, **C059**, **C060**) but no other indications of material Anglo-Saxon contacts. This could be a product of limited excavation compared with Buiston, but it may instead hint that Alt Clut operated in a different sphere, with either limited access or desire to use Anglo-Saxon-style imports. Woolf has suggested that the territory associated with Alt Clut stretched at times as far west as Peebles, through the Biggar gap (Woolf 2007, 5), which would encompass the find spots of stray beads from Coulter (**C017–C020**) and Lesmahagow (**C024**), though all are only very tentative identifications and no non-bead finds are known from the region. Otherwise, Anglo-Saxon material is absent: there are no further finds to the north until well beyond the Forth, or to the west until the cluster from Buiston.

James Fraser among others has argued against equating the polity of Alt Clut with the later kingdom of Strathclyde, suggesting instead that 6th/7th-century Alt Clut may have been attached to Manau (across the Stirling plain and encompassing Fife) and Strathearn (Fraser 2009, 135–6). Pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon finds are also absent from these regions adjacent to Alt Clut, although there is a small cluster from just to the north and east of Strathearn; this group is discussed further below but may constitute another

instance of local difference in attitudes to imported material, in the districts immediately beyond a hypothetical Alt Clut–Manau–Strathearn entity. Bernician involvement has been suggested as a factor in the separation of Alt Clut from Manau and Strathearn by around the mid-7th century (the earliest contemporary use of 'the king of Clyde Rock' is in 657; Fraser 2009, 136).

Others have put Buiston adjacent to but beyond the borders of Cenél nGabráin territory (Lane and Campbell 2000, illus 7.29). Comparison of the assemblages from Buiston and Dunadd demonstrates some important similarities. Both have produced similarly rare material, including a Frankish bead type otherwise uncommon in Britain, as well as (otherwise extremely rare) Anglo-Saxon brooches (an unmodified annular from Buiston, **A014**; and production of hybrid bird-penannulars at Dunadd, **D002–D008**), buckles (simple iron only at Buiston, **B006**; iron and manufacture of precious-metal components at Dunadd, **A063**, **A064**), and, if Buiston's forged gold tremissis counts, Anglo-Saxon gold (**A079**). Perhaps tellingly, both sites have also produced elements of hanging bowls, a type of object with manufacture evidence in Scotland but main distributions in southern Anglo-Saxon graves.

Differences between the assemblages from Buiston and Dunadd could plausibly relate to their status, interpreted as a wealthy freeman's residence and a potential royal centre and inauguration site, respectively. However, they may also be a product of the lack of metalworking debris at Buiston, rather than necessarily representing different access to material – at a minimum, the buckles, brooches and the gold and garnet stud from Dunadd can be attributed to metalworking and recycling at the site and are not matched there by complete examples. It will be argued below that the buckles and brooches at Dunadd, and particularly their manufacture (hybridised either physically or in usage), are potential indicators of personal relationships with members of the Northumbrian elite. Similarities between Dunadd and Buiston mean this interpretation might be extended there also, though whether those relationships and material were mediated by rather than shared with the Cenél nGabráin is unclear.

9.4.2 Central-western Scotland, AD 700–900

Only a handful of later finds have been recognised from central-western Scotland. This is a significant difference from Dumfries and Galloway to the south, with its substantial assemblage of 8th/9th-century metalwork, and one which brings central-western Scotland in this later period more in line with the pattern for Argyll to the north and west. Of the three catalogued finds, only one is metal (**A040**); the remaining two are vessel sherds (**C043**, **C050**). The variable extent of metal-detecting across Scotland will be a factor in this restricted assemblage, particularly given its apparently significant role in the recovery of 8th/9th-century metalwork; any meaningful differences are disguised by recovery bias.

The few finds recognised have a coastal focus. The sole metal find is the strap end from Stevenston Sands (**A040**), an area that has produced a diverse assemblage from prehistoric to modern finds, including a handful of other potentially early medieval and Viking-period objects (Callander 1933). Griffiths situated the Stevenston Sands material in the context of coastal 'productive' sites in the west of Britain, interpreted as 'small non-elite and largely undefended settlements which occasionally functioned within a very long-lived tradition of seasonal markets' (Griffiths 2003, 64–5). Some, like Dalkey Island, Dublin, appear to have been situated in liminal positions, perhaps in order to facilitate trade and interaction between different political spheres (Griffiths 2003, 65, 71). Woolf places his 8th-century boundary between Kyle and Alt Clut around Ardrossan, not far from Stevenston Sands (Woolf 2007, Map I.7), suggesting it might have occupied a politically (rather than geographically) liminal position appropriate for a trading place. However, the Stevenston Sands assemblage is considerably smaller than that from Glenluce or Culbin Sands, and Griffiths concedes some smaller groups of material may relate to inundated settlements rather than central seasonal trading places (Griffiths 2009, 278).

9.5   Western Scotland

9.5.1 Western Scotland, AD 500–700

Argyll has the same combination of one extremely prominent excavated site and very limited stray finds as central-western Scotland, although, unlike Ayrshire and Clydeside, several of Argyll's single finds stand out as precious-metal objects. Also like the central-west, Argyll almost totally lacks later 8th/9th-century material, and the conclusion must be that fieldwork and metal-detecting patterns have had a significant impact on the data from both regions. Dunadd stands out in the region in terms of quantity of objects and in being the only site to have produced both continental imports and Anglo-Saxon material. Dunadd is also exceptional beyond Argyll, being the site with the greatest range of different categories of Anglo-Saxon (or influenced) material from Scotland (see Table 5.7). Interestingly, the other site that dominates narratives of early medieval Argyll – Iona – produced no pre 8th-century material, and only a single later Anglo-Saxon find, deposited in a 10th-century hoard (see below).

The 1980–1 excavations at Dunadd demonstrated that the Anglo-Saxon finds were part of an intensive and potentially short-lived period of metalworking, perhaps lasting a generation or two, which embraced production, recycling and hybridisation (Lane and Campbell 2000). Campbell subsequently interpreted this in post-colonial terms as the creation and projection of 'a new hybrid identity which expressed a knowledge of the social insignia of the elite of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, but which, at the same time, expressed difference from them', showing 'resistance to, or ambivalent acceptance of, a colonial power's material expression of domination' (Campbell 2009, 260). This interpretation has informed the approach adopted here (see Chapters 3 and 4), but the specifics of the material recovered allow it to be refined slightly.

The Dunadd assemblage shows a twin focus on buckles and brooches that may be a strategy to negotiate between two different systems of personal display: based around brooches in early medieval Scotland, and buckles in Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Anglo-Saxon brooches are rare finds in Scotland, perhaps because they were used by different genders: by men and women (in likelihood) in Scotland, and by women only in Anglo-Saxon society. Hybrid brooches were a means of combining a traditional local medium (the brooch) with new (Anglo-Saxon influenced) motifs. The adoption of buckles in early medieval Scotland may also be linked to this gender difference in brooch use, with

buckles providing a new media for elite male status that was appropriate within a Northumbrian-connected sphere in ways that (male) brooch-borne status was not. This apparent use of metalwork to bridge languages of personal status through dress provides a plausible indication of elite personal interaction and political relationships between kingdoms. It also provides a material example of apparent linguistic hybridisation recognised in an 8th-century Irish law tract: Old English and Pictish loan words for brooches appear in the context of defining legal pledges amongst the elite (Etchingham and Swift 2004), suggesting that the need to bridge metalwork traditions embraced the negotiation of legal relationships as well as signalling identity through appearance.

One of the few Argyll finds from beyond Dunadd is a prestigious silver pin from Kilellan, Islay (**A065**; Ritchie 2005). Like the material from Dunadd, this pin shows an openness to Anglo-Saxon material aesthetics, and (with the stud from Dunadd) is one of only a handful of garnet-decorated objects found beyond core Anglo-Saxon territory in Britain. (Recent analysis has demonstrated that another candidate, the Croy brooch terminal, is set with red glass imitating garnet cloisonné; Alexandra Hilgner pers comm.) Originally, the Kilellan pin was identified as a hybrid on the basis of its proportions (Ritchie 2005), but in this respect it compares well with a series of Anglo-Saxon pins (Kingston disc-headed pin, Type L, Ross 1991, fig 5.22). Besides its length, another distinctive characteristic – a part-facetted and decorated shank – is found in both areas, part of the development of shared pin characteristics evident in Britain during the 7th century.

The east coast seems to have been key in this pin hybridisation (see above, section 9.2.3; Ross 1991) but the Kilellan pin and a wrythen-decorated iron example from Dunadd (**B011**) show that the entanglement of pin characteristics occurred in the west as well. The motivation behind this development may have lain in changing social norms for Christian women that required covering of hair after marriage (Ross 1991, 431). Disc-headed pins like the Kilellan example appear to have had a special importance in the convergence of insular pin fashions, perhaps suggesting now lost symbolism in this context. Shaft decoration occurs more frequently on Scottish pins than on Anglo-Saxon examples, and may perhaps suggest a hybridising influence on the Kilellan pin, but otherwise it fits happily within garnet-decorated pins from the south-east of England, and particularly in Kent. This and the garnet stud (**A026**) from Dunadd are the clearest indications of access beyond Northumbria to elite 7th-century Anglo-Saxon metalwork.

Given the tendency toward homogeneity amongst this English shared court culture, its hybridisation in Dál Riata could be seen as deliberately provocative.

The assemblage from Dunadd has already been compared with that from the crannog at Buiston (see 9.4.1). On the face of it, the Dunadd assemblage might also be compared with material from the hillforts in south-western Scotland: all show access to Anglo-Saxon material and a willingness to hybridise, a focus of material at nucleated forts (including at potential inauguration sites), and apparently similar control of imports and exotic items. However, the combination of buckles, brooches and two garnet objects sets the modestly-sized Argyll assemblage apart (particularly given its lack of bolstering stray finds). Galloway lacks both equivalent precious-metal finds and evidence for the creation of new media of personal dress, despite metalworking evidence (lacking at Buiston). (The reconstruction of a hybridised type of buckle with fixed and decorated plate at the Mote of Mark (Laing and Longley 2006, fig 54, 'buckle types') is, in the opinion of the author, an erroneous conflation of fragmentary moulds for the production of two quite different object types.) As a result it is harder to make a case for Galloway material resulting from specific elite personal contacts between kingdoms.

The sites in Galloway do share with Dunadd an interest in Anglo-Saxon decorated horse harness gear. Harness mounts are widely if thinly spread across Scotland (only glass beads have a wider distribution), with probable examples found from Galloway (**A067**, **A060**, **B051–B054**), Angus (**A017**), Argyll (**A027**), Inverness (**A074**) and Easter Ross (**A080**); interestingly, none have been recognised from south-east Scotland. This distribution suggests a widespread perception of horses as a suitable media for displaying status. No decorative horse gear has been recognised amongst Insular metalwork from early medieval Scotland, and it is possible that Anglo-Saxon examples were sought to fill a gap in local objects types (though a different interpretation for two of the mounts from Pictland is suggested below, section 9.6.1). Their popularity may also relate to interlace and the desirability or meaning of this stylistic device in an Insular context.

Campbell (2009) suggested that the introduction of Anglo-Saxon material at Dunadd represented a kind of cultural imperialism through gift-giving, equating in Charles-Edwards' (2003) exploration of overkingship to 'light domination'. This interpretation could still be seen as prioritising the role of the coloniser as the chief motivation behind

attitudes to material culture, but importantly, Campbell also situated it in a local context: the merging of kindreds to create the new kingdom of Dál Riata and the associated need to create a new shared identity and status symbols (Campbell 2009, 260). The motivation behind and meaning of adopted Anglo-Saxon objects and hybridised style may have as much to do with the relationships between power centres within the constituent parts of Dál Riata as it has with relations to Northumbria itself.

Dunadd provided the first compelling evidence that the initiative behind this hybridised identity lay in secular rather than ecclesiastical centres. The Kilellan pin (**A065**) shows that prestigious and precious Anglo-Saxon objects were present at secular centres in the former Cenél Loairn territory as well as at Dunadd, belonging to the Cenél nGabráin. If the roots of Insular art lay (at least partly) at Dunadd, then a need to cultivate and maintain links within Cenél Loairn, particularly Iona, may have been part of the context for the development of hybridised Christian art. But excavations at Iona have so far produced no pre 9th-century Anglo-Saxon material and Dunadd continues to dominate the assemblage and the narrative for the region. If it is indeed part of wider processes of creating a shared identity and managing factions within increasingly large groups, then it can be seen as running alongside Northumbria's adoption of elite, martial, English material identity (visible in the Lothians' assemblage), though there the process was not focussed on hybridising art styles as in the north and west.

Campbell has speculated on the possible routes by which Germanic glass vessels and other material arrived in Scotland (Campbell 2009, fig 11.1), which for Dál Riata are by central Scotland via the Clyde Valley and through the Tweed–Solway gap (Campbell 2009, 259). But this essentially maps likely geographical routes across Scotland rather than mechanisms specific to this material; there are no comparable vessels recognised at the start of the northern arrows, no reason to prefer this direct route over a longer alternative, such as, as suggested above, redistribution via the Atlantic network for the earliest glass. At this level, a discussion of routes also fails to engage with local presence/absence, prioritising a direct connection to Northumbria rather than considering why Anglo-Saxon material was embraced at Dunadd but apparently not at sites en route, like Alt Clut.

This is part of a bigger problem for western Scotland – the issue of how to gauge whether the key site of Dunadd was indeed exceptional or part of poorly attested regional trends, given a lack of comparable sites and virtually no metal detecting. Was significant redistribution of Anglo-Saxon material important in negotiating between competing faction(s) within the emerging kingdom of Dál Riata, or was this material only ever for a niche elite use, specific mainly to Dunadd? In some senses this situation is worse than for Whithorn, where other sites in the region combined with higher levels of metal detecting generally help to mitigate its halo effect in the south-west. Without a wider distribution of finds we cannot hope to look for local difference in attitudes (as between Cumbria– Dumfriesshire and Galloway) within Argyll or with adjacent areas.

The use of Anglo-Saxon material culture can be paralleled by the apparent control of the products of the Atlantic trading system, with both potentially operating as strategies for managing previously competing groups. This comparison highlights an opposition between political (loaded) and economic (more neutral) interpretations applied to the two mechanisms, which deserves closer scrutiny. Campbell has speculated on the mixture of processes that brought Anglo-Saxon objects to the west: some gifts, some as personal possessions of those travelling into, or acting as mercenaries for, or exiled within the kingdom (the latter perhaps involving smiths attached to the elite), as well as clerical movement and relationships (Campbell 2009, 262). Here is an underlying distinction between the politically-motivated arrival of Anglo-Saxon objects (including glass) and the arrival of continental goods via an Atlantic trading system built on reciprocal exchange (presumably involving quantities of perishable goods and/or slaves). It has already been suggested that some of the Anglo-Saxon glass need not have arrived via direct contact with England, but instead by redistribution via the Atlantic network. This lessens its political impact for Dál Riata as the diplomatic gifting of glass vessels has been interpreted elsewhere as a first step in asserting control (Campbell 2009, 256).

9.5.2 Western Scotland, AD 700–900

The later assemblage from western Scotland is limited to one piece of metalwork found in a late 10th-century hoard from Iona (**B027**) and imported glass vessel sherds from the

monastic site at Inchmarnock (**C031**) and hillforts of Little Dunagoil (**C034**) and Dunadd (**C051**, **C056**, **C057**). The sole metal find is one of a small number of rings with lozenge-shaped bezels, a group that includes objects of the highest standard of late Saxon metalworking. The quality and lozenge shape of this group raises the possibility that they may have been ecclesiastical rings of office, though this is hard to demonstrate (Marzinzik 2014). The Iona example (**B027**), which provides the only independent (coin) dating for the group, is one of a growing number of very high-status late Anglo-Saxon finds from Viking-age hoards in Scotland, the interpretation of which is likely to be aided greatly by the discovery of the 'Galloway hoard' which includes clearly ecclesiastical objects (see 9.3.2). However, unlike the Anglo-Saxon objects from the Galloway (insofar as it is possible to establish before conservation is completed) and Talnotrie hoards, the Iona ring is incomplete; it has been transformed into hacksilver. Limited metal detecting has obviously affected the regional assemblage, but the absence of other material from Iona, despite many excavations at the site, remains interesting.

9.6 North of the Forth

9.6.1 North of the Forth, AD 500–700

As in the west of Scotland, metal-detecting patterns have affected the finds data from north of the Forth. This undermines the potential significance of regional patterning: the presence of a handful of finds both to the north and east of Strathearn and north and east of Inverness is probably over-emphasised by a blank in between that may be the product of low detecting activity.

However, the virtual lack of Anglo-Saxon small finds from Fife, on the far side of Bede's Northumbrian frontier, is noteworthy and provides a particular contrast with the Lothians to the south. The two areas either side of the Forth have strikingly different assemblages: evidence for the creation of an elite Anglo-Saxon material identity to the south, and virtually no Anglo-Saxon finds of any date to the north. Recently, James Fraser has suggested that Fife might have been home to a dynasty with a longstanding allegiance to

the Bernician royal house (Fraser 2009, 184, 200–201). The basis for this assertion is the name of a district in Fife, Niuduera, which he felt implied it was populated with Bernician incomers, and which might have been where Eanfrith's half-brother Talorcan was king (Fraser 2009, 184). Fraser also suggested this may have been the location of the (unnamed) kingdom of a subregulus, Beornhaeth, who fought with Ecgfrith against the Picts in 671, and whose descendants continued to be close to Northumbrian royalty, implicated for instance in the protection of the Northumbrian boy-king Osred during a siege of Bamburgh (Fraser 2009, 200–201, 265–6).

If Fraser is correct, this relationship and the potential dynastic connections between kings in Fife and Northumbria would seem to be the ideal situation to stimulate hybridised material and practices incorporating local and Anglo-Saxon elements. And yet the region's pre 8th-century assemblage consists only of a sherd of Germanic (but otherwise undiagnostic) vessel glass (**C061**) and a continental-made glass bead (**C006**), both from the hillfort of Clatchard Craig. There is no evidence for the kinds of material adoption and hybridisation found at Dunadd in Dál Riata, or the Mote of Mark in the south-west, nor for the kind of links reflected in the Old English naming of Beornhaeth and his descendants Berctred and Berctfrith.

There is also an absence of Anglo-Saxon material from the Stirling plain and Strathearn, noted above in the context of differences between site assemblages from Alt Clut and Buiston. There is however a small cluster of objects from beyond this area, with single finds from Fortingall (**A066**) and Aldclune (**B008**) in Perth and Kinross and Leckaway in Angus (**A017**). Could the absence from Stirling–Strathearn and presence (of small numbers) from adjacent areas to the north and east preserve a meaningful political distinction, perhaps between the Miathi and Calidones (see Fraser 2009, 44–54)?

Amongst these objects are two which stand out as significantly early compared with the rest of the Scottish corpus: a 'traffic light' bead from the probable monastic site at Fortingall (**A066**) and a cruciform harness mount from Leckaway (**A017**). While the bead is the only one of its type from Scotland, the harness mount is paralleled by a second, also from north of the Forth (and north of the Mounth), found to the east of Inverness (**A074**); they are the only pieces of Style I metalwork known from north of the Tweed. Both are cross-shaped and both are in a worn condition, raising the potential for long biographies

and changes in use and meaning. When made, their cruciform shape was not intended to carry Christian significance, but it seems likely that they were later selected for their shape and reinterpreted in this way. A similar mount, which had been reused, is among the small corpus of Anglo-Saxon finds from Wales and was likewise interpreted as having latterly carried Christian meaning (Redknap 2009, 294–5). The Scottish examples seem to have been subject to relational entanglement – not physically hybridised, they were reimagined and their use and meaning transformed.

The significance of the 'traffic light' bead from Fortingall (**A066**) is less clear. It was found at a likely early Christian site and is similar in date to the harness mounts. It might have arrived through the same mechanism, though any potential Christian significance can only be speculated upon: perhaps the combination of three colours, comparable to the enthusiastic adaptation of triskelles on later Insular Christian sculpture, might have been meaningful in this context. The potential reinterpretation of the harness mount (and the implications for its arrival date and mechanism) and the find context of the bead both complicate interpretation of the significance of these finds beyond the limits of Strathearn. However, they may still be associated with politically-motivated differences in attitudes and access to material culture, differences that predate the ethnogenesis of southern Pictland. Fraser has argued that though the Miathi in Manau had become Picts by 730, this was a post-698 development (Fraser 2009, 44), providing scope before this for greater diversity in local identities.

The assemblage from north of Mounth is slightly more substantial. As well as the Style I cruciform mount from near Inverness (**A074**), it includes an elaborate incomplete Style II disc from Dornoch (**A018**) and an interlace-decorated roundel from excavations at Portmahomack (**A080**). The interlace on this latter find is disconnected and its place in the Style I/Style II scheme is unclear; more work on the development of interlace in Anglo-Saxon art is required to discern whether it is a transition piece or part of a regional English style. Unlike the other two finds, this disc also comes from an excavated context, associated with a secular workshop that was part of a community (with its own cemetery) at Portmahomack in the 6th/7th century. This 'family estate', compared with Irish 'cemetery-settlements', predated the establishment of the monastery on the site and was producing iron objects, had productive farmland, access to high-status metalwork and no obvious religious affiliations (Carver et al 2016, 103–4). The site subsequently developed

into a monastery (see 9.6.2, below); as noted above, this development from 'family estate'/'cemetery-settlement' to monastic centre may be an appropriate model for the trajectory of Whithorn.

The find spots of the interlace-decorated mounts, and the regional assemblage generally, is focussed on the coast, more so than for finds recovered to the south. The absence of finds around the rest of the Moray and Aberdeenshire coasts may be in part related to recovery bias, but nonetheless, the small Easter Ross cluster remains a potentially significant group. This small clutch of Style I and II metalwork takes on extra significance in the context of the prominence of interlace in the development of the Insular art style. A silver pyramidal sword mount from Freswick Links (**A003**) would also have stood out as a significant find – both because it is precious metal, and as a sword fitting – had significant doubt not been cast on its provenance.

Two near identical finger rings from the Northern and Western Isles, from Birsay (**B001**) and Baleshare (**B002**), are further examples of potentially early finds – similar rings are relatively common finds in 6th- and 7th-century Anglo-Saxon graves. Doubt over their identification remains; though Viking examples tend to be more substantial and elaborated, it is possible that the simple variety represented by Birsay and Baleshare was a longer-lived type than is currently recognised. The only other potentially pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon finds from the Northern and Western Isles are from excavations at Scalloway broch, Shetland. All are only tentatively identified: two spearheads (**B016**, **B017**) and an Anglo-Saxon or hybridised disc-headed pin (**B022**). As suggested above, the hybridising of pin fashions may be linked to changes in Christian practices and ideals, though post AD 600 pins come from a wide range of site types: the monastic centre at Whithorn, a broch (Scalloway), potential beach trading site (Culbin Sands), an administrative centre (Dunbar), potential craft-working site (Aberlady) and probable settlement (Kilellan). Aside from the stray find from Blackhill House (Perthshire), all are coastal sites.

9.6.2 North of the Forth, AD 700–900

Excavations at Portmahomack produced a 8th/9th-century reticella glass vessel sherd (**C055**) and an 8th-century porcupine sceat (**C076**) minted in the Low Countries. In England, comparable glass vessels tend to be found in monastic sites, suggesting a possible role in the liturgy, though some examples from settlement sites are known; from Scotland, Whithorn, Inchmarnock and Portmahomack are monastic, while Birsay is secular (Campbell in Carver et al 2016, D99). These vessels are found around the North Sea littoral and Campbell suggested various arrival mechanisms, including the east coast for Portmahomack and Birsay, and direct contact with the Anglo-Saxon world for the western finds (Campbell 2009, 64). Interestingly, there is limited overlap between later glass and non-glass finds; only Whithorn, Portmahomack and Birsay have produced both. The mechanism by which the sceat arrived at Portmahomack remains unclear. It is an exceptional find and the northernmost pre-Viking coin from the UK. Blackburn favoured a direct connection with the continent because of the relative rarity of comparable issues in English circulation, and because a contemporary coin from Dunbar (**C074**) is likewise an import, from Denmark (Blackburn in Carver et al 2016, D84). He suggested that both represent evidence for pre-Viking direct connections between eastern Scotland and the continent/Scandinavia, perhaps also supported by the reticella glass finds.

The other material comes from a range of sites that can be split into pre-Viking and potential Viking-age contexts and arrival mechanisms. The material from Birsay appears, on the basis of the very imperfect and patchy stratigraphic information, to straddle the change. Indeed Curle found more continuity between the 'Pictish' metalworking horizon (which produced imported glass sherds) and the 'Lower Norse' horizon (which produced both metal finds included here: the ring, **B001**; and fragments of an 8th-century disc brooch, **A008**), than between any of the later Norse layers. Whether this reflects taphonomic processes at the site or cultural reality remains unclear. The context for other objects like the silver horn mounting from Burghead also remains unclear, but may be elucidated by ongoing excavations at the time of writing. Its location, date and precious metal may point to Viking activity; late Anglo-Saxon precious metals in the south-west appear to be related to Viking-style hoarding (Talnotrie, Galloway, Iona), though this interpretation has not been applied to the contemporary gold finger ring from the Borders.

9.7   Conclusion

The earliest finds identified in this thesis are suggestive of contact between south-eastern Scotland and the late Roman frontier (section 9.2.1). The first potential evidence for the reuse of a Scottish Roman site (Newstead) in the 5th century AD was discussed, an identification that is significant because it is contemporary with activity around Hadrian's Wall that has been linked there to emergence of post-Roman warbands and the genesis of early medieval polities. In the 4th and 5th centuries, the Lammermuir Hills appear to mark a repeated difference in metal use and deposition: a system based around silver to the north, distinct from the use of (sometimes gilt) copper dress objects to the south of the Tweed. This pattern of local difference stretches back into the early Roman Iron Age and it would be simplistic to see it as simply a product of an early medieval ethnic interface.

By the 7th century, a high-status assemblage of gold and garnet metalwork marked the Lothians out, both from the rest of the Scottish finds and compared to material from elsewhere in Bernicia (see 9.2.2). It was argued that this material indicated the conscious articulation of a royal political identity, an identity which is also apparent in the presentation of secular and ecclesiastical centres. This material assemblage cannot date expansion or control, but does show a change in economic exploitation (at Dunbar, particularly), political aspiration (in elite sword gear) and ecclesiastical connections (at Auldhame). Clay loom weights were restricted to south-east Scotland (also where most insular Anglo-Saxon-made beads were found), suggesting wider participation in technology and exchange networks reaching south. It was argued that Lothian should be regarded as a hitherto unrecognised 7th-century royal heartland within a frontier zone.

A radically different attitude to Anglo-Saxon material culture was apparent immediately across the Firth of Forth from this Lothian heartland (see 9.6.1). Fife has been suggested as the location of a dynasty with close and lasting ties to Bernicia (Fraser 2009). However,

this thesis found a near-total absence of finds and no evidence for relational or material entanglement. In contrast, in parts of Scotland further away from the Lothians were notably more receptive to the use and reimagination of Anglo-Saxon material culture: evidence for social and physical entanglement was visible in material from pre 8th-century Galloway, Argyll, Inverness and Easter Ross, and to lesser extent in Perthshire and Angus (see 9.3.1, 9.4.1, 9.5.1 and 9.6.1). Aside from the well-recognised recycling, hybridising and manufacture of Anglo-Saxon-style material culture at Dunadd in Argyll and the Mote of Mark in Galloway, relational enganglement was apparent in the acquisition and reinterpretation of two cruciform Style I mounts as Christian objects. The apparent preferential selection of dark beads in parts of central and south-west Scotland may also point to relational entanglement and the ascription of new meaning to imported objects.

It was argued that entangled brooches and buckles were being used in Dál Riata to 'translate' social status between the different traditions of dress used in the Insular and Anglo-Saxon worlds (see 9.5.1). This built on earlier work by Campbell (2009) that interpreted the Dunadd assemblage as evidence for the creation of a new group identity that referenced political relations with Northumbria. Though Dál Riata and Fife may both have had significant elite relationships with Northumbria in the 7th century (including the hosting of exiled royalty), the radically different attitudes to the use of Anglo-Saxon material culture may suggest different processes of ethnogenesis or conceptions of borders.

Within northern Northumbria, the only identified evidence for entanglement revolved around the development of common pin characteristics. Lothian seems to have been one meeting place of Insular and Anglo-Saxon pin fashions (see 9.2.3). The Christian practice of covering the women's hair common to Insular and Anglo-Saxon worlds may have facilitated this hybridisation. But, while Insular art flourished in an ecclesiastical context, work by Campbell emphasised that its roots lie in politically-motivated material culture use at sites like Dunadd. The presence of Anglo-Saxon pins at several secular sites in the west of Scotland suggests that the roots of this pin entanglement might likewise lie in earlier secular material culture and identity creation (see 9.5.1). Aside from the use of pins, there was no evidence for physical entanglement in the material culture from within

northern Northumbria, a finding which has implications for understanding the development of Insular art in northern Britain more generally.

It was suggested that there was a shift in the use of Anglo-Saxon material apparent in material from the south-west and central-west of Scotland, from glass alone in the 6th and early 7th centuries, to a wider range of types from the mid-7th century (see 9.3.1 and 9.4.1). This might be a product of changes to supply mechanism (from the Atlantic network to via Northumbria), changes in local choice (in resisting and then accepting material) or a combination of both. Interpretation did not assume that regional differences in the access and/or use of Anglo-Saxon material necessarily related directly to Anglo-Saxon involvement. Instead it was suggested that differences were governed by local relations and the desire to show difference from immediate neighbours. This local difference in attitudes was most clearly apparent within the Solway region, with a clear distinction in 6th/7th-century material use in Galloway compared with Dumfries/Cumbria. While Galloway was receptive to 6th- and 7th-century Anglo-Saxon material culture and particularly to horse gear, Dumfries and Cumbria rejected it (see 9.3.1). The distribution of 8th/9th-century objects from these areas showed that the absence of earlier material was not simply a product of recovery bias (see 9.3.2).

Very different patterns of material culture use were apparent from the 8th century. All of southern Scotland appeared to have had similar access to Anglo-Saxon material (see 9.2.3 and 9.3.2). There was no material differentiation within the Lothians' assemblage, nor any meaningful difference in the numbers and types of objects from south-east and south-west Scotland. Both areas also produced a handful of high-status objects manufactured within Northumbria. In contrast, the rest of Scotland produced few finds beyond imported glass vessel sherds and a handful of metal finds around the coastline. While this might suggest a similar cultural context across southern Scotland, there were differences in deposition, primarily in the presence of hoards in the south-west but not the south-east.

Chapter 10   Conclusion

This chapter presents a summary of the findings of this thesis (see section 10.1), some reflections on the course of the research (10.2), and topics that could be developed further in the future (10.3).

10.1   Summary

This thesis has assembled a corpus of 221 5th- to 9th-century Anglo-Saxon objects found in Scotland. The earliest finds suggest contact with the changing late/post-Roman frontier, while among the latest objects is a ring that had been hacked and deposited in a Viking-age hoard. The corpus includes several pieces of early 6th-century Style I metalwork, a distinct cluster of 7th-century elite gold and garnet fittings, a group of 6th/9th-century loom weights, a large number of glass beads, a substantial body of 8th/9th-century strap-ends and pins, a smaller number of 7th–9th-century coins, plus other miscellaneous material. Many objects, including the gold and garnet fittings and several 7th-century bead types, were probably made in England. Others, such as the 7th-century tremissis and some 8th-century sceattas, were imported from the continent or Scandinavia, either directly or via contact elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon world.

The data set encompasses a range of object types, distributed across a wide geographical area that encompassed multiple political, linguistic, cultural and potentially ethnic groups. They belong to a substantial portion of the first millennium AD that saw the emergence of the first historically-attested kingdoms and significant changes in their power, extent and policy. No one interpretation will explain the mechanisms and choices behind their availability or the meanings to those who used them. In the past, this material has been mapped purely to show settlement, an Anglo-Saxon presence (see Chapter 3). Interpretation here instead focussed on discerning connections and relations between different groups and exploring the ways in which material culture was used to create and

project identities. The thesis highlighted instances of entanglement (see Chapter 4), where Anglo-Saxon finds were either physically or socially transformed, and emphasised patterns of local difference between access and attitudes to Anglo-Saxon material (see Chapter 9).

The context of the finds and their regional patterning was discussed in Chapter 5. Many of the objects were chance finds, though material was identified among excavated assemblages from monastic, chapel, settlement, hillfort and crannog sites. Some had been included in hoards or burials, but with a sole exception (late 6th/7th-century beads from Dalmeny) these dated to the 9th century only. Extended discussions of the objects' materiality, function and social use were presented in Chapters 6–8.

The earliest finds identified in this thesis are beads and spearheads from south-east Scotland that suggest contact with the late Roman frontier zone (see 7.2.10, 7.2.15 and 8.6). This includes the first potential evidence for the reuse of a Scottish Roman site around the 5th century AD (at Newstead, Scottish Borders), contemporary with activity around Hadrian's Wall that has been linked there to the emergence of post-Roman warbands and the genesis of early medieval polities (see section 9.2.1).

Otherwise, the pre 7th-century material from south-eastern Scotland is extremely limited: early Anglo-Saxon finds common in southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms are either extremely rare (for instance, all types of brooches) or absent entirely (for instance wrist clasps), and only a single pre 9th-century grave containing Anglo-Saxon objects was identified in Scotland. Unsurprisingly given previous characterisations of the archaeology of Bernicia generally (eg Cramp 1988) and recent work on the kingdom's origins (see Chapter 2), there is no material culture evidence for the promulgation of an Anglo-Saxon identity in southern Scotland during the 6th century. In contrast, the Portable Antiquities Scheme has recorded modest numbers of pre 7th-century Anglo-Saxon metal finds from between the Tweed and Hadrian's Wall (see Table 9.1 and section 9.2.1). The Lammermuir Hills appear to have marked a border between different attitudes towards early Anglo-Saxon metalwork, but it would be simplistic to see this distinction as a product of an early medieval ethnic interface. The Lammermuirs seem to have repeatedly marked a change in material culture use stretching back into the Roman Iron Age, most evident in the availability (and deposition) of silver (Blackwell et al 2017).

A greater number of 7th-century Anglo-Saxon finds are known from south-eastern Scotland, but they cannot be used to map or date Northumbrian expansion (see 9.2.2). The chapel site at Auldhame underlines this: here, diagnostic finds post-date the earliest activity at the site and reflect a boost in status tied to the trajectory of a monastery at nearby Tyninghame. Instead, it was argued that the small-finds assemblage from the Lothians demonstrates royal Anglo-Saxon interest in the area during the 7th century. The material consists of a small group of elite gold and garnet Anglo-Saxon sword fittings, mounts and a pendant, and a prestigious type of buckle (see 6.8, 6.4.2 and 6.3.2). This cluster is unparalleled by finds to the south from either the Scottish Borders or the royal Bernician heartland around Bamburgh. The Lothian material marks both the successful economic exploitation of the area (evident also in the massive faunal assemblage from Dunbar), and the creation of a specific identity.

This identity deliberately sought to connect the Lothians to the royal heart of Bernicia and to show that elite Northumbrians were participating in a shared Anglo-Saxon court culture (see 9.2.2). These connections are also evident in other media: the creation of a link between the Lothians and Bamburgh is evident in triple-site complexes in both areas (Dunbar–Tyninghame–Bass Rock and Bamburgh–Lindisfarne–Inner Farne; Petts 2009), while similarities between the royal centres at Yeavering and Sutton Courtenay in Oxfordshire show common ideas and political connections rendered architecturally (Brennan and Hamerow 2015). Sutton Courtenay lay in both a royal political heartland and a contested frontier area, and it was argued here that 7th-century Lothian should be regarded in similar terms. Bede conceived of the Forth as a frontier, while the *Grymisdike* persona of the Antonine Wall may indicate another kind of linear border in the early medieval period (Maldonado 2015). Of all the patterns of local access to and acceptance of Anglo-Saxon material culture identified in this study, the most striking is that on either side of this apparent frontier. Across the Forth from Lothian, Fife produced virtually no Anglo-Saxon finds (see 9.6.1). Even in the later period, 8th/9th-century material is limited to a single object (see 9.6.2).

This is one of a number of instances where neighbouring areas appear to have had very different access to, and attitudes towards, Anglo-Saxon material culture. The other most notable example is the acceptance and hybridisation of Anglo-Saxon material culture in 7th-century Galloway compared with its apparent rejection in neighbouring

Dumfriesshire and Cumbria to the east and south (see 9.3.1). Likewise, the rejection of Anglo-Saxon material in Fife–Stirlingshire contrasts with assemblages from adjacent areas to the south-west (Buiston in Ayrshire), the west (activity at Dunadd in Argyll) and the north-east (in a handful of finds from Perthshire and Angus) (see 9.6.1, 9.4.1, 9.5.1). These patterns may tell us something of these areas' attitudes towards, or relationships with, Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, but like any source they were open to manipulation. It was suggested that they may be products of local concerns and relations rather than fitting into grand political or ethnogenesis narratives.

Dál Riata apparently used Anglo-Saxon-influenced material culture to feed into a new group identity, creating hybridised high-status objects to draw together previously distinct kin-groups (see 9.5.1). This referenced the elite relationships with Northumbria that had resulted in the hosting of Bernician royal exiles. It was suggested that entangled brooches and buckles were being used in Dál Riata to 'translate' social status across the different dress systems used in the Insular and Anglo-Saxon worlds. The linguistic translation of brooch terms from Old English and Pictish into Old Irish suggests objects may also have had a legal function in the creation of pledges, something that was probably required during the hosting of exiled royalty (Etchingham and Swift 2004).

The contemporary exile of Eanfrith to the Picts does not seem to have had a similar impact on attitudes towards and hybridisation of Anglo-Saxon material culture (or at least there is currently no comparable excavated evidence for it). The absence of Anglo-Saxon small-finds from Fife is particularly interesting in the context of Fraser's suggestion that the region was home to a dynasty with close and lasting ties to the Northumbrian royalty in the 7th and 8th centuries (Fraser 2009, 200–201; see 9.6.1). His identification may be wrong, or the material evidence may show that similar situations (the exile of royal princes and continuing high-level political relationships) could result in very different attitudes towards and uses of material culture in creating identities: acceptance and manipulation in Dál Riata and rejection in what became southernmost Pictland. This could relate to different conceptions (or realities) of borders in Dál Riata and Fife. In places with rigid notions of boundaries, hybridisation can seem transgressive, while less rigid conceptions or borders may allow hybridity to be considered more positively (Chapter 4). Proximity to the border with Northumbria might have made hybridisation (both relational and physical entanglement) less attractive in southern Pictland than in Dál Riata.

Proximity might also explain the resistance, by and large, to relational and physical entanglement with Anglo-Saxon material culture in Dumfries and Cumbria, in contrast to its acceptance in Galloway.

There is no evidence from within Bernician Scotland for physical entanglement/ hybridisation contemporary with that identified at Dunadd or the Mote of Mark. Given the tendency toward homogeneity amongst the developing Anglo-Saxon shared court culture, was hybridisation seen as deliberately provocative in 7th-century Bernicia? The hybridisation that is apparent in south-eastern Scotland relates to the well-recognised though poorly understood mixing of pin fashions, usually placed in the 8th century (see 9.2.3 and 6.6.6). By and large, attention has focussed on pins found along the east coast from southern England to Humberside (Ross 1991). This thesis highlighted a number of sites in south-eastern Scotland that appear to have been meeting places of Insular and Anglo-Saxon pin types. But relationally entangled and physically hybridised pins are also known from the west, from Dunadd and Kilellan in Argyll. The suggestion that pin hybridisation occurred in the context of changing Christian requirements of female costume (Ross 1991) remains possible, though the Kilellan and Dunadd pins suggests that processes of entanglement started earlier, in the 7th rather than the 8th century, and in a secular rather than religious context, perhaps involving marriage.

This thesis suggested a number of unmodified Anglo-Saxon objects that seem to have been actively sought out and given new meaning – instances of relational entanglement. The apparent selection of early 6th-century cross-shaped harness fittings in Pictland is the clearest example (see 6.9.2 and 9.6.1). Because of their rarity (and the rarity of contemporary material) they stand out as special objects, chosen for their cross shape. The patterns noted in the colour profiles of regional bead assemblages may also relate to relational entanglement, with 'dark' beads preferentially selected in some parts of Scotland and fitted into local systems of meaning (see 7.2.18, 9.4.1 and 9.5.1). These dark beads may not have arrived via contact with Northumbria, but from redistribution of continental goods along the Atlantic seaboard. It was also suggested that the earliest Germanic glass vessels arrived may likewise travelled up the west coast (7.3.5). If accepted, this lessens their political significance – in the past some types of vessels have been interpreted as diplomatic gifts made in order to instigate political control.

By the later 8th/9th century, the Lothians' prestigious metalwork had largely been replaced with common types of copper-alloy strap ends and pins. A handful of high-status exceptions and the recognition of weaving equipment give the regional assemblages a little more variety than the norm from (chance finds) elsewhere in Northumbria (see Richards and Naylor 2011). Though there are several small concentrations of metal finds, no 'productive' sites have been identified. Closer connections between material culture practices in south-eastern and south-western Scotland are apparent than in the preceding centuries. The amount of Anglo-Saxon material culture used either side of the 8th century is not significantly different in Galloway, the Scottish Borders, the Lothians and the north-east of England. What changed was access to and/or use of Anglo-Saxon material culture in Dumfries and Cumbria, with a significant expansion from the mid to late 8th century onwards.

In both the south-east and south-west of Scotland, the highest-status objects recorded were also those identified as stylistically Northumbrian. The remaining material may have been made elsewhere or, alternatively, what we distinguish as stylistically-distinctive Northumbrian may have been limited to elite use only. The coins and small finds from Whithorn suggest the site continued to be culturally and economically tied to Northumbria until the arrival of the Great Army in 867. But the context of the deposition of other Anglo-Saxon metalwork in the south-west – including stray finds, a potential Viking burial and hoards with both Viking and Anglo-Saxon material – suggests a complicated regional picture of the movement and use of material culture. Ongoing research on the accumulation and deposition 'Galloway hoard' will undoubtedly contribute greatly to understanding in this area.

10.2 Reflections

The interpretative framework of entanglement requires the identification and interpretation of physically unaltered but socially transformed objects. In practice, the quality of the data limited its application. The number of stray or poorly contextualised

objects meant accessing their use or social significance was problematic. Social transformation could be assumed – the principle that all objects, simply by acquisition, acquire new meaning. But it is difficult to demonstrate it in practice, or to explore what that new meaning might be. Some examples are presented in this thesis, including the relational entanglement of two Style I bridle mounts, where preferential selection of a cross-shape seems the most likely explanation for what would otherwise be extremely unexpected finds. But in other cases – such as the recognition of early beads and weapons in two sites in south-eastern Scotland – numbers were too small or the context too poor to say whether these objects had been specially sought out.

Difficulties were also encountered in defining physically hybridised material. Though easier to demonstrate than changed social practices, there was no quantifiable way of defining when primary/early hybridisation ended and when 'fully fledged' Insular art began. To have undertaken primary study (or even to have created a handlist) of all Insular small finds as well as the Anglo-Saxon material would have been impractical for a thesis. In practice, the best way of identifying which material to include was through excavation context. Dunadd provided the best example: with evidence for clear recycling of Anglo-Saxon components, manufacture of stylistically Anglo-Saxon (but relationally entangled) buckles and physically hybridised brooches.

Other potential issues with the application of entanglement/hybridisation theory flagged up in the review of its application in post-Roman Britain (see section 4.3) were also encountered. In particular, it was difficult to differentiate between access to, and attitudes towards, Anglo-Saxon finds: was the material taken up because it was available or because it was sought out? Here, interpretation seems to be governed by approach: earlier work stresses access as the primary issue, while post-colonial approaches emphasise local agency and attitudes.

Though the specifics of applying this theoretical approach proved somewhat problematic, the general principals underpinning it were valuable. Identifying entanglement requires that the materiality of the data – its colour, use, shape, design, style etc – is valued; the finds cannot simply be treated as dots on a distribution map. This practice underpinned interpretation of the data. Also as a result of entanglement theory, this thesis was approached with what could best be termed post-colonial awareness – a mindset aware

of the historical bias towards Northumbria and the tendency in past interpretations to project this onto material evidence, producing a lack of local agency. The role of material culture in creating or manipulating identities likewise underpins hybridisation and entanglement theory and provided a robust framework for interpreting the data. Even where the data quality was insufficient to demonstrate entanglement per se, these general principles remained valuable.

It is hoped that this approach has resulted in a better historical-archaeology methodology than has sometimes been achieved in the past. Chapter 3 argued that previous work on this material was hindered both by assuming a culture-history approach but also because archaeological data was fitted into a historical framework. In reality, both sources are partial, were open to manipulation in the past and are affected by modern interpretative frameworks. Identifying instances where material culture was being deliberately used to create and project an image suggests that early medieval Scottish archaeology may be catching up with the 'new history' of Fraser, Woolf et al, in which elucidating the motivation behind, and historicising within, written sources have been given prime importance.

10.2 Future work

A number of areas of future work have been identified during the course of this thesis.

- As outlined above, work on the National Collection was prioritised over other museum holdings. Hoffman's unpublished work demonstrated a number of glass beads from historic fieldwalking collections in local museum holdings, and it is anticipated that other material would be identified if they were thoroughly combed. This is one avenue for developing this research further.

- Almost all of the glass beads included within this thesis were identified by eye alone. During this research it emerged that a number of post-medieval trade beads had in the past been erroneously identified as Anglo-Saxon (Blackwell and

Kirk 2016). This separate study underlined that bead identification through typology alone is unsatisfactory – many thousands of simple bead types were made in early modern Europe, some stylistically indistinguishable from Roman or early medieval examples. Non-destructive analysis was shown to be useful in distinguishing some types of early modern glass (eg **E001** and **E002**). Many of the beads identified here are chance finds or old discoveries with poor context, and the methodology developed in the 2016 paper could usefully be applied more widely to rule out recent manufacture.

- The parameters of this thesis restricted it to small-finds evidence. Future work could usefully consider it alongside sculptural monuments, once a catalogue of all the Scottish material has been produced.

- Likewise, the constraints of a thesis required data collection to stop at the modern national border. A comparable study re-assessing the stray and excavated material from northern England would be valuable and enable better integration and comparison than the PAS data used here.

- There has been, to date, no theoretically-underpinned consideration of the development of Insular art. Including different media (small finds, sculpture and manuscripts) might provide a dataset of sufficient quality to enable a more fruitful development of entanglement/hybridisation theory.

- This thesis underlined that evidence for 7th-century material hybridisation currently lies in Argyll and Galloway but not in south-eastern Scotland. The Ripon jewel seems to be an extremely rare instance of an Anglo-Saxon object combining both garnet (Anglo-Saxon) and amber (Insular) insets (Hall et al 1999). While Northumbria's role in the development of Insular art in the context of sculpture and manuscripts is well recognised, an assessment of attitudes towards material hybridisation in Anglo-Saxon metalworking would be useful. Was hybridisation seen differently in Anglo-Saxon and non-Anglo-Saxon areas? Did this relate to the ways in which personal/cultural/political identities were created and communicated through dress/appearance?

- The discovery of the 'Galloway hoard' in 2015 will require significant artefactual work on its contents, including the substantial Anglo-Saxon component. As well as this, broader research on its context, including re-visiting of the Talnotrie hoard and the regions' stray finds assemblage will be required.

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Finds	Borders	Lothians	*All SE Scotland*	Dum & Gall	Central-west	Argyll	S Pict-land	N Pict-land	N & W Isles	Total
Anglo-Saxon	13	20	*33*	27	7	6	5	10	3	**91**
Possible Anglo-Saxon	10	15	*25*	15	2	11	1	1	5	**60**
Total Anglo-Saxon	**23**	**35**	*58*	**42**	**9**	**17**	**6**	**11**	**8**	151
Continental	4	6	*10*	23	13	7	4	7	6	**70**
Total	**27**	**41**	*68*	**65**	**22**	**24**	**10**	**18**	**14**	221
Total find spots	**21**	**11**	*32*	**17**	**8**	**7**	**8**	**10**	**6**	88

Table 5.1 An overview of all catalogued finds by region. Anglo-Saxon, catalogue **A**; possible Anglo-Saxon, catalogue **B**, continental, catalogue **C**.

Region	Anglo-Saxon	Continental	Total finds	Total find spots
Dumfries & Galloway	1	1	1	2
Lothians	2	5	2	3
Borders	3	8	3	1
Argyll	4	3	4	7
Northern Pictland	5	3	6	4
Central-west	6	2	5	5
Northern & Western Isles	7	5	7	8
Southern Pictland	8	8	8	5

Table 5.2 Regions ranked by greatest (1) to least (8) number of finds and find spots.

Catalogue	Location	Region	Type
C022	Aberdeenshire?	Aberdeenshire	Glass bead
A005	Aberlady	East Lothian	Disc pin
A006	Aberlady	East Lothian	Pear pin
A007	Aberlady	East Lothian	Facet pin
A042	Aberlady	East Lothian	Strap end
A044	Aberlady	East Lothian	Strap end
A045	Aberlady	East Lothian	Strap end
A084	Aberlady	East Lothian	Coins
B008	Aldclune	Perth and Kinross	Pursemount
A028	Auldhame	East Lothian	Gold stud
A032	Auldhame	East Lothian	Inkwell
B048	Auldhame	East Lothian	Pin
B049	Auldhame	East Lothian	Pin
A009	Ayton	Borders	Buckle plate
B002	Baleshare	North Uist	Ring
C005	Berwickshire	Borders	Glass bead
A008	Birsay	Orkney	Disc
B001	Birsay	Orkney	Ring
C040	Birsay	Orkney	Glass vessel
C046	Birsay	Orkney	Glass vessel
C047	Birsay	Orkney	Glass vessel
C048	Birsay	Orkney	Glass vessel
C049	Birsay	Orkney	Glass vessel
A047	Bishopton	Dumfries and Galloway	Strap end
A004	Blackhill House	Perth and Kinross	Pin
A012	Buiston	Ayrshire	Mount
A013	Buiston	Ayrshire	Mount
A014	Buiston	Ayrshire	Brooch
B006	Buiston	Ayrshire	Buckle
C001	Buiston	Ayrshire	Glass bead
C003	Buiston	Ayrshire	Glass bead
C045	Buiston	Ayrshire	Glass vessel
A031	Burghead	Moray	Horn mount
A093	Burghead	Moray	Coin
B013	Castlehill	Ayrshire	Spearhead
B014	Castlehill	Ayrshire	Spearhead
C050	Castlehill	Ayrshire	Glass vessel
A036	Chatto Crag	Borders	Strap end
A038	Clarkly Hill	Moray	Strap end
C006	Clatchard Craig	Fife	Glass bead
C061	Clatchard Craig	Fife	Glass vessel
A033	Coldingham	Borders	Strap end

Table 5.3	continued		
Catalogue	**Location**	**Region**	**Type**
A076	Coldingham	Borders	Strap end
A077	Coldingham	Borders	Strap end
A078	Coldingham	Borders	Strap end
A085	Coldingham	Borders	Strap end
C074	Coldstream	Borders	Coin
C017	Coulter	South Lanarkshire	Glass bead
C018	Coulter	South Lanarkshire	Glass bead
C019	Coulter	South Lanarkshire	Glass bead
C020	Coulter	South Lanarkshire	Glass bead
A019	Cramond	West Lothian	Ring
A037	Crichton	Midlothian	Strap end
A011	Crock Cleuch	Borders	Brooch
B019	Crossmichael	Dumfries and Galloway	Bead
A092	Croy	Invernesshire	Coins
B021	Culbin Sands	Moray	Pin
C014	Culbin Sands	Moray	Glass bead
C015	Culbin Sands	Moray	Glass bead
C016	Culbin Sands	Moray	Glass bead
C073	Culbin Sands	Moray	Glass bead
A041	Culross	Fife	Strap end
B024	Dalmahoy	Midlothian	gold fitting
A001	Dalmeny	East Lothian	Beads
A002	Dalmeny	East Lothian	Pyramid
A010	Denholm hill	Borders	Glass bead
A018	Dornoch	Rosshire	disc mount
C009	Dowalton Loch	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead
C043	Dumbarton Rock	Strathclyde	Glass vessel
C059	Dumbarton Rock	Strathclyde	Glass vessel
C060	Dumbarton Rock	Strathclyde	Glass vessel
A034	Dumfriesshire	Dumfries and Galloway	Mount
A026	Dunadd	Argyll	Stud
A027	Dunadd	Argyll	Interlace disc
A063	Dunadd	Argyll	Buckle
A064	Dunadd	Argyll	Buckle
B003	Dunadd	Argyll	Buckle
B004	Dunadd	Argyll	Buckle
B005	Dunadd	Argyll	Buckle
B007	Dunadd	Argyll	Buckle

Table 5.3	continued		
Catalogue	**Location**	**Region**	**Type**
B009	Dunadd	Argyll	Pursemount
B010	Dunadd	Argyll	Pursemount
B011	Dunadd	Argyll	Pin
B023	Dunadd	Argyll	Dumbell fitting
B025	Dunadd	Argyll	Spearhead
B026	Dunadd	Argyll	Spearhead
C002	Dunadd	Argyll	Glass bead
C051	Dunadd	Argyll	Glass vessel
C056	Dunadd	Argyll	Glass vessel
C057	Dunadd	Argyll	Glass vessel
A023	Dunbar	East Lothian	Pectoral cross
A024	Dunbar	East Lothian	Loom weights
A043	Dunbar	East Lothian	Strap end
A048	Dunbar	East Lothian	Buckle
A083	Dunbar	East Lothian	Coins
B028	Dunbar	East Lothian	Perf bone pin
B038	Dunbar	East Lothian	Pin
B039	Dunbar	East Lothian	Pin
B040	Dunbar	East Lothian	Pin
B044	Dunbar	East Lothian	Pin beater
B045	Dunbar	East Lothian	Pin beater
B046	Dunbar	East Lothian	Pin beater
B047	Dunbar	East Lothian	Pin beater
C064	Dunbar	East Lothian	Glass bead
C065	Dunbar	East Lothian	Glass bead
C068	Dunbar	East Lothian	Glass vessel
C069	Dunbar	East Lothian	Glass vessel
C077	Dunbar	East Lothian	Coins
C062	Dundonald	Ayrshire	Glass bead
C044	Dundurn	Perth and Kinross	Glass vessel
C058	Dundurn	Perth and Kinross	Glass vessel
C004	Earlston	Borders	Glass bead
A016	East Linton	East Lothian	Sword mount
B012	Eyemouth	Borders	Pin/brooch
A017	Forfar	Angus	Bridle mount
A066	Fortingall	Perthshire	Glass bead
A003	Freswick Links	Caithness	Pyramid
A049	Glenluce	Dumfries and Galloway	Strap end
A050	Glenluce	Dumfries and Galloway	Strap end
A051	Glenluce	Dumfries and Galloway	Strap end
C026	Glenluce	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead

Table 5.3	continued		
Catalogue	**Location**	**Region**	**Type**
A021	Harviestoun	Clackmannan	Sword
A035	Holywood	Dumfries and Galloway	Strap end
A062	Holywood	Dumfries and Galloway	Pinhead
C031	Inchmarnock	Argyll	Glass vessel
A074	Inverness	Invernesshire	Bridle mount
B027	Iona	Argyll	Finger ring
A087	Jedburgh	Borders	Coins
B062	Jedburgh	Borders	Coin hoard
A065	Kilellan	Islay	pin
A094	Kiloran Bay	Argyll	Coins
A090	Kingscross Point	Strathclyde	Coin
C024	Lesmahagow	South Lanarkshire	Glass bead
A091	Lindores	Fife	Coins
C034	Little Dunagoil	Argyll	Glass vessel
C007	Loch Ronald	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead
B061	Longformacus	Borders	Loom weights
A086	Luce Sands	Dumfries and Galloway	Coin
A058	Maxton	Borders	Strap end
C063	Mine Howe	Orkney	Glass vessel
A081	Mochrum	Dumfries and Galloway	Coin
C066	Mochrum	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass beads
A061	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Inscribed bone
B050	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Inscribed stone
B051	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Axe-blade mould
B052	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Axe-blade mould
B053	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Axe-blade mould
B054	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Roundel mould
C010	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Crystal bead
C027	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead
C028	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead
C029	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead
C037	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
C038	Mote of Mark	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
B015	Newstead	Borders	Spearhead
B020	Newstead	Borders	Glass bead
A088	Paisley	Strathclyde	Coins
A022	Peebles	Borders	Stylus
C071	Philiphaugh	Borders	Glass bead
A025	Ratho	Midlothian	Loom weights
A052	Reay Links	Caithness	Strap end

Table 5.3	continued		
Catalogue	**Location**	**Region**	**Type**
A055	Rogart	Sutherland	Strap end
A056	Rogart	Sutherland	Strap end
B016	Scalloway	Shetland	Spearhead
B017	Scalloway	Shetland	Spearhead
B022	Scalloway	Shetland	Pin
A015	Selkirk	Borders	Ring
B029	Sourhope	Borders	Loom weight
A040	Stevenson Sands	Ayrshire	Strap end
B031	Stichill	Borders	Loom weight
B032	Stichill	Borders	Loom weight
B033	Stichill	Borders	Loom weight
B034	Stichill	Borders	Loom weight
C021	Strathlachlan	Argyll	Glass bead
A030	Talnotrie	Dumfries and Galloway	pins
A039	Talnotrie	Dumfries and Galloway	Strap end
A089	Talnotrie	Dumfries and Galloway	Coins
A080	Tarbat		Mount
C055	Tarbat	Highland	Glass vessel
C074	Tarbat	Highland	Coin
A020	Torbeckhill	Dumfries and Galloway	Sword
B018	Traprain Law	East Lothian	Glass bead
B041	Traprain Law	East Lothian	Spearhead
B042	Traprain Law	East Lothian	Spearhead
B043	Traprain Law	East Lothian	Javelin/Spearhead
C011	Traprain Law	East Lothian	Glass bead
A060	Trusty's Hill	Dumfries and Galloway	Horse harness fitting
A029	Tynron Doon	Dumfries and Galloway	Pendant frag
C030	Tynron Doon	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead
C067	Tynron Doon	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead
A059	Wamphray	Dumfries and Galloway	Disc
A053	Westness	Orkney	Strap end
A054	Westness	Orkney	Strap end
A046	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Strap end
A057	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Strap end
A067	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Axe-blade fitting
A068	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Mount
A069	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Rim mount
A070	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Rim mount
A071	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Rim mount

Table 5.3	continued		
Catalogue	**Location**	**Region**	**Type**
A072	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Rim mount
A073	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Stylus
A075	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Window glass
A082	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Coins
B035	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
B036	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
B037	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
B055	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Pin
B056	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Pin
B057	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Pin
B058	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Pin head
B059	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Pursemount
B060	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Coffin fittings
C032	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
C033	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
C035	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
C036	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
C039	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
C041	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
C042	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
C052	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
C053	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass vessel
C073	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead
C023	Whithorn (YAT dig)	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead
C025	Wigtownshire	Dumfries and Galloway	Glass bead

Table 5.3 A summary of all catalogued finds (alphabetically, by site name).

	Pre 8th century	**8th and 9th centuries**
Anglo-Saxon (**A**)	34	57
Possibly Anglo-Saxon (**B**)	41	19
Continental (**C**)	49	21
Total	**124**	**97**

Table 5.4 Anglo-Saxon and continental objects by date.

Pre 8th-century	Borders	Lothians	Dum & Gall	Central-west	Argyll	Southern Pictland	Northern Pictland	N & W Isles	Total
Anglo-Saxon	3	8	9	4	5	2	3	0	34
Possible Anglo-Saxon	3	9	10	2	10	1	1	5	41
Contin-ental	4	5	21	9	3	2	5	0	49
Total	10	22	40	15	18	5	9	5	**124**

Table 5.5 Pre 8th-century Anglo-Saxon (**A** & **B**) and continental objects (**C**) by region.

8th & 9th century	Borders	Lothians	Dum & Gall	Central-west	Argyll	Southern Pictland	Northern Pictland	N & W Isles	Total
Anglo-Saxon	10	12	18	3	1	3	7	3	57
Possible Anglo-Saxon	7	6	5	0	1	0	0	0	19
Contin-ental	0	1	2	4	4	2	2	6	21
Total	17	19	25	7	6	5	9	9	**97**

Table 5.6 8th- and 9th-century Anglo-Saxon (**A** & **B**) and continental objects (**C**) by region.

Region	Total	Excavation	Metal detecting	Other
Borders	27	2 (8%)	9 (33%)	16 (59%)
Lothians	41	29 (71%)	10 (24%)	2 (5%)
Dumfries and Galloway	65	48 (74%)	4 (6%)	13 (20%)
Central-west	22	12 (55%)	0	10 (45%)
Argyll	24	22 (91%)	0	2 (9%)
Southern Pictland	10	6 (67%)	3 (33%)	1 (10%)
Northern Pictland	18	2 (11%)	3 (16%)	13 (72%)
Northern and Western Isles	14	14 (100%)	0	0
Total	**221**	**135**	**29**	**57**

Table 5.7 Summary of the find circumstances of catalogued material.

Site	Site type	Cat			Types						
		A	B	C	Vessel glass	Glass beads	Loom-weights	Dec. metal	Undec. metal	Weap-ons	Metal-working
Longform-acus, Borders	Settle-ment	1	0	0			X				
Traprain Law, Lothian	LRIA power centre	0	4	1		X				X	
Dunbar, Lothian	Royal settle-ment	4	8	4	X	X	X	**X**			
Ratho, Lothian	Settle-ment	1	0	0			X				
Auldhame, Lothian	Church	2	2	0	X			**X**			
Tynron Doon, Dumfries & Galloway	Hillfort	1	0	2		X		**X**			
Mote of Mark, Dumfries & Galloway	Hillfort	1	5	6	X	X					X
Whithorn, Dumfries & Galloway	Monast-ery	10	9	11	X	X		X	X		
Dumbarton Rock, Central-west	Hillfort	0	0	3	X						
Buiston, Central-west	Crannog	3	1	3	X	X		X	X		
Dunadd, Argyll	Hillfort	3	10	1	X	X		**X**	X	X	X
Dundurn, southern Pictland	Hillfort	0	0	2	X						
Clatchard Craig, Southern Pictland	Hillfort	0	0	2	X	X					
Scalloway, N & W Isles	Settle-ment	0	3	0				X		X	
Birsay, N & W Isles	Settle-ment	1	0	5	X			X			
Crock Cleugh* Borders	LRIA settle-ment	1	0	0				X			
Trusty's Hill* Dumfries & Galloway	Hillfort	1	0	0				X			

Table 5.8	cont.										
Dowalton* Dumfries & Galloway	Crannog	0	0	1		X					
Castle Island, Mochrum* Dumfries & Galloway	Possible church	0	0	1		X					
Dundonald* Central-west	Later castle	0	0	1		X					
Castlehill* Central-west	Hillfort	0	0	1	X						
Little Dunagoil* Argyll	Hillfort	0	0	1	X						
Inchmarnock* Argyll	Monastery	0	0	1	X						
Kilellan* Argyll	Settlement?	1	0	0					**X**		
Aldclune* S Pictland	Settlement	0	1	0						X	
Fortingall* S Pictland	Monastery	1	0	0		X					
Tarbat* N Pictland	Monastery	0	0	1	X						
Mine Howe* N & W Isles	Mound	0	0	1	X						
Baleshare* N & W Isles	Settlement	0	1	0					X		

Table 5.8 Summary of the range of material from main sites. Bold **X** denotes the presence of precious metalwork; *denotes single A-S find only; at Ratho and Longformacus multiple loom weights have been catalogued as one

Location	Type	Date	Cat no	NGR	Context
Ayton	Buckle plate	7	**A009**	NT 92 61	Metal detected
Berwickshire	Glass bead	6/7	**C005**		Unprovenanced
Chatto Crag	Strap end	8/9	**A036**	NT 75 16	Metal detected
Coldingham	Strap end	8/9	**A033**	NT 9037 6598	Chance find; site of later church
Coldingham	Strap end	8/9	**A076**	NT 9042 6624	Metal detected
Coldingham	Strap end	8/9	**A077**	NT 9042 6624	Metal detected
Coldingham	Strap end	8/9	**A078**	NT 9042 6624	Metal detected
Coldingham	Coin	9	**A085**	NT 90 65	Chance find
Coldstream	Gold coin	7	**C074**	NT 8339	Metal detected
Crock Cleuch	Brooch	5/6	**A011**	NT 8340117645	Early excavation; Roman Iron Age Settlement
Denholm hill	Glass bead	7/8	**A010**	NT 5113 0914	Chance find; near unexcavated hillfort
Earlston	Glass bead	6/7	**C004**	NT 57 38	Stray (unknown)
Eyemouth	Pin/brooch	8/9	**B012**	NT 924 648	Metal detected
Jedburgh	Coin	9	**A087**	NT 65 20	Chance find
Jedburgh	Coin hoard	9	**B062**	NT 654 211	Chance find
Longformacus	Loom weights	6/9	**B061**	NT 5837 5928	Excavation; early medieval settlement
Maxton	Strap end	8/9	**A058**	NT 6113 3030	Metal detected
Newstead	Spearhead	4/5	**B015**	NT 57000 34400	Early excavation; with burial in pit by Roman fort
Newstead	Glass bead	5/7	**B020**	NT 57000 34400	Chance find (field walking); Roman fort
Peebles	Stylus	7/8	**A022**	NT 246 421	Metal detected
Philiphaugh	Glass bead	6/7	**C071**	NT 45 28	Chance find (field walking)
Selkirk	Ring	9	**A015**	NT 4 2	Unprovenanced
Sourhope	Loom weight	8/10	**B029**	NT 84 20	Chance find
Stichill	Loom weight	8/10	**B031**	NT 711 385	Chance find
Stichill	Loom weight	6/10	**B032**	NT 711 385	Chance find
Stichill	Loom weight	6/10	**B033**	NT 711 385	Chance find
Stichill	Loom weight	6/10	**B034**	NT 711 385	Chance find

Table 5.9 Summary of finds catalogued from the Scottish Borders; early excavation denotes pre-1950 fieldwork.

Location	Type	Date	Cat no	NGR	Context
Aberlady	Strap end	8/9	**A042**	NT 463 801	Metal detected
Aberlady	Strap end	8/9	**A044**	NT 463 801	Metal detected
Aberlady	Strap end	8/9	**A045**	NT 463 801	Metal detected
Aberlady	Disc pin	8/9	**A005**	NT 463 801	Metal detected
Aberlady	Pear pin	8/9	**A006**	NT 463 801	Metal detected
Aberlady	Facet pin	8/9	**A007**	NT 463 801	Metal detected
Aberlady	Coins	9	**A084**	NT 463 801	Metal detected
Auldhame	Gold stud	7/8	**A028**	NT 6016 8476	Excavation; church site
Auldhame	Pin	8/9	**B048**	NT 6016 8476	Excavation; church site
Auldhame	Pin	8/9	**B049**	NT 6016 8476	Excavation; church site
Auldhame	Inkwell	8/9	**A032**	NT 6016 8476	Excavation; church site
Cramond	Ring	9/10	**A019**	NT 1897 7684	Chance find; Roman fort
Crichton	Strap end	8/9	**A037**	NT 38 62	Metal detected
Dalmahoy	gold fitting	7/9	**B024**	NT 13550 66930	Chance find; undated hillfort
Dalmeny	Pyramid	6/7	**A002**	NT 157 764	Metal detected
Dalmeny	Beads	7/8	**A001**	NT 1583 7930	Early excavation; Furnished cist burial
Dunbar	Pin beater	5/9	**B044**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Pin beater	5/9	**B045**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Pin beater	5/9	**B046**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Pin beater	5/9	**B047**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Pectoral cross	6/7	**A023**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Loom weights	7	**A024**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Perf bone pin	6-7	**B028**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Glass bead	6-7	**C064**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Glass bead	6-7	**C065**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Glass vessel sherd	6-7	**C068**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Glass vessel sherd	6-7	**C069**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre

Table 5.10	continued				
Location	**Type**	**Date**	**Cat no**	**NGR**	**Context**
Dunbar	Buckle	7	**A048**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Coin	8	**C077**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Coins	9	**A083**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Pin	8-9	**B038**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Pin	8-9	**B039**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Pin	8-9	**B040**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
Dunbar	Strap end	8-9	**A043**	NT 6783 7912	Excavation; settlement/ royal administrative centre
East Linton	Sword mount	6-7	**A016**	NT 58 77	Metal detected
Ratho	Loom weights	6-8	**A025**	NT 1281 7107	Excavation; settlement with *Grubenhäus*
Traprain Law	Spearhead	4-6	**B041**	NT 5800 7470	Early excavation; RIA powercentre
Traprain Law	Spearhead	4-6	**B042**	NT 5800 7470	Early excavation; RIA powercentre
Traprain Law	Javelin/ Spearhead	4-6	**B043**	NT 5800 7470	Early excavation; RIA powercentre
Traprain Law	Glass bead	5-6	**C011**	NT 5800 7470	Early excavation; RIA powercentre
Traprain Law	Glass bead	?7-8	**B018**	NT 5800 7470	Early excavation; RIA powercentre

Table 5.10 Summary of finds catalogued from the Lothians.

Type	Date	Cat no
Pin beater	5-9	**B044**
Pin beater	5-9	**B045**
Pin beater	5-9	**B046**
Pin beater	5-9	**B047**
Pectoral cross	6-7	**A023**
Loom weights (multiple)	6-7	**A024**
Perforated bone pin	6-7	**B028**
Glass bead	6-7	**C064**
Glass bead	6-7	**C065**
Glass vessel sherd	6-7	**C068**
Glass vessel sherd	6-7	**C069**
Buckle	7	**A048**
Pin	7-9	**B038**
Pin	7-9	**B039**
Pin	7-9	**B040**
Strap end	8-9	**A043**
Coin	8	**C074**
Coins	9	**A083**

Table 5.11 Overview of Anglo-Saxon finds excavated from Castle Park, Dunbar.

Location	Type	Date	Cat no	NGR	Context
Barhobble	Coin	8	**A081**	NX 3104 4941	Excavation; church site
Bishopton	Strap end	8-9	**A047**	NX 67 50	Metal detected
Crossmichael	Bead	7-8	**B019**	NX 7 6	Chance find; ?associated with Roman bead
Dowalton Loch	Glass bead	6-7	**C009**	NX 40 46	Early excavation; crannog
Dumfriesshire	Mount	8	**A034**		Unprovenanced
Glenluce	Strap end	8-9	**A049**	NX 1 5	Chance find
Glenluce	Strap end	8-9	**A050**	NX 1 5	Chance find
Glenluce	Strap end	8-9	**A051**	NX 1 5	Chance find
Glenluce	Coins	9	**A086**	NX 1 5	Chance find
Glenluce	Glass bead	5-6	**C026**	NX 1 5	Chance find
Holywood	Strap end	8-9	**A035**	NX 95 79	Metal detected
Holywood	Pinhead	8-9	**A062**	NX 95 79	Metal detected
Loch Ronald	Glass bead	6-7	**C007**	NX 26 64	Chance find; cairns & crannogs nearby
Mote of Mark	Inscribed bone	5-8	**A061**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Inscribed stone	5-9	**B050**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Axe-blade mould	6-7	**B051**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Axe-blade mould	6-7	**B052**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Axe-blade mould	6-7	**B053**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Roundel mould	6-7	**B054**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Crystal bead	6-7	**C010**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Glass bead	6-7	**C027**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Glass bead	6-7	**C028**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Glass bead	5-7	**C029**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Glass vessel sherd	6-7	**C037**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Mote of Mark	Glass vessel sherd	6-7	**C038**	NX 845 540	Excavation; hillfort
Talnotrie	Pins	8-9	**A030**	NX 487 716	Chance find; hoard

Table 5.11	continued				
Location	**Type**	**Date**	**Cat no**	**NGR**	**Context**
Talnotrie	Strap end	8-9	**A039**	NX 487 716	Chance find; hoard
Torbeckhill	Sword	9	**A020**	NY 2330 7928	Chance find; associated with a mound
Trusty's Hill	Horse harness mount	6-7	**A060**	NX 5889 5601	Excavation; hillfort
Tynron Doon	Pendant frag	7-8	**A029**	NX 8197 9392	Chance find; hillfort
Tynron Doon	Glass bead	6-8	**C030**	NX 8197 9392	Excavation; hillfort
Tynron Doon	Glass bead	5-7	**C067**	NX 8197 9392	Excavation; hillfort
Wamphray	Disc	8-9	**A059**	NY 13 96	Metal detected; ?Viking-age burial
Whithorn	Strap end	8-9	**A046**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Strap end	8-9	**A057**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Axe-blade fitting	6-7	**A067**	NX 4447 4031	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Mount	7	**A068**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Rim mount	6-8	**A069**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Rim mount	6-8	**A070**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Rim mount	6-8	**A071**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Rim mount	6-8	**A072**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Stylus	8-9	**A073**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Window glass	8-9	**A075**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Coins	8-9	**A082**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	6	**B035**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site

Table 5.11	continued				
Location	**Type**	**Date**	**Cat no**	**NGR**	**Context**
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	6	**B036**	NX 4447 4031	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	6	**B037**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Pin	8-9	**B055**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Pin	8-9	**B056**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Pin	8-9	**B057**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Pin head	8-9	**B058**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Pursemount	7-8	**B059**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Coffin fittings	8	**B060**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	5-6	**C032**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	5-6	**C033**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	6	**C035**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	6	**C036**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	6	**C039**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C041**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C042**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	5-7	**C052**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn	Glass vessel sherd	5-7	**C053**	NX 44476 40313	Excavation; church site
Whithorn (YAT dig)	Glass bead	5-7	**C023**	NX 4447 4031	Excavation; church site
Wigtownshire	Glass bead	5-7	**C025**		Unprovenanced

Table 5.12 Summary of finds catalogued from Dumfries and Galloway.

Type	Date	Cat no
Glass vessel sherd	5/6	**C032**
Glass vessel sherd	5/6	**C033**
Glass bead*	5/7	**C023**
Glass vessel sherd	6	**B035**
Glass vessel sherd	6	**B036**
Glass vessel sherd	6	**B037**
Axe-blade fitting	6/7	**A067**
Glass vessel sherd	6/7	**C035**
Glass vessel sherd	6/7	**C036**
Glass vessel sherd	6/7	**C039**
Glass beads	6/7	**C066**
Rim mount	6/8	**A069**
Rim mount	6/8	**A070**
Rim mount	6/8	**A071**
Rim mount	6/8	**A072**
Glass vessel sherd	6/9	**C052**
Glass vessel sherd	6/9	**C053**
Mount	7	**A068**
Pursemount	7/8	**B059**
Glass vessel sherd	7/9	**C041**
Glass vessel sherd	7/9	**C042**
Coffin fittings	8	**B060**
Stylus	8/9	**A073**
Window glass	8/9	**A075**
Pin	8/9	**B055**
Pin	8/9	**B056**
Pin	8/9	**B057**
Pin head	8/9	**B058**
Strap end	8/9	**A046**
Strap end	8/9	**A057**
Coins	8/9	**A082**

Table 5.13 Overview of catalogued finds from Whithorn. * indicates a find from the YAT excavations, not included in Hill 1997.

Location	Type	Date	Cat no	NGR	Context
Buiston	Brooch	5-6	**A014**	NS 4155 4352	Early excavation; crannog
Buiston	Buckle	5-7	**B006**	NS 4155 4352	Early excavation; crannog
Buiston	Glass bead	6	**C003**	NS 4155 4352	Early excavation; crannog
Buiston	Mount	5-8	**A012**	NS 4155 4352	Early excavation; crannog
Buiston	Mount	5-8	**A013**	NS 4155 4352	Early excavation; crannog
Buiston	Glass bead	5-8	**C001**	NS 4155 4352	Early excavation; crannog
Buiston	Coin	7	**A079**	NS 4155 4352	Early excavation; crannog
Buiston	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C045**	NS 4155 4352	Early excavation; crannog
Castlehill	Spearhead	?6	**B013**	NS 2859 5362	Early excavation; hillfort
Castlehill	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C050**	NS 2859 5362	Early excavation; hillfort
Coulter	Glass bead	?5-7	**C017**	NT 02 33	Stray (unknown)
Coulter	Glass bead	?5-7	**C018**	NT 02 33	Stray (unknown)
Coulter	Glass bead	?5-7	**C019**	NT 02 33	Stray (unknown)
Coulter	Glass bead	?5-7	**C020**	NT 02 33	Stray (unknown)
Dumbarton Rock	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C043**	NS 39988 74485	Excavation; hillfort
Dumbarton Rock	Glass vessel sherd	?	**C059**	NS 39988 74485	Excavation; hillfort
Dumbarton Rock	Glass vessel sherd	?	**C060**	NS 39988 74485	Excavation; hillfort
Dundonald	Glass bead	7	**C062**	NS 3636 3451	Excavation; castle and possible hillfort
Kingscross	Coins	9	**A090**	NS 0559 2825	Viking burial
Lesmahagow	Glass bead	?5-7	**C024**	NS 8 3	Stray (unknown)
Paisley	Coins	9	**A088**	NS 48 63	Chance find
Stevenson Sands	Strap end	8-9	**A040**	NS 28 41	Chance find

Table 5.14 Summary of finds catalogued from the central-west, encompassing Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Dunbartonshire.

Location	Type	Date	Cat no	NGR	Context
Dunadd	Buckle	5-7	**B003**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Buckle	5-7	**B004**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Buckle	5-7	**B005**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Buckle	5-7	**B007**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Spearhead	5-7	**B026**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Glass bead	5-8	**C002**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Spearhead	6	**B025**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Mount	6-7	**A027**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Pursemount	6-7	**B009**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Pursemount	6-7	**B010**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Dumbell fitting	6-7	**B023**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Stud	7	**A026**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Buckle	7	**A063**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Buckle	7	**A064**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Pin	7-9	**B011**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C051**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C056**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Dunadd	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C057**	NR 8365 9356	Excavation; hillfort
Inchmarnock	Glass vessel sherd	8-9	**C031**	NS 02372 59635	Excavation; monastery
Iona	Finger ring	8-10	**B027**	NM 2865 2451	Chance find; hoard in vicinity of monastery
Kilellan	Pin	7	**A065**	NR 289 745	Excavation; multi-period site
Kiloran Bay	Coin	9	**A094**	NR 4008 9764	Viking burial
Little Dunagoil	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C034**	NS 0864 5332	Excavation; hillfort
Strathlachlan	Glass bead	6-7	**C021**	NS 02 94	Stray (unknown)

Table 5.15 Summary of finds catalogued from Argyll.

Location	Type	Date	Cat no	NGR	Context
Aldclune	Purse mount	6-7	**B008**	NN 8944 6429	Excavation; settlement
Blackhill House	Pin	8-9	**A004**	NO 072 440	Metal detected
Clatchard Craig	Glass bead	5-6	**C006**	NO 2435 1780	Excavation; hillfort
Clatchard Craig	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C061**	NO 2435 1780	Excavation; hillfort
Culross	Strap end	8-9	**A041**	NS 985 864	Metal detected
Dundurn	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C044**	NN 7080 2327	Excavation; hillfort
Dundurn	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C058**	NN 7080 2327	Excavation; hillfort
Forfar	Bridle mount	6	**A017**	NO 4379 4810	Metal detected
Fortingall	Glass bead	5-6	**A066**	NN 74203 47023	Excavation; monastery
Lindores	Coin	9	**A091**	NO 24 18	Stray

Table 5.16 Summary of finds catalogued from southern Pictland (Fife, Angus, Perth and Kinross).

Location	Type	Date	Cat no	NGR	Context
Aberdeenshire?	Glass bead	?5-7	**C022**		Unprovenanced
Burghead	Horn mount	9	**A031**	NJ 108 691	Chance find; promontory fort
Burghead	Coin	9	**A093**	NJ 108 691	Chance find; promontory fort
Clarkly Hill	Strap end	8-9	**A038**	NJ 13 67	Metal detecting
Croy	Coins	9	**A092**	NH 7950 4936	Hoard
Culbin Sands	Glass bead	5-7	**C014**	NJ 0 6	Chance find
Culbin Sands	Glass bead	5-7	**C015**	NJ 0 6	Chance find
Culbin Sands	Glass bead	5-7	**C016**	NJ 0 6	Chance find
Culbin Sands	Glass bead	5-7	**C073**	NJ 0 6	Chance find
Culbin Sands	Pin	7	**B021**	NJ 0 6	Chance find
Dornoch	disc mount	7	**A018**	NH 79 90	Metal detecting
Freswick Links	Pyramid	7	**A003**	ND 376 676	Metal detecting, authenticity doubtful
Inverness	Bridle mount	6	**A074**	NH 75 49	Metal detecting
Reay Links	Strap end	8-9	**A052**	NC 96 65	Stray
Rogart	Strap end	8-9	**A055**	NC 71 03	Chance find; hoard
Rogart	Strap end	8-9	**A056**	NC 71 03	Chance find; hoard
Tarbat	Glass vessel	7-9	**C055**	NH 91485 84020	Excavated; monastery
Tarbat	Coin	8	**C076**	NH 91485 84020	Excavated; monastery

Table 5.17 Summary of finds catalogued from northern Pictland (Aberdeen, Moray, Inverness, Caithness).

Location	Type	Date	Cat no	NGR	Context
Baleshare	Ring	5-7	**B002**	NF 7823 6085	Early excavations at broch/wheelhouse, later re-use
Birsay	Ring	5-7	**B001**	HY 23977 28513	Excavations; Pictish–Norse period settlement
Birsay	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C040**	HY 23977 28513	Excavations; Pictish–Norse period settlement
Birsay	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C046**	HY 23977 28513	Excavations; Pictish–Norse period settlement
Birsay	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C047**	HY 23977 28513	Excavations; Pictish–Norse period settlement
Birsay	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C048**	HY 23977 28513	Excavations; Pictish–Norse period settlement
Birsay	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C049**	HY 23977 28513	Excavations; Pictish–Norse period settlement
Birsay	Disc	8	**A008**	HY 23977 28513	Excavations; Pictish–Norse period settlement
Mine Howe	Glass vessel sherd	7-9	**C063**	HY 5105 0603	Excavations, unpublished
Scalloway	Spearhead	6-7	**B016**	HU 406 399	Excavation; settlement
Scalloway	Spearhead	6-7	**B017**	HU 406 399	Excavation; settlement
Scalloway	Pin	7	**B022**	HU 406 399	Excavation; settlement
Westness	Strap end	8-9	**A053**	HY 382 289	Excavation; Viking grave
Westness	Strap end	8-9	**A054**	HY 382 289	Excavation; Viking grave

Table 5.18 Summary of finds catalogued from the Northern and Western Isles.

Parish	NGR	Old PAS ID	New PAS ID	Type	PAS date	Description
Ford	NT9238	NCL-C74394	PAS530 C74390 01844	Cruciform	475/600	Incomplete: bow with part of head plate and lower panel; ?Style I and stamp decoration
Ford	NT9238	NCL-7F0D34	0014B1 7F32401 874	Small-long	500/600	Incomplete: part of head plate
Ford	NT9238	NCL-FBFB61	0014B0 FC11801 99D	Cruciform	550/600	Incomplete: head plate in two pieces. Style I decoration
Ford	NT9238	NCL-1C82E5	0014A5 1C91F01 2B4	Cruciform	550/625	Near complete: missing part of head, foot terminal and pin
Ford	NT9238	NCL-BE3AD2	001433 BE5140 15C8	Cruciform or small-long	410/600	Incomplete: part of head plate and bow with stamped decoration
Ford	NT9238	NCL-7D2D81	001401 7D7B30 1B7F	Cruciform	500/550	Incomplete: head plate and bow; stamped decoration
Ford	NT9238	NCL-427472	PAS516 427470 014C8	Cruciform	475/600	Incomplete: head plate; stamped decoration
Ford	NT9238	NCL-424F24	PAS516 424F200 1884	Cruciform	475/600	Incomplete: bow and portion of head plate
Ford	NT9238	NCL-423477	PAS516 423470 01EE0	Cruciform	475/600	Incomplete: possible foot terminal; Style I decoration
Ford	NT9238	NCL-577124	PAS50F 577120 017E4	Great square-headed	450/600	Incomplete: head and bow; chip-carved geometric decoration
Whitting-ham	NU0312	NCL-B35398	PAS4CA B35390 01FD5	Great square-headed	500-600	Incomplete: ?Style I decoration, cremation context likely from fire damage
Whitting-ham	NU0413	NCL-7298A8	PAS4C9 7298A0 01FAC	Square-headed	500-570	Incomplete: head plate and upper bow; blue glass setting; Style I and swastika decoration
Thirston	NZ1999	NCL-F4A9D6	PAS4D7 F4A9D0 01BCE	Cruciform	500-600	Incomplete: bow
Kirkwhelp-ington	NZ0179	DUR-6EA782	PAS550 6EA780 01295	Cruciform	500-600	Incomplete: fragment of bow and foot plate with animal head terminal
Ulgham	NZ2492	NCL-28F3D8	0014AC 291580 1319	Great square-headed	510-570	Incomplete: part of footplate; ?Style I decoration.

Table 9.1	cont.					
Parish	**NGR**	**Old PAS ID**	**New PAS ID**	**Type**	**PAS date**	**Description**
Ulgham	NZ2392	NCL-D64D02	PAS4CD D64D00 01450	Small-long	500-600	Incomplete: part of head and bow; stamped decoration
Belsay	NZ0677	NCL-330C32	PAS4BB 330C30 01431	Cruciform	550-600	Near complete; pin missing; Style I decoration.
Acomb	NY9267	NCL-9F70F4	PAS528 9F70F00 1787	Cruciform	500-600	Incomplete: part of head and bow
Corbridge	NY9765	NCL-05AD92	PAS527 05AD90 013FE	Cruciform	450-600	Incomplete: part of foot
Whitting-ton	NY9971	NCL-33F414	PAS4C3 33F4100 18CF	Annular	500-600	Near complete: pin missing; stamped decoration

Table 9.1 Early Anglo-Saxon brooches from Northumberland recorded in the Portable Antiquities Scheme, north to south.