Maldonado Ramírez, Adrián D. (2011) *Christianity and burial in late Iron Age Scotland, AD 400-650.* PhD thesis.

http://theses.gla.ac.uk/2700/

Christianity and Burial in
Late Iron Age Scotland, AD 400-650

Adrián D. Maldonado Ramírez
AB (Harvard), MPhil (Glasgow)

Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Degree of PhD in Archaeology

University of Glasgow
Department of Archaeology

May 2011

Abstract

This work studies religious change through the archaeology of death and burial. In the period after the fall of Rome and before the Vikings, Scotland became a Christian society, but there are few historical documents to help understand how this happened. The process of conversion to Christianity in Scotland has long been a contentious issue, but until recent years, there was simply not enough reliable archaeological evidence to test the accepted narrative of conversion by missionaries from Ireland and Gaul. A number of key excavations over the last two decades have created the opportunity to reassess the evidence and test existing models. The earliest inhumation cemeteries in Scotland emerge in the period c. AD 400-650, and a large number of radiocarbon dates from these sites now provide a sturdy chronological framework for studying the effects of the conversion to Christianity. This is the first full-length study of the early medieval burial evidence from Scotland, and the first comprehensive revision of the archaeological evidence for early Christianity since the work of Charles Thomas in 1971.

A review of the latest historical research suggests that Christianity arrived in Scotland from at least the 5th century AD, which coincides with the emergence of inhumation cemeteries. In order to contextualise this material, a database of all burial evidence from Scotland in the first millennium AD was constructed to trace changes in ritual practice over the long term. A multiscalar analysis of this data – from individual graves, to 'family plots', to entire cemeteries – revealed new insights into funerary rituals and significant corrections of previous studies. Covering all of Scotland but keeping this in its wider northwestern European context, the theoretical framework adopted here follows the latest research on Anglo-Saxon England and early medieval Ireland, and analyses the material for what it can tell us about people's memories, hopes and fears rather than the usual political and economic narratives.

The Scottish burial evidence takes on a wide variety of forms, from long cists and log coffins to square barrows and cairns, generally placed away from settlement. New radiocarbon dates show conclusively that these burial rites predate Christianity in Scotland, and this study includes a crucial new review of pre-Christian funerary practices. Sequences of radiocarbon-dated burials from early Christian sites of the 5-7th centuries provide new evidence for what can and cannot be construed as a 'Christian' burial. Throughout the radical changes taking place in this period, including the origins of the Picts, Scots and Anglo-Saxons, funerary rituals helped create new social relationships, and mediated the tensions these could create, during times of upheaval. Rather than reflecting the arrival of Christianity, this complex network of social practices reveals the way Christianity was accommodated within Iron Age societies, and the way it was continually reinvented throughout the early medieval period into the Viking Age.

In adapting the new religion to existing lifeways, Christianity itself was 'converted', and this is the key to understanding changes in the archaeological record in Scotland and beyond. The Scottish evidence should now be seen as a crucial dataset for the study of the wider transformations of the post-Roman world. Recommendations for further research were proposed, including the need to expand research beyond the modern Scottish border. To promote continuing research, the burial database will be made available online.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

Dedicated to their memory

Francisco Maldonado (1921-2005)
Hilda Sosa de Ramírez (1925-2009)
Alma Luisa Sorzano (1931-2010)

Accompanying material

Attached herein is a CD-ROM including the full database of burial evidence in Scotland, covering the first millennium AD, as described below (2.4.1).

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 _____

Conventions

Following the conventions used by the Scottish Place-name Society, all place-names in Scotland will be cited along with their pre-1974 county, using the standard three-letter abbreviations as listed below.
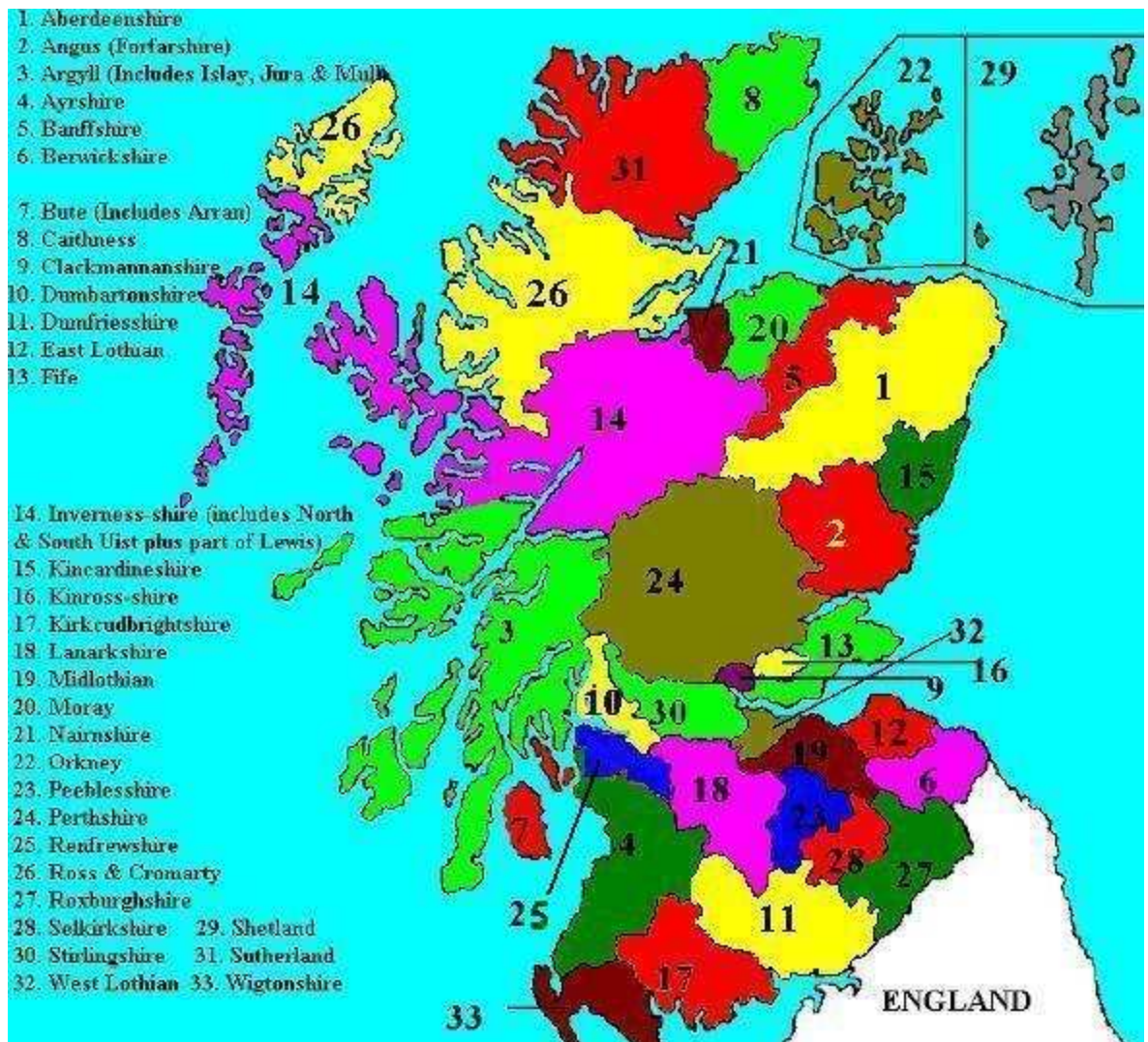
Figure i: Pre-1974 county map of Scotland used by the Scottish Place-name Society. Source: http://www.spns.org.uk/ScotlandCounties09.html, accessed Feb 2011.

ABD	Aberdeen	ELO	East Lothian	PEB	Peeblesshire
ANG	Angus	FIF	Fife	PER	Perthshire
ARG	Argyll	INV	Inverness-shire	RNF	Renfrewshire
AYR	Ayrshire	KCD	Kincardineshire	ROS	Ross and Cromarty
BNF	Banffshire	KNR	Kinross-shire	ROX	Roxburghshire
BWK	Berwickshire	KCB	Kirkcudbrightshire	SLK	Selkirkshire
BTE	Bute	LAN	Lanarkshire	SHE	Shetland
CAI	Caithness	MLO	Midlothian	STL	Stirlingshire
CLA	Clackmannanshire	MOR	Moray	SUT	Sutherland
DMF	Dumfriesshire	NAI	Nairnshire	WLO	West Lothian
DNB	Dunbartonshire	ORK	Orkney	WIG	Wigtownshire

Chapter 1:   Historical approaches

The study of Christianity in Scotland has a long pedigree, beginning with Adomnán abbot of Iona (d. 704). In writing the story of Iona's founder St Columba, Adomnán captivatingly described the world of the previous century, providing tantalising glimpses of what he believed to be the earliest Christianity in northern Scotland. Not long afterward, the monk Bede of Jarrow (d. 735) would supplement Adomnán's account with the story of St Ninian of Whithorn who was believed to have evangelised southern Scotland. Over a thousand years later, when practitioners in the new field of archaeology began to discover numerous early medieval burials scattered across the landscape, they turned to the work of Adomnán and Bede to provide these graves with a date and a Christian context, creating a tantalising narrative of the slow but inevitable triumph of Christianity over the pagan past. But over the last century, targeted excavations and scientific dating techniques have produced a complex set of data which can no longer be usefully explained by the activities of a handful of missionary saints. This study presents a close look at the burial evidence as a way into the tricky question of how to see religious conversion in the archaeological record.

Before looking for evidence of Christianity in Scotland c. AD 400-650, we should perhaps ask whether there is likely to be any. The material gives us mixed messages. Hints of early Christianity abound: in the sculptured stones bearing crosses in rural churchyards, in churches with dedications to obscure Irish saints, and especially in the place-names beginning with *kil-* and *egles-* which would seem to take us back to a period when churches were still referred to with words derived from Latin. But as we will see, recent excavations have turned up no securely datable church structures in Scotland before the 8th century, and the production of much of the sculpture bearing Christian crosses also seems to belong to this later era. The well-known stories of saints like Columba and Ninian have been shown to be the product of later remembrances and pseudo-history, and the early ecclesiastical place-names are no longer thought to be quite so early. Indeed, only the Latin inscriptions found between the Roman walls and the ambiguous burial evidence take us back any further. Is it not just safer to assume a late conversion to Christianity in Scotland?

It arguably would be, were it not for the sudden, widespread appearance of graves across Scotland. Around the 5th century AD, it seems the idea of burying the deceased in cemeteries became popular across Britain; while in much of England these could consist of

cremation or inhumation in various positions, with graves often furnished with weapons or jewellery, in northern and western Britain they were consistently east-facing and unfurnished. By the 7th century, inhumation cemeteries, sometimes alongside Latin-inscribed pillar stones, dotted the landscape far beyond the reaches of the last Roman military outposts. In Scotland, Audrey Henshall (1956) was the first to seriously consider these burial sites potential evidence for early Christianity, and scarcely fifteen years later, Charles Thomas could argue convincingly that the study of these burials was nothing less than the archaeology of conversion (1971: 48-51). Thomas' work was a major reinterpretation of a newly-emerging class of evidence, locating the rural north as an active participant in the broad sweep of Christianity over the Roman world (Thomas 1981).

As has been pointed out since, Thomas' argument for the continuity of Roman Christianity in rural post-Roman Britain was based on precious little evidence (Faulkner 2004; Frend 2003). But since 1981, new discoveries and critical reappraisals, notably of inscriptions in Latin and the Celtic languages, have indicated the presence of early Christianity even beyond the Roman frontiers from as early as the 5th century (Charles-Edwards 2000; Forsyth 2005; Harvey 1992; Thomas 1998b). For areas within the Roman Empire, the argument for a certain amount of cultural continuity from late Roman Britain into the centuries that followed, while not necessarily meriting the term 'Late Antiquity' in the sense of the continuation of imperial socio-economic structures (cf. Dark 1994), has now found widespread favour (Rob Collins 2006; Esmonde Cleary 2001; Henig 2004; McCarthy 2009; Petts 2003; Sharpe 2002; Turner 2004; Wood 1987). In southern Scotland, the appearance of Latin-inscribed stones bearing Latinate personal names in the 5-7th centuries alongside inhumations at sites like the Catstane (Cowie 1978) seemed to be evidence for early Christianity rooted in late Roman practice (Figure i). However, it has also become clear that the presence of inhumation cemeteries cannot prove or disprove religious affiliation (Lane 2001; Parker Pearson 2003; Samson 1999; Schülke 1999).

Christianity and cemetery burial both appear in Scotland in the mid-first millennium AD, at the uneasy crossroads between our archaeological and historical understanding of the past. Excavators of early cemeteries find themselves working in a liminal period for which there are few interpretative models: Iron Age specialists (Armit 2005; Harding 2004) often present the cemeteries as the end of their era, while early medievalists (Foster 2004; Thomas 1971) have them at the start of theirs. Yet the appearance of inhumation burial has become so tied up with the narrative of Christianity that it is difficult to discuss one without the other; for instance, in Leslie Alcock's comprehensive overview of the period, the Catstane cemetery is discussed under the heading, "4th century: Ninian" (2003: 64),

even though there is no evidence that this site is any earlier than the 5th century, and there is no connection to St Ninian whatsoever. The search for Christianity among the dead continues to exercise the minds of many commentators, arguably because they are attempting to create a single narrative out of two different and ongoing processes.

Because so much weight has been placed on Christian interpretations in the past, this has tended to limit the questions we can ask of this material. The peril of labelling the archaeology this way is that specialists in prehistory can disregard the cemeteries as beyond their scope (most recently Hunter 2007), when a useful dialogue needs to be maintained with early medievalists. Furthermore, since these graves tend to be simple and unfurnished, recent scholarship has tended to be rather pessimistic about their potential to reveal any new insights on religious practices, and focus on social or political structures instead (Williams 2007a; Winlow 2010). But the evidence must be approached both ways: these cemeteries extend into the historical period, but their origins lie in a deeper past that must be understood archaeologically. In what follows, this study will argue that the ambiguity of these sites lies not with the burials themselves, but in our assumptions about Christianity and the process of conversion. To begin, the following chapter will propose a new chronology that allows for more interaction across the Iron Age/early medieval divide.

1.1. Missionary Christianity: the origins of an idea

Even though the history of Christianity in Britain begins with the attendance of three British bishops at a council in Arles in AD 314 (Sharpe 2002: 76), histories of Christianity in Scotland often begin with the *Life of St Columba*, written in 697. The author, Adomnán abbot of Iona, most likely undertook missionary work in Scotland among the Picts, and so his testimony, however late, provides us with the earliest secure witness to the state of Christianity in Scotland (Sharpe 1995: 42-53; Taylor 1999: 57-60). It is largely due to this fact that studies of the early church in Scotland have long tended to be Iona-centric, with Christianity coming from across the western seas. Scholarly work on the origins of Iona and its implications for the conversion in Scotland are manifold and ongoing, but it must be recognised that they only form a part of the story which begins centuries before the *Vita Columbae* (hereafter *VC*, referring to Sharpe 1995).

James Fraser has comprehensively reviewed the historiography of conversion in Scotland as part of his doctoral research (2003), and as such this review will primarily focus on a single pervasive theme running through the literature: the missionary model of conversion. Modern scholarship on the subject begins with William Forbes Skene's three-volume work

Celtic Scotland: a History of Ancient Alban (1876-1880), which devotes an entire volume to the early Church. His model, based on a lifetime of historical research, became the standard for years to come. In brief, it proposed a first abortive mission to the southwest by St Ninian in the late 4th or early 5th century, followed by the decisive arrival of the "apostle of Scotland," St Columba to Iona (*ibid*., v. 2, 39-40, 78-93). This model of conversion exclusively by missionaries, and its vision of a church run by monastic abbots rather than bishops, was based on ancient texts such as the *VC* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (c. 730; hereafter *HE*, referring to Colgrave and Mynors 1991). Skene's outlook was staunchly nativist, creating a romantic notion of an indigenous church only swept away by the incoming Normans (Hammond 2006); whether despite or because of this, it has been vastly influential and still lingers over the discipline, despite many challenges over the years (most recently Fraser 2009a: 83-93).

Figure 1.1: The first page of Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, v. 2 (1867).

If Skene's three-volume work represents the first modern historical analysis of early Christianity in Scotland, the ground had been prepared by years of fascination with its material remains, particularly the carved stones (I Fraser 2008). The systematic survey of these began with Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (1856-1867), which was initially

conceived as an illustrative work, but by its second volume combined art historical analysis with archaeological and historical enquiry to establish the specifically Pictish origin of the symbol stones. While his use of the sources was rather uncritical, and the result delightfully antiquarian in presentation (**Error! Reference source not found.**), the artistic links he discerned with Irish and Northumbrian manuscript art would have knock-on effects for future scholarship on the conversion in Scotland.

Figure 1.2: Joseph Anderson at the Royal Institution, Edinburgh in 1890 (Clarke 2002, 6). I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

Joseph Anderson's archaeological review of early Christianity built on Stuart's conclusions. In scope and breadth of research, Anderson's landmark Rhind Lectures, published in a series of volumes beginning with *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (1881), were the archaeological equivalent of Skene's historical review. A prominent theme running through Anderson's work was the fundamental uniqueness of Scotland's archaeology (Clarke 2002), a matter previously stressed by Stuart, whose work had included a passionate plea for the recognition of the Pictish sculpture as "a national art" (1867, 20). Both men were prominent figures in the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and played a fundamental role in creating a distinctly Scottish, rather than a British, archaeological identity (Cheape 2010). This often meant looking to the 'Celtic' area for inspiration and direction; as Anderson succinctly proclaimed, "[n]either the history nor the

remains of the early Christian period in Scotland can be studied apart from those of Ireland" (1881, 76).

As curator of the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh and one of the luminaries of the burgeoning field of archaeology, Anderson played an outsize role in the promotion of the missionary model as seen in the material culture (Figure 1.2). Because *Scotland in Early Christian Times* was the first volume of a series based on the subject of archaeological enquiry, its opening chapter actually begins by defining archaeology, "the science of things that are old", and the best method of its execution: "an exhaustive collection of the materials from the whole country" (Anderson 1881: 1, 27). In this statement of purpose, he leaves no doubt that archaeology is the scientific study of the progress of "that civilisation which now spreads its beneficent influences over all lands" (ibid.: 13). So when, for instance, he followed this by declaring that the "establishment of the Christian Church in this country was the work of Irish ecclesiastics" and outlining what we would now call a core-periphery model of cultural diffusion (ibid.: 76-77), it carried considerably more scientific heft than Stuart's aesthetic approach. The empirically-demonstrated artefactual and architectural links with Ireland would thus form the basis of all future work on the subject.

In keeping with Anderson's method of rigorous survey, recording and classification, the following decades saw the production of large corpora, compiling the evidence for early Christianity in accessible printed formats. MacGibbon and Ross's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland, from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century* (1897) presented architectural surveys of upstanding churches, beginning with the drystone chapels and beehive cells of the Hebrides on the assumption that these, as in Ireland, represented the earliest Christian structures. While this was being prepared, the Society of Antiquaries commissioned J Romilly Allen to survey and illustrate the pre-Romanesque sculptured stones in Scotland, prefaced by a lengthy discussion by Joseph Anderson, and resulting in the still unsurpassed collection, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (1903). Finally, the widespread evidence of early saints' cults from place-names and church dedications were collected in James Mackinlay's *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland* (1910-1914) and W J Watson's *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (1926), still the most complete studies of Scottish ecclesiastical toponyms.

Altogether, these works stand as a testament to the unique character of the Scottish evidence, but ironically their typological approach instead reinforced the historical paradigm of missionary saints by implying trajectories of diffusion and evolutionary

models of cultural change. Despite their authors' intentions, new research using these corpora actually found it easier to see the one-way traffic of Irish and English influence into Scotland. A good example is *The Celtic Church in Scotland: a Study of its Penetration Lines and Art Relationships* (1935) by W Douglas Simpson, a pioneer in mapping the distributions of sculpture and place-names in order to trace the movements of early Christianity. Importantly, Simpson presented the first cogent argument against Skene's model of Columba as the primary 'apostle' of Scotland, but it merely replaced him with a still less believable emphasis on widespread missionary work by St Ninian, St Kentigern and a number of Bangor saints.

Of course, these early works were the product of the prevailing paradigms of nationalist history and the emerging cultural-historical model of archaeology, and cannot be judged by modern standards (Fraser 2010; Gillett 2002a; Noble 2006b; Williams 2008). However, they set a train of thought in motion which would become increasingly difficult to stop. Continuing echoes of diffusionist models of Christianity would reverberate even through the most careful revisions later in the century (Chadwick 1961; Radford 1971; Thomas 1971). An renewed backlash against Columba as the founder of Christianity in Scotland came only in the early 1970s, when textual studies began to favour Bede as the most reliable source, a model which essentially served to replace Irish missionaries with Northumbrian ones (Duncan 1975; Hughes 1971; Kirby 1973), and has only recently been deconstructed (Clancy 2004; Veitch 1997). The sheer number, and thus perceived authority, of Irish and Northumbrian documents continued to dominate research.

The main problem with such models of conversion is not just whether it was possible one or two charismatic people to evangelise an entire population, especially in the days before cohesive, centralised nations and certainly before there was anything resembling an over-king of Scotland (Anderson 1980; Evans 2008; Woolf 2000). A larger issue is how this became enmeshed with the 'official' history of Scotland. The notion of 'national saints' emerged alongside the concept of ethnic nationhood in the 7th and 8th centuries (Pohl 1997), exemplified by the work of Bede, who used it to lend credence to his theological argument that the English were God's chosen people (Stancliffe 2003; 2007). These ideas clearly resonated in the late 19th century with the emergence of modern nationalism, in which the military expansion of nations was justified by the 'scientific' study of the past using history and archaeology (Geary 2002; Innes 2000; Williams 2008).

Figure 1.3: A matter of national importance: Queen Elizabeth II surveying the remains of the early church at Whithorn WIG, excavated by C A Ralegh Radford (to her left), c. 1955 (image © Whithorn Photographic Group. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).

In the post-war era, the quest for national histories fell out of favour, but nationalist paradigms remained. These were now submerged within the study of ethnic origins, still being debated in a number of recent volumes (Gillett 2002b; Goetz *et al.* 2003; Goffart 2006; Noble 2006a; Theuws and Nelson 2000). But while the ethnogenesis debate has mainly concerned the emergence of 'Germanic' elite groups, nationalist paradigms were also being played out in the burgeoning archaeology of conversion in Britain. Leading church archaeologists of the post-war era included C A Ralegh Radford (Figure 1.3), whose work in 'Celtic' areas was fitted into a wider 'British' church which looked to Gaul and Rome (Radford 1971; Thomas 1998a), and Charles Thomas, a self-confessed Celtic nationalist whose work primarily promoted an indigenous Insular Christianity with close links to Ireland (Thomas 1971: 6). Despite their indispensable work on the early Christian remains of northern and western Britain, Radford and Thomas, like Anderson before them, advanced notions of Scotland as looking towards Ireland or Gaul for reasons that cannot be fully divorced from the dominant historical discourse in which they worked, nor the political discourse they wished to promote (discussed further below, 2.1).

1.1.1. The myth of the Celtic Church

The missionary model has been so influential arguably because of the idea that Scotland was somehow different from the rest of the British Isles in resisting Christianity for hundreds of years. This is partly based on the obvious differences in material culture of this period, specifically the lack of richly-furnished graves as found in Anglo-Saxon England and on the continent (Halsall 1995). But one of the most pervasive theories in the study of the conversion of Scotland has been the idea of a 'Celtic Church,' whereby the liturgical and administrative elements of Christianity in the Atlantic fringes of Europe were isolated from, and peripheral to, Roman orthodoxy. For years, the accepted nomenclature for the pre-Norman period was *Celtic* Scotland, a term used uncritically throughout the 20th century, tacitly sponsoring a notion of otherness within a prevailing racial framework of history (Hammond 2006; S James 1999). Celts, so went the theory, were defined against 'Germanic' peoples, both having inherent racial characteristics; this was 'proven' by their superficially different archaeologies. The timeless 'otherness' of Scotland was also reinforced by Scottish historians' views on their own medieval past, coloured by centuries of religious change and tensions across a perceived Highland/Lowland cultural divide in which a 'Celtic' identity was seen as backward, if not dangerous (Broun and MacGregor 2007; Cowan 2005; 2008; Dalglish 2010; Sellar 2001). The physical remains of the past, including Pictish sculpture, were always implicated in these struggles, often with deleterious effects for the archaeology (Clarke 2007; I Fraser 2005). Only with Thomas' *Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (1971) was there any serious attempt to avoid using Celtic terminology to describe the early church in Scotland. It was a radical break, and is deservedly still required reading.

The 'Celtic' model was thus reinforced by three quirks of history that seem to make early Christianity in Scotland different from the rest of Europe. First, due to differential survival over the centuries, the primary sources for Scotland are monopolised by texts written in Irish and Northumbrian monastic contexts (Chadwick 1961; Clancy 2002a; Sims-Williams 1998; Veitch 1997); secondly, the remaining textual evidence for early Christianity in Scotland is largely bound up in the (primarily Gaelic) place-names and dedications to early saints scattered across the landscape (Taylor 1996; 1998; 1999; 2000); and thirdly, the depopulation of the Highlands in the 18th and 19th centuries left the majority of the physical evidence for the early church in romantic desolation on the Atlantic coasts and upland areas (Cowan 2005; Dalglish 2010). In the last two decades, the idea of an isolated and unorthodox 'Celtic Church' has been thoroughly deconstructed, and the term will be avoided here (Bradley 1999; Davies 1992; Edwards 2009b; Márkus 2005). As Clancy has pointed out, even careful use of Celtic as a shorthand can be misleading, and the supposed

Celticity of the church still forms a "conceptual roadblock" to our understanding of early Scottish history (2002a: 5-6).

Since Wendy Davies' seminal paper 'The Myth of the Celtic Church' (1992), the argument against 'Celtic Christianity' has been tempered somewhat. However, the term 'Celtic' is again being used with care (e.g., Boardman *et al.* 2009; Edwards 2009a; O'Loughlin 2000), often accompanied by the term 'Insular', referring at once to both Britain and Ireland (Sharpe 2002). Neither term is ideal, as both still carry connotations of peripherality on the one hand and overarching unity on the other. The result of the debate over the use of the word 'Celtic' has largely been a recognition that the Celtic-speaking world did have its own take on early Christianity, but also that this did not make it unorthodox, seeing as there was no such thing as 'orthodox' Christianity in this period (Clancy 2002a; Pluskowski and Patrick 2003). A new understanding of western Christianity is best expressed by Peter Brown's term 'micro-Christendoms' (2003: 13-17), or more recently, 'Christianities' (Noble and Smith 2008). These terms express the fundamental variety of practice in the early medieval religious world; Christianity was not then, nor is it today, a monolithic body of doctrine, and local difference did not imply isolation (Márkus 2005; O'Loughlin 2000).

Proponents of the 'Celtic Church' model invariably compared it to the 'orthodoxy' of Roman practice, but even Rome was not an unquestioned source of authority in this period. The rise of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire in the 4th century prompted a messy revision of history which continued to be fought over for centuries (Brown 1995). A case in point is the depiction of Jesus: since there are no surviving contemporary portraits of the man, Roman artists of the 4th century had to invent a new Christian iconography from scratch. The freedom to imagine Christ as a young hero or a bearded philosopher also produced images of Jesus as a woman or a magician wielding a wand (Mathews 1993). Even within the See of Peter itself, deviant practices and antiauthoritarian beliefs resulted from the conversion to Christianity, and we should not doubt that such complex responses to the new religion occurred everywhere it went.

Such is the difficulty in believing that a national or 'state' church could be founded solely by a few well-connected missionaries on diplomatic missions to kings in hillforts. With regard to Christian mission as a wider European practice, it needs to be stressed that missionary work was not the primary concern of the monastic church until the 7-8th centuries (Wood 1994; 2001). In fact, the 5th-century Pope Celestine, who presided over the missions of Germanus and Palladius to Britain and Ireland, explicitly stated that

bishops could not be imposed on communities without prior invitation (Charles-Edwards 2000: 205). Such rules were reinforced even within a 'Celtic' setting, as 5th and 6th-century Breton and Irish church councils repeatedly forbade monks to work beyond the monastery without explicit permission from the abbot or bishop (De Paor 1996: 66-69, 135-138; Herren and Brown 2002: 27-32). Of course, the reinforcement of such rules hints that the problem remained, as embodied by Patrick's seemingly controversial mission to Ireland (Charles-Edwards 2000: 214-232). We even know of two 6th-century British churchmen, Lovocat and Catihern, who are castigated for performing the Mass in private homes in Brittany, using portable altars and with the help of female *conhospitae* (Stancliffe 2005: 442). Pilgrims in search of desert places are described as normal by Adomnán (*VC* II: 42), and concerns about wandering monks do need to be reiterated during 8th-century reforms (Herren and Brown 2002: 35-38; Yorke 2006: 248-257). But they are not a 'Celtic' phenomenon by any means: Peter Brown's seminal work on Syrian holy men (1971) shows these figures were perhaps endemic to the countryside from the early days of Christianity, and were generally a positive force for conversion; indeed, we still find traces of them from Scotland to Francia as late as the 8th century (Fouracre 1999).

Many documented 'missions' like those of Columba to (Christian) Dál Riata and Columbanus to (Christian) Gaul were not primarily quests to evangelise but acts of self-exile, known as the 'white martyrdom' of moving far from home; they did not go alone, but with a community of brethren to set up centres of learning and worship. The monasteries they founded at Iona and Luxueil were created to this end, amongst existing Christian communities and with full patronage and sponsorship of the ruling class (Brown 2003: 248-249; Charles-Edwards 2000: 344-390; Fraser 2009a: 94-115; Márkus 1999). In fact, it is becoming clear that when proselytising outside the monastery became a core aspect of the monastic vocation, missions were most often directed from one 'micro-Christendom' to another (Brown 2003: 355-379; Stancliffe 2005; Wood 2001). In other words, by the 8th century, western Christians were not defining themselves against pagans, but against other Christians (Palmer 2007). The missionary ideal was not a defining characteristic of the earliest days of Christianity in Ireland or Scotland, but a later development of the period of consolidation of Christianity across western Europe.

As we will see, this is the context in which much of our textual evidence for early Christianity was produced. While we have corroborating notices of Patrick and Palladius (Charles-Edwards 1993b; Dumville 1993), our contemporary evidence for Columba and Ninian is almost exclusively in the form of their later *vitae* or dossiers of miracles (Clancy 2001; Clancy 2002b; Sharpe 1995). These 'lives' of the saints were often written down

long after their subjects died, and were not meant to be factual biographies as much as devotional tools (O'Loughlin 2000; Sharpe 1995). Their historical value does not lie in what they say, but what they represent: the needs, both spiritual and temporal, of the communities which created them (Hayward 1999; Smith 1990). As such, our difficulty with understanding the role of the Scottish saints lies not with the dearth of saints' lives, but in our interpretation of these sources, to which we must now turn.

1.1.2. The textualisation of the saints

The *vitae* are by their nature secondary accounts, written in commemoration of a beloved patron. Any review of the hagiographical evidence (e.g., Boardman *et al.* 2009; Macquarrie 1997), will soon resolve into a distinct pattern: in the case of Scotland, the existing *vitae* mostly seem to have been composed, or date back to exemplars, from the period c. 650-750, and are otherwise the product of the 12th century (Table 1.1). This accords with the late 7th-century dates for the Irish *vitae* of Brigit and Patrick (Charles-Edwards 2000: 428-440) and the early 8th-century Northumbrian hagiographical tradition culminating in the work of Bede (Kirby 1993). It also coincides with the introduction of Pictish and British events into the Irish annals (Anderson 1980; JE Fraser 2005; Henderson 1971), and the possible composition of the Pictish king-lists and origin myths (Clancy 2004; Evans 2010; Miller 1979), both beginning in the late 7th century. This activity was thus part of a wider upturn in literary production c. 650-750, an aspect of the ongoing formation of kingdoms based on the notion of a shared ethnic origin, and with associated national saints, exemplified by Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, c. 730 (Clancy 2002b; Clancy 2004; Higham 1997b; Stancliffe 2007; Veitch 1997). Thus, the 'literary cults' of these saints, regardless of when they were actually active, began in a burst of political and religious consolidation within this crucial hundred-year period (Thomas 1971: 212-220). The products of this brief moment have coloured our view of early Christianity ever since. If we knew nothing else about them, we would conclude that this was the real age of saints.

But we do know more about them. For instance, Mo-Luag, Kentigern, Drostan, Ethernan, Blane, Mael Rubha and others can be stabilised by notices in the contemporary annals, and were mainly active in the 7th century (Clancy 2002b; Clancy 2008a; Woolf 2007). Two of the best-documented saints, Patrick and Columba, were certainly commemorated soon after their deaths, yet they did not receive official *vitae* until the late 7th century, when their cult centres at Armagh and Iona, respectively, began vying for diocesan supremacy (Charles-Edwards 2000; Dumville 1993; Herbert 1988; Sharpe 1995). The cult of Ninian

of Whithorn is also instructive here. Ninian may be a corruption of Uinniau, the Brittonic name of Finnian of Moville, a British churchman known to have worked in Ireland in the mid-6th century but whose cult was popular throughout southwestern Scotland (Clancy 2001; Dumville 1984). However, by the time his *vita* was written in an 8th-century Northumbrian context and again in the 12th century, the need to promote him as a national apostle had created an entirely new character who fit within the prevailing discourse of missionary saints (Clancy 2001; Fraser 2002). The cults of Kentigern, Serf and even the apostle Andrew follow similar trajectories, with large 12th-century hegemonies being constructed on hazy 7th or 8th century commemorative origins (Clancy 2002b; Davies 2009; Fraser 2009b). The emerging picture resembles what Thomas deemed a "period of incomprehension" between the earliest saints' lives and the later consolidation of these traditions (Thomas 1971: 215-217). But it is the *textualisation* of these saints, or the initial establishment of an official literary cult, which requires further analysis.

Saint	Obit.	Text dates	Notes	Reference
Patrick	493	678-695	British missionary active in NE Ireland; Tirechán's *Collectanea* and Muirchu's *Vita S. Patricii* both composed in Armagh	Charles-Edwards 2000
Brigit	524	675-686	Possibly pseudo-mythical saint of Kildare; *Vita S. Brigitae* by Cogitosus	Charles-Edwards 2000; Mc Carthy 2000
Ninian/Uinniau	579	720-730	Founder of Whithorn; details from lost *vita* by Bede c. 730; 8th-century poem *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* possibly also based on *vita* but only attested in late-8th century	Charles-Edwards 2000; Fraser 2002
Columba	597	640-697	Founder of Iona; *De uirtutibus Sancti Columbae* by Cumméne Find c. 640s; *Vita Columbae* by Abbot Adomnan c. 697	Herbert 1988; Sharpe 1995
Columbanus	615	639-642	Irish abbot of Luxueil (Francia) and Bobbio (Lombardy); *Vita S. Columbani* by Jonas of Bobbio	Charles-Edwards 2000
Cuthbert	687	699-721	Bishop of Lindisfarne; anonymous prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* composed at Lindisfarne c. 699x705; metric *vita* by Bede c. 721	Yorke 2006
Wilfrid	709	715-730	Bishop of Northumbria; *Vita S. Wilfrithi* by Stephen of Ripon c. 715; revised version by Bede c. 730	Yorke 2006

Table 1.1: Vitae of the 'textualisation period', c. 650-750.

To explain the complex motivation behind the production of a saintly dossier, we must look beyond pious veneration and enter the world of politics and power. Modern hagiographical research has shown that periods of intense literary production can be tied in with rivalry and competition surrounding the growth of new power structures, both secular and ecclesiastical (Goffart 1988; Smith 1990; Wood 2001). The first flourishing of martyr cults in Late Antique Gaul was led by increasing social instability and the rise of urban bishops as a new aristocracy after the collapse of the Roman villa economy (Pearce 2003; Van Dam 1993). Studies of relic distribution has shown how closely the emergence of saints' cults in the west corresponded with periods when Rome was asserting its authority (Charles-Edwards 1993b; Geary 1994: 177-193). Indeed, the cult of relics in Britain and Ireland seems largely to begin with the distribution of relics of universal saints like Peter

and Paul under Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) and his 7th-century successors (Charles-Edwards 2000: 428-429; Sharpe 2002: 151; Smith 2008; Thacker 2002: 16-20).

It is only in the aftermath of this Gregorian reform, which set out to unify western Christendom under Rome (Herrin 1987: 145-182), that the variety of practices within Britain and Ireland became a cause for concern (Stancliffe 1999). Recent historical syntheses have interpreted the textualisation of saints in Scotland, Ireland and Northumbria as a product of the political tensions in the aftermath of the creation of new archbishoprics in the 7th century, coinciding with the emergence of new, expansionist royal dynasties (Blair 2005: 79-100; Charles-Edwards 2000: 416-440; Fraser 2003: 118-148; 2009a: 175-199). The late 7th century was the period of growing royal patronage of the church, as seen in the Synod of Whitby of 664: although this was a distinctly theological debate over the calculation of Easter, it was convened and chaired by Northumbrian King Oswiu (Yorke 2006: 127, 161-163). The increasing royal involvement in church foundation meant that the saintly hegemonies began to match political territories, which inevitably resulted in disputes and negotiation, in which the saints' lives often played a key mediating role (Thacker 1989; Wood 2008a; Yorke 2006: 166-169). Proprietary motives can be perceived in the lives of many Scottish saints, including Columba: the creation of the *VC* was partly to reassert Iona's influence in the face of rising Pictish and Patrician church *familiae*, but also cannot be divorced from the changing fortunes of the Irish Cenél Conaill dynasty who were its patrons and who feature prominently in the narrative (Charles-Edwards 2000; Fraser 2007; Herbert 1988: 134-150; Ní Dhonnchada 1982; Sharpe 1995; Veitch 1997). Similarly, the introduction of the cults of apostles Andrew and Peter to Scotland can only be understood within the context of 7-8th century diocesan restructuring and the claims of Northumbria over the Scottish church (Clancy 2004; Fraser 2009b).

What all this shows is that the commissioning of a *vita* could often be a power-grab, and had as much to do with popular devotion as much as legalistic land claims; they were 'proofs of sanctity' aimed at centralising both spiritual and terrestrial power (Fouracre 1999; Hayward 1999). But lest we completely secularise our understanding of early medieval Christianity, we should heed O'Loughlin (2000) and Stancliffe's (2007) forceful arguments for reading these texts as Biblical exegesis based on rigorous study of scripture. As we will see repeatedly in the course of this study, the secular and religious realms of the early medieval period cannot be so easily compartmentalised.

By realising that the production of *vitae* is just one aspect of the wider history of Christianity, we can see that our period of textualisation, c. 650-750, is just a snapshot of a

time when these cults were being consolidated and institutionalised within the framework of western Christendom. The image of wandering monks and hermits seeking solace at sea is an idealised image created largely by these texts, based not on historical reality but the subjects pertinent to the 7-8th century audience (Dumville 2002; Kirby 1993). That this process was also underway in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England shows that Scotland was active in the wider Insular ecclesiastical politics. The period c. 650-750 is also the 'classic' Pictish era, the time of the Class II stones and the creation of a tangible Pictish identity (Fraser 2009a; Henderson and Henderson 2004), and the two processes cannot be divorced. The textualisation of the saints parallels the textualisation of high-status kin-groups through cross-bearing carved stone memorials, if that is the symbols' function (Forsyth 1998). It is also in this period that most of Scotland's saints, from Argyll to Aberdeenshire, received obits in the contemporary Irish annals, indicating that these figures were operating within a well-connected Insular network (Clancy 2002b; 2008a). The hagiographical texts are only the end result of this period of institutionalisation, not an accurate record of the conversion. But it is not the only surviving source material, and the place-name and dedication evidence provides a potential alternative view.

1.1.3. The spatialisation of the saints

The landscape setting of Christianity is crucial to our understanding of the conversion and establishment of religious practices. Recent work in western Ireland and Cornwall has stressed the active role these distinctive landscapes had in both shaping the process of conversion and being shaped by the development of local Christianities (Ó Carragáin 2003a; 2003b; 2009c; Turner 2006). In Scotland, the most distinctive feature of the human landscape is arguably the survival of place-names and church dedications dating back to the medieval period. This resource has been much abused in the past and nearly fell out of favour, but critical new research is currently underway (i.e., Taylor and Márkus 2006-2009). Although place-names and dedications are treated as a historical subject, the complex processes behind their formation and survival reveal the way the landscape was implicated in the progress of Christianity across Scotland.

The work of Simon Taylor is worth special notice here. The long list of names that can be gathered from the place-name record in Scotland is one of the distinctive quirks of the evidence handed down to us over the centuries, and has served to reinforce the notion of a 'Celtic Church' of wandering saints (Bowen 1977; Simpson 1935; Watson 1926). While this evidence is often frustratingly obscure for the early medieval period, Taylor (1999: 36) reminds us that the dearth of evidence we have for the early church in Scotland means we

do not have the "luxury" of ignoring the place-names altogether. When placed in their proper historical contexts and tracked meticulously over time, there are discoveries yet to be made (Barrow 1983; Clancy 1995; 2008a; Watson 1995). For instance, Taylor (1999) was able to trace commemorations to a number of Iona abbots across Scotland, and found they largely corresponded with the overland routes from Iona to important church centres at St Andrews and Lindisfarne (Figure 1.4). Combining this with the spread of Gaelic *kil-* names and the abundant evidence for the cult of Columba, a picture of the physical spread of Iona's influence in Pictland began to emerge (Taylor 1996; Taylor 2000). However, along with his work on the *egles-* place-names, it became clear that the saints commemorated in both types of names belonged to the late 7th and 8th centuries rather than the earliest phase of Christianity (Taylor 1998). Interestingly, this corresponds with the textualisation period of c. 650-750, and these explicitly ecclesiastical toponyms seem to relate the period of the consolidation of the church as described above (1.1.2). The Latinate origin of these elements may yet point to a distinctive early phase when Latin was still widely spoken, largely obscured by a later period of church-building and the expansion of relic-cults (Sharpe 2002: 146-154), but only closer integration with archaeological survey and excavation can resolve this.
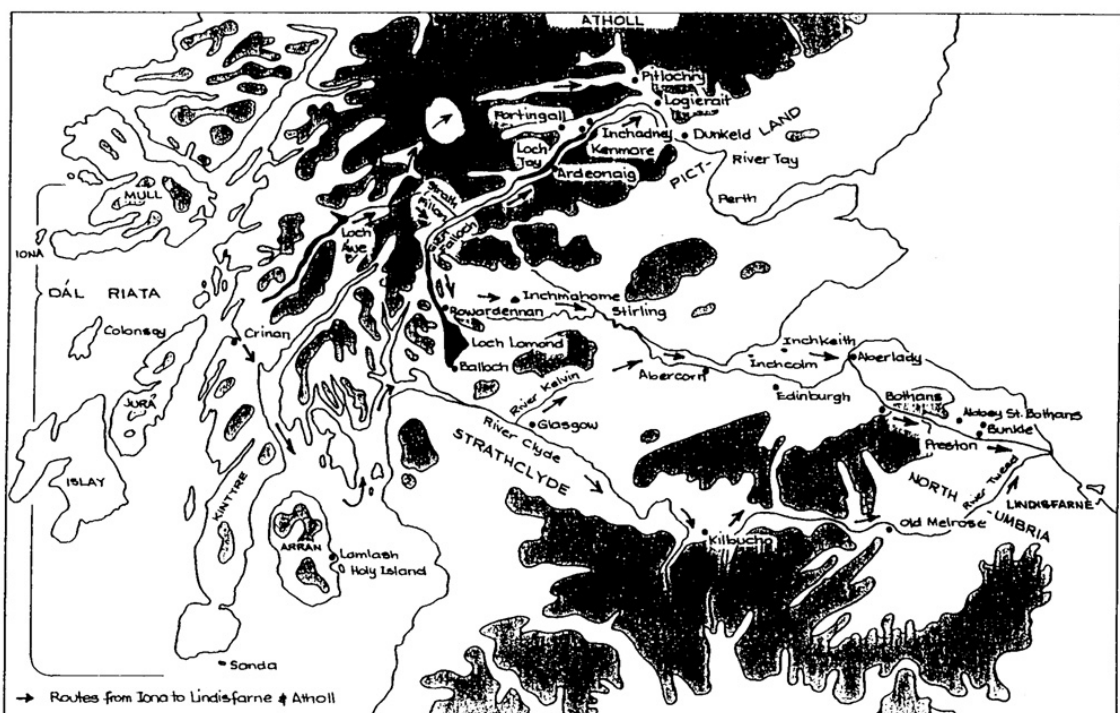
Figure 1.4: Map of land routes from Iona to Lindisfarne and Atholl, including places with toponymic commemorations of Iona abbots (Taylor 1999).

The earliest stratum of Latin loan-words for church includes the terms *basalec* (from basilica) and *domnach* (from *dominicum*, 'belonging to God'), both only in regular use up to the 6th century (Charles-Edwards 2000: 45, 184-185; Sharpe 2002: 138-147; Thomas

1998b). Watson (1926: 194) noticed long ago that *basalec* may form the root of the modern place-name Paisley RNF, yet as recently as 2002, Sharpe (*ibid*.) could cite basilica-names in Ireland and Wales without mentioning this crucial Scottish example. In recent years, Clancy (2001: 26) has highlighted the importance of Paisley's name and its implications for an early conversion in Scotland, and instances of *domnach* in Scotland are being investigated as well (Alex Woolf, pers. comm.). The late recognition of such elements in Scotland is a good example of the 'conceptual roadblock' of the Celtic Church model, limiting research largely to place-names with saints in them. Yet the relative paucity of *basalec-* and *domnach*-names in Scotland could still indicate a different process of early church foundation here than in Ireland. It may be significant that important early monasteries like Iona, St Andrews (originally *Cennrighmonaid*), Dunkeld, Whithorn and Kingarth all retain their locational or tribal names rather than acquiring ecclesiastical elements (Watson 1926). Mining place-names for saints may only have limited use for characterising the earliest church, but other ecclesiastical elements may yield new insights.

The church dedication evidence can also be either enlightening or misleading, and there are a numerous range of factors to consider before it can be used productively. The heuristic that the more obscure the saint, the more likely an ancient dedication, can only be taken so far in Scotland, where there are many later layers of 'Celtic' or local saints' cults, aptly highlighted in two recent volumes on the subject (Boardman *et al.* 2009; Boardman and Williamson 2010). Perhaps the first flush of cultic expansion was the textualisation period of c. 650-750 (above, 1.1.2), in which personages like Ninian and Columba were brought to the fore by the commissioning of *vitae*, accompanied by the reorganisation of the main cult site (e.g., P Hill 1997). In Scotland as in Ireland, this may have come at the expense of earlier cults, which were overwritten or forgotten in the process (Sharpe 1995: 4-5). Some of the named saints may also be based on hazily-remembered traditions bordering on fabrication, like the case of Ninian (above, 1.1.2), or more extreme cases like Brigit of Kildare, possibly the euhemerised Iron Age goddess Brigantia (Mac Cana 1996: 34-35).

A second phase of textualisation began in the 9th century. The formation of new kingdoms like Alba and Strathclyde saw the reaffirmation of old cults and the expansion and apparent migration of others (Bannerman 1999; Broun 1997; Clancy 2002b; Davies 2009; Driscoll 1998a; Lamb 1998; Woolf 2007); this was accompanied by the large-scale shift in power centres which may have all but erased the memory of some earlier church centres and cults (Driscoll 1998a; 1998b). A widespread restructuring of the church followed, fuelled in part by the Céli Dé, a consciously archaising reform movement based in Ireland that was involved in the creation of official martyrologies, or lists of saints' feast days (Ó Riain

2006). The Céli Dé were active in Scotland as well, and their influence may be seen in the possibly 9th-century 'Dunkeld Litany' of regional saints (Clancy 1996; 2002b). By creating 'official' lists of universal saints combined with local figures, these documents celebrated the 'Celtic' past in a way which served to create an aura of timeless power in a time of rapid change (Carey 1994; Ó Carragáin 2005; Ó Carragáin 2007), and a similar impulse has been identified in Scottish reuse of prehistoric monuments at this time (Driscoll 1998c).

Even the Norman reforms of the 11-12th centuries accommodated veneration of local saints. The incoming Norman ruling class often reinforced existing cults to help legitimise their rule, as with the cult of Brendan and other Gaelic saints in Bute under the Stewarts (Boardman 2007). The widening of ecclesiastical networks in the 12th century also paradoxically galvanised the largest burst of hagiography regarding local saints in Scotland since the first textualisation period (Macquarrie 1997), and facilitated the construction of towering Romanesque churches on ancient 'Celtic' sites in Ireland (Ó Carragáin 2010). While the later medieval period saw an increase in dedications to universal saints like John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary, some local cults only grew stronger or were re-established (Clancy 2006; Hall 2005; Lockhart 1886; Taylor 2001).

These episodes of reform together create an almost insuperable barrier to reconstructing the earliest Christian commemorations. But they also highlight the extent to which the church in Scotland participated in the wider trends of western Christendom, and did not stubbornly cling to a 'Celtic' heritage. The textualisation period and its concomitant expansion of cults such as Columba and Peter has been explained here as resulting from diocesan restructuring across Britain and Ireland, stemming from papal reforms initiated by Gregory the Great and his successors (above, 1.1.2). The expansion and migration of older cults from the 9th century can only be understood with reference to similar reforms across western Christendom at this time (Clancy 1996; Lamb 1998). These include the Council of Frankfurt in 794, which effectively banned the formation of new saints' cults, in the attempt to standardise and monopolise cultic activity across the Carolingian empire (Fouracre 1999; Geary 1994: 177-193), and which has echoes in the production of Insular martyrologies and litanies. The Norman restructuring of the church included the establishment of reformed monastic orders from the continent in a conscious attempt to participate in wider ecclesiastical networks (Barrow 2003). But as in medieval Scandinavia, where entry into the wider Catholic church also accompanied the textualisation of the pagan Old Norse sagas and myths (Kaldellis 2009), participation in expanding networks could often galvanise the celebration of past local heritage.

Thus, the perils of tracing saints around the country are manifest, but this need not lead us to disregard the evidence altogether. To understand the complexities of the dedications, we need to know why churches were dedicated to saints in the first place. We know from the 'First Synod of Patrick' (a list of canons from late 5th or early 6th-century Ireland) that every church needed to be consecrated (Dumville 1993), but the assumption that this was always done using the relics of a particular saint is based on Carolingian reforms of the late 8th century (Fouracre 1999; Geary 1994: 177-193; Ó Carragáin 2010: 190-191). In 9th-century England, it was acceptable to consecrate an altar simply by performing the Eucharist on it, substituting the 'relics' of Jesus for those of the saints (Geary 1994: 185). In fact, it has been suggested that in Wales, the earliest churches were dedicated only to God, with devotion to local saints coming with 8-9th century reforms alongside the spread of *llan-* names (Chadwick 1954: 176-179; Davies 2002).

Thus, the notion of the association of a specific saint with every church may well be a late one, with implications for the dating of place-names including saints. With only very few texts or charters from early medieval Scotland, the best way to date a dedication is through the study of saintly place-names, or 'hagio-toponyms' (now subject to a Leverhulme-funded project led by Thomas Clancy at the University of Glasgow). In essence, this is the study of the 'spatialisation of charisma' in which saintly virtues are applied to the landscape, creating places where these can be accessed and experienced (Ó Carragáin 2009c: 216-217). The dedication of churches to specific saints is thus more likely to belong to the institutionalisation of Christianity rather than its origins. Whether all hagio-toponyms necessarily date to this period is still debatable, but it is increasingly likely that the earliest Christianity in Scotland may be reflected by other name forms.

However, the study of hagio-toponyms can still produce insights into the nature of early Christianity. Smith (1990: 343) notes the importance of oral traditions in later saints' cults in Brittany, lamenting that much of this is now "irrecoverably lost." In Scotland, this type of devotion can still be gleaned from the rich seam of Gaelic religious poetry that has survived from Iona (Clancy and Márkus 1995). Clancy (1999) has emphasised the intensely personal nature of this devotion, and how these invocations of the saints could become as useful for protection as relics themselves. This phenomenon is echoed in the Anglo-Saxon medicinal texts, which record, among many dubious balms and potions, the efficacy of chants, spells, and prayers (Rubin 1974; Yorke 2006: 250); the power of oral devotion to the saints is thus not unique to the 'Celtic' realm. In a similar vein, Taylor's work on hagio-toponyms suggests that these are not the footsteps of the saints themselves, as many have thought them to be, but a form of prayer in which a patron saint was invoked

to protect a community or a landscape (Taylor 1999: 35; 2001: 191-194). The markedly fissile nature of the saints in Scotland, such that Uinniau is variously known as Ninian, Finnan, Findbarr, Winning, or Winnock, and the fact that Kentigern is also commemorated as Mungo, Machar and Mo Cha, may also illustrate the primarily orally-propagated nature of these early cults (Butter 2007; Clancy 2010). It can still be enlightening to study them for the complexities of remembering and forgetting special places of the conversion period (Taylor 2001). If early Christianity manifested itself in personal and communal devotion as well as institutional church-foundation, any study focusing on one or the other will be missing part of the story.

Recent work on the pilgrimage landscapes of western Ireland has demonstrated the late first-millennium AD date for such 'folk' devotion as *leachta* (outdoor prayer stations) and tomb-shrines remembered as the burial places of saints (O'Sullivan and Ó Carragáin 2008; Ó Carragáin 2003b; 2009c). The lack of any credible examples of these from Scotland, despite recent excavations at early monasteries, points to a different tradition of pilgrimage, with devotion concentrated around sculptured stone monuments within church sites themselves (Fisher 2002; Foster 1998; Ritchie 1995; Ritchie 1999). Along with the late date of the hagiographical literature, it is becoming clear that the study of the saints will likely not take us back to the very earliest days of Christianity in Scotland; nor do these place-names lead us to their tombs. However, this reveals how the new religion was likely spread and reinforced by communication from person to person and eventually through interaction with a Christian landscape created largely through such popular devotion. Recognising this allows us to move the subject forward from the missionary model of conversion described above.

1.1.4. A new early phase

The removal of the 'conceptual roadblock' of the Celtic Church and the missionary model has opened up a world of possibilities for the introduction of Christianity to Scotland that is still being assessed, but which can be summarised here before turning to the archaeological evidence. New documentary research on late Roman Britain is building up a picture of a vital ecclesiastic network. British clergy were present at councils on the continent since the 4th century, and by the 5th century, some of them, like Faustus of Riez and Patrick, were primarily based abroad while still keeping in contact with Britain (Sharpe 2002; Wood 1987). Travel also went the other direction: the famous missions to Britain of Victricius of Rouen in c. 397, Germanus of Auxerre in c. 429 and c. 440, and the deacon Palladius to Ireland in c. 431 can be read as evidence of continuing contacts and

participation within the wider church (Charles-Edwards 2000; Márkus 2005; Wood 2004). These missions may have been as much diplomatic as spiritual: Thomas (1981: 301-312) argued that Palladius in particular played a key role in instigating the 5th-century missions based on previous experience working among the Christians of these areas, but Charles-Edwards (1993b) and Brown (2003: 130) have also stressed the propaganda value for the pope in sponsoring such a mission to the edge of the known world. While these missions, especially those of Victricius and Germanus, are usually seen as signs of a deviant Insular church that needed fixing, it is important to note that the emphasis was on maintaining contacts and this was apparently done by sharing relics rather than application of unilateral force: Victricius and Germanus both made a point of visiting the famed tomb of the British martyr Alban at *Verulamium* (modern St Albans), and both seem to have taken relics of Alban back to Gaul (Sharpe 2002: 83-89; Thomas 1981: 49). Furthermore, Palladius was sent to minister to an existing community of Christians in Ireland, "the Irish who believe in Christ," not as an evangelist (Charles-Edwards 2000: 204-205).

This helps contextualise the mission of Patrick to Ireland in the late 5th century. The details of his early life are hotly debated, but it is clear he was from a Christian community of northern or western Britain, probably near the western terminus of one of the Roman walls (Clancy 2009; Thomas 1981: 313-314). We can ascertain his later years more securely. It is clear that Patrick worked among both the converted and unconverted, and brought people into the fold of Christianity who were previously beyond any episcopal see. But it is also clear that his mission was based in the north of Ireland, whereas tenuous clues in the historical record indicate that Palladius had worked primarily in southern Ireland (Charles-Edwards 2000: 223-240; Thomas 1998b). It is less certain to what extent the mission of Patrick was continued by his disciples, but mentions of a 'St Mochta disciple of Patrick' who died in 535x537 in the annals and in *VC* seem to link Patrick with the better understood 6th-century church (Sharpe 1990). Early 7th-century writings confirm that Palladius was still remembered as one of the fathers of the church in Ireland, although Patrick's fame would soon surpass his; by the textualisation period, Palladius was written out of the story, replaced by an image of Patrick as the sole apostle of Ireland (Charles-Edwards 2000: 182-240). This is partly to do with the changing circumstances of church organisation in the 6th century.

Ever since the time of Bede, monasticism was thought to be the defining characteristic of the 6th-century Irish church, making it fundamentally different from the episcopal church of Rome and the continent; however, recent scholarship has emphasised the complexity of the Insular church, which included overlapping systems of monastic and episcopal

authority (Charles-Edwards 2000: 241-281; Etchingham 1994). Charles-Edwards (*ibid.*, 290-293) has shown that the 6th-century Irish church, with its famous bishop Uinniau, was closely associated with the British church of Gildas (Dumville 1984). Their influence was carried on by Columba, who is said to have trained under Uinniau at Movilla in County Down, and through the writings of Columbanus (d. 617), who frequently references Gildas and may even have brought Britons along on his mission to the continent (Sharpe 2002: 109). This Uinniau may be the same figure venerated from Whithorn to the shores of the Clyde, showing the interconnectedness of the church on both sides of the Irish Sea in the 6th century (Clancy 2001). Similarly, recent studies of the Latin-inscribed stones demonstrate the participation of Britain within wider trends of the late Roman west, reducing the need for a Gaulish reintroduction of Christianity to Britain (Forsyth 2005; Handley 2001; cf. Thomas 1971: 101-106). As Sharpe has concluded, British links with Gaul were certainly real, just not new: the rising popularity of monasticism in Britain in the 6th century was not an intrusive break, but part of an ongoing process across Europe (Sharpe 2002: 94-97; cf. Thomas 1981: 347-353). Brown similarly reads the gradual progress of monasticism across the Mediterranean as indicative of a vital network of Christian churches instead of a linear diffusion of missionaries (2003: 111-113).

As such, the conversion of Ireland took place in numerous complicated steps, none clearly following on from the other: the 'believers in Christ' present before any official mission; the papally-sanctioned establishment of a hierarchical church under Palladius; the seemingly unsanctioned missionary work of Patrick; and the foundation of large monasteries by both British and Irish churchmen in the 6th century. At every stage in the process, the involvement of clergy from Britain is attested, and rather than drawing arrows tracing the 'transmission' of Christianity from one country to another like an epidemic, a more reflexive model of the conversion in Ireland is now in place. This has serious implications for how we envision the progress of Christianity in Britain itself. The archaeological evidence for Roman Christianity in Britain has increased since Thomas' landmark review in 1981, and new work indicates the continuity of the church, in limited form, into the 5th century (Bassett 1992; Gilmour 2007; Petts 2003; Wilmott 2000). All of this prepares the ground for imagining an active indigenous church in Britain, staffed with a functioning hierarchy from bishops on down, well before the time of Columba. None of this evidence is new. The crucial thing to notice is that only recently have these developments begun to include Scotland, as we will see below.

1.2. After the missionary model: before the saints

The historical narrative of the early church in Scotland is no longer limited to the missionary model. Alex Woolf's (2003) study of the formation of the Britons as an ethnic group typifies the new paradigm. Even after the withdrawal of the Roman military, this was a population that still spoke, wrote and read Latin, but created a new sense of identity by consciously rejecting Rome and its association with an ultimately failed system of government. The new social structure that would emerge in the 5th century incorporated Roman titles and the 'epigraphic habit' of erecting inscribed stones, but the authority these signalled was for the new, local ruling class, not a slavish imitation of a lost Roman past. The latest revision by James Fraser (2009a: 83-93) builds on these insights to create a gradual model of conversion by indigenous agency in Scotland, stressing the role played by the social obligations and loyalties of the emerging kinship-based power structure of the emerging northern Britons. In this model, Christianity is no longer just a Roman import, but a British lifestyle choice.

The work of Katherine Forsyth on the Latin-inscribed stones of southern Scotland (2005), particularly Whithorn's Latinus stone (2009), best demonstrates this model in action. The Latinus stone (Figure 1.5) is probably the earliest Scottish example, potentially dating to the late 5th century. But the kinds of cultural links it expressed were not limited to Christianity or *Romanitas* in general. Its opening invocation, *Te Dominum laudamus*, 'we praise thee, O God', clearly marks it as a Christian statement; however, by using an undressed pillar of stone, it evoked the prehistoric standing stones that still dotted the landscape, slighted examples of which have been found in excavations at Whithorn (P Hill 1997: 27, 74-76; McComish and Petts 2008: 6.2). A revised reading of the inscription identifies the commemorand as Latinus, a descendant of Barrouadus, the latter a Celtic name, perhaps showing that Latin names were a comparatively recent fashion. Crucially, it is clear the stone was dedicated to Latinus, not erected by him. If, as seems likely, it was the remaining descendants of Barrouadus who commissioned it, this was an assertion of their local kin-group's authority on the occasion of the death of one of them, Latinus. To do this, they used the Roman language of legitimacy (Latin, Christianity, writing), but in a British idiom (standing stones, lettering style and wording), to announce the new local patrimony (of the kin of Barrouadus who erected this slab). This being one of the earliest in the northern British series of Latin inscriptions, this is an example of a group identity just being formed, not one that is dying out. It is worth stressing that the expression of Christian identity is just one among many functions this inscription served.

Figure 1.5: The Latinus stone, Whithorn (Crown copyright © RCAHMS).

Whether or not this is the stated purpose of these recent studies, Christianity is rightly being 'downgraded' to just one aspect, rather than the driving force, of the cultural transformations that northern Britons underwent in the post-Roman centuries (Esmonde Cleary 2001; Woolf 2003). Importantly, this model allows for the first time a more bottom-up process of conversion grounded in the increasing movement of people and changing identities of the frontier zone as seen through the archaeological record (Collins 2008; Cool 2000). Again, such ideas have long been applied in England and Wales, but are only just beginning to be considered for Scotland. This is where the missionary model has had its greatest effect: in making Scottish Christianity completely indebted to Irish or Gaulish 'influence', this has allowed scholars working across regions to generalise about the Scottish church by simply discussing Ireland and Gaul, or their supposed proxies at Iona and Whithorn. Hence, the crucial review of the evidence in Sharpe 2002 largely leaves out

the Picts and Britons beyond Hadrian's Wall; in Peter Brown's definitive history *The Rise of Western Christendom* (2003), Scotland is only mentioned in discussions of Columba, Iona, or the Dál Riata; and finally, only two articles in the collaborative work *The Cross Goes North* (Carver 2003) deal explicitly with Scotland, both on the Norse period of church foundations. A knock-on effect can be seen in other fields of inquiry as well; Chris Wickham's magisterial *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (2005), extending from Egypt to Britain, also does not include Scotland.

We have seen that the missionary model not only glosses over the complexities of conversion, but it has also limited the kinds of questions we can ask of the evidence, and stunted our capacity for answering them. A text-led understanding of the physical remains led to a 'timeless' sort of early Christianity which was always dominated by wandering missionary saints, never very committed to the conversion, and in constant need of reform from outside (Clancy 2002a; Hammond 2006). We can now place Scotland more confidently within developments in the Insular church but also in the wider European setting. The biggest change to come out of this realisation, only hinted at in previous research, is that the story of Christianity in Scotland need not begin with the cults of St Columba and St Ninian as it has for so long. Understanding conversion must now involve the same longer processes taking place in the post-Roman centuries across Europe which allowed for Christianity to become more than just another set of gods to placate, but creep into the moral fabric of society itself (Brown 2003; Effros 2002a; Reynolds 2009). The question to ask now is not if but how Scotland participated in this broader European phenomenon.

1.2.1. Revised chronology and proposed terminology

To do so, we first need to build a new tentative chronology of the conversion of Scotland. It should be noted that this should only be used as a organisational shorthand rather than implying any inherent unity of practice, much like the traditional Anglo-Saxon chronology of early, 'final-phase' and later Anglo-Saxon periods of burial, which are no longer used as rigid categories but still provide a basic framework (Boddington 1990; Williams 2006). In his review of the evidence for Insular Christianity, Sharpe (2002: 135-136) proposes a three-phase model. The first is the late Romano-British church, in parallel development with the church in Gaul and organised enough to sustain missions to Ireland; this phase ends with Gildas (d. 570), in whose lifetime monasticism becomes popular. The second phase, roughly 540-640, is characterised by the growth of powerful new monastic settlements, and ends with the arrival of Roman reforms to Ireland. The third phase from

640 onwards is characterised by the creation of *vitae* and other texts, which subsume earlier cults and begin the process of centralisation and institutionalisation of the church.

This is a useful beginning, and with some minor revision, can be broadly applied to a Scottish context. Sharpe's third phase correlates with the start of our 'textualisation period,' c. 650-750, and while an active Romano-British church can be perceived in southern Scotland, its existence is yet to be demonstrated further north. Because of the nature of the Scottish evidence, which can only be dated using archaeological and art historical means, we cannot yet be too chronologically precise. As such, a chronology for the conversion in Scotland should arguably combine Sharpe's first two phases into one longer 'conversion period' of c. 400-650, until this can be refined further. This period sees the emergence of burial in cemeteries, the foundation of the first monasteries, and the erection of the first inscribed stones. The majority of the documents relating to the conversion period were actually produced in the 'textualisation period' of c. 650-750, and this period also saw the hardening of ecclesiastical and royal authority via the production of *vitae* and king-lists, the new Class II Pictish stones indicating greater aristocratic sponsorship of the church, and the re-foundation of monasteries as centres of specific saints' cults (see above, 1.1.2).

In order to facilitate discussion of these periods, some terminological choices must first be made. In recent scholarship, the 'Celtic period' has been replaced by the largely interchangeable terms 'early medieval', 'early Christian', and 'Early Historic' for the period c. AD 400-1100 (Hines 2003). The term 'Early Historic' refers to the appearance of indigenous texts (Alcock 1981a), but given the caveats raised above, it is clear that with the exception of the few inscribed stones, all primary texts from Scotland date from the 7th century onwards, and so calling the 5th and 6th centuries a 'historical' period is almost a misnomer; to a lesser extent, this objection could be applied to the entire Insular world up to the 7th century but for the work of Patrick and Gildas. 'Early Christian' subjugates every aspect of this period to the arrival of Christianity, and will be avoided as a chronological term. 'Early medieval' is more appropriate, but also tends to reinforce a vision of this period as a precursor to what comes after, at the expense of what comes before. As we will see, the distinctive archaeology of the period c. 400-650 owes much to the Roman and Iron Age past, and the field can only benefit by integrating it within a wider chronological framework. Scholars of Atlantic Scotland have long recognised this, and use the term 'Late Iron Age' to denote the period c. AD 300-800 in order to emphasise broad continuities over expectations of immediate change on the arrival of Christianity (Downes and Ritchie 2003; Harding 2006).

This study thus proposes a compromise between the two schools of thought, and 'Late Iron Age' will be used here to denote the period c. 400-650 across Scotland. This is not meant to denigrate or de-Christianise the period before c. 650, but merely to emphasise the point that, in Scotland as elsewhere in Britain, Ireland and the continent, the nature of the archaeological and historical evidence fundamentally changes from the late 7th century, and it is this break more than any other which really marks a transformation of social, economic and political structures (Fyfe and Rippon 2004; Hanson and Wickham 2000; McCormick and Murray 2007; Stocking 2007; Turner 2004). It is worth noting that this proposed chronology correlates with the traditional Anglo-Saxon chronology of burial, organised to either side of a distinct 7th-century 'final-phase' roughly correspondent to our 'textualisation phase' (Boddington 1990). It seems clear that the processes being described correspond to wider Insular trends, and the terms 'Late Iron Age', 'Late Antique' and 'early Anglo-Saxon' are simply regional labels for a much bigger process. For the sake of clarity, this study will use 'early medieval' to refer to the period c. 650-1100 (e.g., Stocking 2007), and 'Middle Iron Age' for the period c. 200 BC – AD 400, which forms a separate archaeological phase (as will be argued below, Chapter 4).

The idea that Scotland was fundamentally different from the rest of Britain has indeed been hard to cast aside. But the archaeology and inscription evidence has made such critical thinking necessary. The way forward is to keep in mind the parallel development with Gaul stressed by Sharpe, but also keeping a place for distinct local traditions based on existing practices (Carver 2009). The distinctive character of the Scottish evidence is where more research is still required – otherwise, we risk replacing the missionary model with a 'continuing Iron Age' model. Is Scotland different? In all probability, yes, but in ways that have yet to become clear, and which do not seem to exclude it from the wider narratives of the Insular world. But the one thing that surely makes Scotland different from the rest is its late arrival into the scholarly discussion of post-Roman Christianity. To explore this potential, we must now turn to the archaeological evidence.

Chapter 2:   Archaeological approaches

The previous chapter laid the historical groundwork for the strong probability that Christianity was established in Scotland in the period AD 400-650. However, within Scotland, the question of religion, and specifically the conversion to Christianity, has yet to be problematised archaeologically within this new historical framework. Before we begin to look for the archaeological evidence for Christianity, we must first be clear about what we will be looking for. It is at this point where we must ask what early Christianity may have looked like, and how can we expect to find it in the material record. This chapter will first review previous archaeological approaches to Christianity in Scotland, then present a new theoretical framework and methodology for reinterpreting the evidence.

2.1. Previous work and recent developments

In the late 19th century and through most of the 20th, even the most careful archaeological studies described Scotland's early medieval remains as 'Celtic', a modern construct laden with unintentional stereotypes (1.1.1). After the demise of racial discourses of history in the post-war era, diffusionism remained the primary paradigm for explaining cultural change, as can be seen in studies of early medieval sculpture (Stevenson 1955) and church dedications (Bowen 1977), showing unidirectional arrows pointing towards Scotland from elsewhere, usually Ireland. The notion of 'Celtic' Scotland lingered on within the concept of a 'Celtic Church' established and maintained by the work of missionary saints (Radford 1967). This new paradigm tended to marginalise the study of Scottish Christianity in favour of its presumed roots in Ireland, Northumbria and Gaul.

However, taking shape within this narrative was the emerging archaeology of burial, and its significance to the question of conversion was gradually recognised. A good starting point is perhaps the year 1866, in which several independent finds of burials in stone coffins, now deemed 'long cists', were reported in the same volume of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*: at the medieval abbey of Kelso ROX (Turner 1866), in a prehistoric settlement at Hare Law BWK (Stuart 1866a), and near Latin-inscribed stones at Yarrow SLK (Smith 1866) and the Catstane MLO (Hutchison 1866). These early archaeological reports were commendably measured in their interpretations, and only cautiously posited that these were the graves of Scotland's earliest Christians. One of these scholars was John Stuart, who was also in the process of completing the second volume of his *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (1856-1867), to be published the following year (above, 1.1). As part of that survey, he had commissioned colleagues to excavate the surroundings

of the Pictish stones, and confirmed that some were associated with human remains (1867, 4). A short discussion was added to the sculptured stones volume, and is perhaps the first scholarly analysis of the Scottish long cist cemeteries, which, like the Pictish stones, were often attributed to 'Danes'. Firmly ascribing both the stones and the graves to indigenous agents, Stuart proposed a model of 'Celtic' early Christians who venerated the graves of their ancestors and erected large sculptured grave markers in the period before consecrated churchyards (*ibid*., lix-lxiv).

Just over a decade later, Joseph Anderson presented the first archaeological study of early Christianity in Scotland (1881), which focused mainly on upstanding churches and related artefacts rather than the scattered burial evidence (above, 1.1). The meagre burial evidence was discussed in an earlier essay on conversion to Christianity (Anderson 1876), in which he noted that the use of stone-lined graves seemed to mimic the short cists of the prehistoric period, and argued by analogy with early Christian art and grave types found in the catacombs beneath Rome that early Christian burials would initially be indistinguishable from 'pagan' burials. This evolutionary perspective, with the long cist form 'degrading' from the short cist form over time, was taken up by Alexander Hutcheson, whose reports in PSAS included early attempts at establishing a datable chronology of cist types (Hutcheson 1903; Hutcheson 1909). Like Anderson, Hutcheson stressed the fact that pre-Christian burials could look deceptively Christian-like, with the extended posture and east-facing orientation occasionally found among prehistoric burials; for him, the decisive factor for determining Christianity was the occurrence of such graves in cemeteries rather than as isolated instances.

Occasional reports of graves continued to trickle in as modern development stretched into the fields of eastern Scotland, while the discovery of graves underneath cairns in Caithness continued to be ascribed to Scandinavian migrants (Edwards 1926; Edwards 1927). It was not until the discovery of long cists in Argyll that the phenomenon again piqued the interest of modern archaeologists (Craw 1929; Stevenson 1952). Briefly summarising the finds of long cists up to 1952, Robert Stevenson noted their distribution weighed heavily towards the Lothians rather than the west of Scotland. By this time, the study of Anglo-Saxon and related 'Germanic' cemeteries on the continent had led to a scholarly consensus that these were the graves of the barbarians who brought down the Roman Empire, and Stevenson floated the idea that the Scottish cists could well relate to this wider tradition rather than a strictly Christian interpretation.

The modern study of early medieval burial in Scotland really began with Audrey Henshall, in the report of the excavation of a long cist cemetery at Parkburn, Lasswade MLO (1956). By comprehensively gathering and mapping for the first time all previous reports of long cists in Scotland, she was able to argue that these were indeed the Scottish equivalent of the 'Germanic' cemeteries, but by noting their easterly orientations and lack of grave goods, that they were Christian graves. By comparison with graves found in Ireland, Cornwall and Man, she concludes that the long cist form "must be derived from local pagan customs" but was also favoured by the "Celtic churchmen" (*ibid*., 274). Their position away from known churchyards was explained by positing that early churches had simply gone unnoticed due to lack of open-plan excavation. In keeping with the prevailing historical paradigm of the missionary model (1.1), she unquestionably associated the Latin-inscribed stones of southern Scotland to the pseudo-historical mission of St Ninian in the 5th century, and due to their association with long cists in at least two instances, these cemeteries could thus be dated and classified as early Christian. The abandonment of these cemeteries in favour of parish churchyards she simply attributed to the eventual success of the mission of St Columba, and thus the emerging archaeology was used to support the meagre literary evidence. The picture she envisioned of "small scattered communities with their own nearby burying ground, perhaps in the 6th- or 7th-century building a tiny wooden chapel, surely suffering at first from a chronic lack of priests" (*ibid*., 276) would remain influential until recent years (Alcock 2003; Clarke 2007).

The newly-emerging burial evidence in eastern Scotland thus seemed to be readily explainable within the framework of the missionary model of Christianity. It was around this time that research excavation of early churches in western Scotland began in earnest, and these two processes were inextricably linked, culminating in Charles Thomas' landmark work *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (1971). His major contribution was to consolidate the scrappy rural archaeological evidence and mould it into an indigenous Insular Christian tradition. The archaeological data he utilised were the well-known early Irish monasteries of County Kerry, along with his own church excavations in Scotland, Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly. But he was heavily influenced by the work of C. A. Ralegh Radford, his contemporary and informal mentor (Thomas 1998a). Like most scholars of the time, Radford's (1971) vision of Scotland's early Christian origins was heavily coloured by the notion of a monastic 'Celtic Christianity' nurtured by missionaries trained on the continent, but his firsthand experience of its archaeological signature through excavation at key sites such as Glastonbury Abbey and Tintagel gave his opinion greater scientific heft. Thomas' view was rather different, in that he wished to promote an active, and crucially indigenous, Christianity to match any elsewhere in Europe (Thomas

1981), and in doing so, he often looked to the more abundant evidence from Ireland and southwestern Britain to fill in the gaps.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Thomas and Radford presided over a number of key excavations of churches and other early medieval sites in Scotland, including at Whithorn WIG (Radford 1950), the Brough of Birsay ORK (Radford 1959), and Ardwall KCB (Thomas 1966; 1967). The sites they chose were either famous monasteries or simple, ruined island chapels, similar to the early monasteries of southwestern Ireland (eg., O'Kelly 1958), and so the picture they inevitably formed was strikingly similar to the old 'Celtic' stereotypes they were trying to demolish: Scotland's early Christians were ascetic, even heroic in seeking out windswept retreats in the sea to base their preaching of the Gospel, just as St Patrick had done in Ireland.

Radford lived to see many of his ideas overturned, most crucially the theory that the promontory fort of Tintagel was a 'Celtic' monastery founded by Gaulish missionaries (Barrowman *et al.* 2007; Burrow 1973; Morris 1989b). But in the 1950s and 60s, the situation was different. In Scotland, Henshall's (1956) distribution of long cist cemeteries seemed to provide evidence for St Ninian's missionary activities as far as the 'southern Picts' as related by Bede (*HE* III: 4), while excavations at the early church at St Ninian's Point BTE confirmed that early burials predated the medieval chapel (Aitken 1955). Meanwhile in Ireland, O'Kelly's (1958) excavations at Church Island (County Kerry) provided an almost identical layout to those uncovered at St Ninian's Point and later at Ardwall, bolstering theories of 'Irish influence' in Scotland (Thomas 1967). Wooden structures and burials preceded stone churches on these three sites, which also seemed to confirm Bede's comment that 'Celtic' churches were traditionally built *in more Scottorum*, in timber, just as contemporary excavations at Bede's own monastery at Jarrow verified his account of 7th-century Anglo-Saxon churches built *in more Romanorum*, with mortared masonry (Cramp 1969).

However, the archaeological evidence also provided a new conundrum in that burials always seemed to predate churches. But even this was explained within the missionary paradigm, deftly tied into a plausible 'Celtic' narrative by projecting a cult of ancestor burial back into the conversion period, just as Stuart had done in 1867. In the era before radiocarbon dates, it was presumed that the Irish tomb-shrines and founders' graves so common on early church sites were among the primary field monuments of early Christianity (Ó Carragáin 2003a). Regardless of whether there was a church on site, the existence of a cemetery was evidence for Christian worship of a venerated 'saint' or

'founder'. As such, all early burial grounds could be classified as either undeveloped (lacking any evidence for a church) or developed (associated with a church) by Charles Thomas (1971: 48-90). It was a simple model that seemed to explain the evidence in a neat, chronological fashion: the 'special grave' of a founder attracts the burials of followers, growing into a cemetery; after the conversion to Christianity, these special graves become the focus for early churches; these later become the basis of medieval parishes. Like Joseph Anderson and John Stuart before him, he had made the case for extending quintessentially Christian beliefs and practices back into the Iron Age (above, 1.1). As radiocarbon dating began to trickle in, 'undeveloped' cemeteries like the Catstane MLO were increasingly shown to date to as early as the 5th century (Cowie 1978), seeming to confirm the theory of an indigenous cult of saints.

In recent decades, however, rigorous new surveys and excavations have begun to question the chronology of the Irish evidence which had formed the basis of Thomas' argument. The drystone oratories of Gallarus type, thought to be among the earliest churches, were among the first casualties, and some of these may now plausibly date to as late as the 12th century (Hamlin 1985; Harbison 1970). Radiocarbon dating of mortar samples from a number of small burial chapels began to indicate a 9-12th century *floruit* (Berger 1995), and a similarly late date is now preferred for the use of mortared masonry in all but the most important church centres in Ireland (Manning 2009; Ó Carragáin 2003a; Ó Carragáin 2005). As for the outdoor tomb-shrines and founders' graves that formed such a prominent part of Thomas' argument, a few recent excavations have not borne out Thomas' presumed early chronology. Inishmurray (Co. Sligo) is an island monastery associated with the 6th-century St Molaise, whose cult centres on the Teach Molaise shrine chapel within a drystone cashel, surrounded by satellite open-air altars or *leachta*; bones from the *leachta* and associated graves were dated no earlier than the 8th century, and some as late as the 10th (O'Sullivan and Ó Carragáin 2008). Illaunloughan (Co. Kerry) is another island monastery with a drystone chapel, cell and gable shrine (White Marshall and Walsh 2005); the shrine contained translated remains dated to the 8th century, but the structure may be as late as the 11th century (Bourke 2004). These two remarkable sites had formed the lynchpin of Thomas' argument for a continuous development from venerated grave to Christian altars and reliquaries as occurred in the Mediterranean (1971: 138-144, 169-172), but have now been demonstrated as much later additions to these sites. The associated chapels are more difficult to date; a post-built predecessor of the church at Caherlehillan (Co. Kerry) may date to the 6th century (Sheehan 2009); the primary turf-built oratory at Inishmurray is 7-8th century (White Marshall and Walsh 2005: 23-27); and mortar from Inishmurray's Teach Molaise and the Men's Church returned radiocarbon dates centring on the 8-9th

centuries (Berger 1995). Thomas, Radford and numerous others had leant heavily on the Irish evidence, presuming it to be the earliest; in retrospect, it is clear they relied on the island sites most evocative of a 'Celtic' Christianity, but which had in fact been recreated as such in the 8-10th centuries for the benefit of the growing numbers of pilgrims. Furthermore, the sites they used to make this case were largely from a single unique context, the Iveragh and Dingle peninsulas of Kerry (including Caherlehillan and Illaunloughan), an area now understood as rather anomalous even within Ireland (Ó Carragáin 2003b; Sheehan 2009).

Given these revisions, a fresh look at the Scottish evidence is needed, particularly at the series of sites excavated by Thomas, Radford and their contemporaries in the southwest (Chapters 7, 8). Their case for the antiquity of the churches excavated at Whithorn and Ardwall was made a time when no other early churches in Scotland had received targeted modern excavation. As such, the analogies they sought included Radford's own work at Tintagel, and other stock early churches such as the undated but archaic-looking Eileach an Naoimh ARG. But the excavators of St Ninian's Point and Church Island had also used the same comparanda, and the argument for their antiquity is thus revealed to be quite circular, based on evidence from only a handful of excavated sites. Using such analogies, Thomas was able to propose a missionary model of a monastic church based around the cult of corporeal relics, which as we have seen was only relevant from the 7th century onward (above, 1.1.2).

Recent excavations of early cemeteries and monasteries in both Scotland and Ireland have only just begun to provide reliable data which are questioning these models. The work of Martin Carver with regard to the conversion of the Picts forms an interesting example of how quickly things have changed. In an early essay on his excavation at Portmahomack ROS, Carver stressed the existence of a reactionary pagan element in the archaeological record, which he saw in the square barrow tradition of eastern Scotland (1998). This view was certainly influenced by his earlier interpretation of the Sutton Hoo barrow cemetery in Suffolk, which was then believed to be an emphatically pagan riposte to the growing Christian hegemony over Saxon England (Carver 1992). In effect, he believed the Pictish barrows to be a similar process occurring in the north, based on the now-debunked belief that the Picts clung stubbornly on to paganism until the 7th century (above, 1.1.1). In this view, Carver rightly repudiated the missionary model of conversion, but then fell into the very trap he wished to avoid by positing three ethnically-determined 'Christianities' in early medieval Scotland: a pastoral 'Northumbrian' church, a monastic 'Columban' church, or a secular 'Scandinavian' church. Rigid categories like these had already been

deconstructed in previous years (above, 1.1.4), but clearly continued to be influential. In the years after this paper, Carver revised his views considerably with regard to Sutton Hoo (2005), and now proposed a more dynamic, integrationist model of how the conversion to Christianity can be perceived archaeologically. A new emphasis on the 'biography' of each site, taking into account its context before, during and after the conversion to Christianity, can be seen in his most recent work on the conversion in Pictland (2008; 2009). The final publication of his Portmahomack excavations is eagerly awaited, but Carver's own interpretive journey is indicative of how the field has evolved in just the last decade. What remains to be done is to formulate a new theoretical framework for tracing the conversion to Christianity in Scotland, but before we can discuss this complex issue, we need to be clear on what is being converted as much as who or when.

2.2. Religion and Christianity: theoretical approaches

It is no exaggeration to say that everything has changed in the last two decades. The study of every aspect of early medieval Scotland, much like the rest of Britain, has undergone a paradigmatic overhaul in this short span. This has as much to do with the development of new theoretical approaches as with the publication of voluminous new evidence. It is difficult to imagine the early medieval period in Scotland without picturing the Gaelic royal centre of Dunadd ARG (Lane and Campbell 2000), the Pictish monastery of Portmahomack ROS (Carver 2008), or the long cist cemetery of Hallow Hill FIF (Proudfoot 1996). Yet these excavations have only seen publication and serious interdisciplinary discussion in the last fifteen years. Whereas major works of synthesis on early medieval Britain could once leave out any discussion of Scotland (e.g., Dark 1994), this is no longer the case (e.g., Williams 2006).

Yet Christianity itself remains under-theorised. This may be because of the difficulties of finding Christianity in the material record, or it may be a deeper issue. Historical paradigms are as much ways of explaining the world around us as they are of the past, and because Christianity remains an active part of western society, it is difficult to disassociate our modern experience of it from its past forms (Lane 2001). The fact that scholars (this author included) presume to be able to isolate and study Christianity with a measure of academic detachment, despite being Christian (however nominally) and operating in a (nominally?) Christian society speaks volumes about our assumptions about religion. We can try to separate religion from our work and everyday life today, but does this mean people in the past could do the same? And if not, are we justified in doing it for them?

It has been argued that 'religion' is itself a modern construct, with no applicability to the past (Hinnells 2005; Nongbri 2008). Attempts to define religion as a set of beliefs and associated rituals actually make the problem worse, as such definitions are essentially describing the Judeo-Christian experience of religion, and have little bearing on eastern religions like Confucianism or Buddhism (Insoll 2004: 5-9; Nongbri 2008: 452-456). There is also the possibility that before the 'world religions' like Christianity, religion was not a single, bounded entity but a series of overlapping "approaches to the divine" (Rives 2007: 23), but even this concept of 'embedded religion' imposes a bounded system on the beliefs of past peoples which allows modern scholars to avoid the "much harder (but perhaps more necessary) task of re-imagining – outside of the framework of religion – how humans and superhumans might have interacted in the ancient world" (Nongbri 2008: 455). As Fiona Bowie has put it, "any attempt to define the subject matter too narrowly risks giving a positivist stamp to what is in fact an interpretative process" (2006: 25). Heeding such precautions, it will suffice to say that what is under study here is not what religion is, but what it does, and we must expect that this will not conform to modern notions of religious worship.

Christianity, however, is surely in more urgent need of definition if we are to effectively seek it in the archaeological record. However, it is arguably this kind of reasoning which has hindered the study of Christianity in the past. For instance, a recent erudite discussion of Christian burial in Roman Britain expends great effort in tracing literary evidence for Christian beliefs about burial and the afterlife across the continent, and then imposes them wholesale on the British archaeological evidence (Sparey-Green 2003). But Christianity in the 3rd and 4th century was a disparate network of beliefs, despite the standardising efforts of Constantine and his successors; by the 5th century, it was not pagans who threatened the stability of the church, but Christian sects deemed heretical (Clark 2004: 78-92). In a time when Roman provincial culture was increasingly fragmenting into regional idioms (James 2001; Wells 1999; Woolf 1997), it is striking that 'the Church' is still perceived as a monolithic authority. Despite the number of studies reiterating the fact that there was no ecclesiastical interest in controlling burial rites until late in the millennium (Effros 2002a; O'Brien 1999; 2003; Samson 1999), one can still find arguments for a Christian prohibition of grave goods and cremation and enforcement of specific orientations (Hoggett 2007; Petts 2004).

Again, no single definition of Christianity is possible or even desirable; attempts to narrow it down to a list of criteria, beliefs and practices do not stand up to scrutiny and must also be abandoned (Lane 2001). In fact, if there is anything that defines Christianity, especially

in the period under consideration, it is precisely its variability (Brown 2003; Pluskowski and Patrick 2003), although it is also clear that adaptability and variation is not exclusive to Christianity (Insoll 2001b). Indeed, Fenella Cannell (2006) has persuasively deconstructed the idea of Christianity's exceptionalism as another Christian-derived myth. In other words, Christianity is no better or worse for a society than the belief system it replaces, and it does not automatically 'change everything' about a society after conversion, as has long been assumed by archaeological studies. But the fact that it is difficult to define Christianity or any other identity should not deter us from studying it (Insoll 2007). Clearly Christianity was important to the societies who used its tenets to explain the world around them, seen in the spatialisation and textualisation of the saints in the early medieval world (above, 1.1.2, 1.1.3). We simply have to prepare for the complexity of the issue, rather than always explaining variation as deviance.

For archaeologists, interrogating the material evidence for an abstract concept like 'faith' can be especially perilous (Crumley 1999). But anthropologists of religion have repeatedly shown that religion affects all aspects of life, even among those who claim to be non-religious but still live according to the expectations of a society based around religion-informed values (Insoll 2004: 12-14). As such, we may reasonably expect to see the effects of conversion in everyday activities like eating, cooking, dressing and building houses (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). While this may be true, it is also true that numerous other factors can equally affect these social processes, so in this sense it is not strictly possible to isolate religion in this way (Insoll 2001b). Furthermore, these existing practices must exert their own influence on the character of any religion, including Christianity (Insoll 2004; Lane 2001; Nongbri 2008; van Dommelen 1999).

It is clear that religious beliefs are contingent upon historical and social contexts. In the case of Christianity, we can actually trace its own internal changes over its early history, showing that it was never a set list of doctrines, but was created and recreated continually depending on the socio-political context in which it found itself (Cannell 2006). We know, for instance, that it was in origin the teachings of a charismatic Judaic prophet, whose followers elaborated it into one of a number of mystery cults popular in the Graeco-Roman world. This cult, like many others, struck a chord with existing millennial anxieties within the Roman Empire, and soon developed into a salvationist faith with an eschatological bent, its group identity hardening largely through the persecution of its members but still subject to local variations of practice (Clark 2004; Rives 2007: 158-180). In the 4th century, it became the official religion of the Roman Empire, which involved great changes in its structure and central tenets, not least of which was its politicisation (Brown 1995). Even at

this point, it was not imposed unilaterally across the Empire, but appropriated unevenly and unpredictably across its vast area, such that from the 4th century onwards, we can describe *Christianities* rather than a single, monolithic Christianity (Noble and Smith 2008). Regardless of its context, by this point it had become inextricably linked to the Roman Empire, and the reception of Christianity across western Europe was now enmeshed with the concept of *Romanitas*. But there are numerous difficulties with even this term from the 4th century onwards, and discussing the concept of being Roman, both within and beyond the frontier, can help clarify our approach to Christianity.

2.2.1. Romanisation and Christianisation

The term 'Romanisation' emerged as a way to characterise the archaeological changes that occurred in areas in contact with the Roman Empire (Millett 1990). However, in light of postcolonial theories of culture contact, it has been rejected as a useful model of culture change. The reasons for this are manifold, and have been rehearsed at length elsewhere (Hill 2001; Hingley 2005; Mattingly 2004; Mattingly 2006; Wells 1999: 126-128; Woolf 1997; Woolf 1998: 1-23). Here it will suffice to summarise some of the conclusions of this debate. As we will see, this has many implications for the study of the related concept of 'Christianisation'.

The problem with Romanisation is that it creates a false dichotomy between Roman and non-Roman, both of which are oversimplified categories, and then presumes an evolutionary progression from 'native' to 'Roman'. David Mattingly (2004) in particular has deconstructed the various ways a person could be 'Roman' in Britain, from governor to soldier to peasant, while also pointing out that even these categories are too simple. He goes on to list a variety of other factors that were more salient in constructing identities than the broad categories of Roman or native: status (often linked with occupation), wealth (and how it was obtained), location (and freedom to move), religion (particularly within an exclusive cult like Christianity), origin (much more complex than just Roman or indigenous), language (and how one expressed it, including literacy), gender (differentially expressed according to the above categories), and age (ibid: 10-11). Peter Wells (1999: 127-128) argues that much of what we think of as 'Roman' culture actually originated in its provinces, such as *terra sigillata* or samian ware, so indicative of Roman culture when found in Britain, yet primarily produced in Gaul. In this same vein, it is worth noting that by the late Roman period, the Roman army was primarily constituted of recruits from the provinces, and many from beyond the frontiers (Knight 1999: 8-10). Particularly in this later period, the Roman army itself should actually be understood as a network of armies,

each with their own peculiar views of what it meant to be a Roman soldier (James 2001). The subject of military diplomacy is another important issue, as it further blurs the line between Roman and non-Roman. The Roman practice of diplomacy with tribes beyond the frontiers was not a single foreign policy, but rather an array of improvised and constantly negotiated strategies (Heather 2006; Hunter 2007; Woolf 1998: 34-40).

Excavation along the line of Hadrian's Wall and its environs has also revolutionised our understanding of late Roman Britain over the last two decades (i.e., Wilmott and Wilson 2000). It has become apparent that the frontier zone saw dramatic changes from the 4th century onwards, including the remodelling of the headquarters of several forts as large aristocratic residences (Bidwell and Speak 1994; Ferris and Jones 2000; Wilmott 2000). This corresponds with wider changes in Roman frontier strategy, most notably the replacement of a standing army with locally-recruited and hereditary *limitanei* troops, with implications for whom (or what) we label 'Roman' from the 4th century (Rob Collins 2006; Collins 2008; Fraser 2009a: 56-57). Thus, the Romans most likely to be engaging with the peoples of southern Scotland were these distinctive communities of indigenous extraction who were nevertheless defenders of the Empire, with continuing implications for the centuries following Roman rule (Dark 2000; Esmonde Cleary 2001; Woolf 2003).

This deconstruction has revolutionised our understanding of the process of interaction with the north. It is well known that a reasonable quantity of Roman material culture was circulating in Scotland after the withdrawal of the army in the late 2nd century, and that this was reused in a number of ways not necessarily related to their original function (Campbell 2011; Hanson 2004). Some of this material was curated for an period of time before being reworked into fine metalwork and craft-working implements (Campbell 2011; Hunter 2007: 37-38). How this material became available is another question. Market-based trade does not seem to explain its distribution, leaving diplomatic gifts and 'bribes' to buy peace as the best explanation (Hunter: ibid.). Such high-level negotiation with Roman officials may indicate more common ground between both parties than is generally assumed, and more movement across the frontier (cf Heather 2006). It is important to stress that this movement went both ways, as recent material culture studies have begun to show (Allason-Jones and Jones 1994; Heald 2001). In this kind of environment, some cultural similarities might be expected to exist on either side of the frontier. Evidence for this comes in the form of the later practice of erecting Latin-inscribed stones, seen on both sides of the frontier beginning in the 5th century (Forsyth 2005; McCarthy 2009).

Just as the Romans cannot be seen as a single, homogenous culture, our image of the 'natives' has also undergone a radical restructuring. All the identifying factors listed by Mattingly (above) apply to them as well, so simply defining a Briton as a non-Roman is a an oversimplification of a complex reality (Woolf 2003). Scholars of later prehistory have established 'different Iron Ages' across Britain (Harding 2006; Haselgrove and Moore 2007; Hill and Cumberpatch 1995; Sharples and Parker Pearson 1997), and even within Scotland, the appearance of Roman material could elicit vastly more complex responses than the simple categories of assimilation and resistance (Harding 2004; Hunter 2007; Macinnes 1984). 'Resistance' could often be non-violent, and even take place within the context of 'assimilation', such as the 'Romano-Celtic' deities which kept their Celtic names while being inscribed on Roman altars (Webster 1995). Even resistance from beyond the frontier could be within a Roman idiom, as when the southern Irish began erecting inscribed stones, but using their own language and alphabet instead of Latin (Charles-Edwards 2000). Interaction with Rome was known to have ranged from military conflict to strategic alliance to what we might consider a 'bribe', with certain tribes being paid off for peace (Hunter 2007). However, Heather's work (2006) introduces a level of complexity to these diplomatic pay-offs, as polities who were to be paid tribute attained a certain legal status, as *foederati*, meaning that they were now part of Rome, with obligations imposed on both sides. While these obligations were often ignored or renegotiated, this practice had a long-ranging effect on Roman-indigenous relations. The very process of negotiation implies that while both sides should not be seen as equal, there was at least some amount of mutual understanding and familiarisation, which will be seen to be important when it comes to studying conversion.

Another important corollary of the Romanisation debate has been the realisation that the Roman soldiers were not the only highly mobile population in this period. It has been noted that Late Iron Age societies across northwest Europe also began to experience radical changes in material culture and settlement pattern in the centuries before Roman intervention, or in the case of Ireland and Scandinavia, with no direct Roman intervention at all (Andrén 2007; Armit and Ralston 2003; Charles-Edwards 2000; Haselgrove 1997; Heald 2001; Tipping 1997). It is now recognised that these societies were linked by complex networks of gift-exchange, fosterage and other practices that involved material and people moving long distances (Campbell 2007; Etchingham and Swift 2004; Karl 2005; Nieke 1993). As Rome shifted more from being a producer to a net consumer of resources, it required a wider pool of producers, tending to disturb pre-existing networks far beyond the frontier (Cunliffe 2008).

To come back to Scotland, the implications of this postcolonial paradigm shift are various. Firstly, it has to be noted that the Roman impact on Scotland can no longer be seen as a purely short-lived military intervention (Fraser 2009a: 116-117). Nor is 'Roman influence' likely to be linear and diffusionist: Hunter's (2007) research on Roman finds has shown that there is evidence for continued, if constantly changing, contact with Rome, with a significant focus on the northeast as well as the areas closest to the Roman walls. Meanwhile, work on the Latin inscribed stones of southern Scotland shows a vibrant Latinate culture still existing between the walls in the 5-7th centuries (Forsyth 2005; Handley 2001), at roughly the same time as the Pictish symbol stones of the northeast were being erected (Forsyth 1998).

But the spectre of war and colonial exploitation should not be forgotten: Hunter (2007) and James Fraser (2009a) have reinterpreted the scant historical and archaeological evidence for the late Roman period and made a persuasive case for the hardening of communal identities across central Scotland as being due to both Roman diplomacy and Roman depredations. The reception or rejection of Romanitas in Scotland will often be down to forces beyond their control as subjects to a grasping colonial project. The recognition that Scotland was an active participant in the world of late Roman Britain, with its various shades of accommodation, adaptation and resistance, means that we must allow for the possibility that Scotland participated in Roman religious practices as well. This includes, but should not be limited to, Christianity, as demonstrated by the recent find of two altars to Mithras in Musselburgh ELO (BBC 2011). Indeed, the possibility of a late Roman-period conversion to Christianity should not be dismissed out of hand (and will be dealt with below, 2.2.3), but neither will this have occurred uniformly or predictably.

The term 'Romanisation' is thus not a useful one for the processes of cultural change across Europe in the early to mid-first millennium AD. Yet certain 'Roman' mores and ideas, Christianity not least among them, certainly persisted. How are we to explain this process? From a theoretical standpoint, what needs to be remembered is that these changes are also due to a complex interplay between power structures, settlement patterns, cosmologies and ideologies. Theories that try to explain religious changes solely in terms of Roman collapse, provincial uprisings, or a growing ethnic consciousness beyond the frontiers are mistaking the result for the cause (Collins 2008; Hingley 2005; Pitts 2008). Yet it cannot be denied that after the 4th century, Christianity became a symbol of the prestige and legitimacy of the Roman emperors, and was adopted by certain groups as a tool for self-differentiation and authority (Brown 2003; Herrin 1987; Higham 1997a). The

history of Christianity in 'barbarian' Europe cannot be divorced from the changing power structures of the post-Roman period.

2.2.2. Ethnicity, memory and personhood

Before moving on to the role of Christianity in these changes, we must take into account the growing body of literature on the emergence of ethnic groups which characterises the transformation of the Roman to the early medieval period. This field has undergone a massive paradigm shift in the last two decades, largely characterised by the series of studies that formed the European Science Foundation's 'Transformation of the Roman World' research project (Noble 2006b; Wood 1997). This project has not pushed a single interpretation of these vast changes, but collectively, the publications embody the approach that must now be taken: put simply, it is a process of intensive "deconstructing and then reconstructing" (Wood 1997: 226). It has long been recognised that ethnic identities, or rather, traits perceived (from within or without) to belong to a collective rather than individual identity and believed to be acquired by descent (Jones 1997), became enmeshed with power structures across Europe in the mid-first millennium AD (Gillett 2002b). But the academic construct of racial differences as the driving force for historical processes was formulated in the 19th and 20th centuries, during the birth of modern nationalism and Darwinist theories of essentially unchangeable human nature. Scholarly criticism of racial theories increased in the post-war era, and today it is clear that ethnic identities are comprised of fluid, situational, historically-contingent choices; as such, the concept of 'barbarisation' is as unhelpful a concept as 'Romanisation' (Brather 2002; Curta 2007; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005; Driscoll 2000; Gillett 2002a; Jones 1997; Noble 2006b; Wood 1997). The danger lies with looking for the origins of any ethnicity or the 'moment' of ethnogenesis, since ethnic identities are continually being formed and renegotiated through actions and rituals (Curta 2007; Jones 1997; Nelson 2000). Further, such a search will tend to favour the narratives of peoples who happened to leave behind texts or distinctive artefact types; in other words, those with the means to ensure the survival of their version of events (Gillett 2002a; Goetz 2003).

Like any other identity, ethnicity is more usefully seen as a dynamic body of ritualised behaviours, but ones that are actively chosen through constant renegotiation and recreated at every expression (Insoll 2007; Theuws 2000). Ethnicity can be seen as eclectic *bricolage* cobbled together (not always consciously) from the cultural and social backgrounds available to people at a particular moment, in order to achieve a particular goal (Carey 1994; Carver 2005; Curta 2007; Insoll 2007; Wood 1997). But even if this sounds cold and

calculating, we should not forget that the social need that requires the formation of such identities also creates strongly-held beliefs which were very real to those who used them, and as such cannot be casually disregarded (Clancy 2002b; Wolfram 1994). While these choices and the mentalities they engender may not be completely comprehended using material culture alone, it is still an important factor in our understanding of the way societies saw themselves and communicated with one another, and as such remains a valid if not crucial object of study (Curta 2007; Driscoll 2000; Lucy 2002). Their constantly negotiated, and not endemic, identities must always be kept in mind, as is the power of the material culture itself in this negotiation (Jones 2007).

The formation of new identities and their reinforcement over time is inextricably bound with the material world. This realisation constitutes another important paradigm shift in recent years, as articulated most coherently in work on memory and materiality in archaeology (Bradley 2000a; 2002; Devlin 2007a; Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008; Jones 2007; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; H Williams 2003a; Williams 2006). By the nature of their permanence, material objects link moments in the past to the present, and in turn can be said to influence future activity. The creation of specific class of object, for instance a sword, constitutes ritualised activity, in that it requires knowledge of past swords to be recalled in the present and projected into future manufacture of swords. Howard Williams has shown how this approach can be applied to 'ethnic' burial rites such as weapon burials, Anglo-Saxon cremations, or Pictish cairns (2003b; 2005a; 2007a); each instance references past graves and is recalled and reconstructed using the material culture as a mnemonic.

Studies into memory and ritualised activity stress the essentially creative rather than constraining nature of recall and reproduction (Brück 1999; Halsall 2003; Insoll 2004; Insoll 2007; Nelson 2000; Theuws 2000). Research on cognition and recall in the human brain may provide a useful analogy: the brain does not simply store information in a single place; rather, each memory is a network of related concepts and emotions which are activated together upon recall (Sweatt 2010). Further, every act of remembering adds another layer of meaning to that memory; in effect, every time a memory is recalled, it is also changed (*ibid*., 7-9). This effect has often been perceived in cultural studies or memory and ritual behaviour (Devlin 2007a; Halsall 2003; Jones 2007; Theuws 2000; H Williams 2003c), and the character and frequency of memory recall is as important as the formation of the memory in the first place. Ritualised production of material culture is thus not a slavish reproduction of past forms, but a creative act linking perceived pasts and aspired futures (Jones 2007: 53-54). Material culture, from brooches to graves, can thus be seen not as a reflection of ethnic identities, but as a process of creating them.

In this light, it is worth discussing the notion of how the self was constructed, as a parallel process to the creation of the collective self. The study of personhood is particularly useful here, since cultural change is often coincident with changing perceptions of the body and one's role within a society (Brown 1981; Brück 2006a; Clark 2004; Hamilakis *et al.* 2002; JD Hill 1997; Williams 2007c). Chris Fowler's anthropological work on personhood in past societies (2004) emphasises that the self was created not only through the modern lens of individuality, the perception of a person as an indivisible unit, but also through 'dividuality', in which identity is derived from and reinforced by social and material entanglements. A good example is gift exchange, a well-known aspect of early medieval social reproduction which involved binding the gift-giver and receiver in a relationship embodied within the object (Alcock 2003; Nieke 1993). In effect, this social act gave objects their own biographies, which then became part of the identity of the owner (Härke 2000). Similarly, in Anglo-Saxon England, grave goods were seen as actively creating a new social bond between the living and the deceased because they retained part of the identity of the both giver and receiver (Crawford 2004; King 2004). Conceptions of family and friendship also defined one's identity: in early medieval Ireland, kinship was the primary basis of one's social standing (Charles-Edwards 1993a), while in Late Antique Gaul, status could be defined through the bonds of *amicitia*, literally friendship, embodied in a network of letter-writing correspondents (Clark 2001; Pearce 2003; Wood 1992). People thus acquired their identity through bonds with people and through the transfer of certain classes of objects; the loss of people through death, or the destruction of objects, could effectively alienate a portion of the self. As such, identity was not fixed at birth, but was a relational and *partible* entity (Fowler 2004; Insoll 2007). It is in this way that we have to consider ethnic and religious identities: not just as static categories but fluid social processes that people continually renegotiated over the course of their lives by ritual actions and other social acts.

So what does this have to do with Christianity? If Christianity from the 4th century was equated with the Roman Empire, then Christianisation could be seen as going hand in hand with Romanisation. But given the problems with the concept of Romanisation and other ethnocentric models as described above, the implications for the concept of 'Christianisation' should then be obvious (Kilbride 2000). It should not be seen as a straightforward, steady progress from 'pagan' to 'Christian'; both categories should be seen as too imprecise to describe religious identities among the provincial cultures of this period (Ó Riain 1995; Palmer 2007; Williams 2002b; Wood 2008b). Further, no monolithic Christian or pre-Christian identity can be presumed, since even those who considered themselves Christian could choose to adhere to certain practices others would

consider non-Christian, and vice versa. The dividual nature of the self meant that identities were not merely chosen but structured through social obligations; the bonds of marriage, kinship and power could be a significant determining factor for one's identity, including religious identity (Fraser 2009a: 83-93). Theories that presume a society was inherently predisposed to, or aligned against, Christianity should also be rejected as not taking into account the complexities of the situation. The interesting thing about 'Christianisation' is not just that it was happening across Europe, but that the term itself continues to be used uncritically. This is arguably due to a misunderstanding of the nature of conversion itself.

2.2.3. Conversion

Along with ethnicity and Romanisation, the study of religious conversion has undergone a paradigmatic overhaul in recent decades. The point that now almost does not need to be made is that conversion is a long process, not a single event (Bowie 2006; Cannell 2006; Cusack 1998; Mills and Grafton 2003; Muldoon 1997). Crucially, this process is not progress, in either of its meanings. The conversion of a person, let alone an entire society, is unique to every situation, with false starts and reversals along the way; but crucially, the outcome is never inevitable, and indeed, one might argue that it is always ongoing without a discernible outcome. Like Romanisation and ethnogenesis, conversion does not have an archaeologically discernible origin point, nor an observable end point. In other words, a society's conversion is not a watershed moment, but just one aspect of its multifaceted and continually renegotiated image of itself.

The problem with understanding conversion in the first millennium AD, in Scotland as elsewhere in Europe, is the paradoxical situation in which Christianity is known to be widespread, but conversion is often portrayed as incomplete or improperly executed (Elm 2003; JMH Smith 2003). The debate over pagan, Celtic, or Germanic 'survivals' in Christianity (Angenendt 1998; Cusack 1998; Fletcher 1997; Flint 1991; Holtorf 1997; Mathews 1993; Murray 1992; Ó Riain 1995; Petts 2003; Russell 1994; Thomas 1971; Williams 2002b) is based on the assumption that the converted have done so without full understanding or acceptance of Christian doctrine. However, this begs the question of how a 'full understanding' of Christianity could ever be measured, or if it is even possible. The discourse of early medieval 'inauthentic' conversion has fuelled innumerable theories of syncretism, a word which tends to oversimplify both 'pagan' and 'Christian' and should perhaps be avoided (Goldberg 2009; cf. Shaw and Stewart 1994; Webster 1997). Similarly, the debate over whether conversion to Christianity comes from popular pressure (bottom-up) or political power (top-down) essentialises both sides and oversimplifies the

complexity of the process (Bowes 2008). In a postcolonial paradigm, we would more correctly argue that *both* bottom-up and top-down forces play their role in every conversion, and neither occurs without exerting its influence on the other (Fraser 2009a: 83-93). The reality is that no conversion is ever 'complete', and that even among Christians, the work of 'Christianisation' is never finished, as it must be continually reinforced by prayer, sacraments, and rites of passage (Muldoon 1997). This applies as much to internal or personal conversion as to the conversion of an entire society.

Recent work in the archaeology of religion is beginning to pave the way toward a practical method of detecting religious change in the material record (Goldberg 2009; Insoll 2004; Lane 2001; Parker Pearson 2006). Generally speaking, this involves the recognition that context and practice are all-important. Material culture itself does not simply reflect religious identity, just as it does not reflect ethnicity, but rather helps create it; indeed, with sacred objects, we may be justified in saying that sacrality is partly bound within certain objects, such as relics and altars. But this seemingly innate characteristic is itself socially constructed by its ritualised use and by communal consensus, itself not static through the biography of the object (Insoll 2004; Jones 2007). As such, it is how the material is being used at any given time that is important, not any meaning inherent in the material itself (Mawer 1995). Religious affiliation must be argued for, rather than assumed, in every instance. But beyond this, we should not blindly assume a purely religious motive behind any aspect of the material culture, even of the most assuredly religious type. For instance, the construction of a church is bound up with economic, political, and social structures as much as religious ones (Ó Carragáin 2010). Even seemingly 'supernatural' or 'ritual' practices may only appear as such to us today; even with a practice as emotionally charged as human burial, the motivation could be as much other-wordly as this-worldly (Brück 1999; 2006a; Härke 2001; James 1989; Parker Pearson 2003; Rebillard 2003).

In the light of these critiques, some of the most prominent historical revisions of early medieval conversion fail to convince. For instance, any model developed solely for 'Germanic' or 'Celtic' peoples quickly limits itself to modern ethnic constructs, and the usefulness of such categories for understanding religious practice has been rejected (Clancy 2002a; Davies 1992; Goffart 1988; Parker Pearson 2006; Smith 2001). Their limitations can be seen in the selective application of theory to fit the evidence. For instance, Cusack's *Conversion among the Germanic Peoples* (1998), later more dramatically re-titled *The Rise of Christianity in Northern Europe, 300-1000*, and Higham's *The Convert Kings* (1997a) both review the anthropological literature with an eye towards how specific 'Germanic' societies, rather than individuals, converted to

Christianity. However, it is no coincidence that, due to a reliance on the conversion narratives of Bede and Jordanes, both authors favour top-down models of conversion flowing from the royal court. In contrast, Michael Richter's (1995) review of the anthropological literature with regard to the conversion of Ireland favours a more fragmented, bottom-up approach which mirrors the relatively unstratified society of petty kingdoms that characterises many 'Celtic' countries of the time.

Because of the lack of clear textual or material evidence for the social structures of Late Iron Age Scotland, the Scottish burial evidence provides a way to test the usefulness of both top-down and bottom-up models. In Cusack's model, conversion can be seen as a long process comprising of three basic steps: familiarisation by contact with Christians, followed by targeted evangelisation by Christian missionaries, resulting in the "indigenization" of Christianity (Cusack 1998: 1-30 and passim). The last point is worth expanding on: this is based on the influential work of James Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity* (1994), which argues that every Christian society interprets doctrine (as well as the narrative of its own conversion) in its own unique way. This theme is persistently found in anthropological literature (Cannell 2006), and it emphasises the fact that the conversion of a social group is also the creation of a new 'imagined community' (Barth 1992), with all the tensions that can cause. Cusack is certainly correct in including a section on the different ways Christianity was interpreted within each regional case study, and an important lesson should be to seek out and explore variety rather than expect religious homogeneity. It is also stresses the often political nature of conversion, in which Scotland is not likely to differ. On the other hand, Richter's model is also crucial for toning down the royal rhetoric in literary accounts of conversion; he stresses that early medieval kings tended to derive their legitimacy by collective assent, and the model of kings as all-powerful deciders of what religion the entire kingdom would subscribe to is perhaps anachronistic in the 5th and 6th centuries (Fraser 2009a: 63-67, 86; Harding 2004: 292-297). In this, he is followed by Thomas Charles-Edwards, who stresses that the conversion of Ireland was neither wholly top-down nor bottom-up; Palladius ministered to an existing Christian community, and Patrick did not evangelise kings, but lower members of the royal aristocracy (Charles-Edwards 2000: 182-240). Furthermore, it was the existence of a powerful learned class, which valued literacy and the opportunities represented by the world of Latin learning, which fuelled the drive towards monastic foundations from within Irish society rather than by outside missionaries (Charles-Edwards 1998). The Irish case shows that missionaries played a role in the conversion of Ireland, but it was indigenous agency which made the new religion its own.

The lesson to be learned here is that both 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' models are too simplistic and a combination of both is likely at work in every case. Further, the pagan or Celtic 'survivals' in the later hagiography are nothing of the sort; the heroic literary motifs, holy wells and euhemerised pagan deities found in the early saints' lives and origin myths are more understandable as the Christian creation of a 'usable past' or pseudo-history for the purposes of the present (Brown 2003; Carey 1994; Kaldellis 2009; McCone 1990). A similar process of mixing contemporary Christian motifs with pre-Christian styles of art can be seen in the manuscripts, sculpture and fine metalwork of Ireland and beyond, and should be interpreted as one of the most successful ways in which a new social fabric was being created in early medieval Europe (Driscoll 2000; Goetz 2003; Henderson 1996; Henderson and Henderson 2004; Nieke 1993; Wood 1997). This creative blending occurred at all levels, from folk tales to church synods (Meens 1998; Smith 1990; 2003).

Another crucial point made by Richter (1995) is that there was often no formal doctrinal control involved in the spread of religious ideas; any introduction of Christianity into a new context necessarily involved the translation of words and concepts into a language that may not have had a way of expressing them. However, the process of 'translation' can be an act of resistance as much as a force for domination (Webster 1995), which must be assessed in every case. The initial spread of Christianity throughout Rome before Constantine, even beyond the frontiers as shown by the existence of Christians in Ireland before the mission of Palladius (Charles-Edwards 2000), is further evidence of the mobility of religious ideas by 'word of mouth' and other person-to-person means (Rives 2007). Thus, the process of 'indigenization' was not always the last step of conversion, but began from the very first contact and continued inexorably from then on (Elbourne 2003).

In every society, we should see the tensions created not only between the powerful and the powerless, but within and among all their constituent groups. The survival in our period of 'official' histories, including saints' lives and origin myths, is a product of this tension since they were invariably the product of a literate class largely for a literate audience, and the ones that survived mainly did so because they were promoted by those with an interest in monopolising perceptions of the past. Ancient narratives of conversion, based as they are in such contexts, must be treated as biased and used only with care. In our period, it is not enough to study how societies converted to Christianity; there is a pressing need to show how these societies *converted Christianity* (Maldonado 2011). Archaeology provides the best tools for this, and one of the best ways into this question is through the material culture of death and burial. The last two decades have seen an explosion in newly-published archaeological excavations of inhumation graves in Scotland, but these have

largely been studied on a site-by-site basis and largely without the application of a rigorous theoretical framework. Furthermore, burials are crucial for studying the conversion in Scotland since they form the bulk of the evidence for the period in question. Therefore, the Scottish burial evidence provides an ideal dataset with which to test new approaches.

2.2.4. Burial and Christianity: a new approach

As has long been recognised in anthropological studies, the study of a community's treatment of the body is always the study of the 'communal body' (Bowie 2006: 34-61). The 5th-century emergence of cemeteries, or the accumulation of graves in specific places, can seem deceptively Christian-like, given our modern experience of burial in graveyards. But the uncritical use of the terms 'Christian' and 'pre-Christian' for these practices is unhelpful. The early church did not seem to have any doctrinal restrictions on burial until at least the 8th century, and until then Christians could and did employ a variety of burial rites according to family traditions (O'Brien 2009). In fact, a recent study of late Roman legal evidence shows that burial was not considered within the realm of religion at all; what mattered were familial traditions and the demands of society (Rebillard 2003). In other words, vernacular burial practices are surprisingly resilient despite great changes in cosmological and social structure (Pearce 1997; 2000), a crucial concept noted over a century ago by Joseph Anderson (1876). Furthermore, since the chronology of conversion in Scotland is so poorly understood, the term 'pre-Christian' for any practice other than orientated, unfurnished inhumation is at best not useful, and at worst misleading.

So can we use the cemeteries as expressions of religious belief? Within the current paradigm described above (2.2.2), we need to be aware of the way material culture does not merely reflect identities and beliefs, but is used to create and reinforce them. Given the origins of many of Scottish burial rites in the early centuries AD (Ashmore 1980), the discussion can no longer begin by looking from the medieval period back, but from the Iron Age forward, and so we must not limit ourselves to Christian interpretations and assumptions. One of the most long-lived of these is that the veneration of corporeal relics implies that Christian graves were believed to be sacred (Sparey-Green 2003). While we can be certain that some graves or human remains were venerated as cult objects, this did not occur everywhere nor at the same time (Brown 1981; Clark 2001). As such, a crucial test of this hypothesis will be to ask, when, if ever, the grave became 'numinous', a fixed location connecting this world with the supernatural (Insoll 2004: 19-20).

Other interpretations can be pursued when we move beyond expectations of Christianity. For instance, the work of Howard Williams (2006: 141-144) has stressed the agency of the material culture of the grave itself. The ritualised action of sourcing stone and constructing a long cist grave, for instance, may have been imbued with supernatural overtones which would not have been lost on the mourners as they built each new grave. The excavator of Hallow Hill FIF argued that each of the dozens of cists on site was built with side slabs set in a specific order (Proudfoot 1996: 403-404). Such care indicates that there was an image of a 'proper' burial which involved lining the corpse with stone slabs, and the widespread use of the long cist across Scotland is possible evidence for a shared ritual which may have played a key role in mediating the transformation of the corpse into an ancestor (Williams 2007a). Given the dividual nature of early medieval identity (above, 2.2.2), the use of a distinct burial ritual can be seen as a necessary social act, a way of reconstructing the personhood of the deceased by renegotiating their bonds with the living (Fowler 2004: 79-100). As Insoll (2004: 12) reminds us, "ritual is an element of the wider whole, and its archaeological recovery should be a reflection of this rather than an end in itself." In these terms, burial rites can be seen as technologies of transformation. To demonstrate these processes at work, we must be able to study the construction of the individual grave as a meaningful act. When graves are found in cemeteries, their relationship to others should be studied as a selective remembering and forgetting of previous burial events (Halsall 2003).

Application of such theories has led to a greater appreciation of landscape location and the way the cemeteries created special places over time (Children and Nash 1997; Williams 2002a). Across Britain, it has been noted that early cemeteries were often located adjacent to prehistoric ritual landscapes and monuments (Driscoll 1998c; James 1992; Williams 1998). This is often interpreted as a politically charged strategy of appropriation of the past to legitimise the rulers of the present, but this view tends to secularise the complex emotional and spiritual context of death and interment in a specific landscape (Effros 1997). The problem with studying cemeteries in this way is that they tend to be dealt with as a single entity that arrived fully made, instead of as a long process developing over generations, even centuries. More usefully, we should trace the creation of the special 'place' in order to find out how this happens. In order to do so, we need to track the use of the place throughout its entire 'biography', from before, during, and after its use for burial (Carver 2005; Fletcher 1994; Gosden and Marshall 1999).

Analysing the cemeteries from a landscape perspective – seeing them as socially constructed places instead of cemeteries, since they only became cemeteries over time – frees us from the notion that every burial clusters around one 'saintly' founder or other

venerated ancestor, a notion imposed on cemeteries by modern assumptions (Williams 2005b). The fact that cemeteries were often converted into expressions of later identities, such as the appropriation of the *nemed* or sacred grove for a church at *Eglesnamin*, or Hallow Hill FIF (Barrow 1983; Proudfoot 1996), is a good example of selective remembering and forgetting over time. When material culture is approached as a dynamic participant in the burial ritual, we can see that the places of the dead were being actively used by the living and not simply for the benefit of the corpse. The potential for changing function and meaning over time must not be ignored. Finally, burial places need not be strictly religious or secular sites; whether Christian, royal or otherwise, it is clear this distinction only becomes important to those who reuse these sites, and those who study them later on (Maldonado 2011).

A fluid, case-by-case methodology focusing on the social practices involved in creating graves and cemeteries will help avoid generalising with broad labels, and show how regional differences informed the development of burial rites (Goldberg 2009; Lucy 2002). To do this, a multiscalar approach must be used, studying burial from the level of the individual grave through to the study of the cemetery as a whole. A landscape-based approach will help shed light on the way the cemeteries did not just appear on the landscape, but actually helped create it over time. The fact that inhumation cemeteries appeared across Britain and Europe in the mid-first millennium AD shows that this is a wider trend not limited to Christian areas (Randsborg 1991). Accordingly, we should think of burial as a religious act as much as a technology of social differentiation, like wearing fine metalwork and commissioning monumental architecture, which became increasingly important during the early medieval period; Christianity itself may be seen as another enabling technology (Driscoll 2000). The appearance of cemeteries beyond the Roman frontier may thus be explained not by the conversion to Christianity (contra Petts 2004), but by changing social structures that required more frequent and elaborate expressions of certain rituals, Christian and otherwise (Seaman 2006). The dearth of historical sources for Scotland in the Late Iron Age and the lack of culturally diagnostic material culture from the graves in this part of Britain provides a unique resource on which to test models without the biases and assumptions fostered by text-led notions of missionary Christianity or 'Germanic' migrations.

2.3. Conclusion

In summary, theoretical approaches in archaeology have largely abandoned monocausal explanations for changes in patterns of material culture. This is as true of 'Christianisation'

as it is for 'Romanisation' or 'ethnogenesis'. When understood on a social level, these are all longer, gradual processes, with no fixed end result such as becoming completely Christian, Roman, or Pictish, since these categories are themselves always in flux. Further, these processes do not occur in a vacuum, but all impinge on one another as they develop. A more fruitful approach is to expect many different local Christianities in the period before religion became part of the process of nation-building from c. AD 650, when nonconformity began to be a threat to centralised secular power.

Religion is not a simple mirror for society, but just one of the many ways a society continually defines and redefines itself. The difficulties in defining belief from the mute material record remain, but the question is more approachable if we study the effects of these beliefs on the more observable aspects of everyday life that we have available. In a Scottish context, the evidence from the Late Iron Age, the period of conversion to Christianity, is largely limited to burials, and this will form the primary dataset for this research. By interrogating this dataset, we can illuminate how burials fit into the Late Iron Age cosmology, rather than imposing one on them and seeing how the material fits. A methodology that does not just accommodate complexity, but anticipates it, is the only way to maturely deal with the material record. The question must now be about how different peoples convert Christianity, and how burial rites get used for this purpose.

2.4. Methodology

For the reasons delineated above (2.2.3, 2.2.4), this study uses the Scottish burial evidence as its primary dataset. In order to keep the work focused on the material culture of burial, other forms of commemoration, including inscribed stones and documentary evidence, will be cited where useful (e.g., 5.3.4; 6.3; 6.4), but will not be analysed beyond the review in Chapter 1. Under the guiding principles that conversion is a long process, and that the formation of cemeteries did not happen overnight, it is crucial to approach this material from a long-term perspective. In order to provide a relatively unbiased and contextual approach, the dataset covers a wide time span, gathered into a database of all burial evidence in Scotland from the entire first millennium AD, from the first scattered instances of burial in the Middle Iron Age, to the full-blown proto-parochial churchyards of the Norse period. The database also includes all radiocarbon dates from human bone within this period in order to track change over time.

The decision to limit this study to the modern Scottish border admittedly introduces an arbitrary modernist bias on the data. However, given the historically nationalist approaches

used in previous studies of 'Celtic' and 'Anglo-Saxon' burial archaeology (Chapter 1), it was decided that the present work should observe the same constraints in order to better highlight the flawed nature of this limitation, and the need to transcend such constraints in future work. Furthermore, the Anglo-Saxon burial evidence is much better documented and studied, whereas the Scottish evidence has not yet been given a full-length analysis, and so this work should be seen as an attempt to bring the subject area up to speed with developments elsewhere. Nevertheless, certain distribution maps will go beyond the Scottish border into England and Northern Ireland in order to place the Scottish material in its wider context; this will only be for mainly illustrative purposes, and all new analysis presented here will be limited to the Scottish material.

The data was gathered primarily from the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), using their online CANMORE database, and the annual gazeteer *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*. Where sites have no published material pertaining to them (e.g., only noted by RCAHMS), the National Monument Records of Scotland (NMRS) site number is provided instead. Where distribution maps contain sites beyond the Scottish border, these come from well-known national and regional catalogues published previously (Hamlin 2008; INSTAR 2011; Lucy 1999; O'Brien 1999), and are not intended to be exhaustive; as such, the English and Northern Irish sites are not included in the final database.

2.4.1. Structure of the database

The database was built using Microsoft Access 2003 software, and consists of two tables: 'All Burial Evidence' and 'C14 dates'. These are related via the use of randomly-generated three-digit Site ID, in a one-to-many relationship with the C14 table subsidiary to the All Burial Evidence table. Due to space constraints, a decision was made to record demographic and other details of individual graves for radiocarbon-dated graves only; in this way, long-term changes in age, sex, and grave type can be traced over time. This information can be found in the C14 Dates table.

The primary table is All Burial Evidence, and the Site ID for each entry is unique. Each entry in this table includes the basic locational information, including site name, council, pre-1974 county, national Ordnance Survey grid reference (under the heading 'NGR'), X and Y coordinates for the creation of GIS-based distribution maps, and modern parish. Under the heading 'references' are included only the primary published sources of information in abbreviated format, following the conventions cited in the bibliography.

Under the heading 'size' is the number of individuals in each site, and only included where confirmed by modern excavation; otherwise, the field is left blank.

Each site is assigned a broad type: barrows, cremations, cairns, inhumations, long cists, and stray find, each defined briefly here and discussed further below (Chapter 5). This approach admittedly essentialises sites with various rites in use, so where necessary the database includes duplicate entries for a given site where it can be justifiably categorised as more than one simple category. While this introduces a certain level of subjectivity to the data collection, the analysis is limited to the technological constraints of the software used. Each of these categories (except for 'stray find') is further subdivided by population size. As such, each site type is deemed a 'cemetery' when it reaches the arbitrary limit of five for flat grave (inhumation, long cist and cremation) cemeteries and three for monumental (barrow and cairn) cemeteries. The limit of five for flat grave cemeteries is the convenient middle ground between Henshall's (1956) definition of a cemetery as six or more graves, and Rees' (2002) definition as four or more. The limit for barrow and cairn cemeteries is lower, since these tend to be fewer on any given site, as discussed further below (5.3.2). In the occasion where a site has both above-ground monuments and flat graves, precedence in terms of categorisation is given to the monuments. Finally, each site is categorised as to whether they are confirmed and unconfirmed. Generally speaking, confirmed sites are those investigated via modern excavation (eg., after 1947, or the first volume of *DES*); all others are qualified with '(poss)'. In the case of barrows, sites known only through aerial photography are qualified with '(cropmark)'.

Under the heading 'Site type' are found the following categories:

- Barrow: a mound of earth marking a burial or burials on the ground surface. Because the majority of such sites are now ploughed down, the majority of these are found not by excavation but by aerial reconnaissance in the form of cropmarks. As such, site types will be differentiated between 'Barrow (cropmark)' and 'Barrow', in the latter case when they are confirmed by excavation or remain upstanding. Each is further defined by population size eg., 'Barrow (<3)' where there are fewer than three barrows, not individual burials, and 'Barrow cemetery' when there are three or more barrows.
- Cairn: a mound of stones marking a burial or burials on the ground surface. The same numerical constraints apply as with barrows, above.
- Cremation: the burial of burnt human remains. This will apply regardless of the grave type used, whether urns, cists, or pits. 'Cremation cemetery' refers to a site with five or more individual humans represented.
- Inhumation: the burial of unburnt human remains. This category includes unlined articulated burials, burials in timber linings, and burials of disarticulated, unburnt human bone. Where both stone-lined and unlined burials are found on a single site, the category will be defined by the majority of graves of either type.

- Long cist: the burial of unburnt human remains in stone-lined graves. Where both stone-lined and unlined burials are found on a single site, the category will be defined by the majority of graves of either type.
- Stray find: only used in the rare occasion where an artefact strongly indicative of burial, such as cremation urns and artefacts usually associated with furnished burial elsewhere, is found in association with other human remains, and is likely to hint at fugitive burial activity. As these finds usually occur singly, no distinction will be made according to number of finds.

Each site is then briefly described under two headings. 'Notes' is limited to 255 characters and provides only an abbreviated account of the salient features of each site. 'Keywords' contains standardised terms relating to the graves for ease of use, defined below. In many cases, these give straightforward information on unusual categories relating to positions (prone, laid on side, North-South, etc), grave types as defined herein (see 5.1.3; boulder cist, masonry cist, short cist, head box, log coffin, etc), age groups (juvenile, infant), and site location (broch, hillfort, souterrain, church site, etc). Occasionally, one-off keywords are used to describe a specific site. More specific keywords are described below:

- Burning: where traces of burning in and around the grave(s) has been noted.
- Causewayed corners: where a square barrow has visible gaps in the corners.
- Corner posts: where a square cairn or barrow is defined by upright stones or timber posts at each corner.
- Enclosure: where the area of burial is delimited by an enclosing feature.
- Exposure: where there is evidence that human remains have been exposed for a period of time before burial.
- Furnished: where deliberately-placed objects have been added to the grave(s)
- Multiple: where more than one individual is found within a single grave.
- Penannular: where a ring-ditch with an entrance gap encloses a grave.
- Post-built structure: where a structure of this type is found marking or in the immediate vicinity of the grave(s).
- Pictish stone: where a Pictish symbol stone (Class I or Class II) is found within, above, or in the vicinity of the burial(s).
- RC dates: denotes sites where a radiocarbon date has been obtained from human bone. The dates themselves are stored in a separate table (see below). Since the primary objective of this database is early Christian burial, sites where dates are primarily outwith this period will de differentiated as follows: 'Iron Age' for sites where the majority of dates are pre-400 AD; 'Norse period' serves as a shorthand for sites with dates primarily AD 800-1000; and 'High medieval' for when the only dates obtained have been post-1000 AD.
- Reuse: where burials reuse a monument or site previously used for non-burial activity. These are qualified by the addition of broad chronological terms (Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age).
- Settlement: where traces of domestic or industrial activity have been found in the vicinity of burials.
- Square: to differentiate square barrows or square cairns.

The subsidiary table is C14 Dates. This table includes all radiocarbon dates as unique entries. The primary identification for each entry is the unique lab code attached to every

date, while the Site ID refers to the parent entry in the All Burial Evidence table. The raw data recorded for each date is the following: Cal BP records the calibrated radiocarbon date in BP time scale; Lab error is the standard deviation of calibrated dates in years as provided with every date; 'C14 2 sigma min' and 'C14 2 sigma max' record the minimum and maximum calendar date range to two standard deviations, as calibrated using the most recent calibration curve (Bronk Ramsey 2009) using Oxcal Online software version 4.1 (c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/oxcal.html).

More information is then provided about the individual grave. 'Grave type I' includes the following categories of grave architecture, as defined in Chapter 5: Long cist; Masonry cist; Boulder cist; Composite cist; Oval cist; Head box; Dug grave; Pit/shaft; Coffin/log; Pebble/shell layer; Boat grave; Cremation; Unstrat bone. 'Grave type II' refers to the upstanding or surface element of a grave, as defined in Chapter 5: Barrow; Barrow (round); Barrow (square); Cairn; Cairn (square); Cairn (round); Kerb/platform (for graves marked by a stone kerb or flat cobble platform); Structure (for graves marked by a post-built or other built element). 'Grave marker' includes the following: Orthostat; Pictish stone; Inscribed stone; Cross slab; Post; Quartz pebbles. Keywords provide other incidental information, as described above for the Keywords column of the All Burial Evidence table.

Demographic information is provided where available, blank when this was indeterminate or unavailable. 'Age' is divided into the following basic categories (after Sinfield 2002): neonate/infant (5 years or below); juvenile (5-17); young adult (17-25); middle adult (25-45); mature adult (45+); and adult (17+, otherwise indeterminate). Sex is male or female.

Finally, more information is given on the placement of the body and the grave. 'Position' records the following: crouched/flexed, extended, prone, laid on side, or disarticulated. 'Furnished' records whether objects were found within the grave (yes/no); 'Orientation' records the position of the body where articulated, in abbreviated cardinal directions beginning with the position of the head (e.g., N-S means head to north, feet to south).

2.4.2. Structure of the thesis

This research began with a review of the historical approaches to Christianity, in order to define the processes and paradigms which have defined the study of the subject in the past (Chapter 1). The current chapter discussed previous archaeological work on early Christianity, primarily on the burial evidence, and outlined new theoretical approaches to this evidence and the way the data has been collected. The remaining chapters present the

analysis of this data. The burial data is introduced in Chapter 3, including the range of radiocarbon dates obtained and the problems encountered during data collection. Chapter 4 presents a brief summary of burial practices in the period before AD 400-650 in order to contextualise the Late Iron Age. Chapters 5 and 6 present an analysis of the Late Iron Age data on three levels: first at the level of the individual grave (Chapter 5), the position of the grave within the cemetery (Chapter 6.4), and at the level of the entire cemetery and its position in the landscape (Chapter 6.3). These chapters are laid out thematically rather than regionally, in order to emphasise wider patterns in burial practices.

The final two chapters then describe the evidence from ecclesiastical sites excavated within the last two decades. This is laid out in a series of case studies: first, an extended discussion of the largest published monastery to date, that at Whithorn WIG (Chapter 7); then, the remaining ecclesiastical sites with burial evidence, focusing on three case studies covering the west, east and north of Scotland: Inchmarnock BTE, Isle of May FIF, and Portahomack ROS (Chapter 8). In this chapter, each case study is followed by a discussion of other excavated ecclesiastical sites in the wider region. Finally, the concluding chapter brings together the evidence from ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical sites, and offers some conclusions about the relationship between burial and Christianity, before making recommendations for future work.

Chapter 3:   Introduction to the data

The burial evidence of Late Iron Age Scotland is most often discussed under the heading of religion (Alcock 1992; Carver 1998; Foster 2004: 77-78; Mulville *et al.* 2003; Thomas 1971: 48-90). Given the complexity of the burial record in the first millennium AD, this broad categorisation requires a detailed analysis. No two regions of Scotland treated their dead in quite the same way, and even within these regions, variety of practice was the norm; there are local idioms rather than monolithic traditions. Yet our interpretive framework rarely goes beyond the choice between Christianity or non-Christianity (neither very clearly defined). Given the multiplicity of approaches to death we can see in the archaeological record, we are arguably not entitled to neat binary distinctions (for example, Figure 3.1). The question of which grave type is most likely to be used by a Christian has not gotten us very far, since each type is used in such a multiplicity of ways that it is unlikely we will ever reach a conclusion acceptable everywhere; the problem, it would seem, is in the question. Only by introducing complexity into the discussion will we come closer to using the evidence productively (Figure 3.2). In this way, it will become clear that we can ask more useful questions of the burial record, which can in turn reveal more about Christianity than just when and where it arrived in Scotland.

3.1. Problems of the sources

The study of Scottish burials is beset with methodological problems. Drawing this research together has highlighted the most obvious of these: the fact that the majority of sites are actually unconfirmed by excavation (compare Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.3). This is because they are either from old reports, like the vague notices of 'stone coffins found here' on 19th century Ordnance Survey maps, or they are only known as cropmarks, as with the majority of barrows. Antiquarian finds, even when excavated, were often poorly recorded and can be hard to relocate; quite often, these notices consist of nothing more than the testimony of local informants. Barrows and cairns bring their own problems as well, since mounds are known to have been used for burial since the Neolithic period, and vague reports of 'tumuli' could refer to any period unless diagnostic material culture is found. Of course, only those mounds that turned up 'relics' were likely to have been reported in the first place, and so unfurnished graves of the first millennium AD may be under-reported. Despite these issues, unconfirmed burials often make their way onto distribution maps, and so the database had made this distinction clear (2.4.1). This research will thus focus on confirmed sites, while acknowledging the backdrop of such unconfirmed burial evidence.
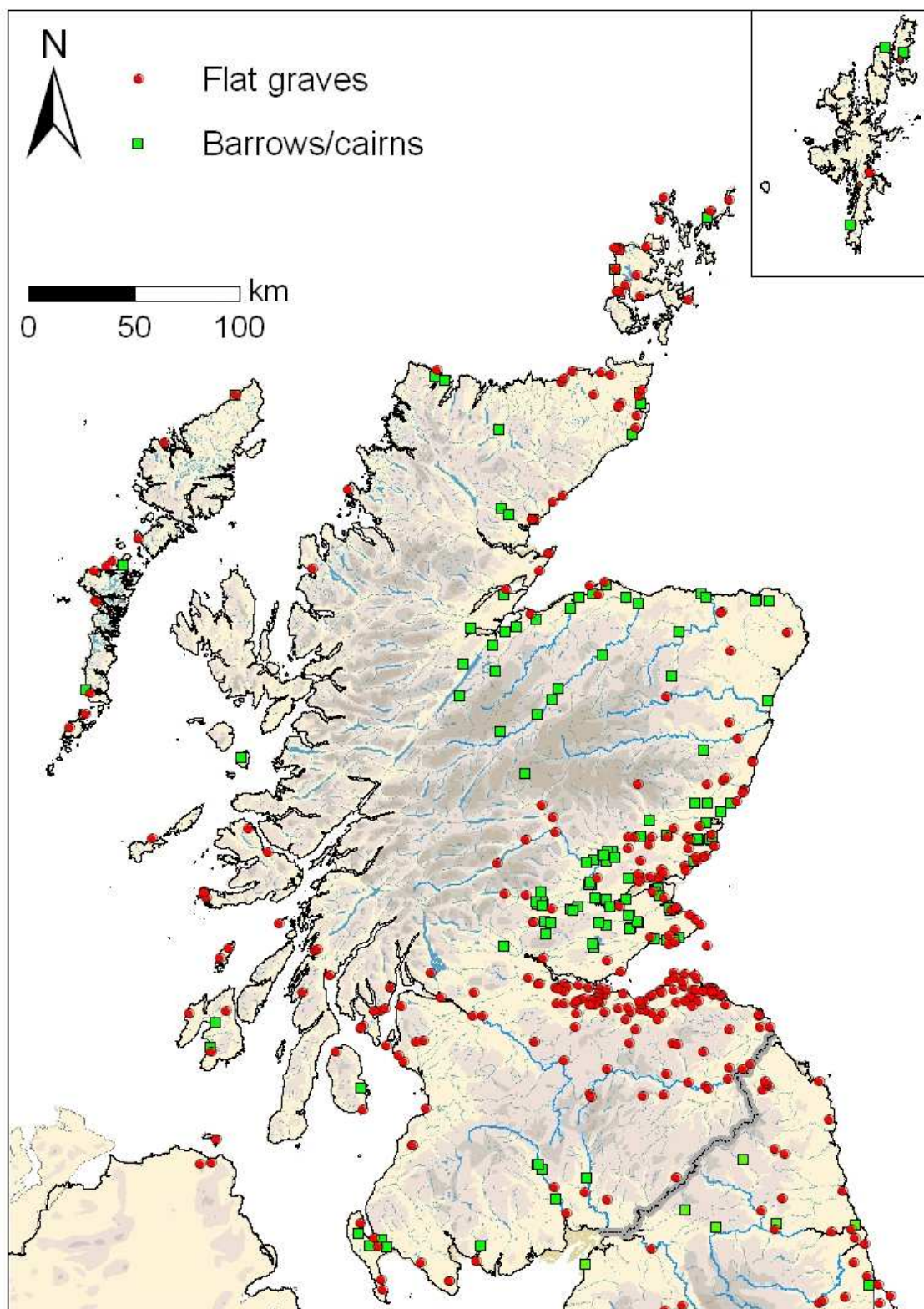
Figure 3.1: Simplified distribution of burial evidence from the first millennium AD, presented as a binary opposition; compare to Figure 3.2.
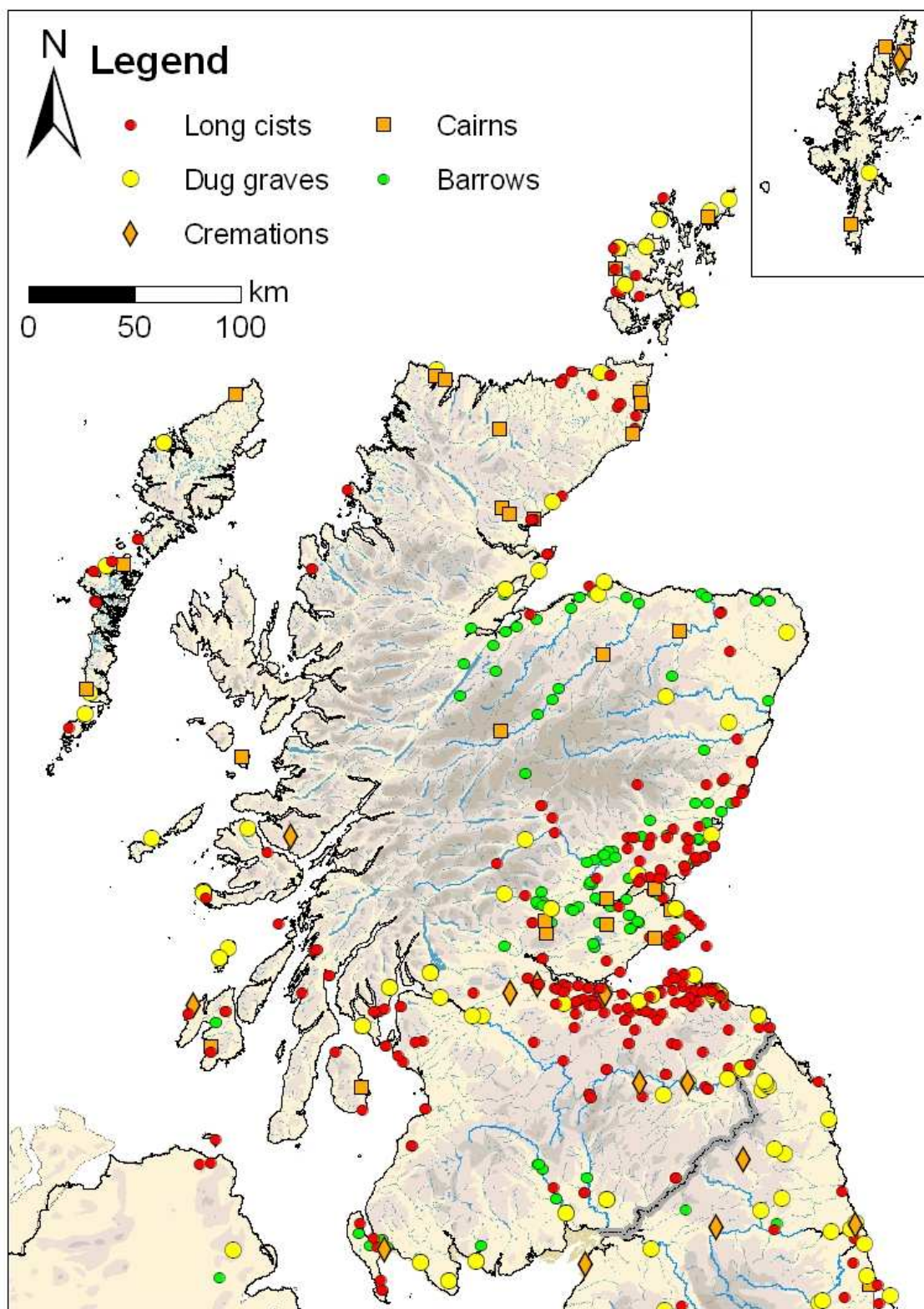
Figure 3.2: Complex distribution of all burial evidence from the first millennium AD; compare to Figure 3.1.
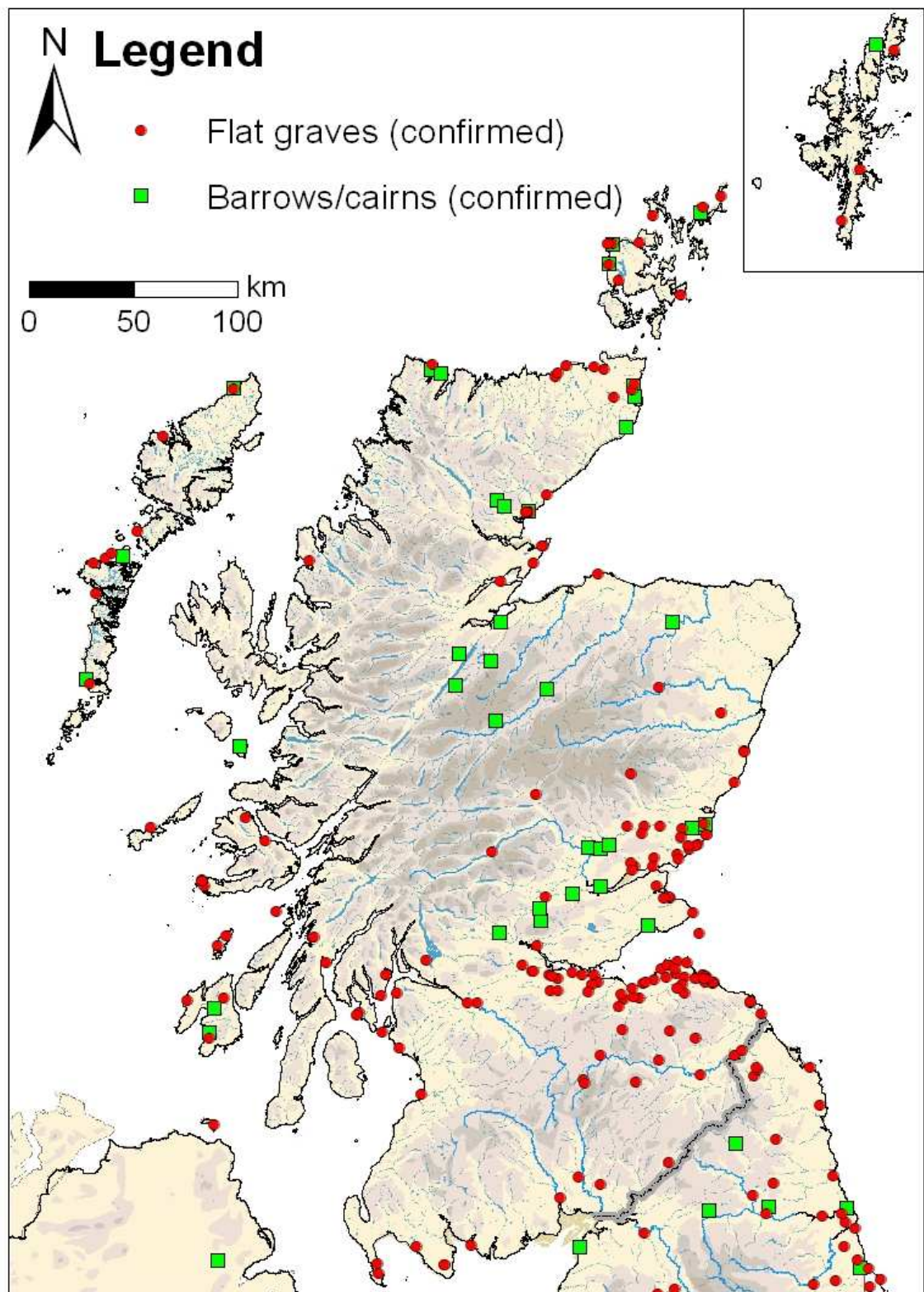
Figure 3.3: The distribution of burial sites confirmed by modern excavation highlights how much of the evidence is based on antiquarian reports and unsubstantiated cropmark data; compare to Figure 3.1.

Another limitation that needs to be confronted is the poor preservation of bone in much of

Scotland, in upland areas where acidic soils predominate. Combined with the general

preference for unfurnished burial, unlined or 'dug graves' are likely to be under-

represented in the archaeological record. Cropmark data is also problematic. The advent of

aerial archaeology in the mid-20th century led to the discovery of a previously-unrecognised grave type: the square barrow (Ashmore 1980). This distinctive burial monument is easily spotted in cropmarks, and a large number are recorded in the National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS). The problem with using this data is that it is confined to areas where cereal crops are grown and where aerial reconnaissance is undertaken. Furthermore, at least some of these cropmarks may turn out to be other forms of enclosed settlement or structure once excavated, so sites known only from cropmarks should be treated only with care (Cachart 2008; Halliday 2006: 12-13).

Round barrows are also attested at early medieval sites like Redcastle ANG (Alexander 2005), but an isolated ring ditch seen as a cropmark will rarely be interpreted as a Late Iron Age barrow – without excavation or a telltale central grave pit, ring ditches are often assumed to be prehistoric burials or settlements (Cowley 2009). A number of the ring ditches in the NMRS may be contemporary with the square barrows but will not be interpreted as such unless they are in close association or in a linear arrangement, typical of barrow cemeteries (6.4.3). There is also the question of scale: while round barrows are typically 5-10m across, there are some larger ones, for instance at Back Park, Kettlebridge FIF where the cropmark cemetery includes what seem to be round barrows 25-35m across (DES 1997: 39); such huge ring ditches would be interpreted as prehistoric barrows or roundhouses if found in isolation. Thus the already skewed distribution of barrows, found largely by aerial photography, will be biased toward the more diagnostic square barrows.

Cairns, on the other hand, are unlikely to create distinct cropmarks. Instead, these are most often found either by ploughing or coastal erosion. The distribution of cairns is markedly coastal (Figure 3.2), bringing to mind sand dune sites like Lundin Links FIF (Greig 2000) or Ackergill CAI (Edwards 1926). The kerbed cairn may well have been an adaptation for coastal areas, where sandy soils do not lend themselves to mound-building, but the small number of inland cairns shows it is not restricted to beaches. However, these inland cairns are much harder to spot; very few have been found as a result of archaeological survey, the rest being reported by farmers who have come across a Pictish stone or a long cist. If a cairn covered only a dug grave, the odds it would be reported or even noticed during field clearance are quite low. This may explain the relative scarcity of cairns in lowland sites.
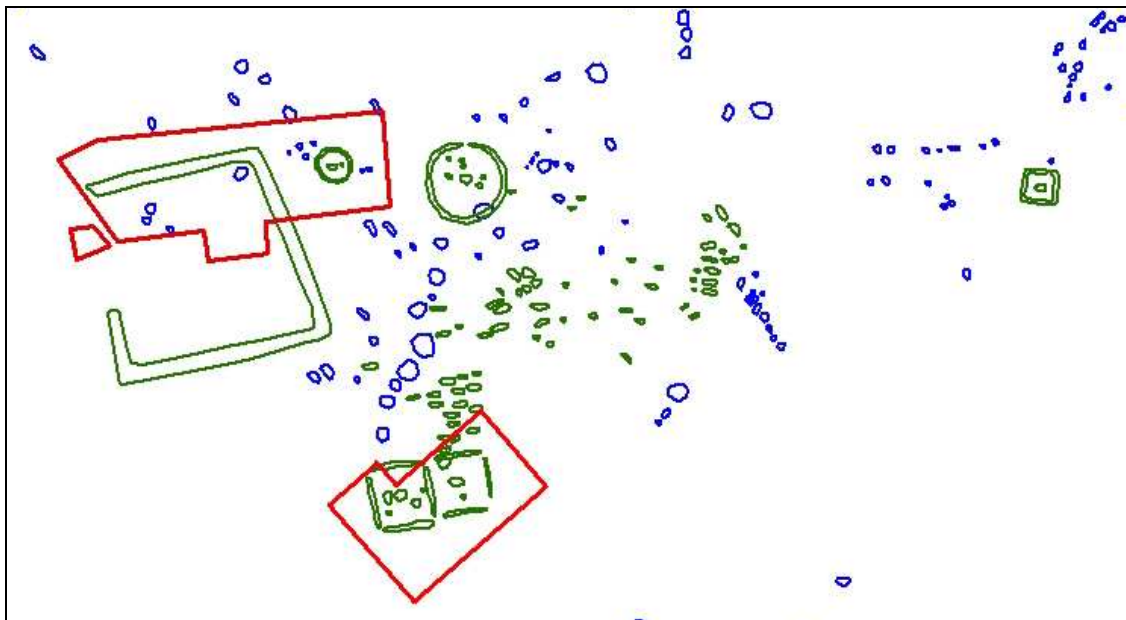
Figure 3.4: The square and round barrows at Forteviot focus attention away from the more numerous dug graves, in green; polygons in red indicate areas excavated in 2007 and 2009 (after Campbell and Gondek 2009).

Finally, our neat dichotomy of flat grave vs. mound cemetery does not always stand up to scrutiny (Williams 2007a: 149-150). It should be noted, first of all, that the vast majority of the barrows and cairns under discussion here contain the same kinds of extended, supine, orientated (west-east) inhumation burials as flat grave sites. Further, excavations of barrow and cairn cemeteries regularly turn up a number of adjacent flat graves alongside the mounds. For instance, at Forteviot PER, the two conjoined barrows each cover a single dug grave, but directly north of these barrows is a large inhumation cemetery of which ten dug graves were excavated in 2007 (Figure 3.4; Poller 2008).

3.2. Dating

The general lack of grave goods or related material culture in most Scottish burial sites meant that in the past they were only roughly dated to the early medieval period by association with cross-slabs, Pictish stones, and the expectation of conformity to a 'Christian' burial rite (Anderson 1876; Henshall 1956). It was not until the advent of radiometric dating that a mid-to-late first millennium AD *floruit* was confirmed (Cowie 1978). In just the last two decades, a substantial body of dates obtained from human bone has built up, and this research compiles them into a single database (2.4.1).

But there are still problems of coverage. The distribution of radiocarbon-dated sites is biased by three factors, first and most important of which is bone preservation. The limitations caused by this are most apparent in the southwest, where despite the sizable cemeteries excavated, only later medieval radiocarbon dates have been obtained (e.g., P

Hill 1997). A second factor is fieldwork bias: research excavation in recent decades has tended towards northern and Atlantic coastal sites, leading to the conspicuous cluster of dates from the Orkneys; meanwhile, commercial excavation following population expansion helps account for the number of dates from the Central Belt. A third factor is the availability of funding for large suites of radiocarbon dates: only a few recently-excavated cemeteries have been subjected to such scrutiny. The database currently has 291 radiocarbon dates from 79 sites, but over half of all dates come from just ten sites (Table 3.1). Overall, these factors mean that the chronology of burial described below is heavily weighted towards the Forth/Tay zone and Orkney (see Figure 3.5).

County	Site name	Site type	Church?	C14 dates	% of total
ANG	Lochhead Quarry	Long cist cemetery	N	10	3.39%
FIF	Lundin Links	Cairn cemetery	N	10	3.39%
SHE	St Ninian's Isle	Long cist cemetery	Y	11	3.73%
ANG	Redcastle	Barrow cemetery	N	13	4.07%
ELO	Auldhame	Inhumation cemetery	Y	13	4.41%
ROS	Portmahomack	Long cist cemetery	Y	12	4.41%
ORK	Newark Bay, Deerness	Inhumation cemetery	Y	14	4.75%
FIF	Hallow Hill	Long cist cemetery	N	19	6.44%
ORK	Westness, Rousay	Inhumation cemetery	N	22	7.46%
MLO	Thornybank	Long cist cemetery	N	30	10.17%
		TOTALS		**152**	**52.23%**

Table 3.1: Of 79 sites with radiocarbon dates, these ten sites account for over half.

Despite these problems, some generalisations can be hazarded. Using a simple summary of the probability distributions of all radiocarbon dates, we can visualise the entire database at once (Figure 3.6). This provides a good index of how burial practices change over the long term. While inhumation can be seen to originate in the early centuries AD, burial activity shows a distinct *floruit* in 400-800, reaching a peak at 550-650 before levelling out. While this is only a measure of statistical probabilities, subject to constantly-refined calibration curves (Bronk Ramsey 2009), the overall chronology can now be more clearly defined as three broad periods: dispersed burials before 400; a surge linked to the emergence of cemeteries c. 400-800; and a period of steady accrual of burials after c. 800 (Figure 3.7).
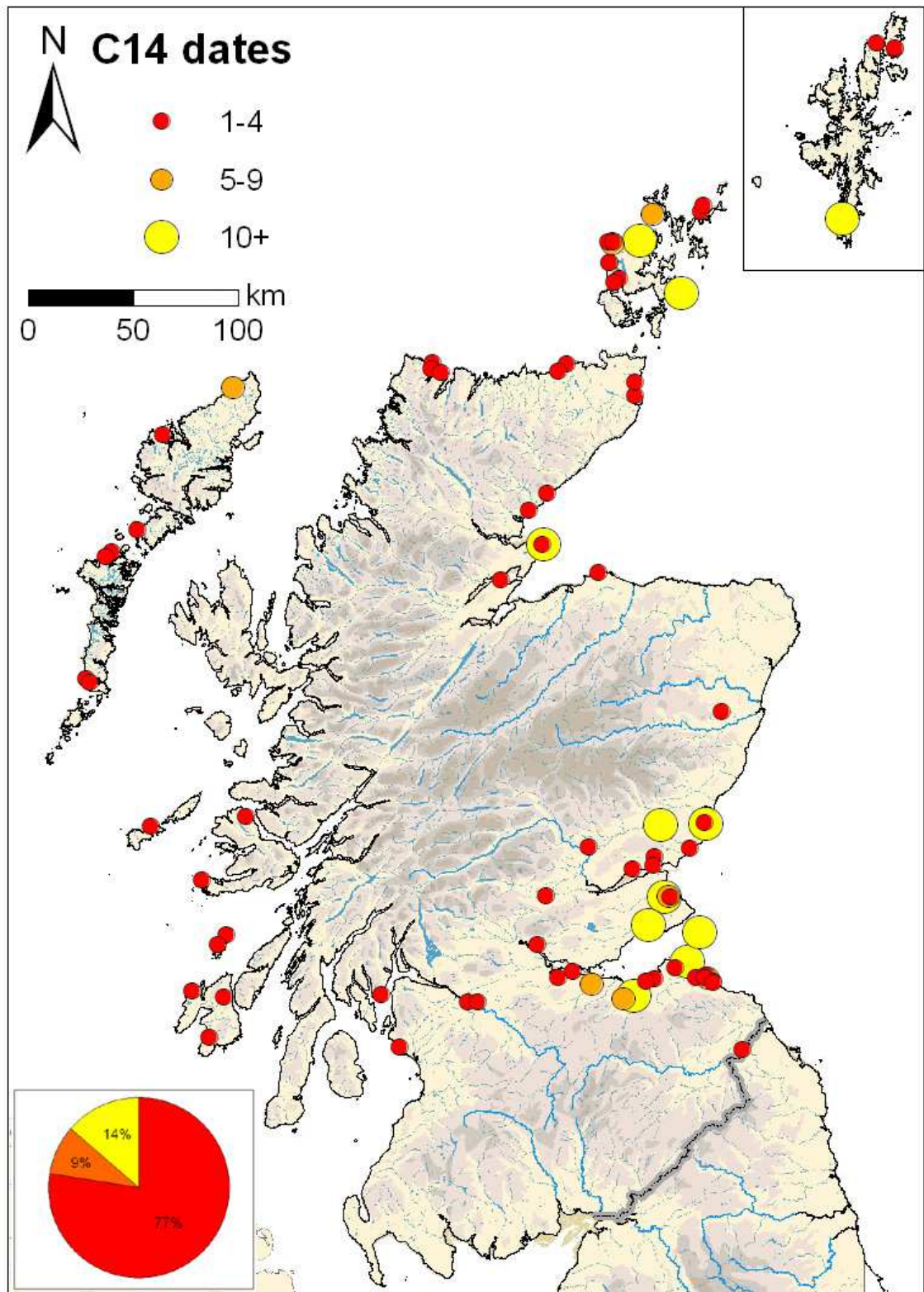
Figure 3.5: All sites with radiocarbon dates obtained from human bone (Scotland only).
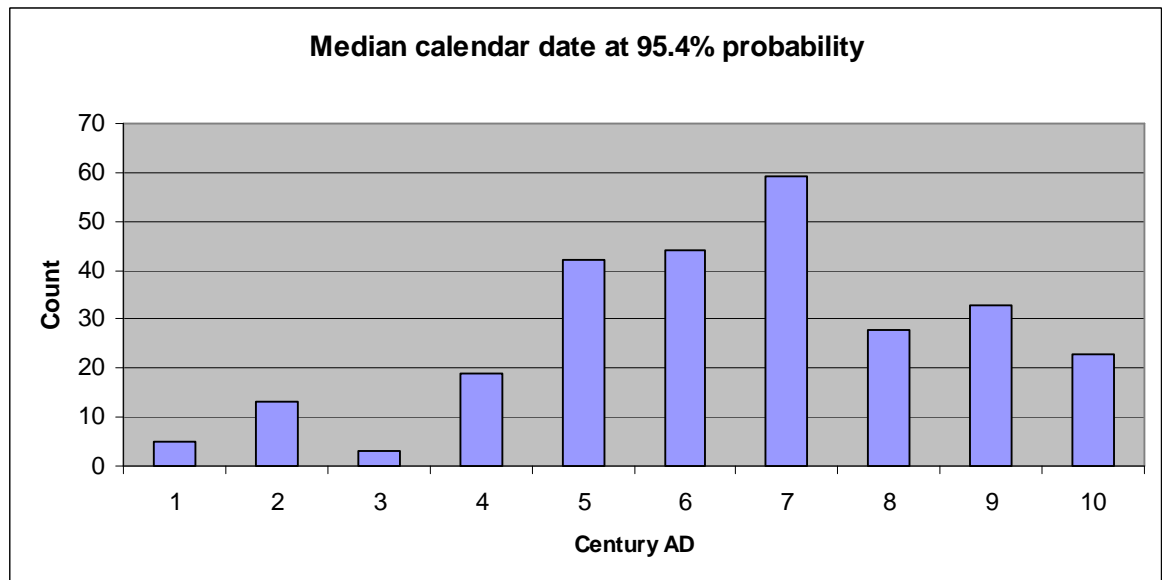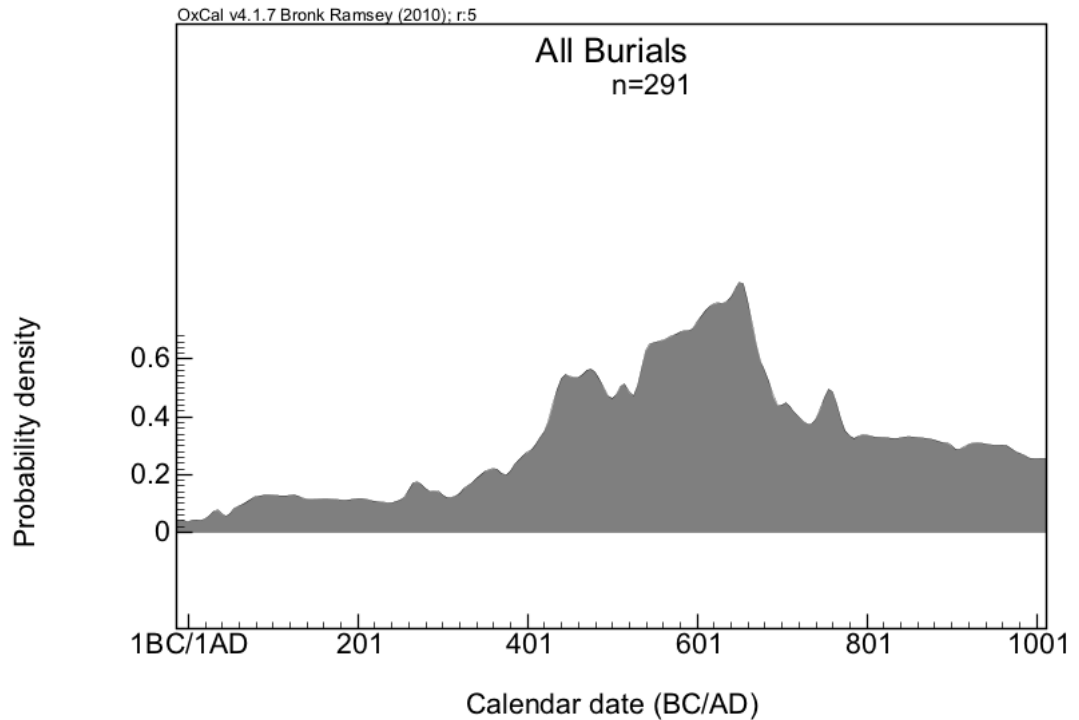
Figure 3.6: Top: sum of the probability distributions of all radiocarbon dates obtained from human bone from first millennium AD Scotland. Bottom: estimated number of dated burials per century (using median calendar dates at 95.4% probability).

Certain broad patterns can now be described and examined. The Forth/Tay zone has the most dates in the AD 400-800 range, with very few sites outside this range. In contrast, the Northern and Western Isles include numerous dates from all three periods. To deal with this obvious disparity, an imaginary line can be drawn diagonally across the country to refine our approach. For the purposes of this research, the zone north of this line will be referred to as 'Atlantic Scotland', the other half being 'Lowland Scotland'. This will help to deal with the potentially obscuring differences caused by, on the one hand, the large suites of dates from field cemeteries like Thornybank and Lundin Links in the Lowlands, and on the other, good coverage of the Iron Age and Norse periods in the Atlantic zone.
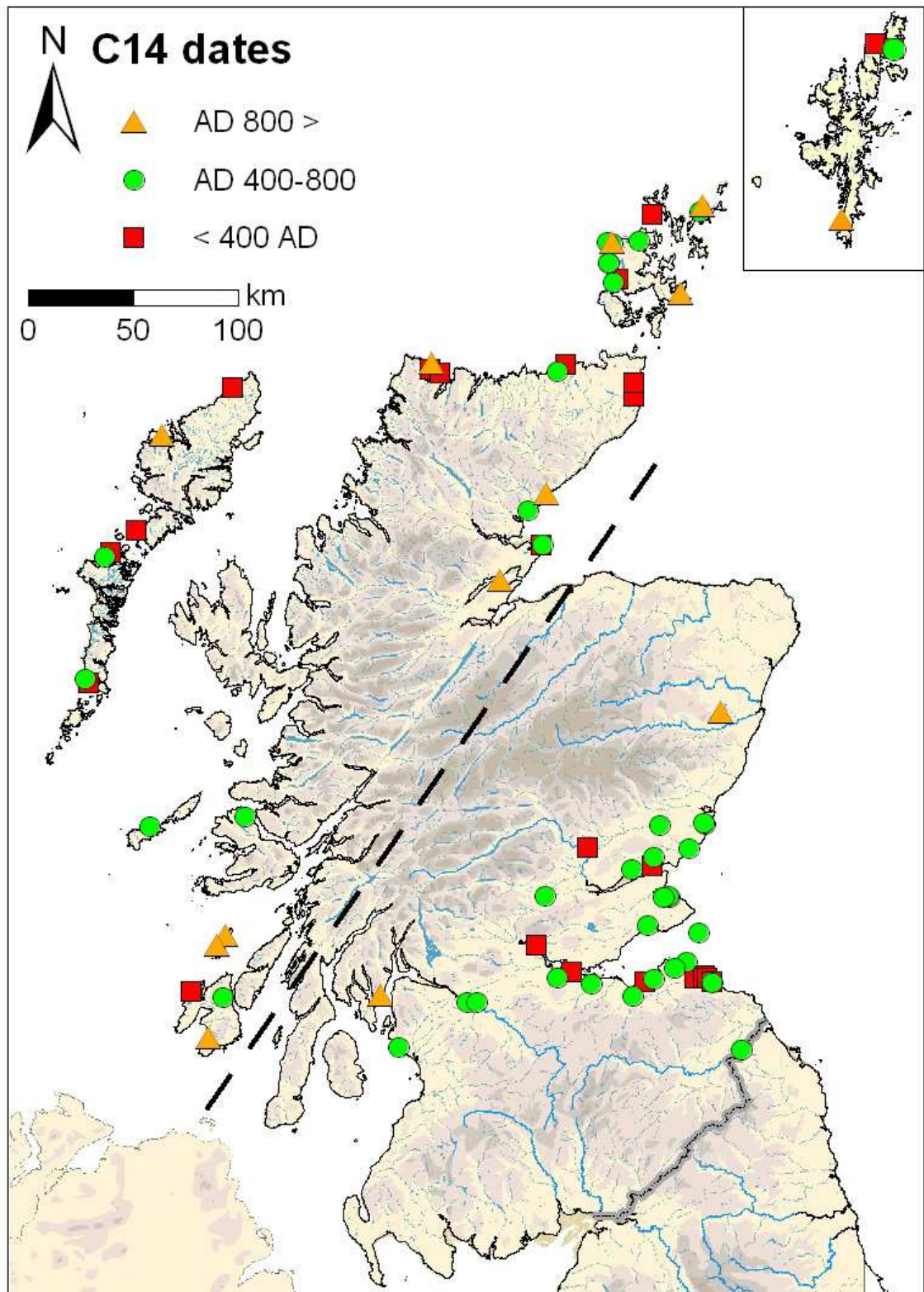
Figure 3.7: Simplified chronology of sites based on radiocarbon dates; dashed line marks division into approximate 'Atlantic' and 'Lowland' zones.

Dividing the results of the database into Atlantic and Lowland zones throws up the stark differences between them (Figure 3.8). The relative dominance of the Lowland curve when placed alongside the Atlantic curve is not indicative of actual population sizes as much as different statistical probabilities. Lowland burials are much more likely to trend in the

middle of the millennium due to recent excavations of Late Iron Age cemeteries, whereas in the Atlantic zone more frequent excavation on Iron Age and Viking Age sites flattens the curve across the millennium. Both distributions, however, begin and end at similar levels, peaking at c. AD 600, showing that there are wider trends underlying these variations.

A good example of these wider trends is the appearance of church cemeteries. If we filter the results again into two broad categories, church sites and non-church sites, we begin to see the detail within the original distribution (Figure 3.9). The resulting distributions indicate that church burial begins in the 5th century and reaches peak levels in the 7th century in both zones; similarly, non-church burial also flourishes in the 5-7th century, but on a different scale. After the 7th century peak, church burials level out, while non-church burials decrease. Interestingly, church burial only overtakes non-church burial in earnest toward the end of the millennium. There are many problems with such a broad binary distinction, as will be discussed using the ecclesiastical case studies in Chapters 7 and 8, but as a temporary heuristic, it brings up interesting patterns which can then be tested on a site-by-site basis.
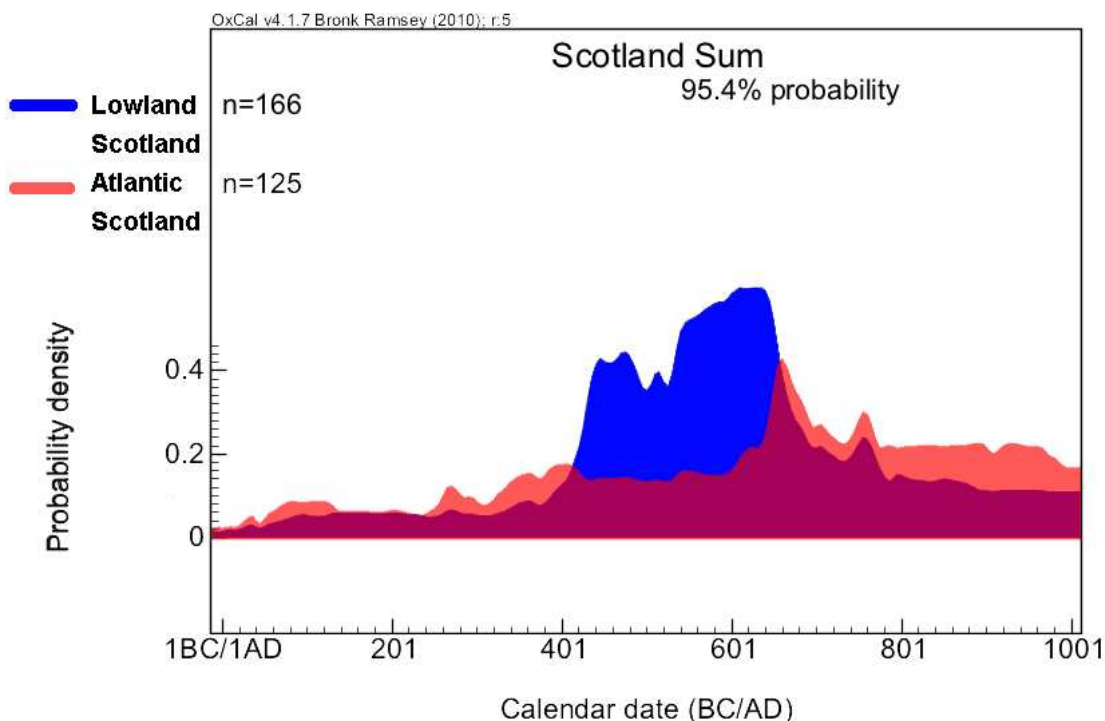
Figure 3.8: Sum of dates for the Lowland and Atlantic zones superimposed (drawn by the author based on calibrated results from OxCal v. 4.1.7; Bronk Ramsey 2010).
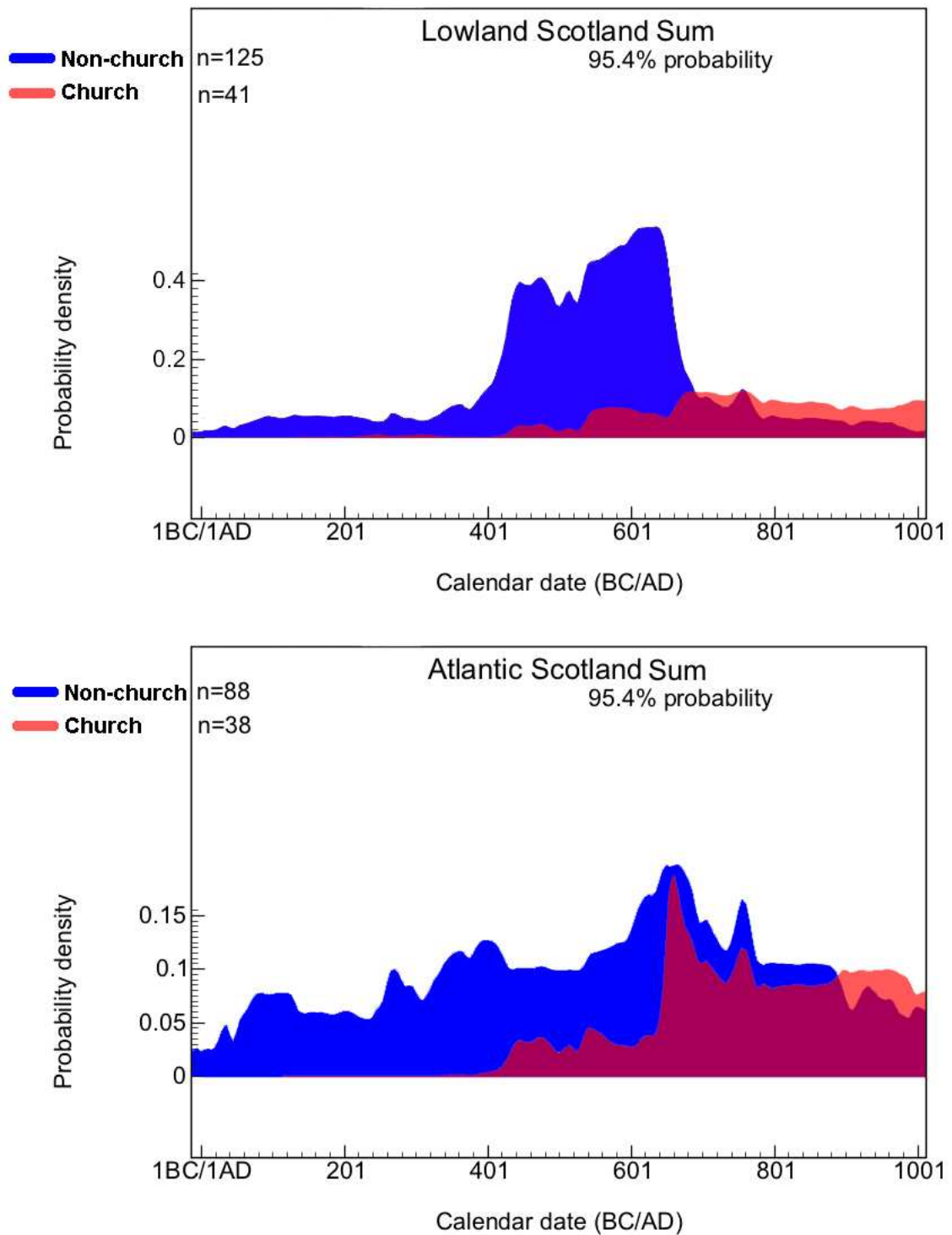
Figure 3.9: Comparison of church and non-church burial in the Lowland (top) and Atlantic (bottom) zones (drawn by the author based on OxCal v. 4.1.7; Bronk Ramsey 2010).

3.3. Discussion

Some conclusions can now be made and built upon in the following chapters. The increase in burial activity in the 5th century is due to the emergence of inhumation cemeteries. Although it is clear that burial began in the Middle Iron Age in both the Atlantic and Lowland zones, the 5th century saw the foundation of numerous new sites rather than continuing usage of existing burial grounds, indicating a widespread shift in attitudes

towards death. The distribution of dates from church sites shows that these may also originate in the 5th century, although admittedly this is still only a trickle of burials until the 7th century. This may indicate that the conversion to Christianity is not a visible event within the burial data. Rather, it seems that both church and field cemeteries begin to be populated simultaneously, with the popularity (or accessibility) of churchyard burial eventually catching up to field cemetery levels in the 7th century. At that point, church burial begins to overtake non-church burial, although it is important to note that burial outside of churchyards continues through to the end of the millennium. The implications of this are numerous, and will be dealt with further in Chapters 7 and 8

Returning to the overall distribution of dates across the millennium (Figure 3.6), we can now begin to explain its shape. The apparent overall decrease in burial activity toward the end of the millennium is thus due to a lack of modern excavations in churchyards, while the large peak at mid-millennium is largely due to the ready availability of burials from the abandoned field cemeteries of this era. But another crucial feature of the distribution is that inhumation burial in Scotland begins long before AD 400. Now we must turn to this early period to understand the origins of the rites involved.

Chapter 4:   Iron Age origins: 200 BC-AD 400

A rapidly changing aspect of the burial record is the emergence of more Iron Age evidence from Scotland. Until quite recently, it used to be a commonplace of the scholarship that Scotland had an archaeologically invisible burial tradition between the late Bronze Age and the early medieval period (Armit 1997: 95-98; similarly in Ireland: Raftery 1994: 112-146). What burials were known were considered part of a "peripheral" practice to the well-known burial traditions in England (Whimster 1981: 172-174). The last review of the Scottish Iron Age burial evidence (Close-Brooks 1984) presented the few radiocarbon dates then available, but the evidence was too still too meagre to call this any more than sporadic and unusual activity (see also Harding 2004: 79-81). Largely due to more frequent radiocarbon dating of human remains under Historic Scotland's Human Remains call-off contracts, this view is beginning to be challenged, and the results of doctoral research projects are eagerly awaited (Gooney in prep; Tucker 2010). Only a prospective summary can be made here. It is clear there was no single 'tradition' of Iron Age burial in Scotland, but also that there were certain situations in which a deposit of human remains was considered necessary. These may not always conform to what we might think of as a 'formal' burial, but it is perhaps our expectation of a single funerary ritual that is misleading (Wait 1985: 121). For the sake of clarity, the term 'Middle Iron Age' will be used to distinguish the beginnings of inhumation burial from c. 200 BC – AD 400.

4.1. Burial rites

4.1.1. Excarnation

Disarticulated human bone is often found scattered across Iron Age settlement sites, often in abandonment layers but also during occupation in middens (Harding 2004: 79-80); these are often interpreted as 'foundation' or 'closing' deposits, but may also relate to the efficacious use of human remains for other purposes (Armit and Ginn 2007). A recent suite of radiocarbon dates from human bone in museum archives suggests that similar deposits continued to be made throughout the millennium (Tucker and Armit 2009), a reminder that the adoption of Christianity did not change conceptions of death overnight. Even if the meaning behind these practices remains obscure, the practice is worth noting, as it reveals something of later prehistoric attitudes to death, specifically how far removed it is from the Romano-Christian tradition of separating the living from the dead (Esmonde Cleary 2000). The use of articulated burials in 'formal' graves across Scotland began in the early centuries AD, and it must be studied within the context of existing depositional practices.

Lab Code	Site name	C14 date 2σ	Grave type I	Grave type II	Orient.	Position	Age	Sex	Furn.	Source
SUERC-2985	Ackergill Links CAI	AD 256-530	Unstrat bone		?	?	?	?	?	(DES 2004)
OxA-8803	An Corran, Boreray INV	AD 86-327	Long cist		NW-SE	flexed	mid-adult	M		(Badcock and Downes 2000)
OxA-8802	An Corran, Boreray INV	AD 29-241	Long cist		W-E	crouched	mat-adult	M		(Badcock and Downes 2000)
GU-15000	Balnabruach ROS	AD 259-533	Long cist		W-E	extended	yng-adult	M		(Carver 2008)
GU-14999	Balnabruach ROS	AD 251-412	Long cist		S-N	extended	mid-adult	F		(Carver 2008)
SUERC-8411	Berst Ness, Westray ORK	AD 4-211	Pebble layer		?	crouched	?	?		(DES 2005)
SUERC-8396	Berst Ness, Westray ORK	AD 242-405	Pebble layer		?	crouched	?	?		(DES 2005)
GU-1550	Birsay Brough Road ORK	AD 244-564	Long cist	Cairn (rd)	S-N	extended	yng-adult	M		(Morris 1989a)
GrA-27259	Craigie, Dundee ANG	AD 88-324	Long cist		W-E	extended	adult	?	Yes	(DES 2004, 176)
SUERC-27353	Blackness Castle WLO	AD 50-220	Boulder cist		N-S	prone	mid-adult	F	Yes	(M Goldberg pers. comm.)
SUERC-23663	Crosskirk Broch CAI	AD 263-534	Long cist		SW-NE	seated	mat-adult	M		(DES 2009, 215)
SUERC-9160	Drimore, South Uist INV	AD 242-405	Unstrat bone		n/a	n/a	yng-adult	?		(DES 2005)
GU-9150	Dunbar Golf Course ELO	AD 77-238	Masonry cist		SW-NE	prone	juvenile	?	Yes	(Baker 2002)
OxA-9378	Easter Broomhouse ELO	AD 63-315	Long cist		W-E	extended	yng-adult	F		(Cressey et al. 2003)
GU-2115	Galson, Lewis ROS	AD 133-532	Composite cist	Cairn	W-E	extended	mid-adult	M	Yes	(Neighbour et al. 2000)
OxA-10164	Galson, Lewis ROS	AD 28-221	Long cist		W-E	extended	adult	F		(DES 2001)
GU-7400	Galson, Lewis ROS	AD 93-407	Dug grave		SW-NE	flexed	mat-adult	M	Yes	(Neighbour et al. 2000)
SUERC-25599	Howe ORK	37 BC-AD 210	Pebble layer		?	flexed	mid-adult	M		(Ballin-Smith 1994)
SUERC-27351	Inchtuthil PER	20 BC-AD 130	Boulder cist	Barrow (rd)	W-E	extended	?	?		(Winlow 2010)
OxA-10253	Loch Borralie SUT	40 BC-AD 207	Pebble layer	Cairn (sq)	E-W	extended	mat-adult	M		(MacGregor 2003)
GU-2718	North Belton Farm ELO	AD 20-245	Masonry cist		S-N	flexed	adult	M		(Crone 1992)
SUERC-23671	Northton, Harris INV	AD 245-406	Oval cist		?	crouched	juvenile	?		(DES 2009, 216)
OxA-10163/8413	Redcastle ANG	AD 261-429	Long cist		SW-NE	extended	mid-adult	F		(Alexander 2005)
OxA-8412	Redcastle ANG	AD 86-327	Long cist	Barrow (rd)	SW-NE	extended	adult	?		(Alexander 2005)
AA-26244	Sanaighmor, Islay ARG	AD 257-536	Cremation		n/a	n/a	yng-adult	F		(Cook 1999)
AA-11691	Sands of Breckon, Yell SHE	AD 93-531	Long cist	Cairn	SW-NE	disart.	mid-adult	M		(Carter and Fraser 1996)
SUERC-10745	Sandwick, Unst SHE	AD 130-390	Dug grave	Cairn	W-E	extended	mat-adult	M	Yes	(Lelong 2007)
GU-12535	Sangobeg SUT	171 BC-AD 25	Pebble layer	Cairn (sq)	NE-SW	flexed	juvenile	?		(Brady et al. 2007)
OxA-8152	Thornybank MLO	AD 235-427	Long cist		SW-NE	extended	yng-adult	?		(Rees 2002)
OxA-8668	Thornybank MLO	AD 261-534	Log coffin		SW-NE	extended	adult	?		(Rees 2002)
OxA-18378	Whitegate Broch CAI	AD 259-432	Unstrat bone		?	?	?	?		(DES 2008)
GU-2596	Winton House ELO	AD 5-341	Long cist		N-S	extended	adult	F		(Dalland 1991)

Table 4.1: A selection of Iron Age burial dates obtained since Close-Brooks 1984.
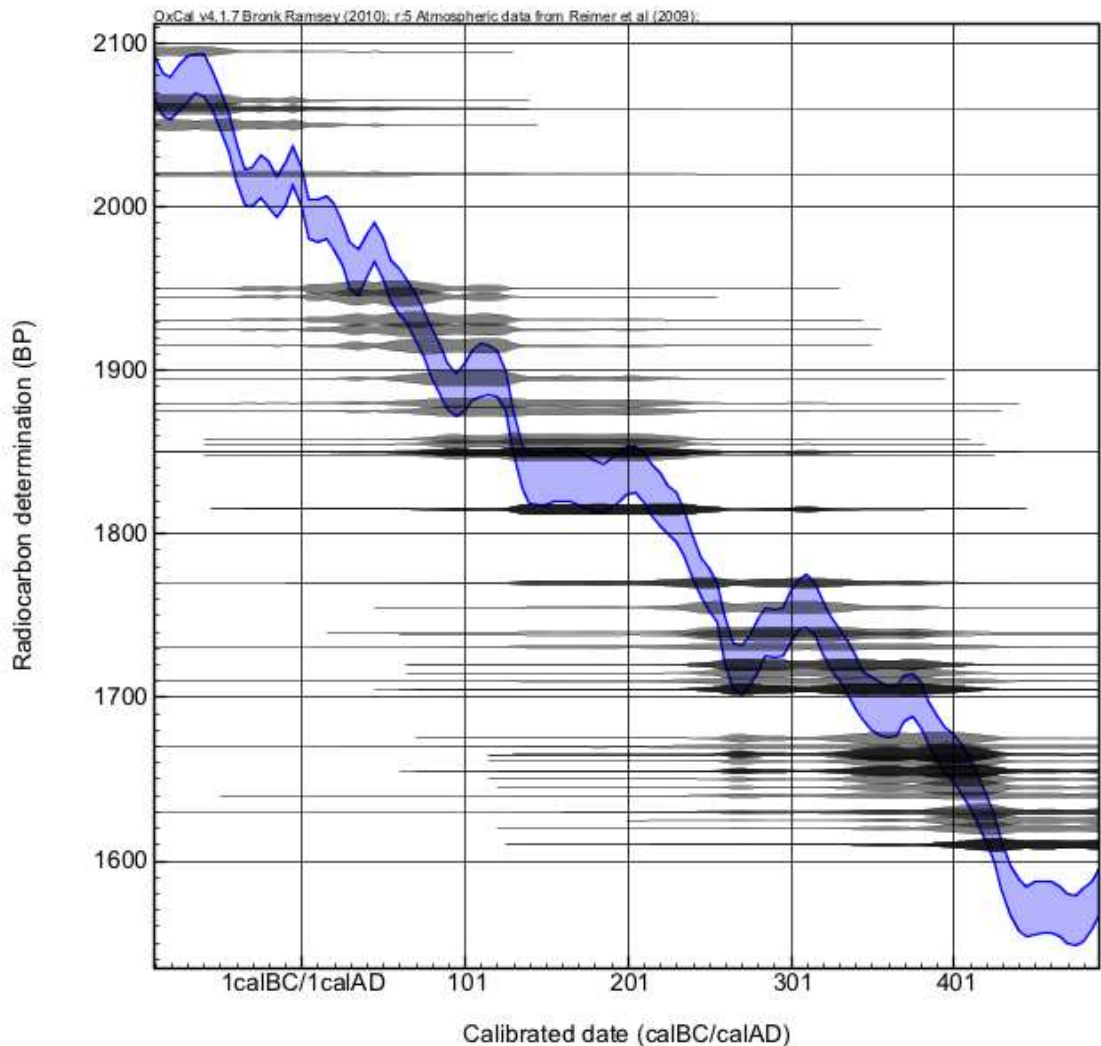
Figure 4.1: Curve plot of all radiocarbon dates 1600 cal BP and older (61 dates).

4.1.2. Inhumation

The move towards articulated inhumation may mark a change in attitudes towards the dead related to changing material and architectural forms focusing on the individual (Gilmour 2000; Hunter 2007; Sharples 2003), but an evolutionary progression from disarticulated to articulated burials should not be imposed on the as-yet fragmentary evidence. In a time when human remains are found in middens, pits and settlements as often as in isolated 'formal' burials, we should be alive to the possibility that death in the Iron Age did not trigger any predictable emotional, let alone religious, response, which we might seek in a normative burial rite. Rather than the simple disposal of a cadaver, the use of human remains in the Iron Age can be read as the use and management of the 'powerful dead' who could still intercede within the world of the living (Parker Pearson 1993; 1995).

In northern and western Scotland, the upstanding brochs and other monumental Iron Age structures often attracted inhumations after abandonment. This did not constitute a coherent funerary rite, as the inhumations were laid in any number of positions and

orientations, with or without cists, articulated or otherwise. However, the placement of articulated human remains into and around the rubble of collapsed buildings is a remarkably widespread phenomenon (Mulville *et al.* 2003), hinting at a conceptual link between the dead and 'dead' buildings. One key site is Howe ORK, where articulated burials were inserted into the drain of a roundhouse structure and the rubble layers of the collapsing broch (Ballin-Smith 1994; Lorimer 1994). Another is Berst Ness, Westray ORK, where a collapsed drystone structure was found to contain dozens of adult, child, and neonate inhumations inserted into the rubble (DES 2005; Dawn Gooney pers. comm.). Examples of articulated inhumations within demolition layers of Iron Age sites are also found in mainland brochs, as at Crosskirk CAI (Fairhurst 1984; Tucker and Armit 2009), Hurly Hawkin ANG (Taylor 1982) and Torwoodlee SLK, where a cist grave was seemingly integrated into the process of demolition (Piggott 1951: 105-107). Beyond the brochs, other derelict structures continued to attract human burial in their immediate vicinities, a related but potentially very different statement. There are cist burials adjacent to abandoned structures at An Corran, Boreray (Badcock and Downes 2000) and Redcastle ANG (Alexander 2005), in the latter case beginning within a century of abandonment of the souterrain. The integration of human remains in the process of the foundation or demolition of buildings is a widespread practice in later European prehistory, and recent work comparing this practice with the deposition of fragmented human remains indicates that even articulated inhumations continued to act like 'structured deposits' than the commemoration of a lost loved one (Brück 2006b; Chapman 2000; Hingley 1992).

There was no shared mortuary ritual involved in these depositions, and local idioms are beginning to emerge. Recent excavations of burial cairns near Durness SUT (Table 4.1) have returned radiocarbon dates extending to the early centuries AD (Brady *et al.* 2007; MacGregor 2003). At both Sangobeg and Loch Borralie, inhumations were laid on a platform of stones, then capped with a layer of sterile sand capped with a subrectangular cairn. One of these was associated with a ring-headed iron pin comparable to one found in the square barrow at Boysack Mills ANG, both broadly dateable to the early centuries AD (Murray and Ralston 1997: 364-366). Taken together, finds like these are increasing evidence that both the square barrow and the square cairn tradition had their origins in the Middle Iron Age. However, these may not be commemorative of powerful or high-status figures. In all cases, the restricted number of such burials means that individuals who were deposited in formal graves were being treated differently from the vast majority of individuals in death. For instance, all three individuals in the Durness cairns showed signs of poor health in life (two died before reaching maturity), and the bones had evidence of posthumous gnawing from rodents or small mammals, indicating that the bodies were left

exposed for a period before being covered with a mound. This description is very similar to the 'Kilpheder Kate' square cairn built centuries later at Cille Pheadair, South Uist INV (Mulville et al. 2003), and blurs the boundary between inhumation and excarnation rites. After being exposed for a period of time, the sternum was removed, the body repositioned, and a square cairn raised over the grave. This adult female also displayed signs of avulsion, the modification or removal of teeth for cultural reasons (*ibid*., 27), meaning she may have had a unique liminal status in life as in death.

The Durness cairns are analogous to contemporary graves recently excavated in Shetland. Sandwick, Unst SHE is known for having the most northerly iteration of the 'Pictish' square cairn tradition (Bigelow 1984; 1985), but new finds have shown the tradition actually predates the Picts. A cairn just 80m from these 'Pictish' cairns, along with a round kerbed cairn at Breckon Sands, Yell SHE have been dated to the early first millennium AD (Carter and Fraser 1996; Lelong 2007). These are similar dates to the earliest obtained from a round barrow at Redcastle ANG (Alexander 2005: 106), indicating a widespread but infrequent emergence of monumental graves at this time (see Table 4.1).
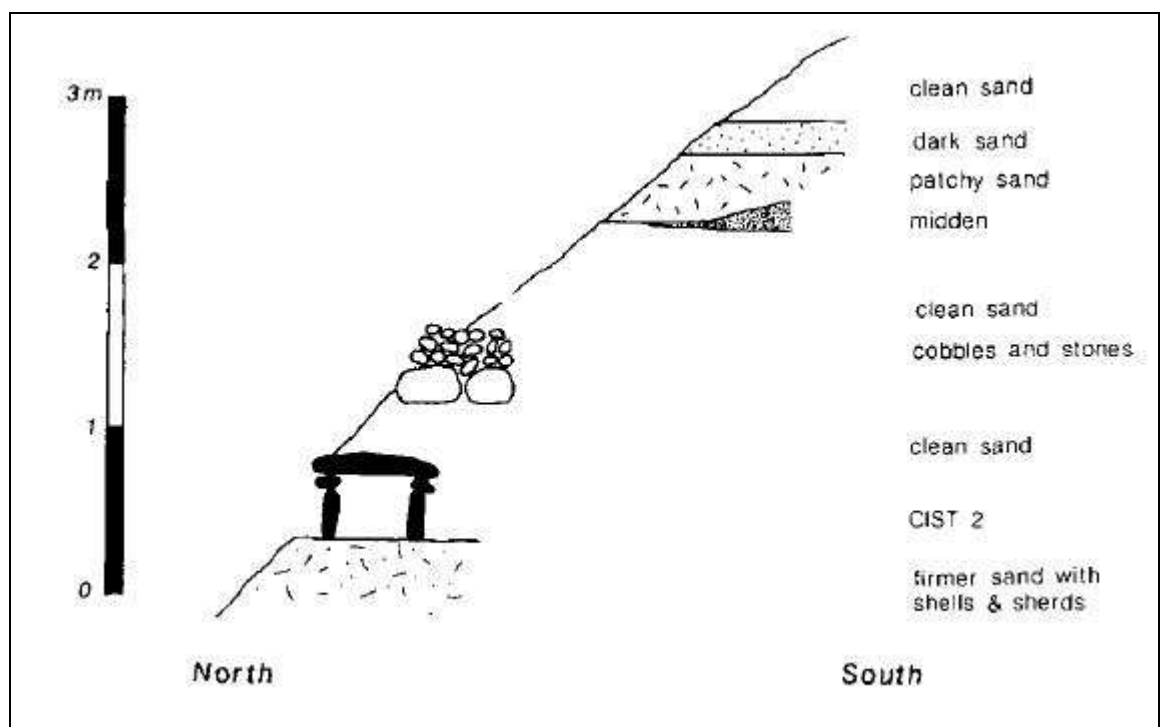
Figure 4.2: Cairn above Cist 2 (dated AD 130-530) at Galson, Lewis INV (Ponting 1989: 96). I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

Simple flat graves also occured in the Middle Iron Age. A key site here is An Corran, Boreray on North Uist INV, where an orientated long cist and a short cist were dated to this period (Badcock and Downes 2000). Along with Middle Iron Age orientated long cists from Balnabruach ROS, Easter Broomhouse ELO, Galson, Lewis INV, it is becoming

clear that the most common grave type of the Late Iron Age has its origins in Atlantic Scotland in the centuries before Christianity (see Table 4.1). The cemetery at Galson forms a remarkable link from the earlier to the later Iron Age practices. The cemetery consisted of 14 graves, 13 in long cists, and one underneath a carefully-built cairn as noted by the original excavator (Figure 4.2) but not by a later revision; the single dug grave contained a flexed burial furnished with a decorated pot (Neighbour et al. 2000). The radiocarbon dates closely overlap and there seems to be no real chronological distinction between these three types of burial (Table 4.1). It is worth stressing that with the exception of the furnished dug grave, all other dated graves were extended and supine, and all faced east. Without radiocarbon dates, Galson may simply have been lumped with sites of the Late Iron Age; the main difference with later inhumation cemeteries is in its context, associated with contemporary settlement evidence, unlike the field cemeteries elsewhere in the mid-first millennium.

4.1.3. Cremation

A similar change in recent years is the discovery of urned cremations radiocarbon dated to the Iron Age, including Sanaigmhor, Islay ARG (Cook 1999), Acharn, Morvern ARG (Ritchie and Thornber 1988), Uyea SHE (Sheridan *et al.* 2005), and Stromness ORK (ibid.). At Sanaigmhor, a cremation dated cal AD 250-530 was placed in a reused Bronze Age urn, while at Acharn, an Iron Age urn with charcoal dated cal AD 17-388 was inserted into a Bronze Age cairn. At Uyea, a steatite urn of supposed Bronze Age type had its contents radiocarbon dated to the mid-first millennium BC, while at Stromness, a similar steatite urn from a short cist under a cairn was dated to the Late Iron Age (cal AD 390-600). In all four cases, a prehistoric monument or urn was deliberately reused, representing a clear desire to recreate the past in the present (Hingley 1999). When considering the options of how to dispose of the dead in the first millennium AD, those who chose cremation were most concerned with manipulating memories and reconfiguring existing monuments. Along with the reuse of prehistoric monuments for articulated burial discussed above, this interest in past landscapes may be one of the factors which catalysed the re-emergence of formal burials in the early first millennium AD.

4.1.4. East Lothian: a unique burial tradition?

If all these scattered notices seem too haphazard to say anything meaningful about, the situation in East Lothian is slightly more coherent. The southern coast of the Firth of Forth has long been known to have Middle Iron Age inhumations, and if any part of Iron Age Scotland can be said to have a burial 'tradition', it is here. The rites involved are quite

numerous, however, with pit graves, short cists, and masonry cists all found on one site (Dalland 1991). But some rites recur often enough to show an emerging normative influence on burial in this area. Early Iron Age cemeteries of simple graves can be found in the defended enclosures of Broxmouth (Ashmore and Hill 1983; Hill 1982) and Dryburn Bridge (Dunwell 2007), the latter continuing to receive burials throughout the Middle Iron Age. Although the small number of these shows interment occurred only sporadically over long periods of time, an overall tendency towards flexed burial in pits indicates a pervasive social memory of these events which can now be found elsewhere in East Lothian (cf. Harding 2004: 80). There is a parallel tradition of inhumations in massive cists built with a combination of orthostats and coursed masonry, as at Lochend (Longworth 1966), North Belton Farm (Crone 1992), Winton House, Cockenzie (Dalland 1991) and Dunbar Golf Course (Baker 2002). The East Lothian evidence mostly clusters around Dunbar, which may simply be a product of a burst in development in the last few decades (D Cowley pers. comm.). But the fact that 'formal' burials, in distinct and recurring grave types, are taking place here throughout the Iron Age and increasingly in the early first millennium AD shows that various mortuary rites had developed in the area before Christianity.

4.1.5. Discussion

A tighter chronology is still needed. The low cairns recently excavated at Durness and Shetland look like variations on the 'Pictish' cairn tradition, and were it not for their radiocarbon dates, would probably be considered Pictish; indeed, the Sangobeg excavation report does anachronistically use the term (Brady *et al.* 2007). The corbelled masonry of Cairn 6 at Ackergill CAI (discussed further below) is part of a 'Pictish' cairn cemetery, but resembles the massive cists of East Lothian and may well be Middle Iron Age instead; this may be bolstered by the radiocarbon date of cal AD 256-530 (Table 4.1). The cremation at Sanaighmor is a particular problem, since it looks exactly like a Bronze Age grave. The long cist and related flat graves of Broxmouth and Galson could easily be interpreted as early examples of the 'Early Christian' long cist tradition. As Audrey Henshall (1956: 268-269) warned half a century ago, the long cist is not exclusive to the first millennium in Scotland, and we can now add platform cairns and barrows to that observation.

Despite these issues, it can now be argued that the 'Early Historic' burials of Scotland, whether in cairns, barrows or cists, represent the flourishing of rites developed locally in the Middle Iron Age, emphasising the usefulness of the term 'Late Iron Age' preferred here for the period 400-650 (above, 1.2.1). The 'Pictish' cairn seems especially to be an Middle Iron Age innovation that spread quickly across Atlantic Scotland and remained in

use until the Viking Age. But this excursus into the Iron Age past is not intended as an argument for direct continuity of burial practices and belief structures across Scotland. It is merely to show that there is no longer any need to argue for a distant, foreign influence when discussing what looks like the sudden appearance of cemeteries in the post-Roman era. As interment of human remains became increasingly common in the Late Iron Age, it was to their own past that these communities referred. But it is crucial to note that even though these burial practices may look superficially similar, their contexts show that their meanings vary radically over time: a long cist integrated into the demolition of a broch is certainly a different statement than an identical long cist within a large field cemetery.

4.2. The Roman interface, c. AD 80-400

It is interesting to note that the radiocarbon dates summarised in Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 cluster in the 2nd to 4th centuries, since this are the main period of Roman occupation and invasions beyond Hadrian's Wall; it is also the period when inhumation becomes widespread in the Roman Empire and Roman Britain (Philpott 1991: 53). Is it possible that inhumation was a Roman fashion that spread north along with the Empire? It is worth discussing the Roman evidence to address this question. The late Roman period was a time of great change in terms of burial practice across the Roman Empire, and Britain was no different. These centuries see a gradual adoption of extended inhumation in cemeteries as a standard rite, often on newly-founded sites carefully laid out and managed, with a general decrease in the provision of grave goods (Cleary 2000: 136-137; Philpott 1991: 225-228; Thomas 1981: 232). To gauge local attitudes to these widespread changes, we must first review the scanty evidence for Roman burial in Scotland.

4.2.1. Conquest-period burial

There is a small but significant body of Roman gravestones in Scotland, and a growing corpus of cremations from near Roman forts (currently known from Camelon STL, Cramond MLO, Newstead ROX and Croy Hill DNB) which may represent the burials of Roman soldiers during the incursions into Scotland in the 1st-2nd centuries AD (Collard and Hunter 2000). These are quite clearly 'intrusive' rites brought in by the Roman soldiers, with seemingly no impact on burial rites outside military contexts, bar one instance example of a cremation including Roman material culture At High Torrs WIG discussed below (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Roman inhumations are elusive in Scotland. The area around the fort at Inveresk MLO has produced evidence for civilian settlement and a number of stray burials interpreted as a possible extramural military cemetery (Bishop 2002; Gallagher and Clarke 1993). Long cists and dug graves found within the

fortlet of Burnswark's South Camp (RCAHMS 1997), and in the annexe of a Roman temporary camp at Little Kerse near Falkirk STL (McCord and Tait 1978) almost certainly represent secondary reuse. We are thus left with only a handful of uncertain conquest-period Roman burials in Scotland.

Figure 4.3: The 'Alloa Warrior', Marshill STL, in a masonry cist (photo courtesy of Susan Mills, Clackmannanshire Museum).

This diverse group should perhaps be differentiated from the more formal 'warrior graves'. These are massive cists containing one or more flexed inhumations with conquest-period weaponry. There are now three known from Scotland: Camelon STL (Breeze *et al.* 1976), Marshill, Alloa STL (Duffy 2003) and Dunbar ELO (DES 2005); a possible pre-conquest outlier has been posited at Merlsford FIF, where a burial underneath a cairn contained an iron spearhead and an early 1st century AD Roman fibula brooch (Hunter 1997b). The Marshill example (Figure 4.3) has been radiocarbon dated to cal AD 90-130 (Susan Mills pers comm.), placing it squarely in the period of Roman occupation. Of these, only Camelon is associated with a Roman site, though it should be noted that the sword from this grave was not of Roman type (Breeze *et al.* 1976). With the exception of the Merlsford burial, the context of which was not properly recorded, these warrior burials are found in very similar coursed masonry cists, and have been interpreted as a hybrid of Roman and

indigenous rites found elsewhere along the Roman frontiers (Whimster 1981: 129-146). However, within an East Lothian context, where coursed masonry cists are now an attested in non-Roman contexts (4.1.4), it can be argued that this is simply a variation on indigenous practices performed within a militarised zone (e.g., Wells 1999: 238-244). This has implications for our understanding of the Roman interface with indigenous cultures: instead of imposing its own rituals on subject peoples, new rites were developed or existing ones elaborated. This is perhaps in response to the appearance of Roman material, but could also be due to social tensions only indirectly caused by Rome.
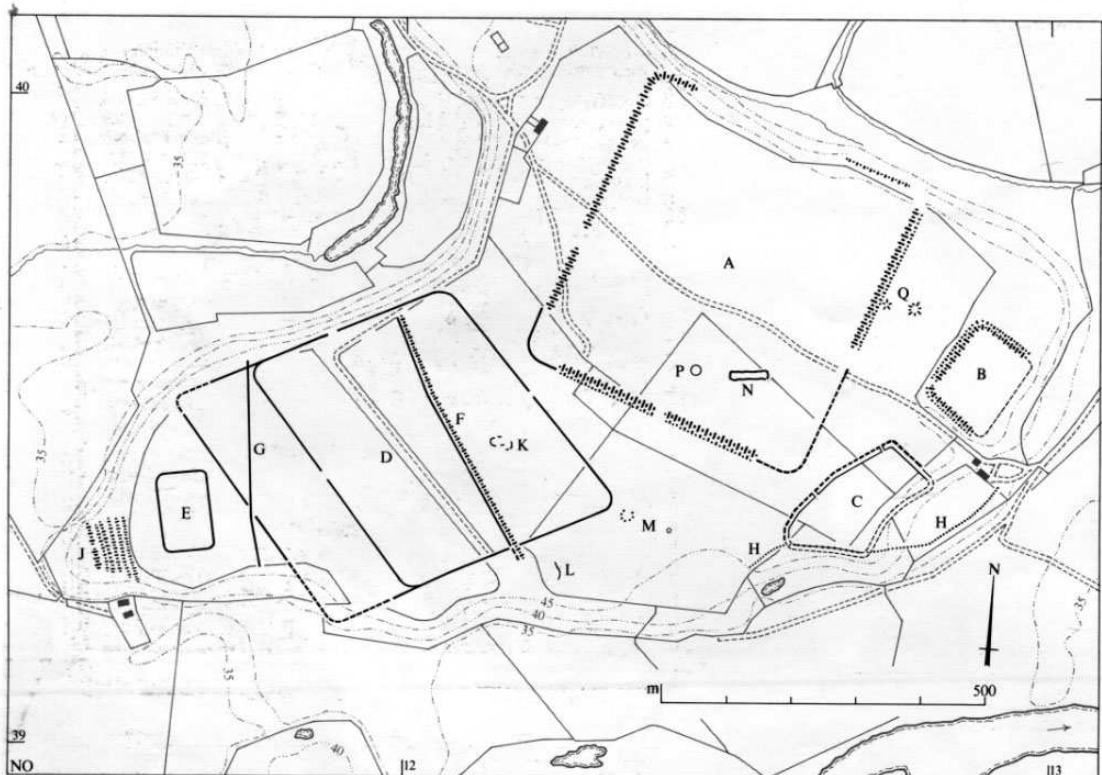
Figure 4.4: The legionary fortress of Inchtuthil PER with evidence for pre- and post-Roman activity. Q: 1/2nd century 'Women's Knowe' and a second barrow; P: cropmark ring ditch; N: Neolithic mortuary enclosure; J: post-Roman hillfort (RCAHMS 1994, 78). Image Crown copyright © RCAHMS.

The case of Inchtuthil PER supports this hypothesis (Figure 4.4). There are at least two post-Roman barrows at this 1st-century Roman legionary fortress, both enclosed by ring ditches and capped with stone layers including reused Roman masonry (Pitts and St Joseph 1985; RCAHMS 1994). Upon excavation, the 16m-wide 'Women's Knowe' was found to cover a W-E boulder cist containing an extended inhumation and fragments of wood; the burial has now been radiocarbon dated to 20 BC - AD 130 (Winlow and Cook 2010). The second barrow was built directly over the demolished ramparts (Abercromby *et al.* 1902: 197-202), and so the case can be made that both monuments are post-Roman. A possible third barrow is indicated by a 15m cropmark ring ditch within the fort, but this could be either pre- or post-Roman (RCAHMS 1994: 19, 157). A conspicuous reuse of the Roman

fort is also seen in the hillfort overlooking the site, which was reinforced with multiple ramparts and reused Roman masonry as paving in the post-Roman period (ibid: 52-55).
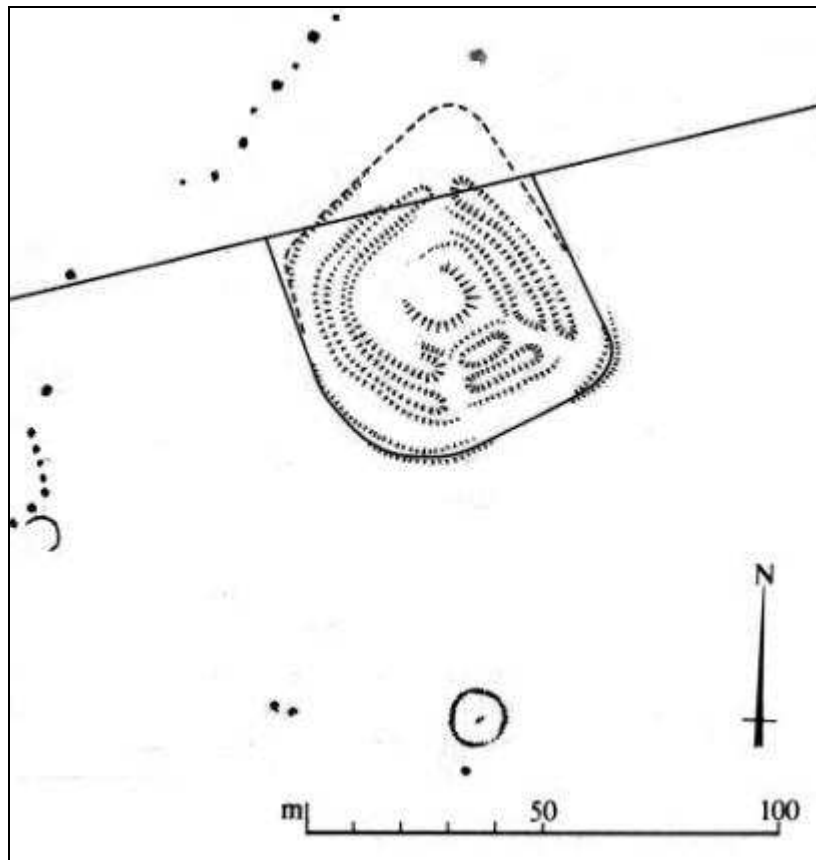
Figure 4.5: The Hallhole PER possible square barrow, with adjacent round barrow cropmarks (RCAHMS 1994, 18). Image Crown copyright © RCAHMS.

The placement of these barrows and the seemingly short-lived reoccupation of the adjacent hillfort is likely to represent a specific event, perhaps reclaiming what appears to be a ritually-charged prehistoric mortuary landscape on the Inchtuthil plateau (Pitts and St Joseph 1985: 248-251; RCAHMS 1994: 28-29). This suggests a local re-appropriation of these Roman sites, more evidence for the purposeful use of burial in the Middle Iron Age. The 16m-wide Women's Knowe barrow may well be related to a series of large square-ditched barrows nearby at Hallhole PER (Figure 4.5) (Abercromby 1904; RCAHMS 1994: 149-150), Wester Denhead, Coupar Angus PER (RCAHMS 1994: 156-159), and Melville Home Farm FIF (NO21SE 27; Murray 1991). Typologically, these large barrows form a distinctive group: they do not easily fit within the more normative square barrows of later centuries, and may well be prototypes of the later 'Pictish' rite. Again, these illustrate the complex relationship between the Roman invasions and changing indigenous social practices at this time (Harding 2004; Wooliscroft and Hoffmann 2006).

4.2.2. Reuse of Roman artefacts

There is an as yet undefined Roman interface with indigenous burial rites after the 2nd century, evidenced mostly in scattered finds of Roman material culture in non-Roman contexts (Campbell 2011; Curle 1932; Robertson 1970). Three instances possibly related to cremation may be among the earliest. A two-tiered short cist (grave 54) at Hallow Hill FIF contained a collection of cattle bones and polished pebbles along with 2nd and 3rd-century Roman artefacts, including a 'purse' containing a bronze finger ring, disc brooch and *millefiori* seal box, and a disarticulated child skeleton in the lower tier; the upper tier contained burnt human and animal bone and sherds of samian (Proudfoot 1996: 413-414). A short cist adjacent to a Clava-type cairn at Monquhitter ABD contained a similar collection of Roman and other artefacts and may be comparable to Hallow Hill, but is otherwise difficult to interpret (Anderson 1902; Stevenson 1967). Finally, a richly furnished cremation at High Torrs WIG included 2nd-3rd century Roman metalwork and pottery, but remains problematic; this has been interpreted as an instance of the *bustum*, a Roman cremation rite (Breeze and Ritchie 1980), but the subsequent capping with of a cairn of quarter-ton boulders is harder to explain in a Roman funerary context, and finds a closer parallel at the square barrow of Boysack Mills (Murray and Ralston 1997). None of these represents a recurring normative rite, and collectively they seem more like locally-specific 'one-offs'; as for their date, the Roman material culture found in each case only serves as a *terminus post quem*.

There are a small number of furnished inhumations with late Roman artefacts found throughout the country, even in areas with no known Roman sites (Collard and Hunter 2000; Hunter 1997a). Most of these are antiquarian finds, so it is difficult to rely on them as a group. At Whithorn WIG, there are more examples of graves furnished with Roman artefacts, but none of these has been radiocarbon dated (discussed in depth below, Chapter 7). Amidst a cemetery dated stratigraphically to the 5-7th centuries (P Hill 1997), two graves contained fragments of 1/2nd century Roman glass bangles, well-worn as if kept as heirlooms (ibid.: 294-296). Another two graves contained sherds of samian, again well worn in both cases. Neither grave is likely to predate the 5th century, and the site had no underlying Roman layers, so this material is highly likely to have been imported from elsewhere. Samian bowls curated for up to hundred years were also reused in cremations at the Roman cemetery at Brougham, Cumbria (Cool 2004: 451-452). The potentially late reuse of Roman material in graves has implications for other examples from Scotland, particularly the long cist with a late Roman glass vessel from a cemetery in Airlie ANG (Davidson 1886) and the glass bowl from a possible grave at Kingoldrum ANG (Chalmers

1854). It seems that Roman exotica were specially selected for other purposes, often centuries after their original manufacture (Campbell 2011; Wallace 2006).

In this context, it is worth revisiting the furnished graves at Hallow Hill. Adjacent to the short cist with Roman artefacts (grave 54) described above, a N-S child burial in a long cist (grave 51b) was found to contain a 3/4th century Roman glass cup, among other objects (Proudfoot 1996: 413-422). However, mixed bone from this context, a cluster of three intercutting graves, was dated to cal AD 600-730, which fits comfortably within the wider range of dates from the cemetery (ibid.: 422-424). The two-tiered short cist remains anomalous, and may well be earlier than the rest of the cemetery, but the use of 'purses' including heirlooms and keepsakes can also be paralleled in early Anglo-Saxon England (Williams 2006: 77-78), and Grave 54 may yet be a related type (6.4.3). A potential parallel is the 'deviant' Inhumation 18 at Lechlade, Gloucestershire (Boyle *et al.* 1998), which also included a bag-collection including Roman objects and animal bones; the grave was packed with large stones, an example of Anglo-Saxon 'stoned burials' possibly meant to keep the spirit of the dead securely within the grave (Reynolds 2009: 81-85). It is worth noting that both graves 54 and 51 at Hallow Hill had the remains of rough cairns over them (Proudfoot 1996: 413).

The reuse of Roman artefacts as grave goods, often many centuries after their manufacture, is well known from Anglo-Saxon contexts and may reflect circulation or curation of this material in the early medieval period (Eckardt and Williams 2003; White 1988); in Fife, we have an example of just this sort of curation in the late Roman material that was included in the 7th-century Norrie's Law silver hoard (Graham-Campbell 1991). It is therefore likely that the special graves at Hallow Hill and elsewhere in Scotland represent later reuse of Roman material rather than contemporary use. Seen in this light, these furnished burials may represent another way of manipulating available material culture with strong links to the past in order to create new identities in the medieval period (Williams 2004a), and will be discussed further below (5.2.3).

4.2.3. Roman influence?

Scotland can thus be seen to have two broad phases of burial activity linked with the Roman presence in Britain. The first consists of a handful of military burials, along with a smattering of contemporary graves furnished with Roman military material culture, such as the 'warrior graves'. These are surely to be associated with the period of Roman occupation in Scotland from the late 1st to the early 3rd century AD. The second phase, only

dateable from the 2nd century and later, consists of graves reusing Roman sites, and graves with Roman material culture as grave goods in an otherwise indigenous style of burial. It is this second phase that needs to be discussed further, since a model of continuing 'Roman influence' on southern Scotland has frequently been used to explain the appearance of unfurnished inhumation cemeteries (Alexander 2005: 111; Greig 2000: 609; Stevenson 1952: 109-110). This is largely due to the assumption that all Romans buried their dead in the manner found in large late Romano-British cemeteries like Poundbury, Dorset and Cannington, Somerset (Rahtz 1977). But as discussed previously (2.2.1), the late Roman north of Britain experienced a unique cultural trajectory resulting in the hybrid 'British' culture which rejected the socioeconomic norms of the Empire while carrying on certain aspects of it, including, to a certain extent, literacy and Christianity. But can this be seen through burial practices?

4.2.4. Burial in the late Roman north
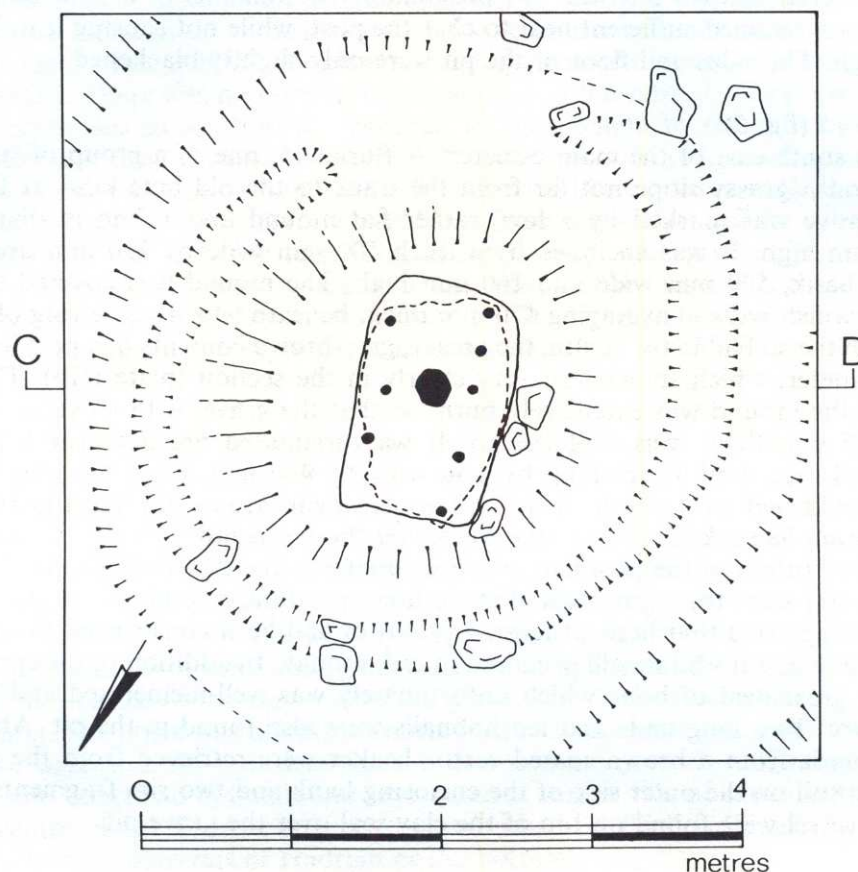
Figure 4.6: Late Roman penannular ditched barrow (burial 15) over a cremation at Petty Knowes, High Rochester, Northumberland (Charlton and Mitcheson 1984).

Contrary to stereotypes of Roman burial, it now seems clear that inhumation was rare in the late Roman north, cremation being the preferred rite on military sites through the 4th century (Caruana 2004; Cool 2004; cf Philpott 1991). Inhumation in long cists was largely used in the post-Roman centuries (Crow and Jackson 1997), meaning that the emergence

of inhumation cemeteries occurred at roughly the same time on both sides of the frontier zone. Furthermore, a characteristic of the late Roman cremation cemeteries of the north was a scattered, unmanaged layout, unlike the neat row-grave layouts of Poundbury and Cannington. This is not to say that the late Roman north was any less 'Roman' than the rest of the province, but that what is taken to be 'Roman' practice needs to be reassessed.

Another peculiarity of the burials of the late Roman north deserves mention: the construction of low ditched barrows in cremation cemeteries (Struck 2000). At Petty Knowes, High Rochester (Figure 4.6) there are over 75 mounds, many with enclosing ditches (Charlton and Mitcheson 1984), while at Low Borrowbridge, Tebay, penannular and rectilinear ditches are also found (Hair and Howard-Davis 1996). At least 32 barrows have been identified from the air at Four Laws, Great Chesters, including 2-3 possible square barrows (NY 76 NW 35, aerial photograph NMR NY 7066/19). These sites were all in use in the 3-4th centuries, and many are still conspicuous in the landscape.
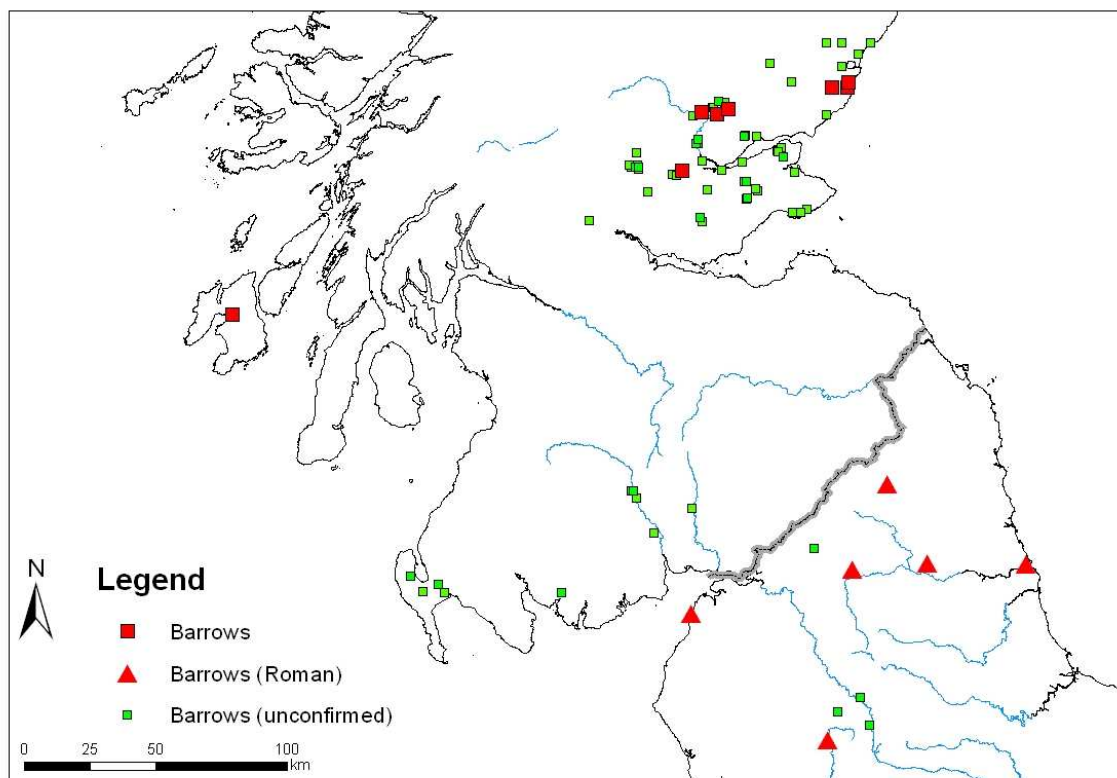
Figure 4.7: Barrows in southern Scotland and northern England.

This tradition of low ditched barrows becomes more intriguing when placed alongside a group of otherwise outlying barrow cemeteries that have recently been identified from aerial photographs just beyond Hadrian's Wall in Dumfries and Galloway (Cowley 1996; Cowley 2009). While these are morphologically different, being mostly square and seemingly used for inhumation, it is tempting to see them as further evidence for a

distinctive desire to mark and enclose individual graves being expressed to either side of the Roman frontier (see Figure 4.7). This trend may be another indication of the shared culture of the frontier zone and southern Scotland in the late Roman period.

Rather than the tidy historical narrative that long cist cemeteries show "Romanising tendencies" whereas barrows represent a "rejection of *romanitas*" (JE Fraser 2008: 37-38), it is now likely that low, ditched barrows are more accurately a distinctive feature of the frontier zone of northern Britain, whereas burial in long cists derives from Middle Iron Age practices primarily attested in Atlantic Scotland. Burial in row-grave cemeteries became widespread in both areas only after the 5th century.

4.3. Conclusion

The distribution of radiocarbon dates from all burials across the first millennium AD in Scotland has shown more clearly than ever the chronology of mortuary practices. All the major grave types of the Late Iron Age and early medieval period, including cairns, barrows, and orientated, unfurnished long cists, can be seen to originate in the Middle Iron Age; the 5th century saw the emergence of cemeteries of various kinds across Britain, in both 'pagan' and 'Christian' contexts. It is clear that Roman mortuary rites did not diffuse from military settlements in Scotland during the period of occupation, nor was there a single 'Roman influence' in the late Roman period. An indirect impact may be seen in the appearance of warrior burials and burials with Roman artefacts, both creative responses to the availability of new material culture. It may still be significant that new forms of burial like individual barrows and cairns seem to appear during the Roman Iron Age, sometimes even reusing Roman sites. Even where such grave types can be shown to date to the period of Roman occupation, their non-Roman contexts imply the creation of new identities rather than Romanisation or Christianisation (i.e., Wells 1999: 119-121, 159-163). In fact, it can now be posited that the practice of marking inhumations with low mounds, both round and square, is a regional phenomenon across northern Britain that occurs within the Roman period but not solely in 'Roman' areas, but only excavation of the southwest Scottish series can take this further. The emergence of large inhumation cemeteries is a wider trend occurring on both sides of the frontier from the 5th century, making dynamic use of existing burial practices. The distribution of new burial practices across such a wide area precludes any ethnic or religious affiliation. We can now begin to trace the development of these practices in the Late Iron Age and beyond.

Chapter 5: Burial ways of the first millennium AD

We can now say with confidence that extended inhumation did not simply appear *ex nihilo* in Late Iron Age Scotland (above, Table 1.1), and thus need not have been introduced by a single event of conversion or outside influence. Rather, it seems the familiar cemeteries of the early medieval period are more like an extension and elaboration of existing approaches to death. This is in line with recent syntheses of burial evidence across the continent, where by and large theories involving 'intrusive' rites transmitted by migrating peoples have fallen out of favour (Halsall 1992). But we need to be more specific than this, since only some Middle Iron Age rites continued to flourish and develop. By looking closely at the processes involved in the mortuary ritual we can discern what continuities and discontinuities exist in the burial record as it emerges in the early medieval period. To begin with, we will examine each individual rite in turn before looking at wider trends.

5.1. Burial rites

5.1.1. Long cists
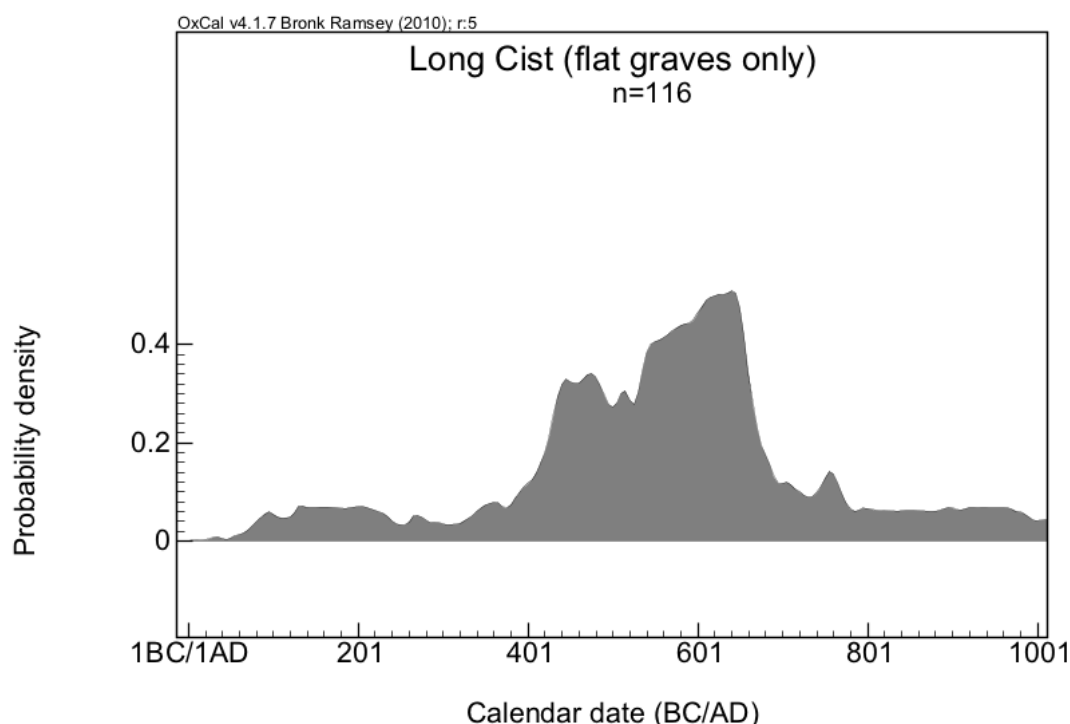
Figure 5.1: Sum of all dates from long cists (excluding those under barrows and cairns).

Long cists, or stone-lined pits containing extended inhumations, are the most characteristic grave type of the Late Iron Age in Scotland (Figure 5.1, Figure 5.5). Long cists can come in a variety of shapes, from rectangles to trapezoids that taper towards the feet, to 'coffin-shaped' cists with sides that expand in the middle; none of these variations seems to have

any clear chronological or regional significance, and some or all can be represented within a single cemetery (e.g. Dalland 1992). Although they are often thought of as coffins of stone, it is crucial to note that they do not always act as a sealed container. They are found with or without paved floors, and they are often lidded with flagstones, although at Whithorn WIG wooden lids were encountered (P Hill 1997: 72-73). When cists are found without lids, this is usually attributable to plough damage; however, at Kingston Common, North Berwick ELO, lidless cists seem to have a spatial and chronological distinction within the cemetery, and may well represent an entirely separate grave type (Suddaby 2009). Given that long cists are mainly discovered due to plough disturbance, we should not spend much effort in splitting our existing evidence into lidless long cists and lidded 'lintel graves' (cf O'Brien 2009), as this distinction has not been recorded everywhere. However, the possibility that some graves only 'frame' the corpse with stone slabs, while others seal the grave, means we are potentially looking at two very different approaches to death, perhaps reflecting variations of belief.

5.1.2. Stone sources

The stone used for these cists is generally of local provenance, which begins to explain the distribution of this burial type to places where such stone is readily obtainable. The slabs used for cists were rarely, if ever, formally dressed, with the notable exceptions of Lasswade and Thornybank MLO, each with one carefully built cist with base and lid neatly dressed to a coffin shape; both burials have now been radiocarbon dated to the 5-6th century (M Goldberg, pers. comm.; Henshall 1966; Rees 2002: 331). At the Catstane MLO, it was noted that cists made primarily of shale, instead of the usual sandstone, clustered at one end of the site (Cowie 1978).

The search for stone of appropriate size and shape must have been a principal part of the burial rite for those involved in the long cist tradition (Williams 2006: 142-143). Usually this appears to be locally available stone, as at Longniddry where the barnacles still adhering to the surface of some slabs indicates they were sourced by the shore some 200m to the north (Dalland 1992: 200). This begs the question of whether family members or a 'specialist' were charged with sourcing appropriate stone, and whether there were dedicated sources used only for funerary purposes. Masonry from nearby Roman structures is reused as cist material at Thornybank, Lasswade, and Abbey Knowe, Lyne PEB (DES 1998, 1999). Abbey Knowe is adjacent to a Roman fort, but the source for the Roman material at Thornybank and Lasswade is presumably Elginhaugh, 2-3km away from either site. The reuse of Roman masonry and even entire Roman coffins is known from Anglo-

Saxon contexts as well (Bell 2005; Boyle *et al.* 1998), and hints at a targeted search for specific sources of stone for stone-lined graves graves.

Cist graves sometimes incorporate domestic stone implements like quernstones or pot lids. At Lasswade, one cist was partially lidded with a broken quernstone, while two other cists incorporated fragments of querns; a few more stray quern fragments were also found within the cemetery (Henshall 1956: 256-61). Similarly, a cist at Camptoun ELO reused broken quern fragments for side and lid slabs (ibid.: 282-283). A long cist at Pitlochry Golf Course PER was reported to have had the upper and lower stones of a rotary quern in it (Mitchell 1921). Possibly related to such quern reuse is a fragment of a dressed stone disc, possibly a broken pot lid, reused as a cist lid in cist R at Lundin Links FIF (Greig 2000: 592). In later periods, querns and millstones were sometimes reused as grave markers; a plain example was found in 8th century levels in Whithorn's Fey Field, but inscribed and decorated examples are known from Ireland (Lionard 1961; McComish and Petts 2008: 6.4.3). Ewan Campbell (1987) has discussed the social significance of querns and millstones in early medieval Scotland and beyond, citing broken or abandoned querns as symbols of death. Intact querns could certainly play an actively symbolic role, like the cross-marked quern at Dunadd (Lane and Campbell 2000: 185) or the quern or millstone reused to hold up a wooden cross noted by Adomnán of Iona (*VC* 3:24); at Clonmacnoise, County Offaly, the North High Cross is set in a reused millstone (King 1997). The inclusion of these kinds of 'mundane' objects within cist architecture shows the potential for these stone linings to be imbued with meaning lost to us today. The association with food production is relevant, and hints that stone-lined graves were perceived as a similarly transformational or productive technology.

The mnemonic aspect of the material used in graves has become an important factor in the study of the early medieval period (Williams 2006), and the reuse of Pictish stones as cist material provides a good example of this in action. Class I stones are incorporated into cist graves at Easterton of Roseisle MOR (Walker 1968), Drumbuie INV (Mackay 1886), and Dunrobin SUT (Close-Brooks 1980). All three examples recycle their Pictish stones in rather exotic circumstances: the Easterton cist held two partial cremations; Drumbuie had two Class I stones capping a cist-like structure in a cairn, which was found to contain burnt material but no human bone; the Dunrobin cist was seemingly disturbed by a later interment with an iron spear socket. Furthermore, the Easterton stone was already reused once before it was buried, having symbols at inverse positions on two faces; in this it parallels the Inchyra PER Pictish stone, reused twice before ending up atop a burial cairn (Clarke 2007). The deliberate recycling of Pictish sculpture as cist material seems only to

occur on rare occasions, in one case possibly linked with the reopening of a cist for a
secondary interment; this is discussed further with regard to cremation burials below
(5.1.7). It shows that some care was taken to select stone for lining graves, and that the
stone lining doubtless performed a powerful symbolic role in the mortuary ritual. Further
study into the source of cist materials is seriously lacking, and could be an avenue for
further research.

5.1.3. Other stone-lined graves
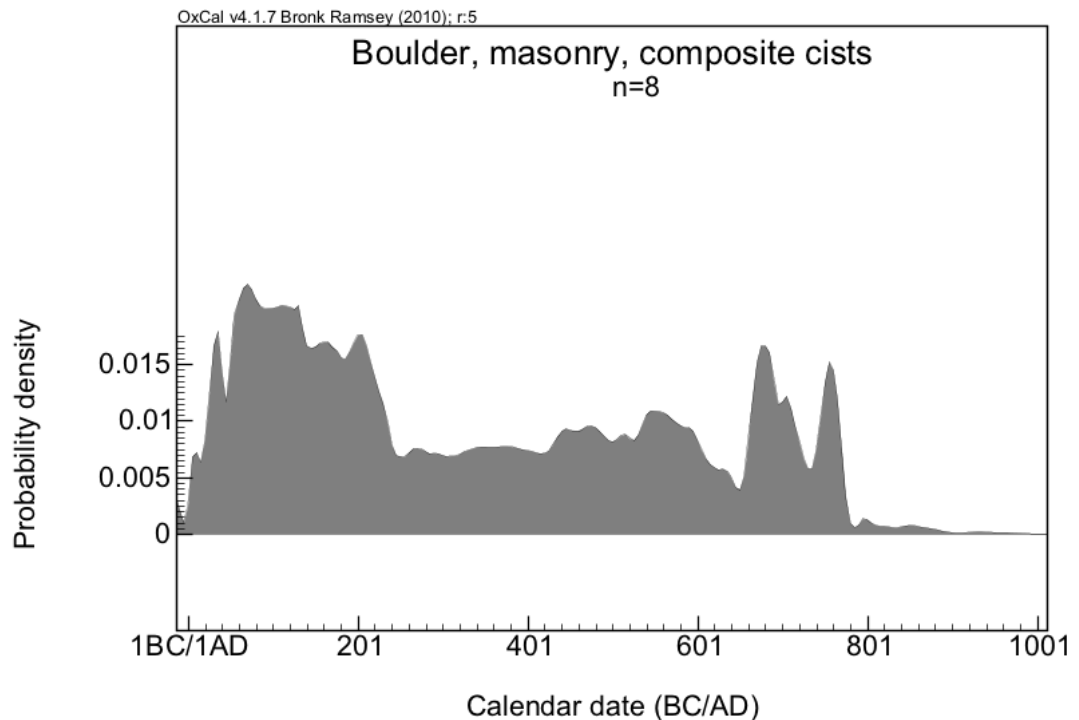
Figure 5.2: Sum of all radiocarbon dates from other stone-lined graves.

Variations on the long cist form can be categorised into the following: masonry cists,
composite cists, oval cists, and boulder cists. All of these are primarily attested in Middle
Iron Age contexts, but some continue to a lesser extent across the first millennium AD
(Figure 5.2). A masonry cist is one that is built up of coursed stones rather than upright
slabs. This grave type seems to be exclusive to the Middle Iron Age based on dated
examples such as the warrior grave at Mars Hill, Alloa CLA (above, 4.2.1), but the
massive corbelled chambers beneath cairns at Ackergill CAI (Edwards 1926) may be a
related Late Iron Age type (but see below, 5.3.1). A rare variant of the masonry cist can be
called the composite cist, using upright slabs topped by a few courses of flat stones, then
lidded with flagstones. Middle Iron Age examples are found at Galson ROS (Ponting
1989), North Belton Farm ELO (Crone 1992), and the Dunbar ELO sword burial (DES
2005), while a single example has been dated to the 6th century at Hermisgarth, Sanday
ORK (Downes and Morris 1997: 611). Oval cists are irregularly shaped stone-lined pits

which contain crouched or flexed inhumations. These are found predominantly at Iron Age sites, including Broxmouth ELO (Hill 1982), Port Seton ELO (Dalland 1991) and East Coldoch PER (DES 2000); 'pagan' Viking graves sometimes use oval cists as at Westness, Rousay ORK (Sellevold 1999). Boulder cists are made up of irregular, rounded stones rather than flagstones; these are primarily found in Middle Iron Age graves like Blackness Castle WLO (Richardson 1925), and the Women's Knowe at Inchtuthil PER (Abercromby *et al.* 1902; Winlow and Cook 2010), but continue into the Late Iron Age at Garbeg INV (Stevenson 1984) and the Isle of May (James and Yeoman 2008). Graves outlined with a simple setting of boulders or cobbles, as at Hallow Hill, FIF (Proudfoot 1996), could be the remains of a wood-lined grave, the cobbles being used as 'chocking stones' to help hold planks in place (Webster and Brunning 2004). These variations on the long cist help illustrate the Middle Iron Age origins of the burial rite (see below, Figure 5.18). However, it is also worth noting how these variations seem to dwindle over time in favour of a more standardised, flagstone-built long cists and dug graves.

5.1.4. Head-box graves
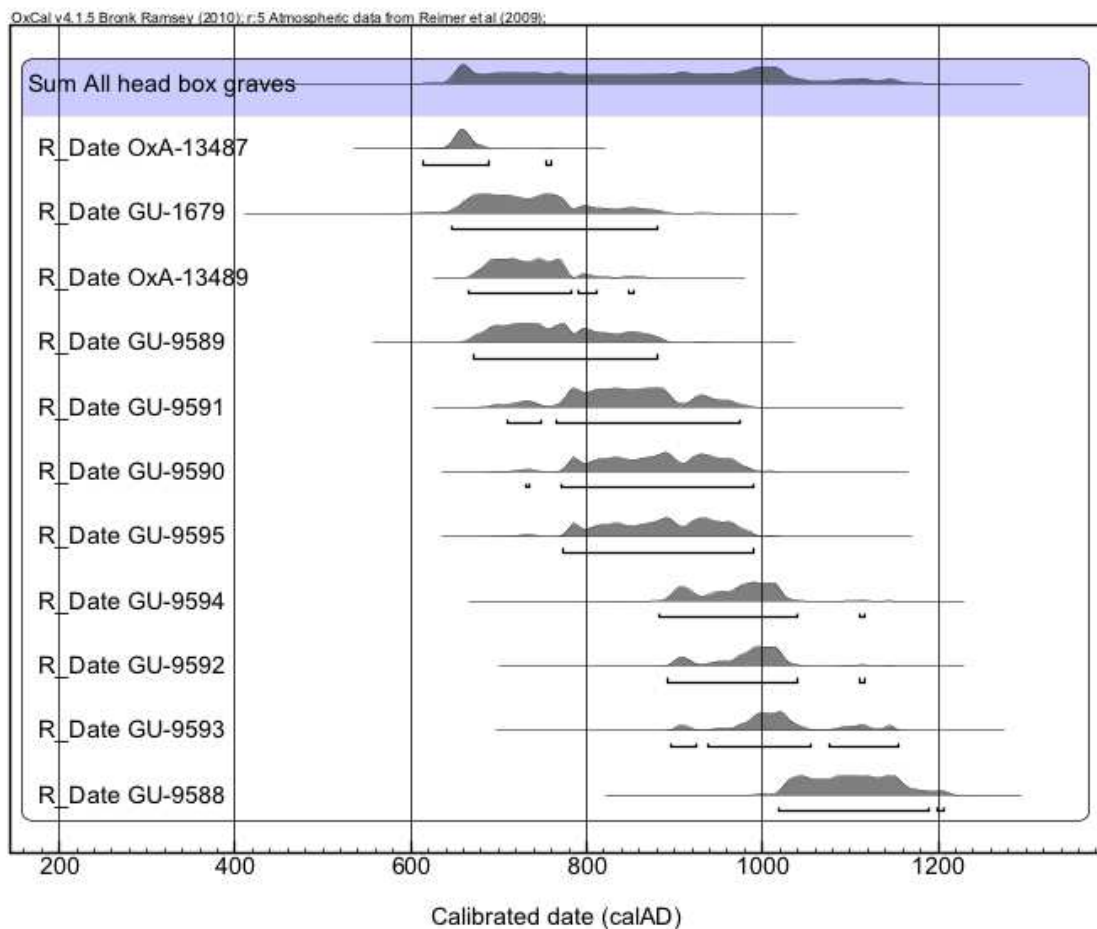
Figure 5.3: All dates from head-box graves, showing their origin in the 7th century and *floruit* in the 9th century and after.

Another variation on the long cist rite is the use of 'pillow stones', 'head boxes' or stone 'ear muffs' which were meant to protect the head and stop it from rolling during the process of decay. To date, these have been found almost exclusively on church sites, including St Ninian's Isle SHE (Barrowman 2003), Barhobble WIG (Cormack 1995), Portmahomack ROS (Carver 2004: 12); St Andrews Kirkhill FIF (Wordsworth and Clark 1997), Whithorn Fey Field WIG (McComish and Petts 2008), St Ninian's Point BTE (Aitken 1955) and St Magnus Kirk, Birsay ORK (Barber 1996); the only examples from a field cemetery come from the 9-10th century enclosed burial ground at Balblair, Resolis ROS (Reed 1995). As such, these will be discussed further in Chapter 8, but it is worth noting their exclusively early medieval dates (Figure 5.3). This indicates that the creation of an appropriate and recognisable funerary tableau became of prime importance, but only once burial in cemeteries had become common across the country. It shows the way that, over time, repeated inhumation burials created an image of a 'proper' or correct burial, until it became a crucial part of the burial rite (Williams 2006: 108-111). In the later medieval period, high-status burials use sarcophagi with head-shaped recesses, but elsewhere, the use of stone becomes limited to just the head-box itself; examples of these include Skaill House, Sandwick ORK (HF James 1999: 756-761), Stromness ORK (Stevens *et al.* 2005), and Kintradwell SUT (Lelong 2003); similar dates can be found at the late Saxon cemetery at Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire (Boddington 1996).

5.1.5. Wood-lined graves and log coffins

Wood-lined graves are rare in Scotland, but this may be a consequence of poor preservation. Unlike stone-lined graves, wood-lined graves are rarely attested in Scotland until the 7-8th century, and would seem to be largely an innovation of the early medieval period. The earliest instances are simple, un-nailed plank-linings thus far only recognised at Whithorn, but the presence of boulder-lined graves at many sites, for instance at Hallow Hill FIF (Proudfoot 1996: 399-403), may be an indication of decomposed wood lining or timber lid. Nailed coffins are found mainly in Northumbrian (post-700 AD) phase Whithorn WIG (P Hill 1997; McComish and Petts 2008), with unique, undated instances at Kirkhill, St Andrews FIF (Wordsworth and Clark 1997) and Kingston Common ELO (Suddaby 2009: 9). Wood coffins are known from a number of early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries, like Mill Hill, Deal (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997: 24-25), while chest coffins, in Scotland found only in Northumbrian Whithorn, more certainly represent a high-status Anglo-Saxon rite (Ottaway 1996). Even factoring in problems of preservation, in Scotland it seems that timber linings were not considered necessary or

appropriate as burial containers outside these few cemeteries. The exception to this is the emerging tradition of log-coffin burial.

Log coffins, made from hollowed-out tree trunks, are common in the Bronze Age (Childe 1946: 119), but re-emerge in the first millennium AD across Britain and beyond. These are found in a 'special' grave Tandderwen in Wales (Brassil *et al.* 1991), from the cemetery at Scotch Street, Armagh, near an early medieval monastic site (Lynn 1988), and possibly from the royal Anglo-Saxon barrow of Sutton Hoo mound 3, though this may still be a dugout boat on analogy with the rich boat-burials on this site (Carver 2005: 67-69). But they are now increasingly being recognised in Scotland, beginning with a Middle Iron Age example from a square barrow at Boysack Mills, ANG (Murray and Ralston 1997), and including dozens from the earliest phases at both Whithorn and Thornybank. At the latter two sites, log coffin grave cuts were marked out by their greater depth (presumably due to the size of the logs used) and rounded profiles. There is nothing otherwise 'deviant' about the orientation, date or layout of these graves; rather, they seem to be just another choice of grave type within the larger cemetery. Only one of the five excavated square barrows at Redcastle ANG was in a log coffin, although this one could not be dated (Alexander 2005: 107). Recently, a log coffin was excavated adjacent to a round barrow at Forteviot PER; it was found to be charred on the inside, which may indicate the trunk was hollowed out using fire prior to its use for burial (Campbell and Gondek 2009); charcoal samples were dated to the 5-6th centuries (T. Poller, pers. comm.). Importantly, the adjacent barrow contained a simple dug grave, indicating that log coffins do not necessarily signal the highest-status graves within a site. We might, however, note that a late Irish elegy remembers the Pictish king Bridei son of Bili (d. 693) as being buried on the isle of Iona in a "block of hollow withered oak" (Ó Riain and Herbert 1988). Although this seems to indicate the use of naturally-decayed tree trunks, the Forteviot example indicates preparation from freshly-cut timber. More well-preserved examples are needed before we can say more about the sourcing of wood for log coffins.

Log coffin burial was thus allocated to a number of graves south of the Forth, but north of the Forth it seemed to be reserved for a select few, one possibly to a king. Another late notice of log coffin burial is in 12th century Glastonbury, Somerset: in 1191, the monks of the abbey there allegedly discovered the grave of King Arthur, who had been buried in a log coffin (Ashe 1971). Regardless of what it was they found, it was thought appropriate that the legendary hero should have been laid in a log coffin. It is interesting to recall the Bronze Age origins of the burial rite. As such, its short-lived reappearance in Scotland may be a way of forging links to prehistory, and the association with famous figures like King

Arthur and Bridei son of Bili many centuries later may represent a hazily-remembered mark of venerated antiquity.

5.1.6. Dug graves

At the other extreme from the log coffin rite is the simple dug grave. The treatment of these graves seems no different from those in long cists: the W-E orientations, dates and distributions are all similar, and dug graves can also be found within many long cist cemeteries. This rite also has its origins in the Middle Iron Age, with furnished dug graves found at Galson INV (Neighbour *et al.* 2000) and Sandwick SHE (Lelong 2007); 'pit graves', or crouched inhumations in oval pits, go back even further to the earlier Iron Age on sites like Dryburn Bridge, Innerwick ELO (Dunwell 2007) and Port Seton ELO (Dalland 1991). It is worth noting that although they often appear on the same sites as long cists, cemeteries will generally favour one rite over the other. Some sites that make use of both have shown evidence for clustering or segregation by type (Proudfoot 1996).
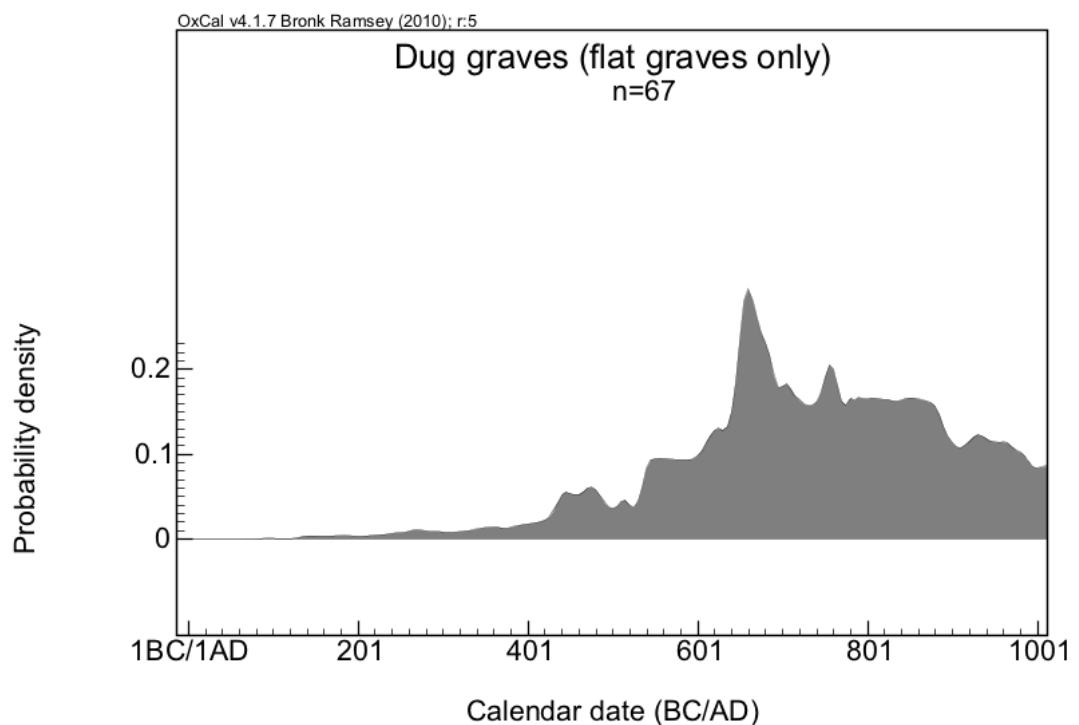
Figure 5.4: Sum of all dates from dug graves (excluding those under barrows and cairns).

There may yet be some ideological distinction between unlined and lined graves. It has been pointed out that dug graves predominate at a number of early Christian monasteries (Alcock 1992), including Kirkhill, St Andrews FIF (Wordsworth and Clark 1997) and Ardwall Isle KCB (Thomas 1967), and the spread of radiocarbon dates obtained from dug graves is predominantly early medieval rather than Late Iron Age (Figure 5.4). However, the earliest burials at early church sites like Inchmarnock BTE, Portmahomack ROS,

Whithorn WIG and the Isle of May FIF are in long cists. It is thus not necessarily that dug graves are more Christian, but that long cists are more diagnostic of Late Iron Age burial rites. These examples merely reinforce the observation that one grave type generally tends to predominate within every given cemetery. However, the variable distribution of dug grave cemeteries is also intriguing. While long cists predominate everywhere in this period, once across the border it is dug graves which predominate, with long cists occurring only in a minority of cases (Figure 5.5). Within a northern British context, it seems the use of long cists is primarily a feature of the Forth-Tay zone, their use rather exceptional elsewhere.

A   B
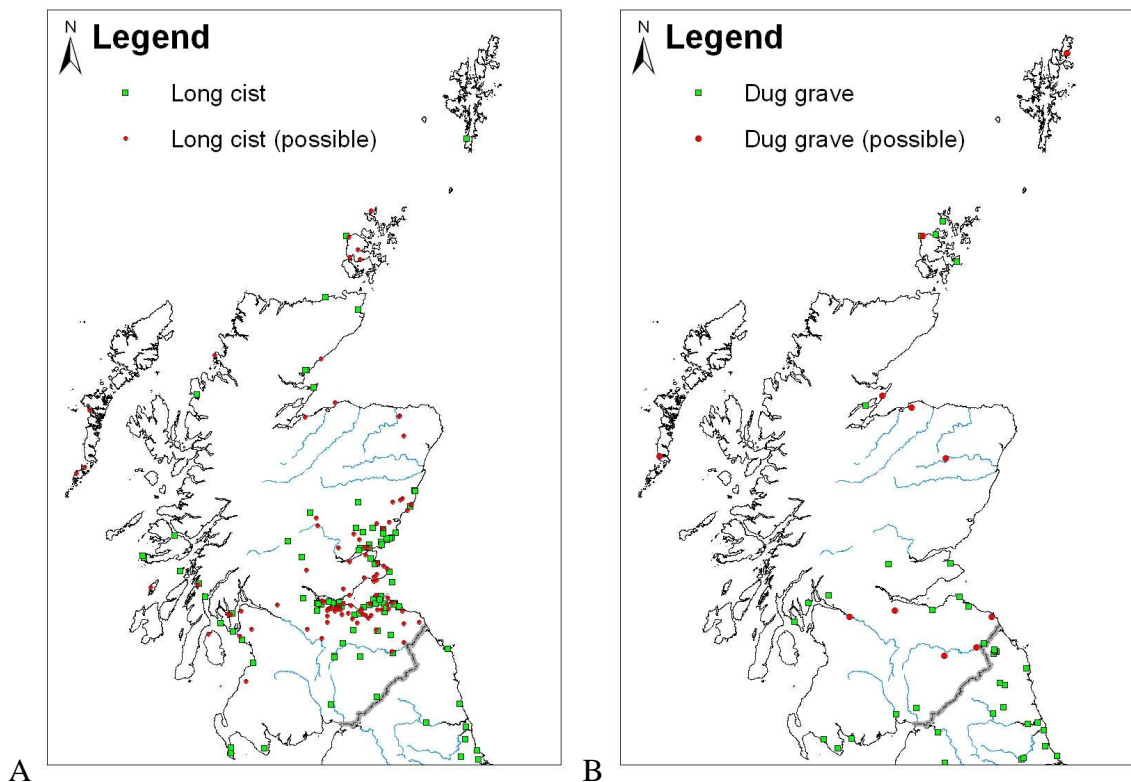
Figure 5.5: Distributions of burial sites using primarily long cists and dug graves.

5.1.7. Cremation

Extended inhumation dominates the burial record of the first millennium AD, but this was not the only way of depositing the body in the Late Iron Age. While cremation was found to be a minority rite in the Scottish Iron Age (above, 4.1.3), there is a growing body of evidence that it continued to be utilised sporadically in the north of Scotland in the mid-first millennium AD. Within the palisaded enclosure at Doon Hill ELO, an Anglian timber hall and inhumation cemetery was preceded by an undated square enclosure and cremation cemetery (Wilson and Hurst 1966: 176-177). The undated calcined remains in Cist 54 at Hallow Hill FIF may represent another example (Proudfoot 1996), but the best evidence so far comes from Hermisgarth, Sanday ORK where cists and cairns were discovered

alongside what appear to be two kerbed stone pyres with evidence for human cremation (Downes and Morris 1997). One of the cists contained an orientated, extended juvenile where only the head had been cremated. The Hermisgarth partial cremation is so far unparalleled, but may be comparable to the enigmatic report of two skulls accompanied with ashes found in a cist at Easterton of Roseisle, reusing a Class I Pictish stone as a side slab (Walker 1968). 19th-century reports of charcoal alongside bones further south at Graves Knowes, Mid Calder MLO and Addinston BWK have also been interpreted as partial cremations, although these antiquarian reports could easily be describing Bronze Age graves (Henshall 1956). Intriguingly, prehistoric monuments were sometimes reused for cremation deposits: a pyre within a Bronze Age hut at Rhiconich, Sutherland was dated to cal AD 400-640 (Donnelly in prep. cited in Driscoll 1998c), while within the ring-cairn at Balnauran of Clava INV, wood from a spread of burnt organic material including human bones was radiocarbon dated to cal AD 250-900 and cal AD 600-980 (Bradley 2000b).

We can now add an emerging tradition of cremations in stone urns, again from the Northern Isles: at Stromness ORK, a steatite urn from a short cist under a cairn had its contents radiocarbon dated to cal AD 390-600 (Sheridan *et al.* 2005). Two other sites reuse Pictish stones as cinerary urn lids. Oxtro Broch, Birsay ORK, excavated in the 19th century, was apparently reused as a cremation cemetery; these cremations were in stone urns and one was lidded with a broken Class I Pictish stone (Petrie 1890). Another instance of a steatite urn lidded with a fragment of Pictish sculpture comes from Uyea SHE (Allen and Anderson 1903). A possibly related site is Drumbuie, Drumnadrochit INV, where a cairn covered a cist containing only charcoal, lidded with two symbol stones (Mackay 1886). Less readily explainable is the fragment of a Pictish stone reportedly found between two massive capstones of a Bronze Age cist at Linlathen ANG (Stuart 1866b). Without scientific dating, we cannot assume all of these are 'Pictish' deposits, as the stones in question may represent later reuse. The cremations at Oxtro seem to come from a stratigraphically Norse context (Morris 1989a: 24-26), and this may also be the case at Uyea.

This potentially Norse-period reuse of Pictish stones to lid cremation deposits is paralleled by the few examples of Pictish stones reused as long cist material (above, 5.1.2). As suggested above, these may represent Norse-period reworking of the existing Pictish landscape, best seen at Dunrobin SUT where the cist was reused for a secondary, 'pagan' Viking burial. The link between reused Pictish stones and cremation could then be a deliberately archaising choice, making a powerful new statement through a pastiche of past

practices by an incoming ruling class. There must still remain some doubt as to when these deposits were made, but a Norse-period context should not be discounted.
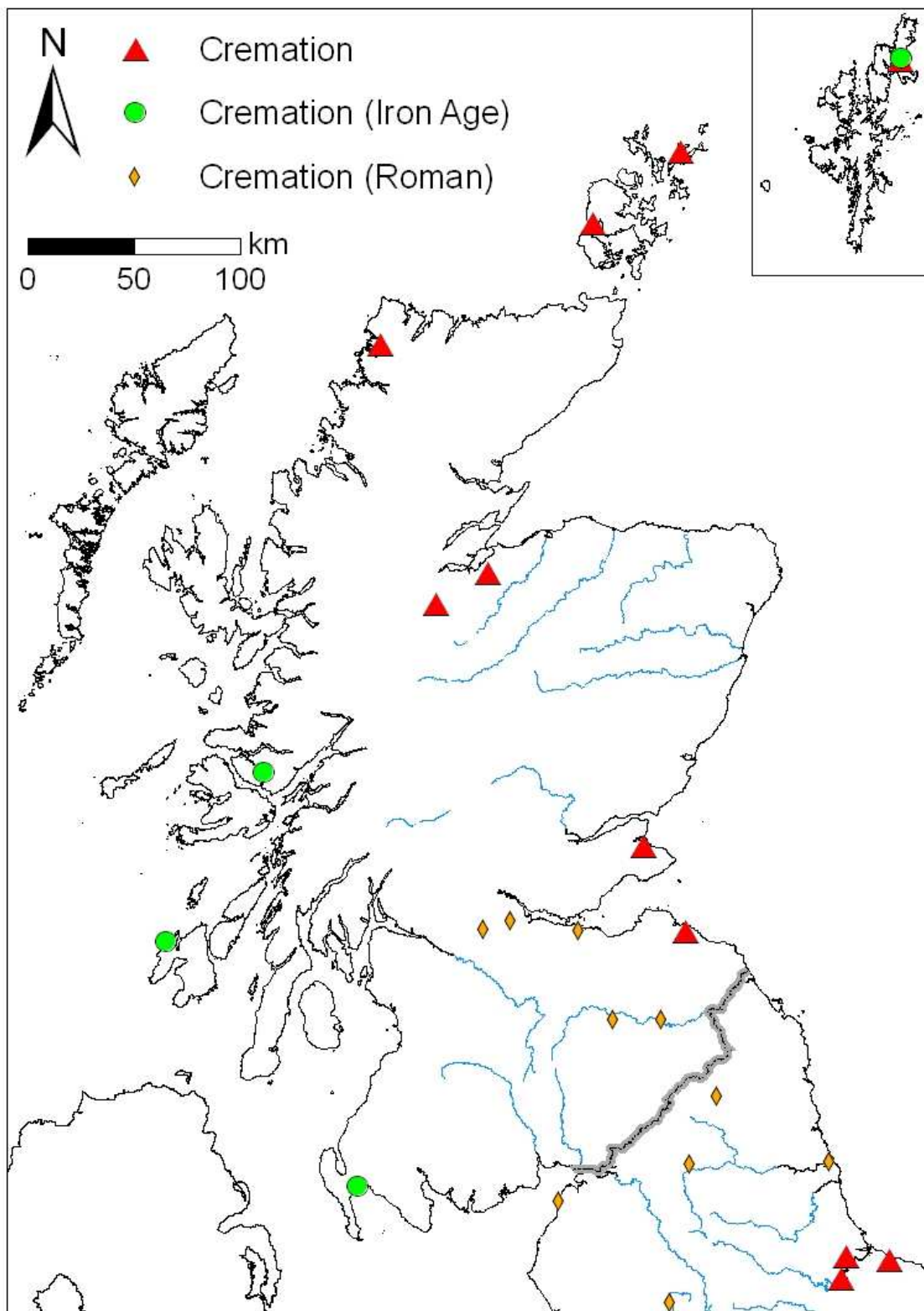
Figure 5.6: Cremation in the first millennium AD; Late Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon cremations represented by red triangles.

The use of cremation thus continues throughout the first millennium AD, though only on one site (Uyea) can we see anything like continuity from the Iron Age (Figure 5.6). It may

be significant that this activity seems to be confined to the far north of Scotland, as cremation remained one of the dominant mortuary rites in Sweden and Norway throughout the first millennium AD (Richards 2004: 93-96). Even if the case for a Norse-period context for these deposits is not accepted, it at least shows some cultural affinities with areas that were, after all, just a short sail away from the Shetlands. Where cremation does occur, it seems clear that unique ideological statements are being made. Rather than any sort of unified tradition or continuation of a normative rite, the evidence for cremation in this period shows it was reserved for special deposits, either forming focal graves at long cist cemeteries as at Hallow Hill, or reusing prehistoric monuments like Rhiconich and Balnauran of Clava. Where Pictish stones are reused, as at Oxtro and Uyea, we may well be seeing a Norse-period burial custom, but one that continues this tendency of reusing prehistoric landscapes. It would be an oversimplification to argue that these cremations are the last gasp of a prehistoric tradition. In every case, the reality is much more interesting: they are attempts at manipulating memories of the past, sometimes even reconfiguring prehistoric monuments.

5.1.8. Excarnation and alternative rites

As is clear from any distribution map of Scotland, some regions did not have established traditions of formal burial at all (4.1). Even in areas with an abundance of burial evidence, we cannot assume that these cemeteries represent entire communities (see below, 6.5). This then begs the question of how everyone else, in some places the majority of the population, was treated after death. Given the identification of pyres at Hermisgarth and Rhiconich, we might expect that cremation followed by scattering of ashes is a possibility, but until more pyres are found, it remains debatable whether this was practiced widely. Armit and Ginn's (2007) study of disarticulated human remains in Atlantic Scotland has shown that exposure, or excarnation, was practiced in these areas, with the bone being deposited in special contexts within settlements; recent radiocarbon dating of disarticulated bone from museum collections has confirmed that these deposits carry on being made throughout the first millennium in sites like the broch of Howe ORK and the Iron Age settlement at Lower Dounreay CAI (Tucker and Armit 2009).

A remarkable instance of exposure is Cille Pheadair on South Uist INV, where a long cist containing a female inhumation was left open for a period of time before the sternum was removed and the body repositioned, and a square cairn built over the cist (Mulville *et al.* 2003). Partial exposure and subsequent capping with a cairn was also noticed at the Middle Iron Age burials at Sangobeg and Loch Borralie, Durness SUT (Brady *et al.* 2007;

MacGregor 2003). It may then be the case that in Atlantic Scotland exposure remained a viable if sporadic choice of burial rite into the mid-first millennium AD. However, we are only likely to find evidence for this when the bones are reused in structured deposits, or when their exposure platforms are later marked by cairns. Could this help explain the relative dearth of burials in other parts of Scotland, like Aberdeenshire? And is the continuing curation of human remains at Cille Pheadair and other sites evidence for continuing non-Christian religious practices (cf. Ritchie 2003)? For the moment, we must simply note that the burial evidence does not include the entirety of the population.

5.2. Displaying the body

With or without a cist, the body in Late Iron Age Scottish burials is most often laid on its back (supine) and fully extended, although the arms may be laid in a variety of positions. Wrapping of the body, possibly in shrouds, is a widely-noted practice, although no textile has been recovered from Late Iron Age graves. Even where wrapping is not noted, there is very little evidence for burial fully clothed before the Viking period in Scotland, and only rarely are personal ornaments or garment fasteners found, like the single iron pins from Lundin Links (Greig 2000: 599) and Boysack Mills ANG (Murray and Ralston 1997). Coupled with reports of 'scrunching' of the body as if wrapped in a shroud, the general absence of shrouds, pins, or fasteners must mean organic materials were used, then fastened by tying or sewing. Other options besides shrouds, including animal hides and tree bark wrappings as attested in Scandinavia (Nordeide and Gulliksen 2007), should be considered. An important 7th-century reference to shrouding is found in Adomnán's description of St Columba's burial on Iona (*VC* III: 23); however, the Christian links should not be over-emphasised, as the rite long predates Christianity in the Mediterranean.

5.2.1. The grave as container

Inhumation does not always imply a desire for the perpetual preservation of the corpse. As discussed above, not every cist was a sealed container, and some were deliberately left lidless. This implies that the cist could be more of a pragmatic boundary, shoring the grave cut and framing the corpse for onlookers to create a memorable scene to be reproduced in future burials (Williams 2006). A crucial component in this tableau would have been its backdrop: the interior of the grave. While some cist graves incorporate flagstone paving, many are 'lintel graves' where the body was laid on a natural earth floor. Other attested forms of paving include pebble layers (Rees 2002: 339), sea shell layers (Greig 2000: 595), charcoal layers (Rosehill 1873), and soft linings like turf (McComish and Petts 2008: Section 4a) or textiles (Downes and Morris 1997: 613-614). The intriguing possibility that

some cists were lined with textiles comes from the impression left on the sand inside a cist at Hermisgarth, Sanday; this grave contained an extended orientated female radiocarbon dated to the 5-6th century AD (Downes and Morris 1997). Soft grave linings and even bed burials are known from Anglo-Saxon graves in southern England (Harrington 2007), and the provision of a comfortable resting place indicates a belief in a transformational period between life and death that needed to be mediated by an appropriate funeral (cf Williams 2006: 123-134). This will be discussed further in the context of church burials (Chapter 8).

5.2.2. Dressed burial

There is only a small corpus of dress-related artefacts from graves in Scotland. Since the majority of these were found in antiquarian excavations, only very few can certainly be said to derive from objects or fabrics worn at the time of burial. Two bronze chains were certainly worn by the deceased: one was around the neck of a female at Ackergill CAI, the stratigraphically latest burial within a large cairn (Edwards 1926), and another was found at Kingoldrum ANG (Chalmers 1854). Both chains are difficult to date, and could be either Iron Age or Viking Age. A group of beads in a long cist from St Ninian's Isle SHE were not recorded in situ, but may be part of a burial costume and are of pre-Norse date, inviting comparisons with Anglo-Saxon burial rites (Barrowman forthcoming-b). A disturbed cist at Keiss CAI was found wearing a copper ring (Batey 1983); a copper ring, iron bracelet and cannel coal ring pendant were found within dug graves at Elliot ANG, but the human remains did not survive (Cameron *et al.* 2007). A similar cannel coal ring-pendant was found while digging for graves at St Andrews Cathedral (Fleming 1909). Dating is a recurring problem with artefacts from Scottish graves, given the overall lack of available comparanda, but the furnished graves at Elliot are adjacent to long cists dated to the 6-7th centuries. On the other hand, brooches seem to be a phenomenon of the 2-4th centuries AD, as confirmed by radiocarbon dates from Galson INV, Craigie, Dundee ANG and Dunbar Golf Course ELO (above, 4.1).

Other than these possible instances of dressed burial, the lack of clothing at the time of interment would seem to be a peculiarity of the Scottish evidence, given the prevalence of the rite in Anglo-Saxon areas (Lucy 2000). A prone burial at Blackness Castle WLO with a bronze armlet, long thought to be Anglo-Saxon (Stevenson 1983), has recently been radiocarbon dated to cal AD 50-220 (M Goldberg, pers. comm.). However, a good parallel is Hound Point, Dalmeny WLO, where an orientated long cist contained a string of beads including reused Roman glass (Brown 1915). This has been interpreted as an Anglo-Saxon ornament, and would certainly fit within a wider tradition of fashioning new jewellery

from Roman materials (Meaney 1964: 304; White 1988). By and large, dressed burial does not seem to be practiced in Late Iron Age Scotland; where it does, it most often seems to represent an Iron Age or culturally Anglo-Saxon burial rite.

5.2.3. Anglo-Saxon furnished graves?

The existence of an 'Anglo-Saxon' grave at Hound Point would at first seem like an outlier of what is essentially a foreign custom. The scarcity of culturally Anglo-Saxon graves in Scotland despite a long period of Northumbrian occupation from the Tweed valley to Fife in the 7th century is perhaps surprising. It has been argued that grave goods were already going out of fashion by the time of these incursions (Alcock 1981b). Less historically-contingent theories can be sought; for instance, richly-furnished Anglian graves are relatively rare in the north of England compared to areas like Kent (Lucy 1999), and so we should perhaps not be surprised to see fewer examples even further north. Yet there are a number of Anglo-Saxon finds scattered thinly across Scotland, dating from the fifth century onwards (Blackwell 2007; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996). Only few of these come from burials, and indeed, very few of the finds cited by Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly need be Anglo-Saxon, given that we have so few examples of contemporary weapons and dress styles from Scotland (Blackwell in prep), as demonstrated by the example of Blackness Castle (5.2.2).

One way to test whether grave goods represent immigrant burial rites is to explore known Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Scotland. Neither the cremations nor inhumations adjacent to the Anglian timber hall at Doon Hill ELO contained any grave goods (Wilson and Hurst 1966: 176-177). The excavation of the Anglian monastery at Auldhame ELO found only one furnished burial: a dug grave richly furnished with Viking Age artefacts, dated to cal AD 770-970 (DES 2005; 2008). The monastery at Whithorn WIG is known to have been re-established under Northumbrian rule in the early 8th century, but curiously, the few furnished graves here belong largely to the Phase I burials (below, 7.3), with only one possible instance, an infant with beads of amber and slate, in Northumbrian levels (P Hill 1997). The site at Barhobble WIG may have been occupied since the 8th century, but the graves, including furnished examples, are most likely to belong to the 9-11th centuries (Cormack 1995). Finally, an Anglian rune-inscribed ring and a circular enamelled mount from Cramond Kirk MLO may indicate early burial activity here, which would be doubly interesting as it is within a Roman fort (Bourke and Close-Brooks 1989; Stephens 1872).
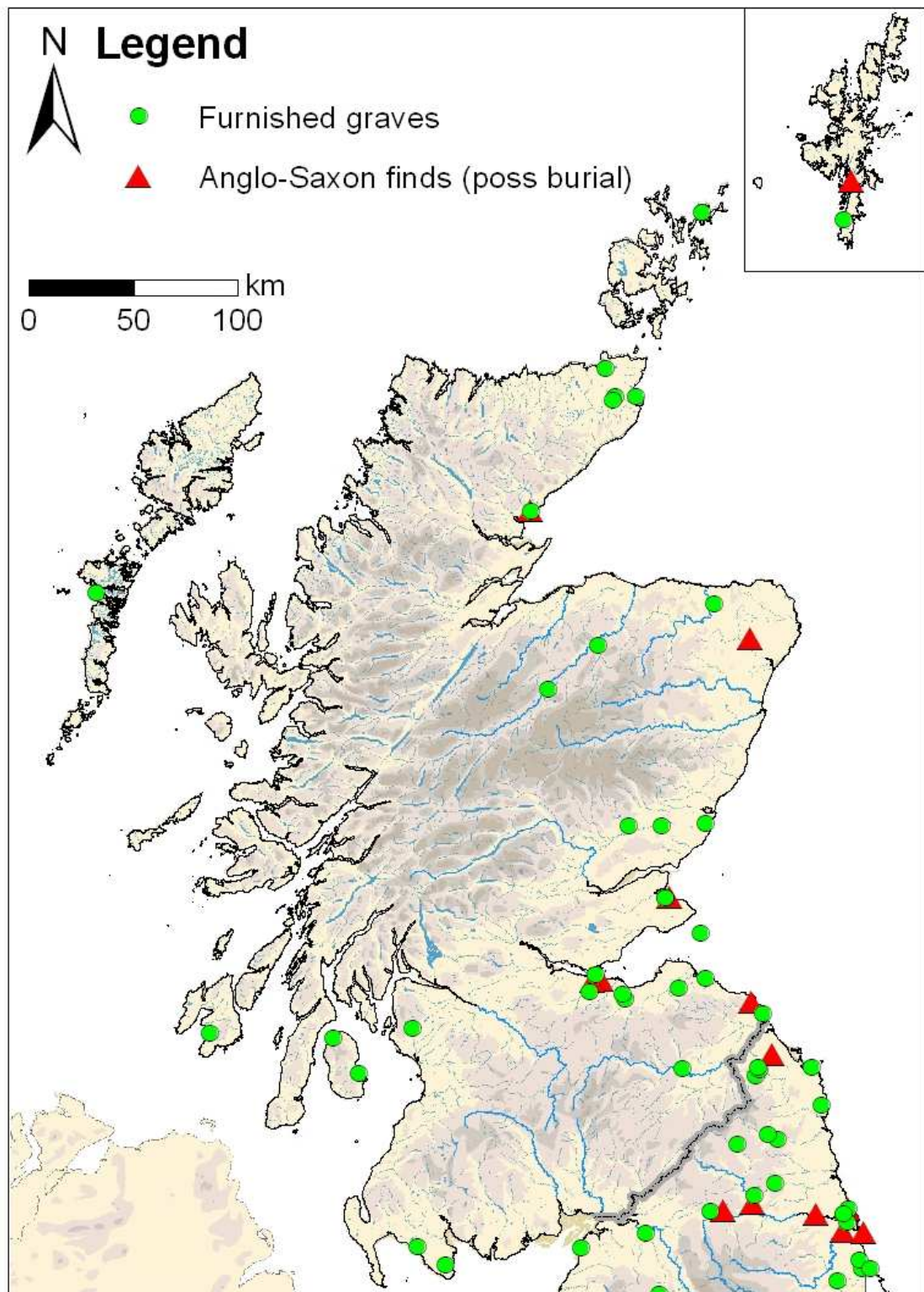
Figure 5.7: Pre-Norse furnished graves and Anglo-Saxon stray finds that may have come from burials.

Looking for migrants is perhaps not productive, as theories regarding the use of grave goods indicate they were not reflective of migrant identities but symbolic strategies of corporeal transformation and social differentiation (Williams 2004a). A small but significant sample of weapon-bearing graves may yet belong to this period, and none of these are from church sites. These include burials with Anglo-Saxon shield bosses at

Ballindalloch MOR and Lamlash, Arran BTE; with spearheads at Castle Hill, Dalry AYR, Loch Watten CAI, and Catacol, Arran BTE (Cessford 2000; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996); with a seax at Dunrobin Castle SUT (Grieg 1940: 163-64); and a stray find of a gold and garnet sword jewel near long cists at Wester Craigie WLO (Alcock 1981b). The appearance of these scattered across the eastern seaboard of Scotland argues against a single population of migrants, but rather a wider continuum of furnished burial customs across Britain (Figure 5.7). The occurrence of two on the Isle of Arran may hint at a localised funerary rite in an area underrepresented by burials in the first millennium AD.

Knife burials are another occasional find often associated with Anglo-Saxon graves (Blair 2005, 240) but also found in many late Roman and sub-Roman cemeteries in western Britain (Farwell and Molleson 1993; Philpott 1991; Rahtz *et al.* 2000). Pieces of iron, probably corroded knives or spear-related implements, are known from an orientated long cist at Lasswade MLO (Henshall 1956: 261), an orientated dug grave in a square barrow at Pityoulish INV (Rae and Rae 1953), an orientated long cist capped by a Class I Pictish stone at Dunrobin Dairy Park SUT (Close-Brooks 1980), and the furnished dug grave from Auldhame ELO mentioned previously. The only one of these to be radiocarbon dated is the 9th century example at Auldhame. The Pityoulish and Dairy Park graves both show signs of disturbance and reuse, so the finds there may be late intrusions. Knife and spear burials are well-known from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and it may be significant that the Scottish examples are all from 'special' graves – a reused barrow at Pityoulish, a reused Pictish stone at Dunrobin, and, at Lasswade, a long cist in a 'string' of graves separated from the rest of the cemetery by a drystone wall. The head-to-foot string-grave layout is rare in Scotland, but another example can be found at the royal Anglian site of Yeavering in Northumberland (Hope-Taylor 1977), and so perhaps this part of the cemetery at Lasswade represents an Anglo-Saxon phase of burials; recent radiocarbon dating of this assemblage has already hinted at two phases of burial here (M Goldberg, pers. comm.). However, the presence of iron knives in orientated Viking Age graves at St Ninian's Isle SHE (Barrowman 2003: 57-58), Midross DNB (DES 2005; G MacGregor, pers. comm.), and Auldhame provide another alternative. Thus in Scotland, where they are only found in rare and often special circumstances, knife burials are possibly indicators of period of social tensions rather than migrant identities.

5.2.4. Heirlooms and grave gifts

Rather than expect to find richly-furnished Anglo-Saxon style burial in which the deceased was dressed and other intact objects such as vessels and weapons were added to the grave,

in Scotland the use of grave goods is much rarer and often consists of fragmented objects instead. One Another class of grave goods comes in the form of reused Roman artefacts. These have been discussed above (5.2.4), where it was argued that fragments of fine vessels like samian bowls and glass cups found in graves at Whithorn WIG and Hallow Hill, FIF represent early medieval reuse of curated Roman material (see also Campbell 2011). The best example of this is Whithorn WIG (discussed in depth in Chapter 7), where four graves contained Roman artefacts: two with sherds of abraded samian, and two with well-worn fragments of Roman glass bangles (P Hill 1997: 294-296). No radiocarbon dates were obtained from the earliest graves at Whithorn, but they are unlikely to be earlier than the late 5th century, the date of the Latin inscription on the Latinus Stone (Forsyth 2009), so Roman inclusions are best interpreted as curated objects. Whithorn is, however, unique in many ways, yet there are nearby parallels. Not far from Whithorn is the 9-11th century church at Barhobble, Mochrum WIG, where an undated grave contained a fragment of a Romano-British glass bangle among other objects (Cormack 1995: 72). Another 9-11th century church at The Hirsel, Coldstream BWK had sherds of samian in graves, and a stray find of a Romano-British glass bangle, although in this case, the site reused an Iron Age settlement platform and the finds may be residual (Cramp 1985).

Many Anglo-Saxon graves include curated Roman material as grave goods, and whether these were intended as amulets, grave gifts, or cherished possessions, it seems to be the antiquity of the objects which tie them into wider patterns of funerary deposition, rather than any knowledge of their cultural origin (Eckardt and Williams 2003; White 1988). The most northerly instance of such Anglo-Saxon reuse of Roman material is actually from Scotland, where the Hound Point, Dalmeny WLO string of beads has a pierced sherd of Roman glass as its centrepiece (Meaney 1964: 304). A long cist in Airlie ANG also contained a Roman glass cup (Davidson 1886), and it is likely to be another example. The curation of such wares for eventual deposition in Scotland would tend to argue against this being solely an Anglo-Saxon practice. Furthermore, Whithorn, Hallow Hill and Barhobble also include other instances of furnished burial, indicating that the reuse of Roman material is simply part of the funerary practice in these cemeteries.

A wider trend of commemorating the dead with heirlooms and other keepsakes (Williams 2006: 77-78) can be seen in Scotland. Fragmentation seems to be an important part of this process, and this ties in with wider patterns of Iron Age ritual deposition (Hunter 1997a). Among the objects in the 'purse' in cist 54 of Hallow Hill was a third of a silver bracelet (Proudfoot 1996: 418, 437). A fragmented iron ring was included in a grave at Whithorn WIG (P Hill 1997: 88). A small number of fragmentary shale or cannel coal armlets have

been found in or associated with graves at Lasswade MLO (Henshall 1956), Whithorn WIG (P Hill 1997: 441-443), St Ninian's Point BTE (Aitken 1955), the Isle of May FIF (James and Yeoman 2008) and Yarrow SLK (Smith 1857). The grave at Lasswade has now been radiocarbon-dated to the 5-6th century (M. Goldberg, pers. comm.). Like the Roman glass bangles at Whithorn and Barhobble, these armlets were invariably fragmented; only at Elliot ANG and possibly St Andrews FIF are complete shale ring-pendants found associated with graves (5.2.2). This raises the possibility that fragmented jewellery functioned within the funerary ritual as a sort of 'gift' distributed among mourners, perhaps as keepsake joining them with the deceased (cf Brück 2006b). Another possibility is that shale-working went on either before or during the use of the place as a cemetery, as is the case with a number of early monastic burial grounds; it may be significant that shale-working occurs at a number of early monastic sites in the west (Hunter 2008a), and the earliest graves at these sites are often associated with craftworking areas (Chapter 8).

Whatever their association with the dead, the manufacture of some shale/cannel coal jewellery on holy sites may mean they retained amuletic or symbolic properties, and their presence at non-monastic burial grounds may be significant. The best example of this may be the monastery at Inchmarnock BTE, which may be where the shale armlet found in a grave at nearby St Ninian's Point BTE was made (below, 8.1.3). A parallel may be found at Lochhead ANG: a single amber bead was associated with an individual with a cyst in the skull, and amber was thought to have healing properties in the medieval period (Dunbar forthcoming). Shale and glass are not known to be intrinsically amuletic materials, but their production on high-status holy sites in the Late Iron Age may have lent them some added value. The partition of such valued ornamental objects, then, may be significant when found in burial contexts, and may have carried significant mnemonic associations, whether as a protective amulet, or as a symbol of the partible, dividual identity of the deceased (2.2.2). This may be paralleled by the inclusion of broken querns and Roman masonry in long cist graves (5.1.2).

As Figure 5.7 shows, the appearance of grave goods follows a thin but widespread continuum along the eastern coast from Northumbria to the Northern Isles. The Anglo-Saxon charcater of much of this material is a contentious issue that must await fuller discussion elsewhere (Blackwell in prep). But the use of grave goods in pre-Anglian layers at Whithorn shows the need for a more nuanced approach. Furnished burial may not be the reliable ethnic marker it is thought to be; whatever social role they had was presumably performed in other ways in north Britain, perhaps by the sculptured stones (Driscoll

1998c). Rather, we should see the act of furnishing a grave as one of many options mourners had when deciding how to display the body at the time of the funeral. This also links burial rites with wider patterns of votive deposition, a reminder of the continuing Iron Age ritual activity we can see amidst the changes of the 5th century.

5.2.5. Crouched and flexed burial

The posture of the cadaver was another important consideration when making a grave. The vast majority of burials in Scotland are extended from the Late Iron Age onwards, but crouched or flexed positions were employed in a minority of cases. Most famously, the cemetery at Addinston near Lauder BWK seems to have had crouched burials amongst extended ones, though all were orientated (Rosehill 1873). There were also Bronze Age graves in the vicinity, as well as cairns with mixed burnt human and animal bone, so it is difficult to conclude much in terms of dates here. However, the inclusions of 'burnt sticks' at Addinston (Wallace 1968) and across the Leader Water at Nether Howden BWK (Allan 1900: 659), along with the lining of some cists with layers of charcoal which also has Anglo-Saxon parallels (Williams 2006: 129), would seem to point to a date in our period.
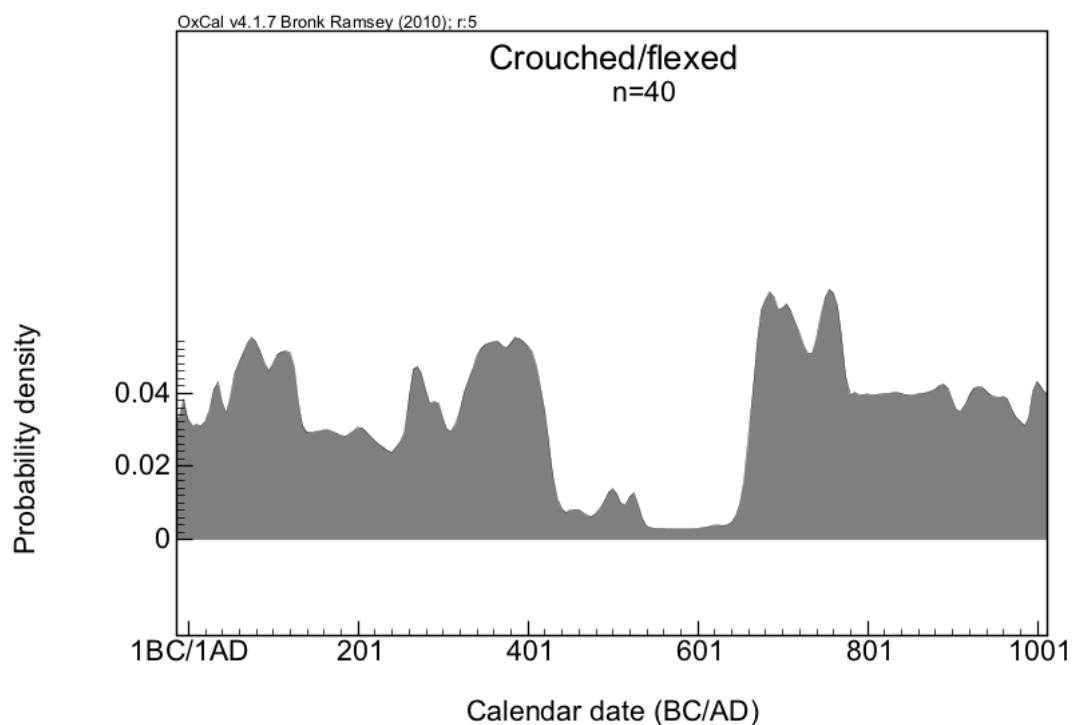
Figure 5.8: Radiocarbon dates from crouched or flexed graves; marine reservoir correction not applied to Norse-period graves in this distribution, so the gap may be even wider.

Crouched burial in Scotland is largely indicative of prehistoric graves, and experiences a revival in the Norse period (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998: 145). However, this was not limited to pagan graves, and there are instances from established ecclesiastical sites

such as St Ninian's Isle SHE, where a group of flexed inhumations were marked with 10th-century cross slabs (Barrowman 2003; Barrowman forthcoming-a), and Auldhame ELO, where a single crouched, furnished grave was dated to the 8-9th century (E Hindmarch pers. comm.). Outside the churchyard of St Peter's, Thurso CAI an 11th-century rune-inscribed cross slab was found over a crouched burial (Anderson 1897). This may help date the short cist apparently lidded with a cross-incised stone near a 10th-century cross slab in Alloa CLA (Miller 1889), and the orientated crouched inhumations found near St Orland's Stone, a Class II Pictish cross slab in Cossans ANG (Jervise 1857). Crouched burial does seem to have some chronological significance, as these examples indicate it was largely abandoned by AD 400, only to return with the changes in burial practice seen in the Viking period. The radiocarbon distribution presented here (Figure 5.8) seems to show a revival before the Viking period, but these later dates, from Viking burials such as Kiloran Bay, Colonsay ARG and Westness, Rousay ORK skew earlier due to the marine reservoir effect caused by a primarily marine-based diet; recent recalibration of these dates places them squarely in the Viking period (Barrett and Richards 2004). Even with this bias in the calibration above, there is a striking absence of dated examples from the Late Iron Age, which hints at a deliberate suppression of the rite. However, as the above examples show, this need not be a Christian prohibition.

5.2.6. Prone burial

Another possible 'deviant' practice is prone burial. These are more widespread than crouched burials in Late Iron Age Scotland, but still rare. Undated examples are known from an early church site at Ardwall Isle KCB (Thomas 1967), one at the possible 'mixed rite' cemetery of Addinston BWK (5.2.5), and one at Galson, Lewis (Neighbour *et al.* 2000: 576). Recent finds are summarised in Table 5.1. In Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, prone burials are also in the minority, but are often found in 'deviant' contexts away from the main burial area, and have been theorised as a rite meant to "render the corpse safe for the living" (Reynolds 2009: 68-76). It is striking that in Scotland these graves seem to cluster in the 7th and 8th centuries (Figure 5.9). This is also the period when Christianity was developing a strong penitential outlook, in which the method of burial impacted directly on one's chances for resurrection (Effros 2002a; Thompson 2004). As such, the use of deviant burial rites may be a form of punishment or penitence, and illustrates the way that long-held rituals could be subverted to special mnemonic effect for onlookers and mourners.
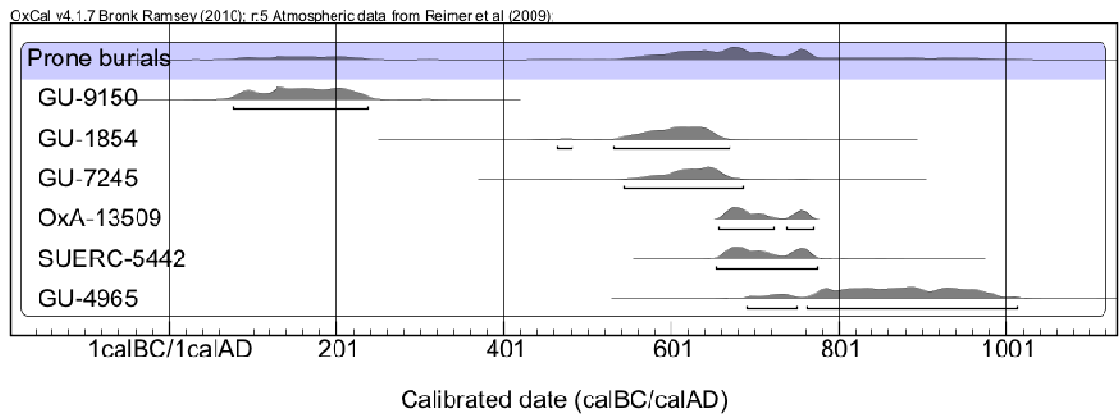
Figure 5.9: All dated prone burials in Scotland.

Site name	Lab Code	C14 2σ	Grave type	Sex	Orientation
Dunbar Golf Course ELO	GU-9150	77-238	Masonry cist	?	SW-NE
Hallow Hill FIF	GU-1854	465-670	Long cist	F	NW-SE
Bay of Skaill ORK	GU-7245	544-687	Long cist	M	W-E
Portmahomack ROS	OxA-13509	657-771	Dug grave	?	W-E
St Ninian's Isle SHE	SUERC-5442	655-755	Boulder cist	F	N-S
Isle of May FIF	GU-4965	783-944	Dug grave	?	?

Table 5.1: Summary of dated prone burials.

5.2.7. Laid-on-side burial

A rare variation on the extended burial posture is when the body is laid on one side. This is a peculiarity of the early cemeteries at the Northumbrian monasteries of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, where the majority of all pre-Norman graves were laid on their right side (Cramp 2005). Burial on the left or right side also occurs among the Iron Age barrow cemeteries of East Yorkshire (Stead 1991). In Scotland, this is found in only a small number of cases, summarised in Table 5.2. The distribution of these is markedly northern, and many of them were beneath stone cairns. Only four have been dated so far (Figure 5.10), and with one exception, these cluster in the Late Iron Age. Until more are found, it can only be concluded that this was a very localised burial rite connected to the use of cairns. The link with burials in northern England may require future study.
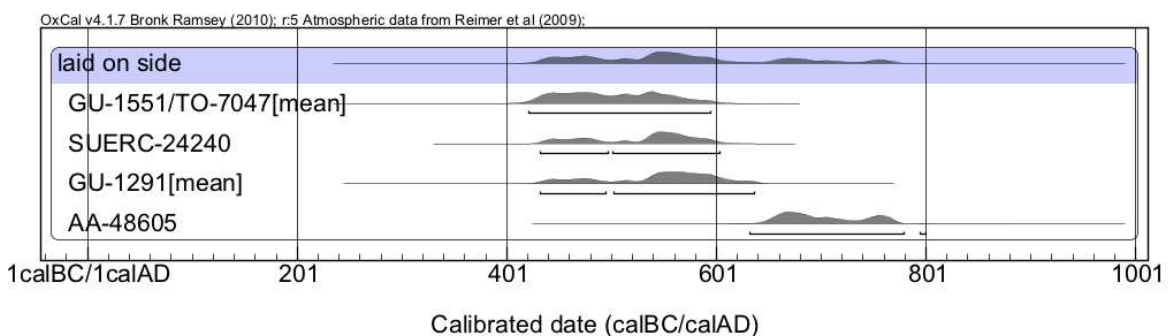
Figure 5.10: All dates from burials laid on side.

Site name	Lab Code	C14 2σ	Sex	Grave types	Side	Orient.
Skara Brae ORK	SUERC-24240	432-604	F	Long cist	Right	N-S
Birsay Brough Road ORK	GU-1551/TO-7047[mean]	422-596	M	Long cist, round cairn	Right	SW-NE
Sandwick, Unst SHE	GU-1291[mean]	433-637	F	Dug grave, square cairn	Left	NW-SE
Cille Pheadair INV	AA-48605	632-800	F	Long cist, square cairn	Left	S-N
Ackergill CAI	n/a	n/a	M, F	2 dug graves, round cairn	Left	E-W
Keiss CAI	n/a	n/a	n/a	Long cist, cairns	Right	various
Balblair ROS	n/a	n/a	n/a	various	L, R	various
Isle of May FIF	n/a	n/a	M	Long cist	Left	W-E

Table 5.2: Summary of all burials laid on side.

5.2.8. Discussion

Thus far, we have focused on the ways the body was treated after death. This has introduced considerable complexity to what had previously been generalised as simple, unchanging burial rites. There is growing evidence that 'formal' or normative burial rites began to be implemented in the Late Iron Age, including the seemingly deliberate rejection of crouched burial and the more frequent use of long cists as opposed to other stone-lined graves. But more than anything, we have seen that treatment of the body varied even within cemeteries, and rather than displaying ethnic or religious affiliations, variations in body position, dress and other furnishings were part of the array of choices available to the mourners to differentiate a funeral from the ones that came before. This impulse for subtle variation within increasingly normative rituals traces the process of new identities being formed in the mid-first millennium AD (Theuws 2000). The increasing use of head-box graves over time may be a sign of growing Christian influence, but the reintroduction of crouched burial on ecclesiastical sites shows that a range of ideological statements were being made using burials, not limited to the competing ideologies that have come down to us in historical narratives. In order to explore this further, we need to turn to the way in which burials fitted into the landscapes of the living.

5.3. Monumentalising the grave
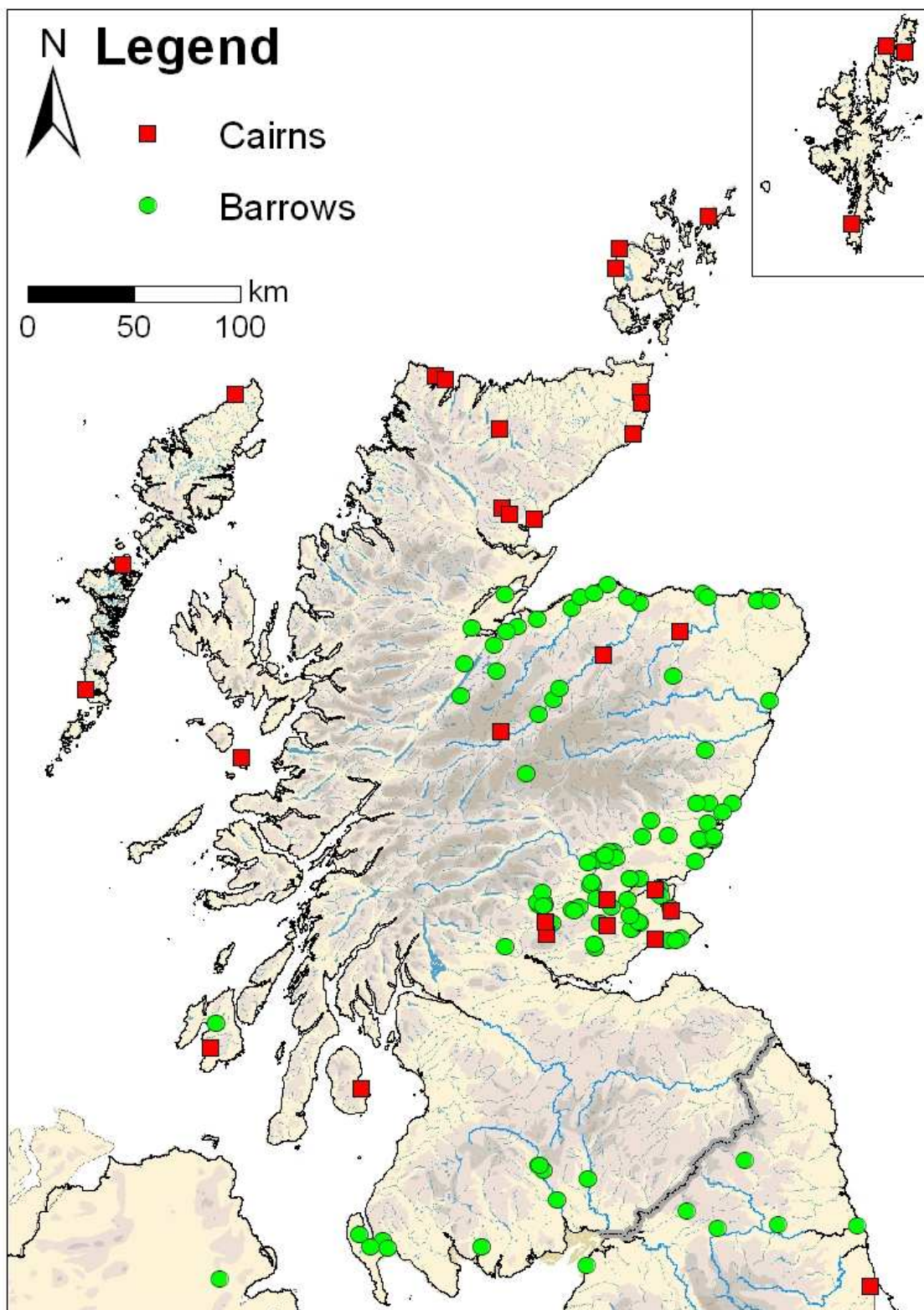
Figure 5.11: Simplified distribution of barrows and cairns in the first millennium AD.

The burial ritual did not always end with the backfilling of the grave. While many graves are unique as we have seen above, once closed, they became anonymous to all but the mourners. Yet some graves were clearly set apart from the rest above ground. While in other parts of Britain, special graves entail the use of different orientations, peculiar body

positions, or lavish grave furnishings, in Scotland they could be marked with surface features like enclosure ditches or mounds of earth or stone (Ashmore 1980). These are not generally very large monuments, barrows generally 5-10m across and cairns often 5m or less, and where upstanding they are no more than a half a meter high. Barrows and cairns are often discussed in the same breath, with attention focused on whether they are round or square (Greig 2000). However, this glosses over the fact that cairns and barrows seem rarely to appear on the same site. Figure 5.11 shows a marked preference for cairns in Atlantic Scotland and barrows in the lowlands north of the Forth; the overall impression is that barrows and cairns are almost mutually exclusive (see also Figure 5.17). This is in part due to the geological constraints which limit the distribution of cropmarks to the eastern coastal zone, and the barrows in southwest Scotland were only recently identified (Cowley 1996; Cowley 2002). But the fact that barrow and cairn cemeteries are distinctly absent in the Lothians and Borders despite comprehensive aerial reconnaissance indicates a real absence there, and perhaps a conscious rejection (Halliday 2006); the square-ditched graves at Thornybank MLO may be the exception, but these were interpreted as sleeper-trenches for a timber structure (Rees 2002: 335-337). This regional disparity has attracted ethnic and religious explanations, but it could equally be due to different commemorative strategies. In order to elucidate what these might be, we must look closely at the rituals involved.

5.3.1. Platform cairns

Like the Pictish symbols, the construction of 'platform cairns', or low, often flat-topped mounds of stone, seems to be quite standardised even across remarkable distances (Ashmore 1980; 2003). The rite begins with a burial in a long cist, or more rarely a dug grave, followed by the backfilling of the grave cut with clean, sterile sand. Unlike shallow flat graves, those under cairns can be up to a meter below ground level, and often more sand had to be brought in to fill the void (Edwards 1927). The use of sterile sand layers is nearly ubiquitous, which points to its ritual significance, found even in the Middle Iron Age cairns of Durness SUT (4.1.2); if this is meant to be a protective boundary against pollution, it may help explain the function of cairns. The next step is the cairn itself: whether round or square, a kerb of upright stones or coursed boulders is first set out. In square cairns, the corners are often emphasised by upright corner-posts, and sometimes the midpoints as well. A pavement of close-set flat boulders is then laid within the kerb, topped by a layer of smaller, water-worn pebbles. In many cases, these pebbles are carefully chosen quartzite or otherwise uniformly white stone. The widespread occurrence of this carefully planned ritual, from Fife (Greig 2000) to Sutherland (Close-Brooks 1980)

to Shetland (Bigelow 1984) to South Uist (Mulville *et al.* 2003), shows that the use of this monument made a clear statement, perhaps marking a political affiliation; due to their distribution, they are often dubbed 'Pictish' cairns.
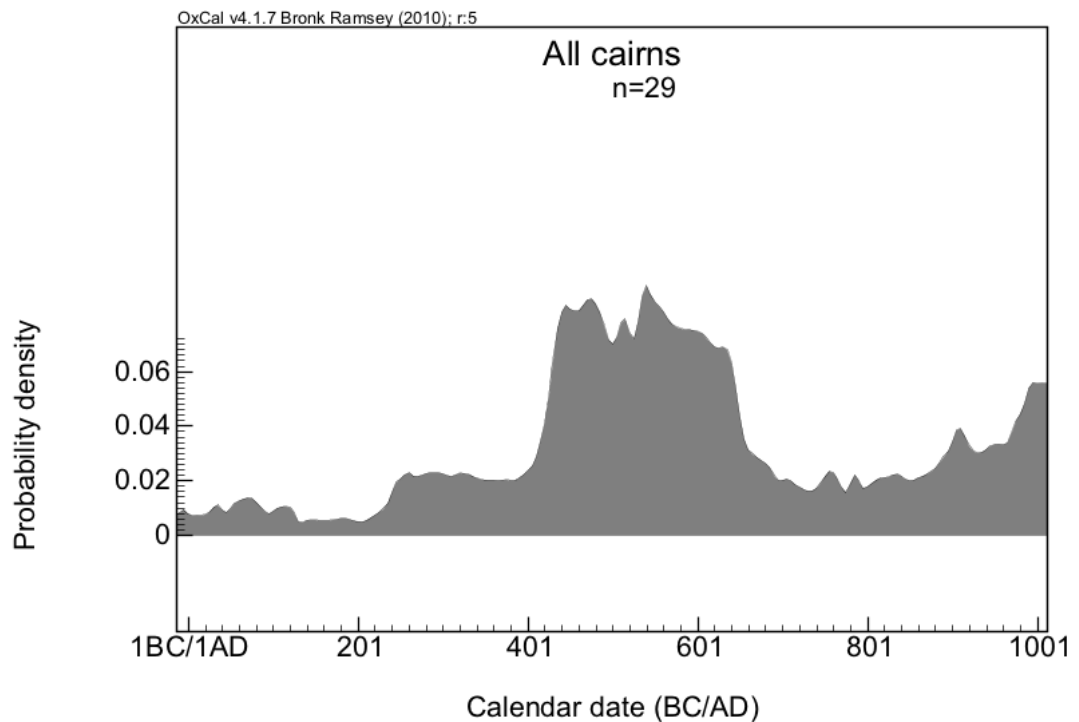
Figure 5.12: Sum of all radiocarbon dates from cairn burials in Scotland.

The earliest dated 'Pictish' cairn, using the complex layering sequence described above, is grave 89/2 at Galson, Lewis INV, radiocarbon dated to cal AD 133-532 (Neighbour *et al.* 2000; Ponting 1989), and Middle Iron Age precursors have now been excavated in Durness SUT (above, 4.1.2), which make use of the term 'Pictish' to describe them largely anachronistic (viz., Brady *et al.* 2007). They way they were seen is an interesting topic to be discussed further below (5.3.5), but the way they were used is a different matter. A hint comes in the form of pot lids inserted into cairns. Both the cairn above Galson 89/2 (Ponting 1989: 96) and Cairn 1 at Lundin Links FIF (Greig 2000: 590-592) have a dressed sandstone disc carefully placed in the body of the cairn. As mentioned earlier, a broken stone disc was also found capping long cist R below cairn 5 at Lundin Links (5.1.2). If these were pot lids, then their use for 'capping' burials just as they once capped pots or urns may be a hint of the kinds of rituals surrounding these funerary events, usually obscured to us. This image of a cairn as a vessel in the ground may reference prehistoric cremation practices, as the kerbed cairns already seem to in their architectural form. Alternatively, the vessel may be seen as a food container, symbolising or even ensuring the continuation of life.
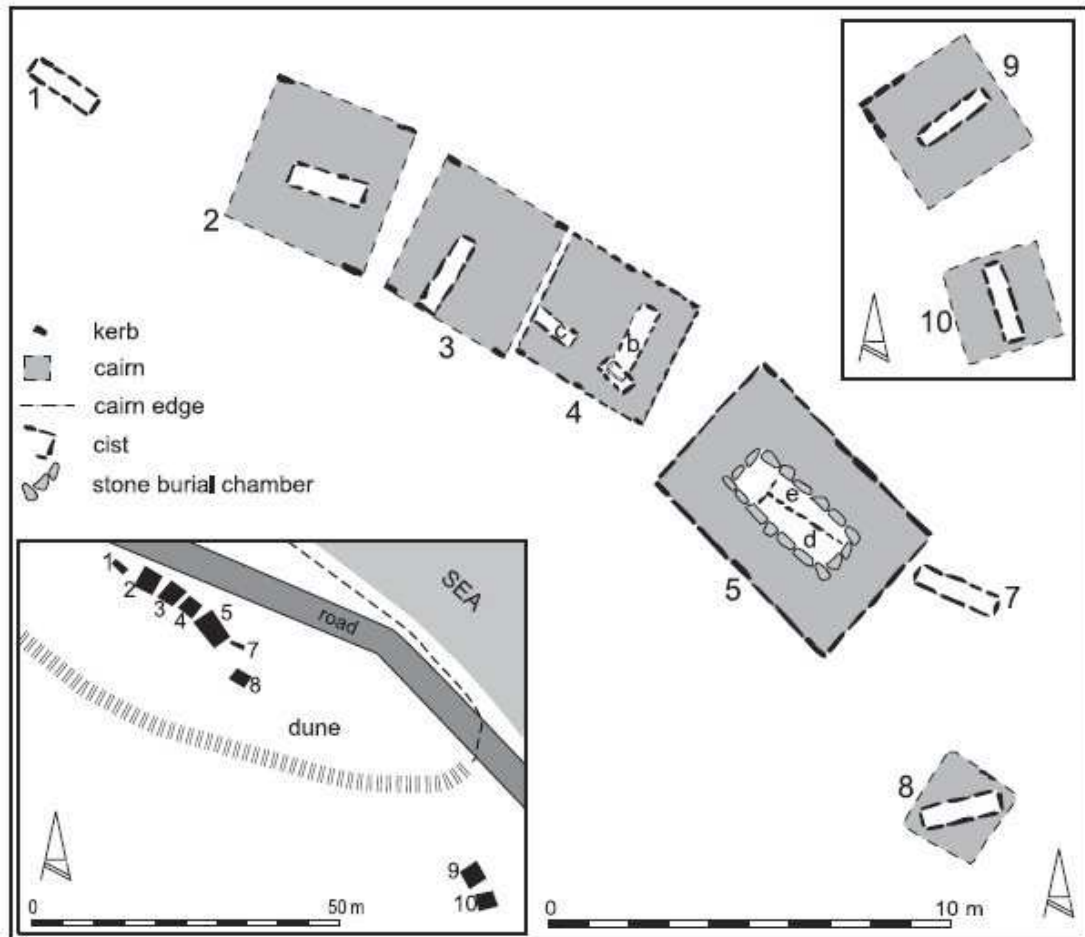
Figure 5.13: Composite plan of the Ackergill CAI cairn cemetery (Williams 2007b after Edwards 1926, 1927). Grave 6, not shown, is roughly 53m NW of the main group.

But as with any ritual practice, each instance is a unique statement within an accepted norm. The best example of such variations at work may be found in the cairn cemetery of Ackergill Links CAI (Edwards 1926; Edwards 1927). Although the cemetery was excavated before scientific dating was possible, it is considered a classic example of the 'Pictish' square cairn tradition due to the use of diagnostic corner-post kerbs and the association with two Pictish symbol stones. The reproduction of Edwards' 1926 plan (Figure 5.13) over the years has made the image familiar to any scholar of the Picts. However, given the variety of cairn types, with multiple layers of burials flattened by the plan view, Ackergill is anything but typical, and its layout is worth discussing at length.

The majority of the cemetery is cut into a large natural sand mound on the shoreline at the point where Sinclair's Bay changes from sandy beach to rocky shore. At the northwest extremity of this mound is 'grave 6', a 5.4m round kerbed cairn (Figure 5.14) containing a massive sub-oval corbelled drystone chamber. This chamber contains four unprotected burials at different levels in a clean sand fill. The highest two burials were laid on their left side: one is a flexed male, the other an extended female wearing a bronze chain around the neck. The lower two burials were supine, extended males. All were oriented E-W (heads to

east). The shared orientation links the occupants of this corbelled chamber but the change in body position from supine to flexed to left-side (dressed) burial may reflect a chronological development.
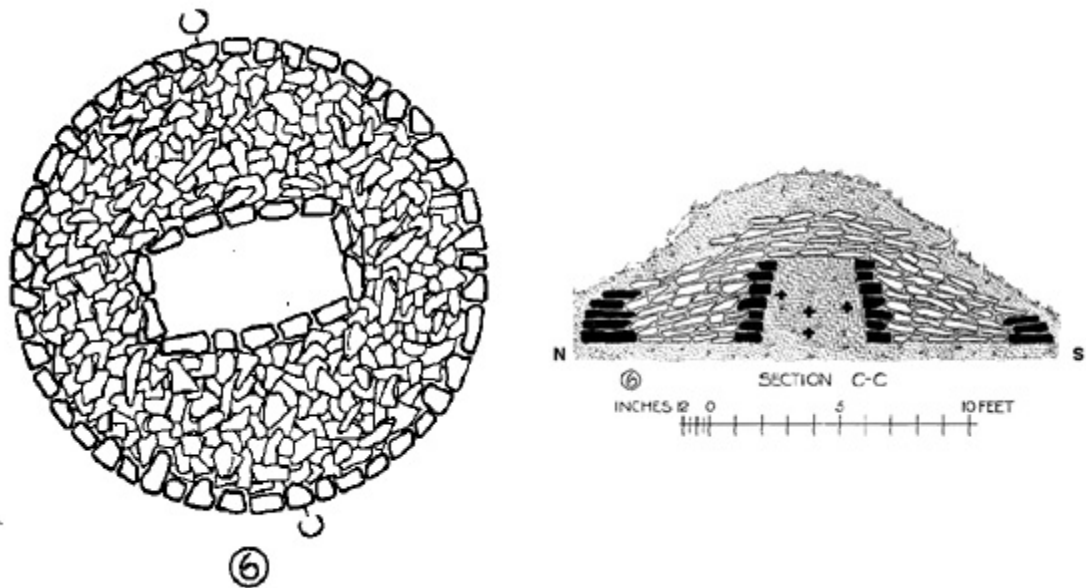
Figure 5.14: Ackergill 'grave 6' (after Edwards 1926). I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce these images.

Near the centre of the sand mound is the core of the cemetery, consisting of five cairns and two isolated long cists, all in a line roughly following the NW-SE axis of the mound. Even within this area, no two cairns were alike. Cairn 6, the only round cairn, was separate from the main group, as were small square cairns 9 and 10. Cairns 3 and 6 had kerbs of coursed masonry, while cairns 4 and 5, and to a lesser extent disturbed cairns 8 and 9, had kerbs of upright slabs of stone. Corner posts were used in cairns 3, 4 and 5, with additional upright posts at the mid-points of the kerbs of 4, 5, and 8. Graves were incorporated into these monuments in various ways. Cairns 5 and 6 incorporated corbelled inner chambers holding multiple graves; cairns 2 and 4 contained long cists within the body of the cairn material; the remaining cairns have long cists in sand layers beneath them, from directly below the cairn surface in cairn 10 to as much as 2 meters deep below cairn 8.

Edwards only discovered a cist over a meter beneath cairn 3 in a second season of excavation (1927), and so cairns 2, 4, 5 and 6 may yet have long cists beneath them as well. A further complication is that many of the graves beneath cists do not match the orientations of the cairns above them, and so they may not all have been built at the same time. However, the orientation of graves B and C in cairn 4 were clearly determined by the kerb of the cairn; grave C uses the kerb as an end slab. Grave A, a small, tent-like cist, was placed directly over grave B, and so this cairn in particular demonstrates a long sequence of reuse. The interment of four individuals in varying positions in corbelled cairn 6 also

seems to be an example of a grave that built up over a period of time, as do cists 3 and 10 where the orientations do not match the overlying cairns.

A more intriguing example of the long-term reuse of this site is in the use of Pictish symbol stones (Figure 5.15). The largest (I Fraser 2008: 96.1) was apparently once upright near the NW edge of the sand mound, close to the corbelled cairn 6, but the slab was found in pieces; only the fragment which remains, bearing the rectangle symbol, bottom of a salmon symbol and an ogham inscription reading NEHTETRI (Forsyth 1996: 227-242), was ever recorded. A second broken fragment (Figure 5.15, 96.2), also bearing a rectangle symbol and the hint of a second, was found near the head end of long cist 1 (Figure 5.13). These would appear to be marking the graves of individuals interred here, but they have no stratigraphic relationship to any graves. Instead, it is arguable that these stones have also witnessed periods of reuse, like the cairns themselves. It is difficult to tell whether the ogham on 96.1 postdates the symbols, but one thing that links both stones is that the second symbols have been broken off, leaving only a rectangle on each. It is possible that this was no accident, and it is striking that every Pictish stone found associated with a cairn or built into a cist is fragmented or shows signs of reuse (Clarke 2007).

96.1   96.2

Figure 5.15: Pictish symbol stones from the Ackergill mound. Numbering after RCAHMS (Fraser 2008, 76); not to scale. Image 96.1: © Historic Scotland, licensor www.scran.ac.uk. Image 96.2: Crown copyright © RCAHMS.

The reason for describing this cemetery at such length is to emphasise that while the 'Pictish' cairns display some overarching similarities (corner posts, use of orientated long

cists, carefully layered cairn material, sterile sand layers), there is plenty of scope for variation. Just in this one cemetery, each monument is almost unique in its layout while still corresponding to the recognisable 'Pictish cairn' type. Like the nearby cemeteries at Keiss and Stain CAI (Laing 1866; 1868), the cists were cut into a natural sand mound parallel to the coastline, which is what largely dictates their orientations; hence most of the burials here are NW-SE, while at Keiss the S-N graves echo the axis of the mound. At Ackergill, we get a glimpse of the long time-depth of the mortuary ritual involved in the construction and use of these monuments, some cairns reused two, even three times. Given the lack of radiocarbon dates, we cannot be sure how contemporary these graves all are, but stray bone eroding from the mound in 2004 was radiocarbon dated to cal AD 256-530 (DES 2004, 165); the bronze chain around the neck of the highest burial in cairn 6 has been variously dated to both the 2nd and 10th centuries (Close-Brooks 1984; Edwards 1926). Given the complex layout and stratigraphy discussed above, it would be irresponsible to assume anything other than a very long time-span covered by the activity here. More interesting is the possibility that this site, and the others like it, was continually accessed, reused, and its significance recreated for many centuries, as seems to happen at a number of cairn sites (discussed further below, 5.3.4). And yet throughout the changing significance of these monuments, some patterns remained, including the use of long cists and a general tendency for burials to face east.

5.3.2. Low mounds and ditched burials

Moving on to the mounds of earth, it is quite clear that the burial rite is similar to that of cairns. Like cairns, there are some unique instances in the early centuries AD, and flourish into a normative type in the 5th and 6th centuries. Where upstanding they are also low, flat-topped mounds built over the same kinds of extended, unfurnished inhumations; at Garbeg, postholes were found at the corners of an excavated square barrow, indicating a similar desire to emphasise the corners. Plough damage has reduced many of these monuments to cropmark ditches, and it is difficult to tell whether these all necessarily represent barrows at all; at the upstanding cemeteries of Garbeg and Whitebridge INV which survive without plough truncation, there are a few examples of ditches with banks but no interior mound (Stevenson 1984). The difference may lie in the ditch: an uninterrupted trench is likely to enclose a mound, whereas a penannular ditch or a square ditch with a single gap may indicate a need for an entrance or restricted access to an interior area, more akin to the square-enclosed graves of Wales and the southwest (Longley 2009). Excavated examples of continuous square-ditched graves at Boysack Mills ANG (Murray and Ralston 1997) and Pityoulish INV (Rae and Rae 1953) revealed complicated internal features, including

fire pits, massive wooden posts, and standing stones; it may be that such graves were purposefully different, perhaps much earlier, than those with causewayed corners. However, a square barrow with a continuous ditch and rounded corners similar to these was recently excavated at Forteviot and had no internal features (E. Campbell, pers. comm.). Annular ditched graves have been excavated at Redcastle ANG (Alexander 2005), Forteviot PER (DES 2009) and Inchtuthil PER (Abercromby *et al.* 1902); one example at Redcastle and one at Inchtuthil provided Middle Iron Age radiocarbon dates (see Table 4.1), although a second annular barrow at Redcastle (along with many others in England and a few in Ireland) are dated to the 5-7th centuries (O'Brien 1999; 2009).
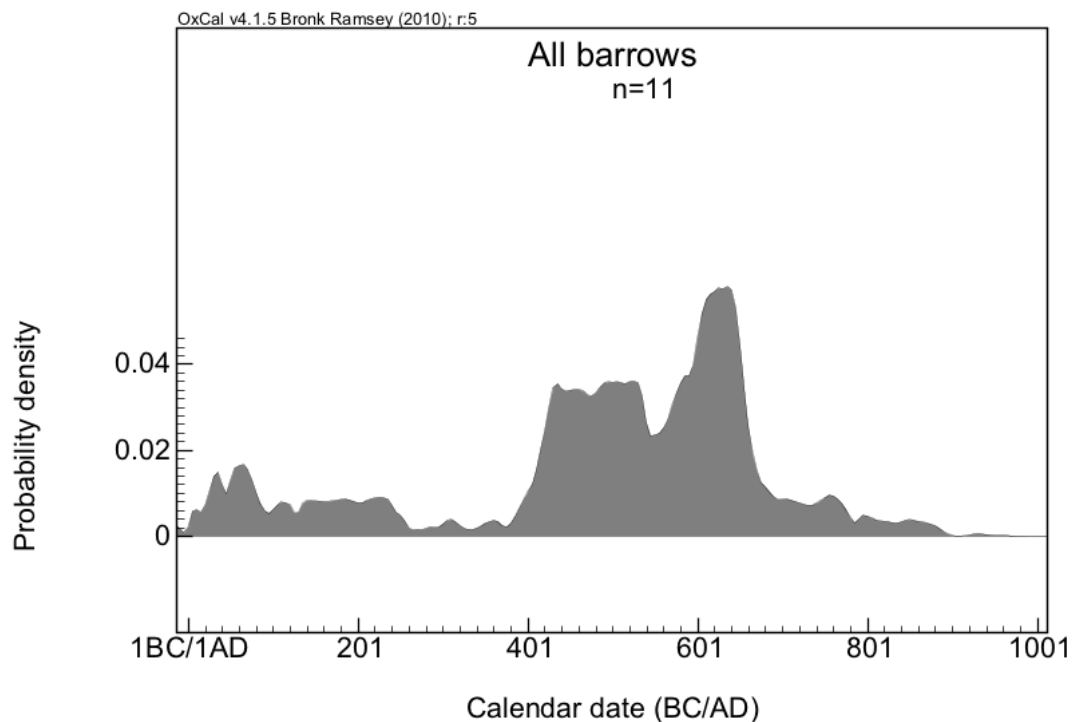
Figure 5.16: Sum of all dates obtained from barrow graves in Scotland.

Causewayed ditches are found in most square barrows; indeed, the square ditch with causewayed corners seems to be the standard rite in northeast Scotland, and evidence for corner-posts at Garbeg would indicate these did not act as entrances (Ashmore 1980). Penannular ditched enclosures are also common, though few have been excavated; in fact, the largest concentration of these is outside Scotland, in Kent, with further outliers in Ireland (O'Brien 1999); more excavation is needed to sort out the chronological relationship between these areas. Square barrows with causewayed corners have been excavated at Redcastle, Forteviot, and Garbeg, while round barrows with penannular ditches have only been excavated at Garbeg and Newton, Islay ARG (McCullagh 1989). It is perhaps too early to map the distribution of penannular ditched graves in Scotland as only very few have been excavated, but an increasing number of Irish examples have been

dated to the Middle Iron Age (McGarry 2009), and such an exercise may be misleading without further research.

Unfortunately, another shared feature of such earthen monuments is poor preservation of skeletal remains, and so it is still unclear whether these variations have a chronological significance. Thus far, the only radiocarbon dates from human bone obtained from barrows or ditched graves are from Redcastle ANG where they range from the 2nd to the 8th centuries AD (Alexander 2005), and now from Inchtuthil PER where a ditched round barrow was dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD (S Winlow, pers. comm.). Recent examples of annular and causewayed square barrows excavated at Forteviot PER have had organic materials dated from the 5th to the 9th centuries, indicating that here, as at Redcastle, these were only used sporadically but over long periods of time, again similar to the cairn cemetery of Ackergill (5.3.1).

Where excavations have been undertaken, or the cropmarks are clear enough, barrow are most often seen to cover a single burial. This fact may be the clearest distinction between the use of cairns and barrows. It is also rarer to see eccentric layouts in barrow graves, where the inhumations are more consistently central, and once again we may conclude that the choice between barrow and cairn was highly dependent on the function the grave was meant to serve: to restrict or encourage access to the dead. Perhaps due to practical reasons, barrows were less likely to receive secondary interments, but at Forteviot, we can perhaps see the development of genealogies in the ground, to paraphrase Williams (2007a), as square barrows are adjoined to one another over time (Poller 2008) and created a vast landscape of burials around the prehistoric cropmark complex (discussed further below, 6.3.4). At Garbeg, the platform mound was seemingly made of upcast from the ditch, and was thrown up in a single construction event (Wedderburn and Grime 1984); but the fragmented Pictish symbol stone placed atop barrow 1 is reminiscent of the 'multiple lives' these stones could have (Clarke 2007), as discussed for the Pictish sculpture at Ackergill (5.3.1). At Pityoulish, the complex stratigraphy may indicate that the barrow monument was indeed used more than once, wiping out almost all evidence of the primary phase (Rae and Rae 1953). The problem is in the relationship of the graves with the surrounding barrow ditches, and future excavations need to address this question more carefully by planning a full section across both grave and enclosure.

5.3.3. Structures

Barrows and cairns are not the only ways of monumentalising a grave in Late Iron Age Scotland. Other above-ground structures, seen as four-post settings or square foundation-trenches around individual graves, are thus far only represented at two sites, Thornybank MLO (Rees 2002: 335-339) and Forteviot PER (Poller 2008). However, the four-post setting from Forteviot is within a square barrow, and was not certainly a free-standing structure. At Thornybank, one dug grave was emphasised with four posts around it, but no enclosure ditch (Rees 2002: 337). Parallels for this type of grave monument are known from southern and western England (Hogarth 1973; Webster and Brunning 2004). No structural evidence has been linked with these four-post settings, but an above-ground mortuary house seems most likely; another possibility is a temporary structure related to the funeral ritual (E Campbell, pers. comm.). If some sort of 'shrine' can be posited, this could have interesting implications for the issue of how these monuments were used as places to contact or intercede on behalf of the ancestors. This is especially relevant in the case of Thornybank's square-ditch burials (Figure 6.15), which have been interpreted by the excavator not as denoting a barrow but as the sleeper-trench of a wooden structure, with parallels in Wales and Somerset (Rees 2002: 335-337). These currently have no parallel in Scotland, but if the Thornybank examples are architectural rather than a southerly iteration of the square barrow, this would tie Midlothian more strongly into a sub-Roman tradition of *cella memoriae* or mortuary enclosures (Thomas 1971). However, the Welsh examples often have openings or doorways, and contain multiple burials (Longley 2009), which the Thornybank examples lack. At present, they can only be described as square-ditched graves.

Post-defined enclosures near graves are found in the earliest phases of the cemetery at Whithorn WIG, where they have been interpreted as shrines (P Hill 1997), which is disputed below (7.4), as they do not cover graves or contain human remains. We would do well to avoid loaded terms like 'shrine' in describing these features (Insoll 2004: 5-7), but it is clear the four-post structures seen at Forteviot and Thornybank were at least meant to draw attention to individual graves. If we can conclude that these, along with the square-ditched burials at Thornybank, are commemorative structures, then this gives us a rare insight into the social function of these monuments within their wider cemeteries. Such monuments show both a desire to access the dead, but also to protect or even restrict such access (see also 6.4.3). Since these structures are found amidst many other unembellished flat graves, they imply a certain tension within the community of mourners, and that some of the dead could have very different 'afterlives' than the rest.

5.3.4. Grave markers

Fundamental to our understanding of how the dead fit into the landscapes of the living is the use of grave markers. Graves rarely intercut in flat grave cemeteries, so some level of management or above-ground grave marker must have been employed. Given the lack of evidence for these, an ephemeral monument like a low mound or surface marker can be posited in most cases; one long cist at Portmahomack was covered by a low mound capped with stone slabs (Carver 2008: 77), while a few graves at Whithorn were covered by a flat layer of white pebbles (P Hill 1997). Our familiar image of an upright stone at the head of every grave was certainly not the case the Late Iron Age. Even at early monastic sites, where simple cross slabs are found associated with graves (Aitken 1955; Barrowman 2003; Carver 2008; Rennie 1999; Thomas 1967), these tend to be of later types where closely datable (discussed below, 8.1.3). Outside of monastic burial grounds, in situ grave markers are very few, and more likely to be simple, undecorated standing stones, as at Pityloulish INV (Rae and Rae 1953) and Boysack Mills ANG (Murray and Ralston 1997), both of which are likely to be earlier than the Late Iron Age 'Pictish' barrows (5.3.2).

Yet theories of stone grave markers abound. A small number of Class I Pictish symbol stones have been found in close association with cairns, most notably at Dunrobin SUT where the stone was apparently laid atop the cairn (Close-Brooks 1980). This has led to the argument that some at least of the symbol stones were intended to be grave markers (Ashmore 1980; Close-Brooks 1984). But seeing as many such examples were found broken or lying unceremoniously face down on a cairn rather than standing upright (eg., Gourlay 1984), these stones should be seen as having had 'multiple lives' (Clarke 2007), and their association with burials may be more complex than the gravestone model allows. As argued previously (5.1.2), the association between Pictish stones and cists seems to be one of later reuse rather than their primary function; a similarly complex relationship between symbol stones and cairns is a more useful explanation (5.3.1). The juxtaposition of a sculptured stone with a cemetery does not mean it served as a grave marker as such; the Latin-inscribed stones of southern Scotland provide a plausible alternative.

As these inscribed stones often commemorate named individuals, it has been assumed that they were erected to mark individual graves (eg Thomas 1971: 62-63). However, more recent excavations at the Catstane MLO have shown that the Latin-inscribed stone probably did not overlie a contemporary grave at all; in fact, it seems most likely that it is a standing stone set into a Bronze Age kerbed cairn or barrow, carved with Latin lettering only in the 5th or 6th century (Cowie 1978). In this scenario, the stone is not physically covering the tomb (*tumulo*) of 'Vetta daughter of Victricius,' but claiming a prehistoric site

as an ancestral place of burial, a common occurrence in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England (O'Brien 2009; Williams 1998). These kinds of 'charter' inscriptions, often associated with graves and frequently located at territorial boundaries like the Catstane, thus have both a funerary as well as a more 'civic' function (Forsyth 2005). The recent close reading of the Latinus stone found near the early cemetery of Whithorn WIG has argued that the eponymous commemorand was being cited, almost like a legal charter, to legitimate land claims on behalf of the descendants of the wider kin-group (Forsyth 2009). In this scenario, the inscribed stones created a space for a community to congregate, reinforced by the repeated use of the site for burials, and structuring movement across the landscape for future generations.

The Yarrow Stone SLK is another inscribed stone that is found near to, but not directly over, long cist graves (Smith 1857). Rather, this stone seems to be placed along a routeway that also passes by the place of burial, and so it serves as a sort of way-marker announcing the entrance to a specific territory, again reinforced by the accrual of a possible long cist cemetery. Perhaps the Class I stones should be read in a similar way: not as tombstones as we recognise in modern cemeteries, but as signposts and landmarks, with an acquired but often indirect funerary role. They should perhaps be understood as akin to Roman civic inscriptions, like the *titulus* slabs recording the foundation of a burial ground: erected by a specifically named patron, but for the use of a wider community (MacMullen 1982; Thomas 1992). A similar argument has been made for the later hogback stones, which are often found in churchyards, but rarely associated with any single burial (Stocker 2000).

5.3.5. Discussion

Monumental graves are thus set apart from flat grave cemeteries not by an inherent ethnic or religious antagonism, but by a fundamental difference in function. Barrow cemeteries like Forteviot PER and cairn cemeteries like Lundin Links FIF are both adjoined by contemporary flat graves, and we should not presume that they were two mutually opposed social practices. A more reflexive attitude towards these monuments needs to be taken, along the lines of the arguments put forward for the 'multiple lives' of Pictish stones (Clarke 2007), and the way they actively structured perceptions of the landscape (Gondek and Noble 2010). Barrows and cairns seem to have been most susceptible to changing perceptions and reuse by their very monumentality (cf. Bradley 2002).
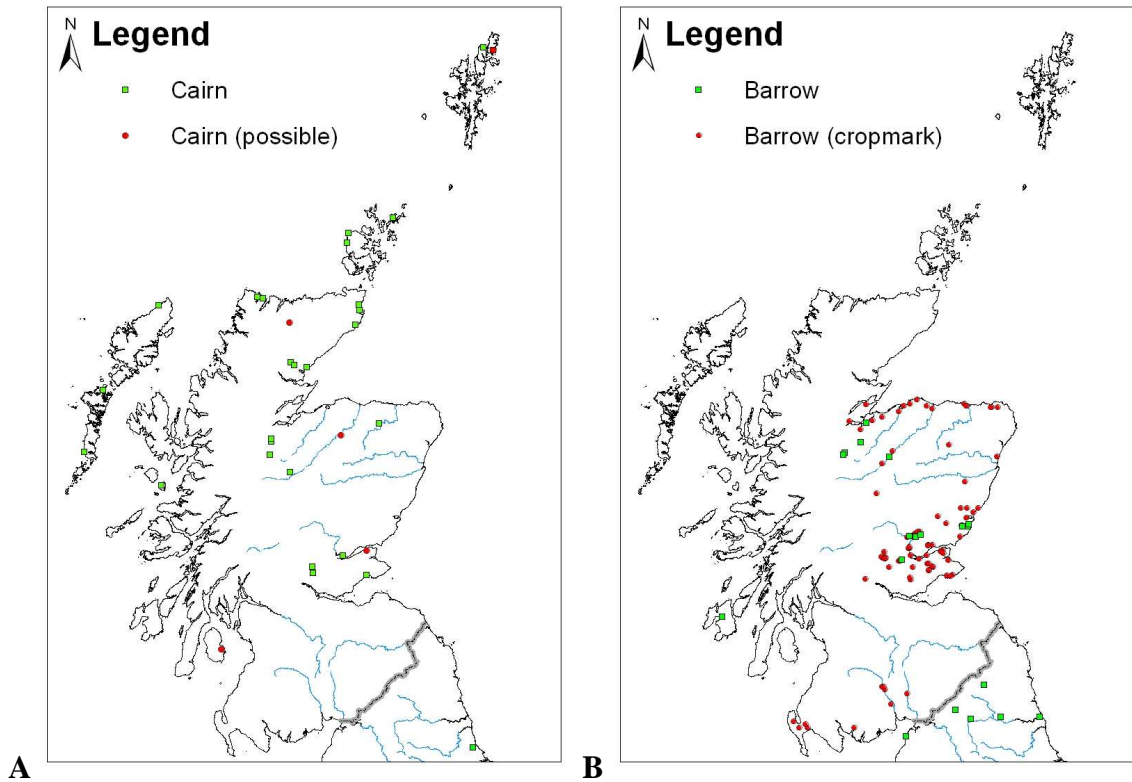
Figure 5.17: Distributions of barrows and cairns in Scotland.

But even within this model, a difference of function can be seen between barrows and cairns, and can possibly be seen in their variable distributions across the country (Figure 5.17). One way of distinguishing between them may be to see them as either a *focus* or a *locus* of attention, the former indicating direct reuse of a monument, the latter a more indirect association with it (Clarke and Carlin 2009). For instance, many of the Ackergill cairns cover multiple cists. In this it is similar to Lundin Links FIF where one structure contained five cists, cairn 5 was reused at least once, and various cairns were adjoined into monumental complexes over time (Greig 2000). The 'dumbbell complex' at Lundin Links has been interpreted as a way of creating a genealogy in stone as graves gradually accrued until they formed a distinctive three-part unit (Williams 2007a). A variation on this repeated use of a cairn occurs at the Isle of May FIF, where the earliest burials are in cists, but these are cut into a natural cobble beach that was artificially revetted, creating what is essentially one huge kerbed cairn (James and Yeoman 2008). Interestingly for an ecclesiastical site, many of the graves in this cairn seem to have been purposefully built to receive multiple burials, with sand layers and layers of quartz pebbles being the only boundary between repeated uses (discussed below, 8.2.3). Multiple graves under cairns also occur at Birsay Brough Road ORK, where the secondary graves were added in the Late Iron Age and later in the Norse period (Morris 1989a), and Hermisgarth ORK, where one cairn contained two female burials (Downes and Morris 1997). Cairns may even have been conceived as communal monuments, able to be accessed continually and even reused for further burials, as seems likely at Lundin Links and Ackergill. Even if they were meant

to be sealed containers, their upstanding nature made them into *foci* of attention, and allowed for future generations to 'rewrite' their past as seems to have occurred with the addition of broken Pictish stones at Ackergill. In contrast, earthen barrows or ditch-enclosed burials tend to contain only single burials, although the long-lived barrow cemeteries at Redcastle (Alexander 2005) and Forteviot (Campbell and Gondek 2009; Poller 2008) show that instead of receiving secondary interments, these places accrued further barrows over long periods of time (discussed below, 6.3.4). In effect, barrows tended to form a *locus* of attention. The question that remains to be asked is whether the form of the grave dictated how it was used, or whether each form was intended to fulfil a different purpose.

5.4. Conclusion

In the previous chapter, the emergence of formal inhumation burials was placed squarely in the Middle Iron Age of Scotland, particularly the 2-3rd century AD. This comparative study of the rituals involved in constructing these graves has shown how these deposits changed and developed from the earliest examples onward. At the start of the first millennium, fully articulated inhumation was a rarity, perhaps used only in certain specialised situations. By the end of the millennium, inhumation was seen as a privilege afforded to many, and which those in power could withhold as a form of punishment (Reynolds 2009: 214). In the interim, the societies of northern Britain had changed from a relatively loose collective of tribal groupings to a hierarchical kingdom with widespread familial and political entanglements. During this process, numerous changes in conceptions of self, not just what we loosely refer to as identities but what constitutes personhood, needed to take place. Central to these changes were perceptions of the body. In the Middle Iron Age, the few people who were deposited in a grave represent communities who were increasingly less inclined to disturb certain cadavers; whatever it meant to bury an articulated corpse, it seems that as time went on, it could only fulfill this purpose if the body was deposited looking as it had in life, down to the inclusion of dress objects like brooches and items of everyday use. The deposition of articulated inhumations in recently abandoned settlement contexts indicates that these people were still thought to 'inhabit' the landscape; the frequent enclosure of these deposits in cists and surface-marking with mounds shows a desire to ensure their integrity, both physically and in the minds of those who survived them. Over time, these 'inhabited landscapes' would have become part of the consciousness of all who lived in them and passed through them (Williams 1998; 2006: 198-211). Remembering where previous interments were made, the act was repeated and future deceased could be sent to 'inhabit' the same place. The repeated performances

slowly became ritualised, as seen in the gradual narrowing down of grave types and body positions to the increasingly normative extended, oriented inhumation (Figure 5.18). Around the 5th century, a break in this process seems to occur, in which the Middle Iron Age mortuary rituals such as the use of long cists were maintained, but new places of burial were chosen away from settlements (6.2, 6.3.2). This intimates a significant conceptual shift: from a general tendency to line graves with stone, to a widely accepted 'image' of a correct or appropriate stone-lined grave.
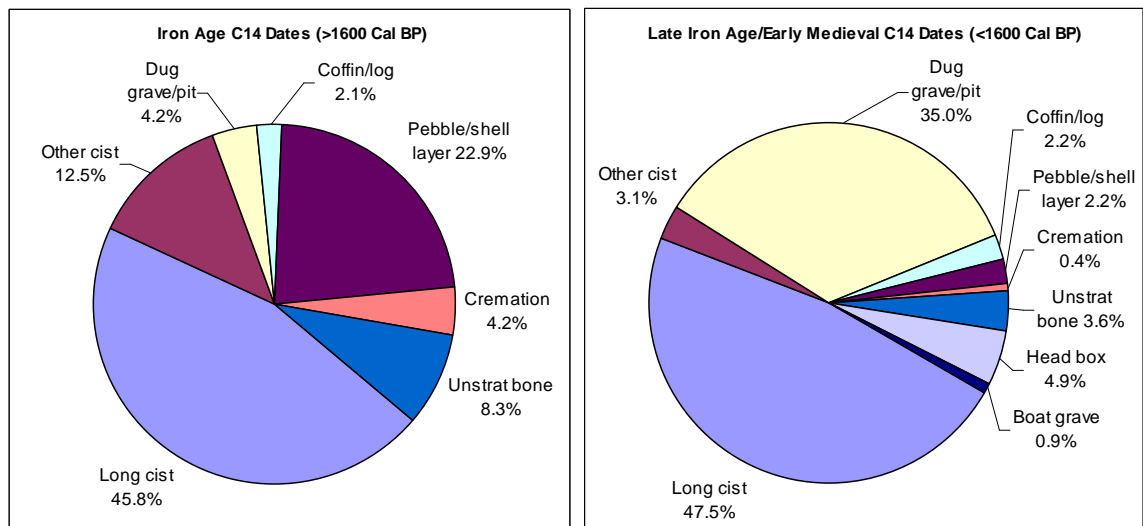
Figure 5.18: Standardisation of grave types over time.

Cist graves still have much to offer future study: for instance, the apparently deliberate use of cists without lids shows that were not always intended as 'coffins' or sealed containers for the dead. The sources of stone for cists vary from naturally occurring slabs, reused Pictish symbol stones, and reused domestic tools like quernstones and pot lids. This begs the question of where and how stone for these graves was sourced, and the ritualised nature of this part of the funerary ritual may lead to new insight into the way death fitted into the lifeways of the Late Iron Age. Long cists have indeed dominated the discussion of the burial evidence in Scotland, yet dug graves and log coffins, not to mention other variations of stone and wood-lined grave, play an equally significant role. In this respect, the Scottish evidence has the potential to revolutionise our understanding of changing beliefs over the long term. For instance, the radiocarbon date distributions of prone burial (5.2.6) and head-box burial (5.1.4) indicate their popularity late in the millennium. If it is only from roughly the 7th century onward that the dead begun to be differentiated by their burial posture, it is likely this is related to changing ideas of Christian salvation and bodily resurrection in which the transit of the soul to heaven was increasingly believed to be influenced by the treatment and condition of the corpse (Effros 2002a; Paxton 1990). Certain burial rites such as the use of dug graves (5.1.6) seem to increase by the end of the millennium,

whereas other rites such as log coffins (5.1.5), barrows (5.3.2) and cairns (5.3.1) seem to be more restricted to the Late Iron Age.

The choice of burial rite was not random; cremations, for instance, are rarely found alongside inhumations, in contrast to the mixed-rite cemeteries of Anglo-Saxon England. The crucial factor behind the increasing use of 'normative' burial rites is surely the emergence of cemeteries in which the sporadic inhumations of the Middle Iron Age became ritualised practices, creating certain expectations for future interments. The structuring role of memory and the active role of burials in the landscape has been highlighted here, and will be further developed in the following chapter. But lest we exaggerate the constraining effect of a normative burial rite, this chapter has also emphasised the various ways this template was elaborated through the display of the body, including the posture and orientation of the grave; the use of internal linings like textiles, turf, pebble, shell or charcoal layers; the wrapping or clothing of the corpse; and the occasional addition of grave gifts as part of the funerary ritual. Burial rites like the simple, unfurnished inhumations that predominate the Scottish evidence can be seen to have a complex trajectory across long periods of time.

Howard Williams (2006) has forcefully argued that in this period, funerary rituals were ways of mediating the difficult transition between living kin and venerated ancestor, and graves served as technologies of remembrance in this process. But other needs could also be met using such 'technologies'; it is interesting to note that the increasing use of cemeteries seems to tie in with anxieties over salvation, including a rise in the belief in revenants or the return of the spirits of those who died a 'bad' death (Dunn 2009; Reynolds 2009). Can we then distinguish between burial as an expression of familial commemoration (Halsall 2003), an expression of faith (Schülke 1999), an efficacious deposit for to ensure fertility (M Williams 2003), or a placatory deposit to remove spiritual pollution (Reynolds 2002)? And what of those who were not afforded burial rites at all? These issues can only be resolved by placing individual graves within their immediate settings and wider landscape contexts, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

In discussing each of these aspects, repeated reference to practices attested in Anglo-Saxon and Norse burials were made. This is largely due to the better preservation of burials in Anglo-Saxon England and Norse-period Atlantic Scotland, providing more scope for analogy. But it also brings up the possibility that some of the inhumed were expressing their knowledge of outside practices, and may have even been immigrants themselves. The early medieval cemeteries of Scotland have tended to be treated as closed communities,

despite vast literature on early medieval mobility and migration. Targeted studies of bio-cultural skeletal markers and stable isotopes aimed at finding geographic origins have so far largely been undertaken on sites already known to have Norse immigrants, like Westness ORK and Cnip, Lewis INV (Barrett and Richards 2004). Without more rigorous scientific studies across a number of sites, we lack a clear control group for determining what a migrant would look like in the first place. Such studies as have been undertaken elsewhere have led to fascinating and unexpected insights, and show that the 'catchment zone' of any given cemetery could go far beyond the local area (Budd *et al.* 2004; Montgomery *et al.* 2005).

The burial rite did not end with the interment of the deceased, as many graves were presumably marked above-ground in some form or another. These are more varied than the usual distinction between gravestone, barrow or cairn. Each of these broad categories can be broken down to smaller constituent parts and shown to be far more complex than is generally assumed. Barrows and cairns in particular are almost mutually exclusive, and the reasons for this were explored. Cairns were shown to attract multiple burials and sometimes even invasive reuse, whereas barrows generally form long-lived ritual landscapes. The choice between barrow and cairn may thus be more than just pragmatic use of available materials, but a question of social function. Highly visible and longer-lived grave monuments have a different social role than the flat grave, and this distinction of purpose must be taken into account when studying them (Chapman 1997). Monuments may have served a 'private', commemorative purpose, while at the same time fulfilling a 'public' role, acting as boundary markers or meeting places (Driscoll 1998c; 2000).

We can take this analogy with civic architecture even further. Howard Williams (2006) and others have recently argued that large Saxon barrows and elaborate boat burials like the ones at Sutton Hoo played an important 'public' role. The richly furnished barrows there are seen to create a visible genealogy on the ground, but this is not simply to commemorate the magnificence of the royal lineage. Rather, the barrows should be read as expressions of the legitimacy of the rulers in the most highly visible way, which not only implies a large audience for the funerals themselves, but also the expectation of future use for assembly and other ritual purposes (Devlin 2007b). The overall largeness and ostentation of the display also acknowledges the power of the audience over the performers; without the audience, there is no show.

The later reuse of Sutton Hoo as a place of execution has serious implications on the continued use of such sites for civic purposes rather than as simply very large grave

markers (Carver 2005). Barrow mounds are particularly favoured as royal inauguration sites in contemporary Ireland, and later in Scotland as assembly places and court sites (Driscoll 2003; Driscoll 2004a; FitzPatrick 2004; Warner 2004; Williams 1999). It seems clear that these monuments, 'inhabited' by the spirits of the deceased, remained in use for centuries after the memory of their initial function was perhaps forgotten. The supernatural element, which we deride as mere superstition, should not be cast aside so easily. To further explore the questions of how these sites were used, it will be necessary to focus on their landscape settings (6.3).

The emergence of ritualised mortuary practices, gradually becoming cemeteries, are possibly due to changing beliefs regarding purity and pollution as much as political affiliation (Parker Pearson 2003). This allows us to tie the burial evidence into other changing perceptions of the body and personhood in the Iron Age (Armit and Ginn 2007; Haselgrove 1997; JD Hill 1997; Mulville *et al.* 2003; Pearce 1997; Williams 2004a). Parallels with Anglo-Saxon mortuary rites like reusing Roman artefacts or burial with weapons may be to do with wider shared beliefs about transforming the potentially dangerous dead body into the venerated soul of the ancestor (H Williams 2003b; Williams 2007c). It may be that different mortuary rites represent different supernatural or spiritual requirements. But this study has shown how changes in burial rite can change and develop both gradually, as in the increasing standardisation of stone-lined graves, or quite suddenly, as with the abandonment and reappearance of crouched burial. These changes are not being caused by a single factor such as the introduction of new religious beliefs, but have more to do with wider social changes. As such, we need to study the way graves interact with other graves in the context of cemeteries, within which the vast majority of these graves are found. The emergence of cemetery burial is potentially one of the factors necessitating these changes as much as the arrival of new belief systems or migrant identities (Theuws 2000). The following chapter will follow study the most important of these changes: the move from isolated burials to large cemeteries.

Chapter 6: Burial in cemeteries

We have seen that Late Iron Age burial rites in Scotland derive from existing local practices (above, Chapters 3 and 4). Given the wide variety of the Iron Age mortuary practices discussed in the previous chapter, it should by now be clear that no single 'source' for long cist or square barrow grave types need be looked for, as it will not fit all the evidence. Nor is there a monolithic 'Roman influence' that created a preference for inhumation in cemeteries (above, 4.2.3). Rather, we need to understand these changes as arising from local circumstances and developing along with local needs. The presence of prehistoric monuments, existing patterns of votive deposition and the wider, social and political transformations of the late Roman world all played a role in the formation of new identities in the mid-first millennium AD.

One particular trend across much of Europe in this period was the emergence of cemeteries (Halsall 1995). This seems to have occurred in tandem with the process of standardisation of grave types from the variety seen in the Middle Iron Age to the more normative orientated, extended, supine burials of the Late Iron Age (5.4), and both trends are crucial to our understanding of the way Late Iron Age society was changing in this period. Both developments also occurred during the period of conversion to Christianity, and so it is crucial we try to understand what, if any, correlation exists between these processes. For simplicity, the cemeteries under study here will be divided into two broad types: 'flat grave' or 'monumental', as defined previously (2.4.1). To begin with, we shall discuss both kinds of cemetery together as part of a wider phenomenon.

6.1. Distribution and regionality

As shown in Figure 6.1, the distribution of cemeteries (as opposed to sites with fewer than five burials) is similar to the overall distribution of burials across Scotland (Figure 3.2), but with subtle differences. As expected, the majority of cemeteries occur in the area with the highest density of burial sites: the Lothian plain. Yet the reverse is not always true; for instance, the Solway Firth zone has a relatively low density of burial sites, yet the majority of these are medium to large cemeteries. In contrast, the Angus area has a high density of burial sites, but cemeteries are the exception. These differences may not be entirely 'cultural', however, and are subject to fieldwork bias. In the southwest, relatively less modern development and arable agriculture means that stray burials are less likely to be discovered by accident, and relatively high rainfall militates against cropmark formation (Cowley 2002). The 18th-century zeal for agricultural improvement in the once-boggy

fields of Angus and southeast Perthshire meant that many sites were cleared before the rise of academic interest in them (RCAHMS 1994: 4-5).
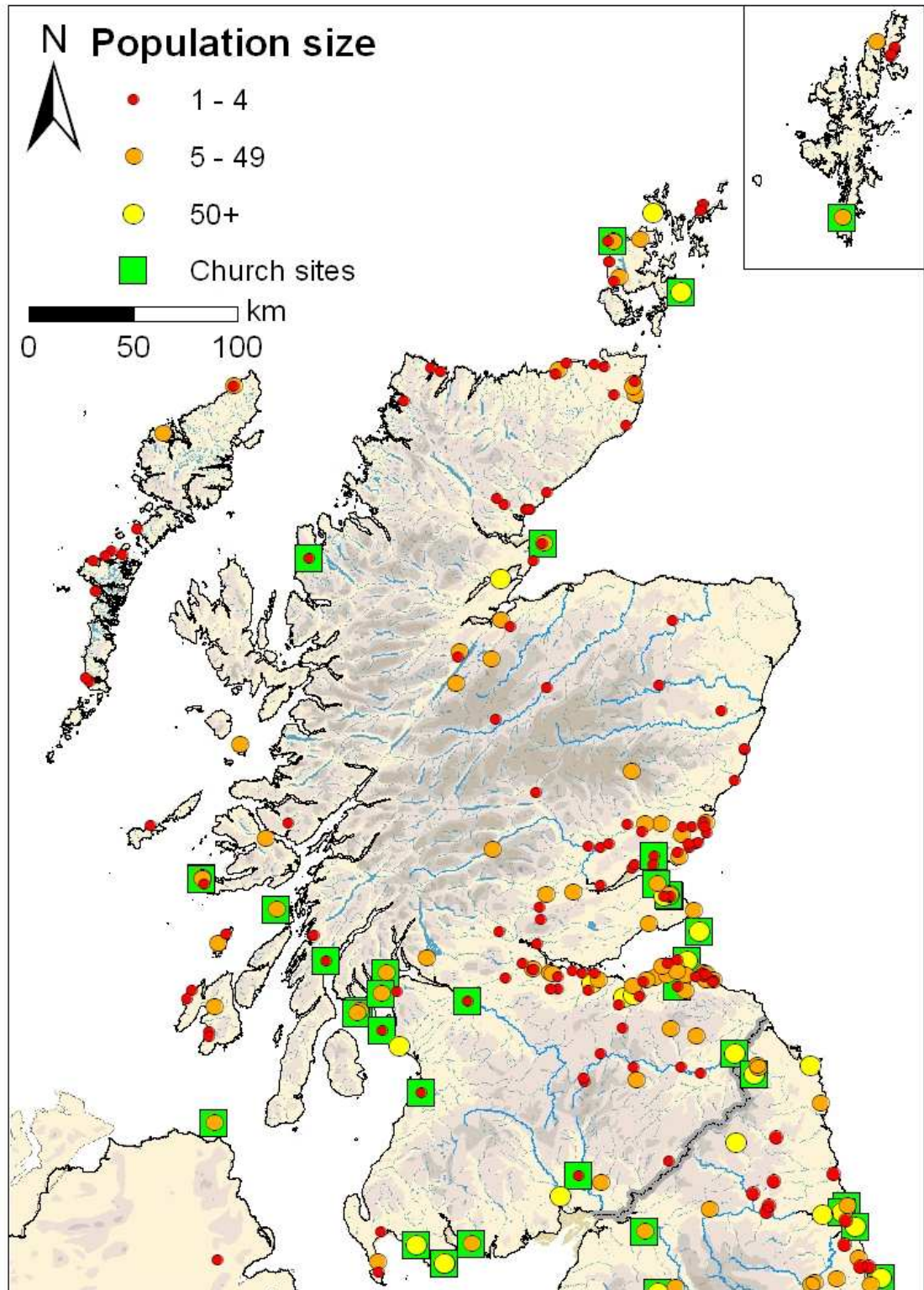
Figure 6.1: Burial sites by size (confirmed sites only).

Despite these difficulties, the distribution of sites by size highlights the different approaches to burial across Scotland. Almost every region tends toward a certain size of burial site (large cemeteries in the southwest, scattered burials in Angus, almost no burials

in the northeast), except most strikingly in the Lothians, where sites of all sizes cluster together. In the context of the rest of northern Britain, the sheer density of burial in this region begins to look rather anomalous. The abundance of evidence here has dominated the discourse on early cemeteries, but should now be seen as a distinctive regional characteristic instead of the 'normal' pattern against which other regions are measured.

6.2. Dating
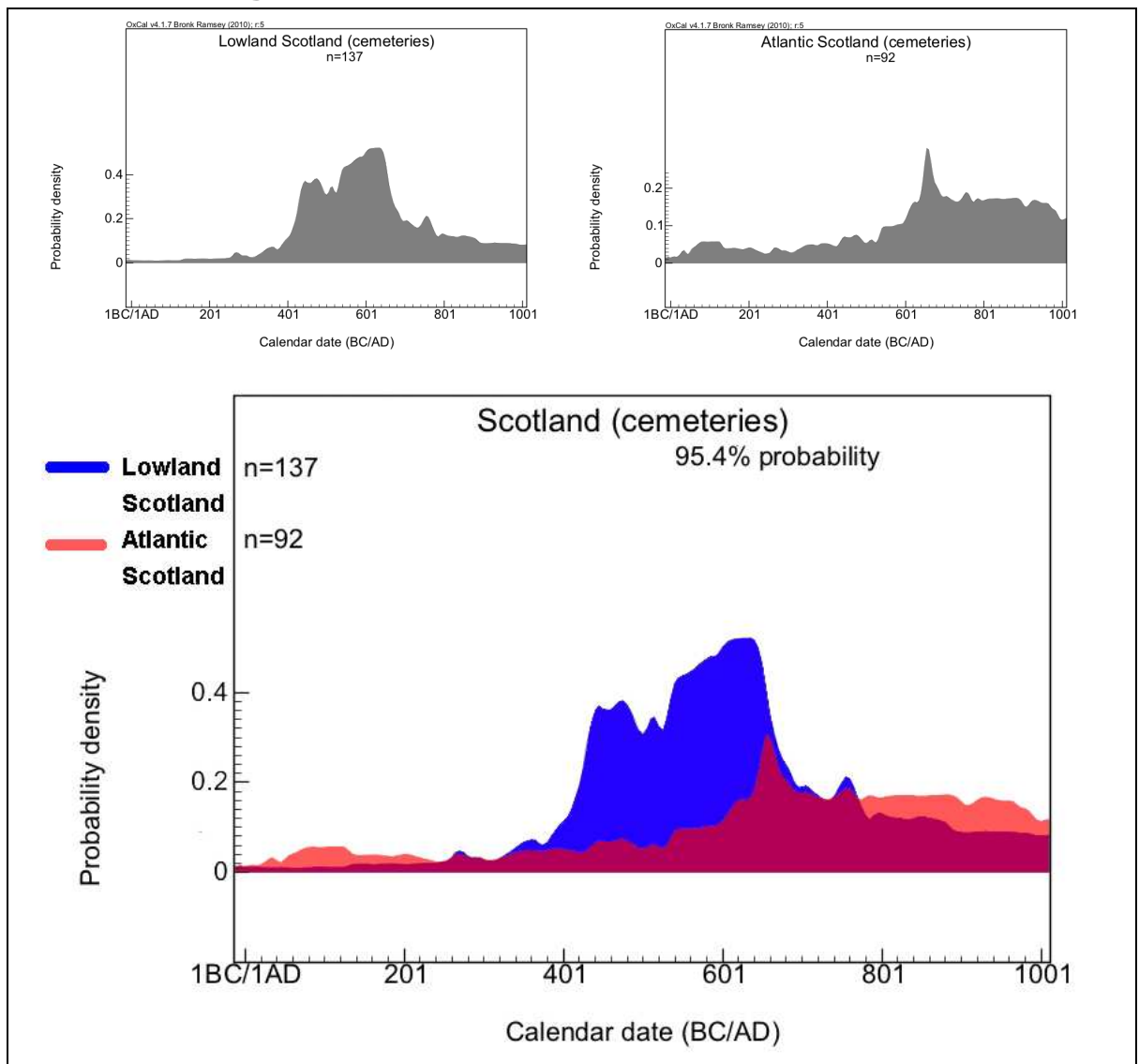
Figure 6.2: Top: sum of all dates from cemeteries in the Lowland and Atlantic zones. Bottom: both distributions superimposed (drawn by the author).

The problem with the above distribution map is that it does not allow us to see change over time. To do so, we must return to the few sites with radiocarbon dates. Although a small number of cemeteries existed in the Middle Iron Age (Table 6.1), cemetery burial is really an innovation of the post-Roman period in Scotland; however, some areas embraced the idea more enthusiastically than others (Figure 6.2). While much of this disparity is due to fieldwork bias, as discussed above (3.1), it is clear that the Lowland zone takes a markedly

more enthusiastic approach to burial in cemeteries early on, with only a relative trickle in the Atlantic zone until the 6-7th centuries. This summary of radiocarbon dates shows that the period AD 400-800 represents that majority of our evidence. However, it is important to note the continuing use of cemeteries through to the end of the millennium. While this research focuses mainly on the period AD 400-650, salient features of cemeteries in use beyond this period will also be discussed here in order to trace the evolution of the phenomenon over the long term.

County	Site name	Cemetery type	Size	Source
ELO	Winton House	Cist	7	(Dalland 1991)
ELO	Dryburn Bridge	Pit grave	10	(Dunwell 2007)
ELO	Broxmouth	Oval cist	13	(Hill 1982)
ROS	Galson, Lewis	Long cist	14	(Neighbour *et al.* 2000)
ORK	Berst Ness, Westray	Rubble layer	c. 50	(DES 2002)

Table 6.1: Cemeteries (5 or more graves) before c. AD 400.

6.3. Location in the landscape

In order to understand why cemetery burial appears across such a vast area at roughly the same time, we need to understand how these new places were created. The previous chapters traced changes in burial practice over the long term, establishing the continuing use of funerary rites developed in the Middle Iron Age. But within the context of cemeteries, the burial ritual itself took on new meanings. The repeated performance of the rite by a community in a setting that was altered with each subsequent event added a new dimension to existing funerary rituals (Halsall 2003; Williams 2007b). The social memory of the audience brought new requirements and new tensions with each performance, as well as new ways of remembering the dead, constantly transforming the landscape setting (Williams 2004b). Before peeling back the layers of these events, we must begin by describing these settings.

6.3.1. Natural topography

The location of a cemetery needs to be considered in every case, as it is clear that cemeteries were most often spaces deliberately alienated from agricultural or other use. The wide geographic and temporal span covered by these sites inevitably undermines any attempt to undertake a statistical analysis of landscape location. As will be argued below (6.4.4), each cemetery should be thought of as an organic development within historically contingent and localised circumstances. But for the moment, there is scope for the discussion of the kinds of issues that the study of landscape location can elucidate.

A preference for coastal or riverine locations for cemeteries has often been noted (Pollard 1999; Proudfoot 1996), and indeed a close correlation with rivers and river valleys is borne out by a cursory glance at a map (Figure 6.1). This link must be qualified with the more restricted availability of arable land in the north and west, which tends to cluster into low-lying coastal areas, river terraces and glens. But the occurrence of cemeteries at river mouths, especially where they open into sandy bays or landing places, is a remarkably common feature north of the Forth and in the Atlantic zone. Examples include Galson, Lewis INV (Neighbour *et al.* 2000), Lundin Links FIF (Greig 2000), Redcastle ANG (Alexander 2005), Newton, Islay (McCullagh 1989); Westness, Rousay ORK (Sellevold 1999), and Na Sidheanan, Laig Bay, Eigg INV (RCAHMS 2003). The abundance of place-names in *aber-* or *inver-* shows that these communities acknowledged them as important places, either as liminal zones where at the meeting of fresh water and salt water, or where routes across the landscape converged (Nicolaisen 1997). More prosaically, coastal river mouths may simply be good landing places where the combination of sand for beaching small crafts, and fresh water for drinking, will have attracted seafarers. The presence of males with evidence of heavy shoulder use, possibly for rowing, indicates the use of these sites by people accustomed to travelling by boat (Neighbour *et al.* 2000: 572). It may not be a coincidence that some of the earliest monasteries grew up around good harbours, including St Andrews FIF (Wordsworth and Clark 1997), Portmahomack ROS (Carver 2008) and the Isle of May FIF (James and Yeoman 2008). On Iona ARG, despite the existence of numerous cemeteries surrounding the monastic settlement, one can still find burials at both the crossing place on Mull (Slugan Dubh, south of the modern pier: DES 2001) and the landing place, the evocatively named Port nam Mairtir (Reece 1981).

The correlation with rivers may also be partly explained by the placement of cemeteries at fords and other crossing places, as has been argued for a number of sites including Govan LAN (Driscoll 2004b), Hallow Hill FIF (Proudfoot 1996), the Catstane MLO (Forsyth 2005), Cramond Bridge MLO (Henshall 1956), Inchyra PER (Stevenson 1959), and Philliphaugh SLK (Smith 1991). A possibly related trend is the incidence of burial along routeways (Close-Brooks 1984; Proudfoot 1996). An interest in movement across the landscape seems to be a recurring theme. The placement of burials at such nodal points, where people were certain to pass through and see them, betrays a concern for constant interaction with the living, a further indication of the 'powerful dead' interceding in the affairs of the living (Parker Pearson 1993). This is in contrast to many high-status Anglo-Saxon burials, for which visibility would seem to be the driving concern and thus often appear on prominences overlooking wide areas (Williams 1999).

Although no statistical analysis was performed here, it is clear the majority of flat grave cemeteries are found in low-lying, arable land. However, this is perhaps due more to the circumstances of how these sites are discovered: by ploughing, development, or quarrying for sand and gravel. In the Lowland zone, cemeteries and isolated burials are found in low hillocks or locally prominent areas, like the Catstane MLO (Cowie 1978), Redcastle ANG (Alexander 2005), Hare Law BWK (Stuart 1866a), or Parkburn, Lasswade MLO (Henshall 1956). It seems it was important in this area for the cemeteries to have a good prospect but without sacrificing accessibility. The propensity for these hillocks to be described as sandy, gravelly, or as being discovered due to quarrying would tend to show that perhaps more than just prominence, it is marginal land that is being used for these burials; examples include Parkburn, Lasswade (Henshall *ibid*.), Thornybank MLO (Rees 2002), Lochhead Quarry ANG (Dunbar forthcoming), Mare's Craig FIF (Close-Brooks 1986), and any number of other sites reported only in *Discovery and Excavation* (Tantallen Hill WLO, 1964; Avonglen Quarry, Polmont STL, 1973-76; Abbey Knowe PEB, 1998-99; Powmyre Quarry, Glamis ANG, 2007). The general preference for low altitudes and a lack of overt monumentality still needs to be demonstrated empirically, but it seems to indicate a need for constant access and display to passers-by (Ashmore 1980; Close-Brooks 1984). Despite their 'peripheral' locations, cemeteries were not set aside from everyday life, but entwined with their contemporary landscapes.

6.3.2. Relationship with settlement

The placement of cemeteries along roads, often far from known contemporary settlement, is presumed to relate to a presumed medieval aversion to the dead, echoing ancient Roman prohibitions on burial within the walls of a settlement (Esmonde Cleary 2000). But recent finds of cemeteries within settlements raise new questions about the relationship between the living and the dead (Ó Carragáin 2009a). Recent excavations in the west of Scotland have turned up three cemeteries where the graves are amidst evidence for settlement (Figure 6.3). At Midross near Luss DNB, a Viking Age cemetery was found within a curvilinear enclosure, with the burials seemingly restricted to a specific zone amidst the surrounding structures and workshops (DES 2005). Montefode, Ardrossan AYR is a similar enclosed site, but with burials radiocarbon dated to the 6-7th centuries. The reused prehistoric enclosure was found to contain 60 burials, again confined to a specific zone amidst evidence for timber structures (Hatherley 2010). Finally, at Bruach an Drumein ARG, an enclosed Iron Age hilltop settlement was reused as a burial place and high-status metalworking site in the 7-9th century (Abernethy 2008). All three sites are comparable to the layout of the enclosed cemetery and metalworking site at Knowth Site M, Co. Meath in

Ireland (Stout and Stout 2008). Along with a number of other enclosed sites with evidence for settlement without a church, Knowth is one of a newly-recognised type of 'settlement cemetery' in Ireland (Kinsella 2010; Ó Carragáin 2009a). Midross, Luss and Bruach an Drumein may show that this type of site may yet be found across the Irish Sea.

Figure 6.3: Three possible 'settlement cemeteries' in Scotland. Top left: Midross DNB, with conjectural rectilinear structure (G MacGregor, pers. comm.); top right: Montefode, Ardrossan AYR (Hatherley 2010); bottom: Bruach an Drumein ARG (Abernethy 2008). I am grateful to the authors and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce these images.

These new finds come just as scholars are reassessing the relationship between burials and settlement; living amongst the dead may not have been the taboo is it sometimes made out to be (Reynolds 2002). The large Anglian-period royal palace complexes at Yeavering

(Northumberland), Sprouston ROX, and Philiphaugh SLK all include large enclosed cemeteries, although these are fenced off from the rest of the structures (Smith 1991). However, recently excavated monastic sites reveal that burial often shared the same space with metalworking and other industrial activities, as will be discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8. Most revealingly, at Barhobble, Mochrum WIG and Whithorn WIG so many of the excavated burials included slag and other residual debris that it was difficult to tell which graves were deliberately furnished (Cormack 1995; P Hill 1997: 34-38). The association between burial places and metalworking activity is not limited to monastic sites, and also occurs in post-Roman field cemeteries such as Cannington, Somerset, where part of the site was seemingly reserved for smithing and antler-working (Rahtz *et al.* 2000: 400).

It is also worth noting that the majority of settlement cemeteries are within enclosures; instead of ditches to separate the dead from the living, these enclosures seem to delineate areas where the living and the dead could co-exist. Within these enclosures, the burials often fell within a discrete zone, usually in the east, as in the Irish examples (Ó Carragáin 2009a). Internal divisions between burial and industrial areas can be seen at Whithorn's Fey Field and Inchmarnock, Bute (see below, 7.5 and 8.1.1). In light of this, the drystone wall at Parkburn, Lasswade MLO, which cuts across the site dividing the burials into two zones, becomes evocative of Christian practice (Henshall 1956). The excavations at Parkburn also found two graves with quernstones reused as cist material, and four other querns were obtained as surface finds (Henshall 1956). No structures were found here, but the finds of quernstones at other cemeteries nearby (Cowie 1978: 169; Henshall 1956: 261) indicates a link, whether spatial or metaphorical, between burial and the processing of grain. The connection between burial places and craftworking may also reinforce the view that both processes were seen as kindred technologies of reproduction and transformation (Brück 2006a; Hingley 1997; MacGregor 2008; Williams 2006). The 'settlement cemeteries' may then not be as secular as they first appear. The act of preparing the ground with a massive ditch and demarcating specific zones takes on an added ritual significance in quite a different manner than the gradual accumulation of unenclosed field cemeteries. With comparison to enclosed monastic sites, the act of creating an enclosure implies the use of a site for both burial and settlement, and would thus appear to be indicative of overt Christian practice. The use of enclosed burial grounds is discussed further below (6.4.1).

6.3.3. Burials and boundaries
It can be maintained with some certainty that cemeteries were formed at nodal points in the landscape, be they prehistoric monuments, crossing points, or assembly places. Their often

peripheral location has led to the theory that they were deliberately placed on estate boundaries (Goodier 1984; Petts 2002; Proudfoot 1996). Purposeful burial at boundary locations is well-known from early Irish and Anglo-Saxon contexts (Charles-Edwards 1976; O'Brien 2003; Reynolds 2002), and indicates a need for continuing engagement with the 'powerful dead' (Parker Pearson 1995), whether for legal, judicial or protective purposes. The correlation with burials and later medieval parish boundaries has often been noted, but proving direct continuity is fraught with difficulty as parishes were formalised centuries after the cemeteries under study (Goodier 1984). However, the correlation is too frequent to dismiss, and may best be understood as the parish boundaries forming around existing landscapes of assembly and movement, with burial sites (contemporary and ancient) playing a key role in negotiating these (Williams 1999; 2006: 186-187, 195-198).
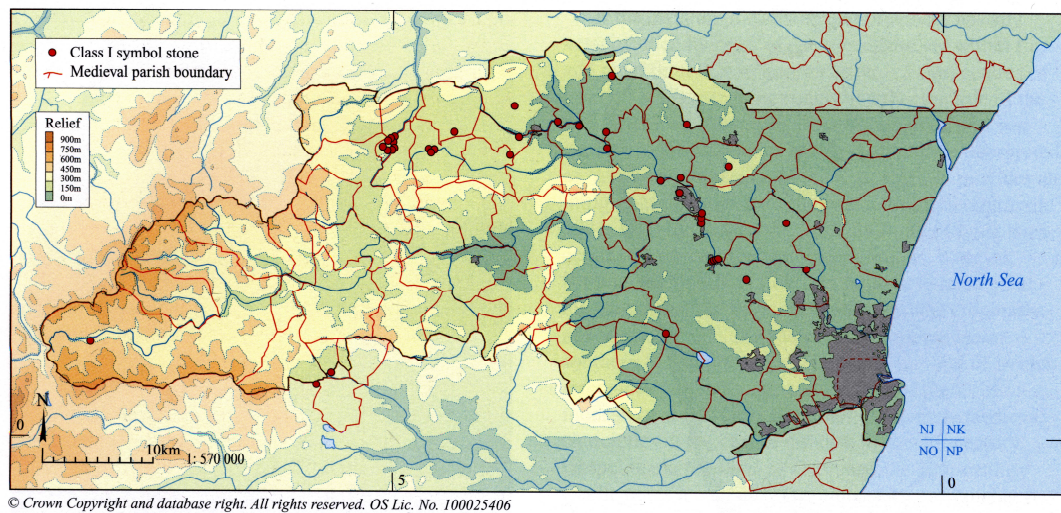
Figure 6.4: Pictish stones and medieval parish boundaries in Aberdeenshire (RCAHMS 2007). Image Crown copyright © RCAHMS.

To gauge whether parish boundaries and cemeteries have any correlation in Scotland we must ideally use the oldest possible records and reconstruct medieval parish boundaries. This is particularly difficult in Atlantic Scotland, where parish formation seems to have taken place later than other parts of the country (Cowan 1967; Gibbon 2007). In upland areas, the diminishing availability of good land requires a different sort of territorial management that may not be readily archaeologically visible.

In parts of the Lowland zone, we are on safer ground, as recent studies have shown the long-lived nature of the existing territorial organisation (Barrow 2003; Rogers 1997; Ross 2006). For instance, Pictish sculpture has been mapped onto reconstructed medieval parish boundaries in the Don valley of Aberdeenshire, demonstrating a strong correlation there (RCAHMS 2007); however, there are too few burials in the area to test for these (Figure 6.4). Luckily, the medieval parishes of Fife have recently been reconstructed as part of the

research on place-names (Taylor and Márkus 2006). When burials are mapped onto this, a disparity between types of cemeteries emerges (Figure 6.5). Some parishes, like St Andrews/St Leonards and Crail, have various flat grave cemeteries scattered within them. However, square barrows tend to occur in clusters which correlate closely with parish boundaries. The correlation with Pictish sculpture is not borne out as strongly as in Aberdeenshire, and it may be that these are fulfilling lower-level estate-marking roles (cf. Driscoll 1998c; Halliday 2006). Alternatively, they may be marking much higher-level boundaries: the distribution of symbol stones across the neck of the peninsula seems to echo the boundary of the deanery of St Andrews (Gondek 2003: 232), which may perpetuate the boundary between the ancient Pictish territories of Fife and Fothrif (Taylor and Márkus 2006). It is interesting that the square barrows also cluster along this line, as well as the county boundary itself, which mean they are playing a similar boundary-marking role.
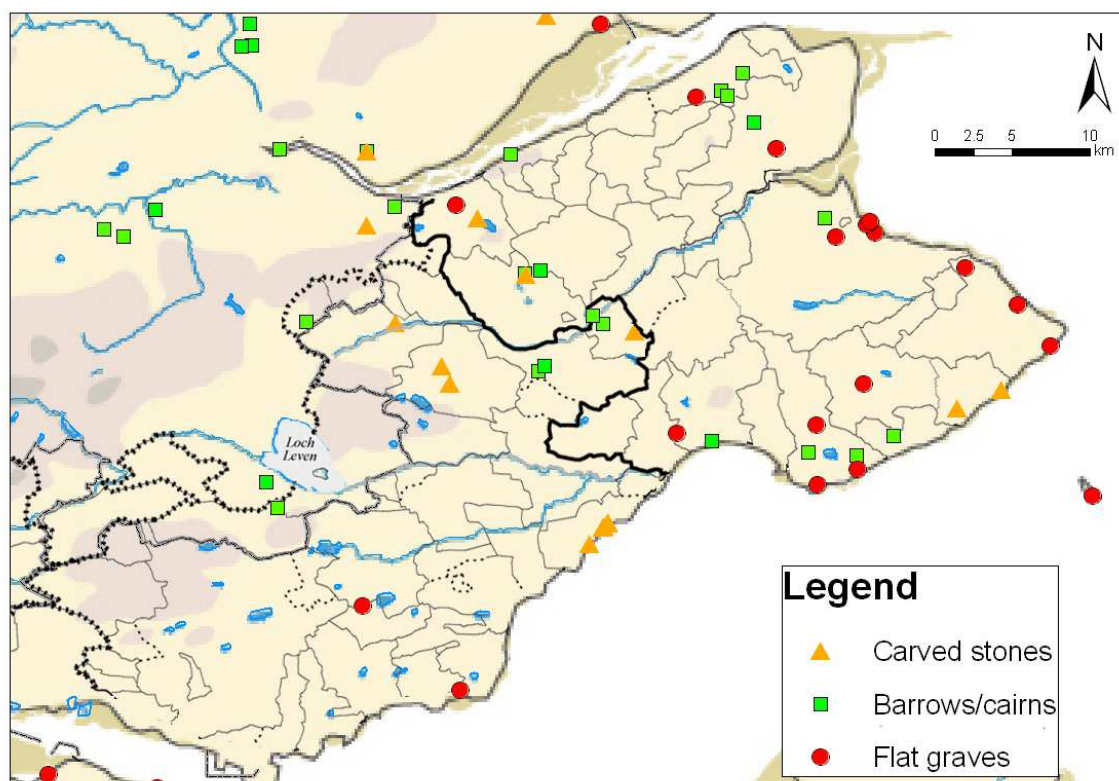
Figure 6.5: Burials and early carved stones on Fife reconstructed medieval parishes; the boundary between ancient Fif and Fothrif are in heavy black (boundaries after Taylor and Márkus 2006).

The modern region of Dumfries and Galloway also has a good deal of closely-dateable early sculpture, diagnostic early burial, and partially reconstructed parish boundaries (Brooke 1994). Unfortunately, all of the square barrows in this area remain unconfirmed cropmarks (Cowley 1996), but if we accept for now the possibility that they are indeed contemporary burial sites, we can say that, much like Fife, the correlation between

sculpture and flat graves is rather weak, but rather stronger with regard to barrows (Figure 6.6). However, the distribution of cropmark sites in this area is severely restricted (Cowley 2002) and sites found thus far correlate strongly with major rivers, which in turn are often used as parish boundaries. In this region, burial does not correlate strongly with parish boundaries, and these sites may have been more centrally located than in eastern Scotland; however, it is worth noting the different levels of soil acidity, land-use, and development in both regions which may affect the nature of the available evidence (above, 3.1).
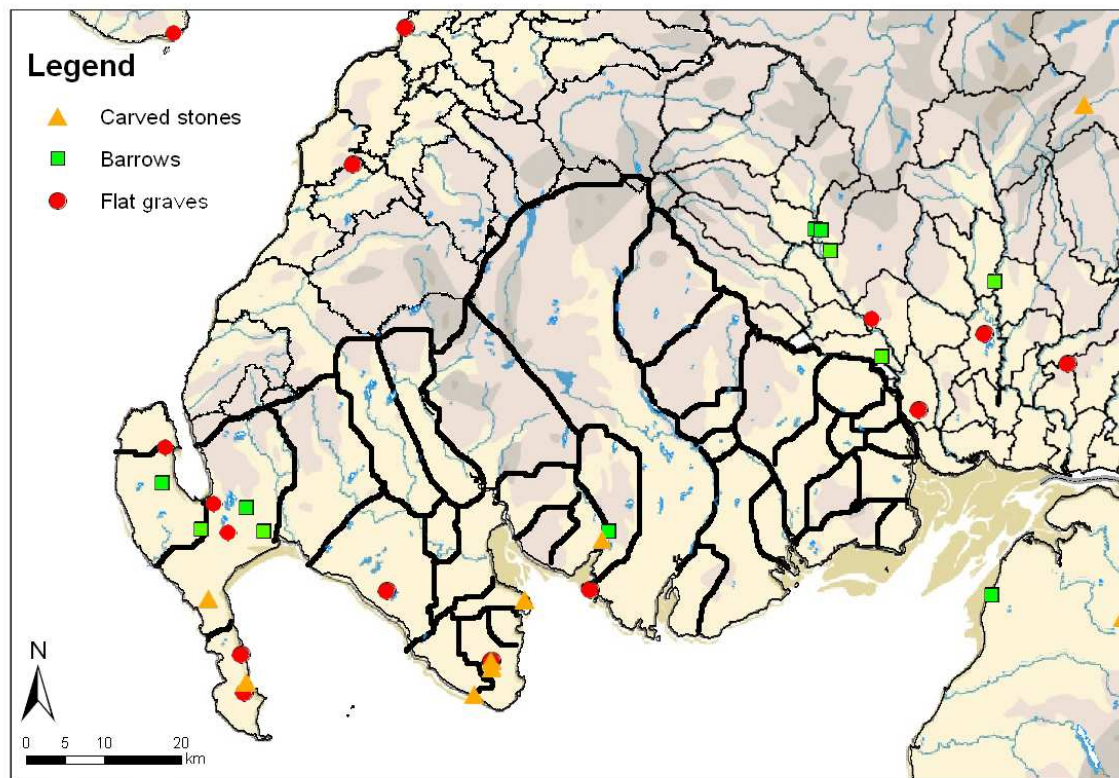
Figure 6.6: Burials, early sculpture and parish boundaries in southwest Scotland; heavy black lines indicate reconstructed medieval boundaries (after Brooke 1994).

If we attempt the same kind of comparison in areas with good evidence for burial and early sculpture but without reconstructed medieval parish boundaries, we get a hint of what future study may reveal. A model of one-cemetery-per-parish has been proposed for the Lothians by Audrey Henshall's landmark study (1956), but discoveries since then mean this can no longer be sustained. Being the area with the strongest tradition of inhumation burial, the Lothian evidence must be sorted into confirmed and unconfirmed sites (as discussed previously, 3.1). Rather than one cemetery per parish, we can see that some parishes have a number of cemeteries with a particularly strong correlation with boundaries (Figure 6.7). Where a site is not on or near a parish boundary, it is most often because it is on a river crossing, church site or other nodal point. There are too few early carved stones in the area to test for a correlation, although as noted above, the 5th or 6th century Latin inscription on the Catstane is in a long cist cemetery placed near a crossing of the river

Almond (Cowie 1978; Forsyth 2005). Once again, the situation in the Lothians proves unique within a Scottish context: in no other region is the correlation between flat grave cemeteries and (modern) parish boundaries quite as striking.
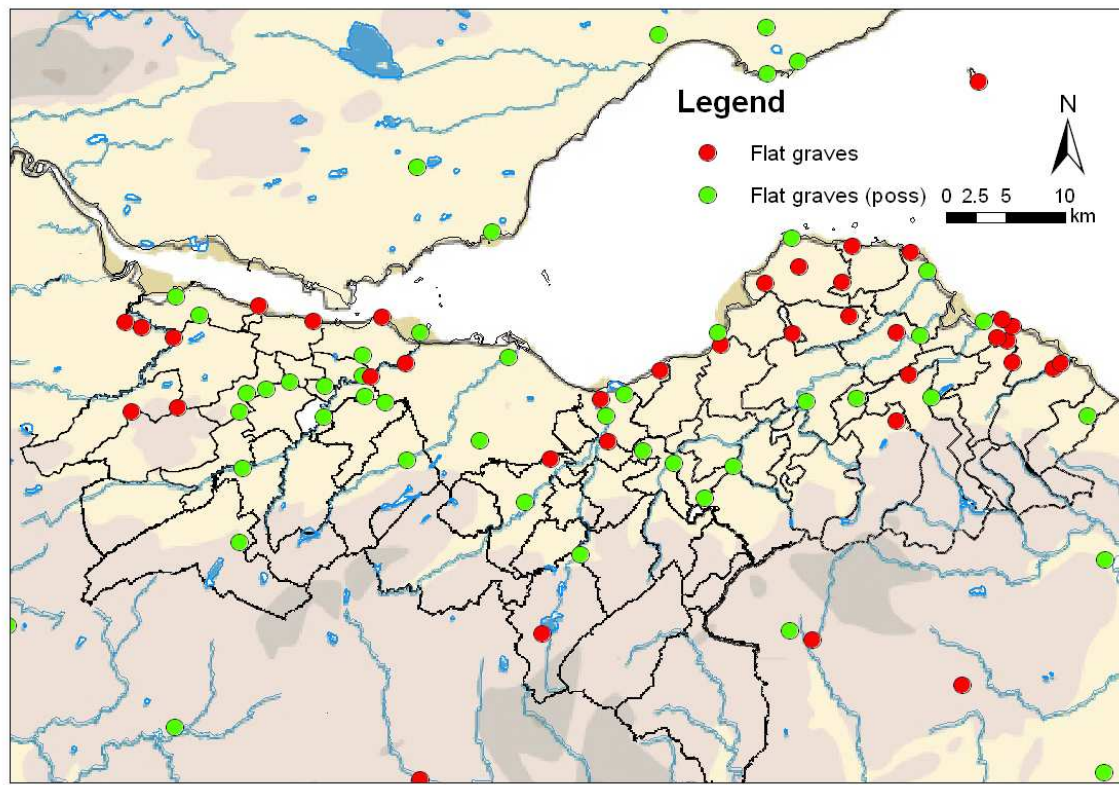
Figure 6.7: Burials and modern parish boundaries in the Lothians.

In contrast, the Atlantic zone shows a much greater tendency toward clustering of sites at parish centres rather than peripheries (Figure 6.8). However, as discussed above, this clustering may be more to do with the combined factors of restricted availability of well-drained arable land and modern normalization of parishes due to the reduced population. Despite this, it is clear that, just as in the Lowlands, the natural geography was a strong factor of the placement of cemeteries and early carved stones, as the majority were placed at the mouths of rivers and coastal landing places.

These last three maps can only be a tantalising glimpse into the history of territorial organisation until medieval boundaries are fully reconstructed. In most cases, however, it is safest to assume that parish boundaries did not become formalised until centuries after these cemeteries were in use. The strength or weakness of the correlation then must be explained by the lingering cultural memory associated with these sites after they are 'abandoned' in the late first millennium AD. Where parish boundaries form on the sites of cemeteries no longer in use, the 'use' of these cemeteries can be said to continue, outlasting their physical function as burial places. Where burial does not correlate with

parish boundaries, the chronological gap between the use of the cemetery for burial and the formation of bounded territories may have been too large to be bridged by local memories.
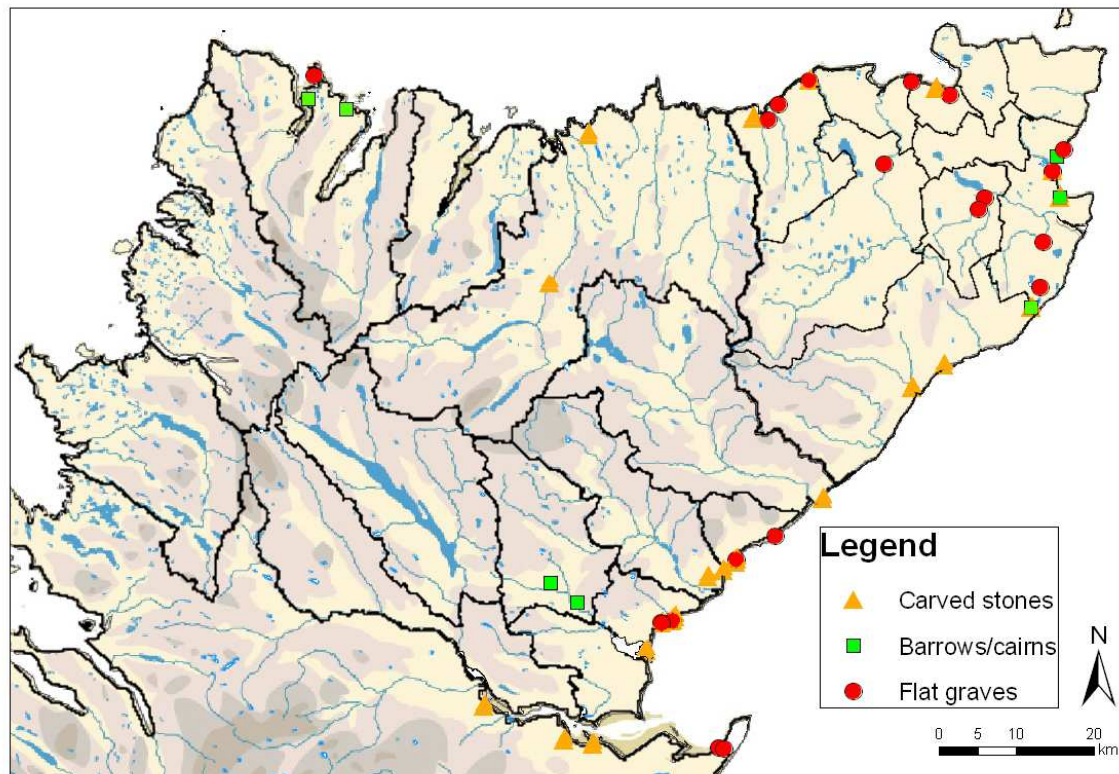
Figure 6.8: Burials, Class I stones and modern parish boundaries in Caithness and Sutherland.

What we can say with some confidence is that there is a strong correlation between burial and parish boundaries in the Lowland zone, but that this changes depending on the local traditions of monumental territorial markers. In the Lothians, an area with few inscribed stones or monumental graves, long cist cemeteries were used to mark out territorial bounds. In the southwest, where barrows, inscribed stones, and inhumation cemeteries are all in use, only barrows seem to correlate with territorial bounds, however weakly, while the inscribed stones like the Petrus Stone (P Hill 1997: 616) instead marked individual estates within the larger parish. In Fife, barrows more clearly served as parish boundary markers, with long cist cemeteries and early sculpture placed at other nodal points in the landscape, including church centres, landing places, and river crossings. Why barrows and sculpture seem to play similar roles yet rarely appear together (as they often do in the Atlantic zone) has yet to be explained, and merits further exploration. In Aberdeenshire, the strong correlation between Pictish stones and parish boundaries may indicate a closer relationship with burial sites in this area, but more burial evidence is still needed. In all cases, we can be sure that burial played an important, if fluctuating, role in the creation and negotiation of contemporary and later boundaries. Burial in cemeteries was a new

statement in Scotland in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, and we can now begin to glimpse the reasons behind such purposeful burial practices.

6.3.4. Monument reuse
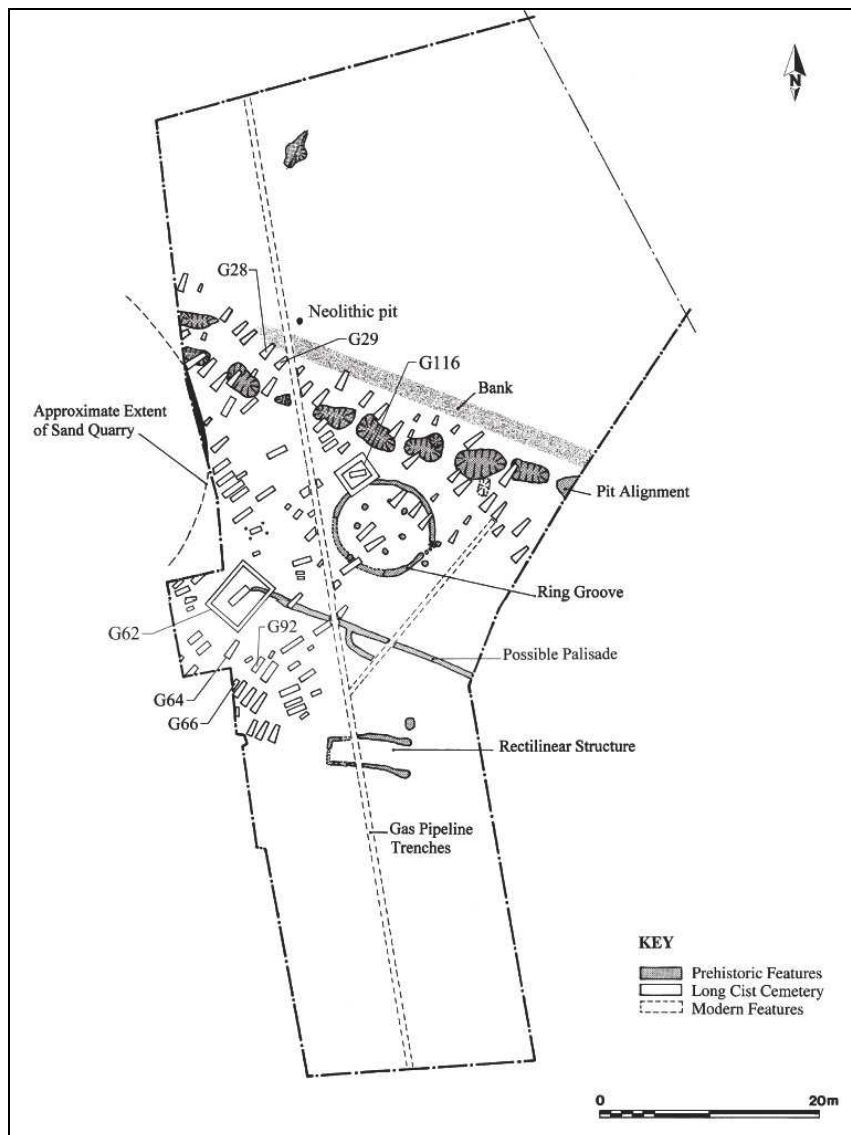
Figure 6.9: Prehistoric features at Thornybank (Rees 2002, 316). I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

Territorial limits were not the only boundaries in the Late Iron Age; upstanding prehistoric monuments could form a boundary between the past and the present, places where the natural and supernatural met (Bradley 2002; McCone 1990; Newman 1998). The reasons behind the reuse of ancient monuments are bound to change from site to site given the wide range of structures in question, from Neolithic cursus monuments to Roman camps. Whatever the reasoning, the answer may lie in their liminality, whether spatially, temporally or socially (Williams 2006: 181-185). Such marginality can lead to a number of responses, though: an ancient monument may be seen to provide supernatural protection and legitimacy to aspiring elites (Driscoll 1998c; FitzPatrick 2004; Smith 1991);

alternatively, it may be a dreaded place associated with fear of the dead and the unknown (Holtorf 1997; Semple 1998); it may require a deliberate 'forgetting' or re-writing of the past (Whitley 2002); or it may simply be reused as a handy landmark and meeting place (Sanmark and Semple 2008; Williams 2002a). A combination of some or all of these factors should always be considered (Driscoll 2004a; Williams 2004b). The complex relationship of burials and prehistoric monuments must be analysed on a case-by-case basis.

Burials in Scotland rarely reuse prehistoric monuments as ostentatiously as in Anglo-Saxon England; for instance, there are no confirmed instances of Bronze Age barrows cut into by early medieval graves (cf. Williams 1997). Only in a few instances do burials actually infiltrate ancient monuments, as at the henges of Cairnpapple WLO (Piggott 1948) and North Mains of Strathallan PER (Barclay 1983); the Iron Age fortifications of Castle Park, Dunbar ELO (Perry 2000) and Trohoughton DMF (Simpson and Scott-Elliott 1964); or the Roman camps at Little Kerse, Polmont STL (McCord and Tait 1978) and Burnswark DMF (Jobey 1978). It is more often the case that burials were placed adjacent to prehistoric monuments rather than in them, like the souterrains of West Grange of Conon ANG (Cameron 2003; Jervise 1862) and Redcastle ANG (Alexander 2005), or the large prehistoric settlements at Garbeg INV (Wedderburn and Grime 1984) and Newton, Islay ARG (McCullagh 1989). Sometimes, reuse can be quite ambiguous or even accidental; for instance, at Thornybank MLO, where the long cist cemetery is apparently bounded by a Bronze Age bank and pit alignment, but cuts other prehistoric structures indiscriminately (see Figure 6.9; Rees 2002). Square barrows are often seen clustering around prehistoric landscape as at Forteviot PER (Figure 6.10), but in many cases this may be a fortuitous artefact of cropmark formation (Halliday 2006). In the case of Forteviot, this seems to be a deliberate reuse of a ceremonial landscape (Driscoll 1998c), and will be discussed further below (6.4.3).

Due to land constraints, in some places, it is not uncommon to find settlement of all periods in close proximity, and hence it is hazardous to attempt to see continuity in the landscape (Cowley 2003; Lowe 2002). In Atlantic Scotland, the correlation with Iron Age settlements can be quite frequent: in parts of Caithness with numerous upstanding brochs, it is commonplace to find human remains in these structures, and radiocarbon dates are beginning to show that this practice continues throughout the first millennium AD (Armit and Ginn 2007; Tucker and Armit 2009). In the southwest, cropmarks reveal a number of late prehistoric enclosures reused as foci for burial (Cowley 2009).

Figure 6.10: At Forteviot PER, square barrows are arranged around the large prehistoric ceremonial complex and the large square enclosure to the north (Driscoll 2010).

The question of monument reuse has long been dominated by sites from the deep and forgotten past, but these examples of the reuse of Roman and other later prehistoric sites is perhaps an entirely different social statement. It has recently been argued that the curvilinear form of early Christian monastic enclosures in Ireland and Scotland directly references the duns, raths and related Iron Age settlements in these areas (Carver 2009). This also seems to apply to southern Scotland, where later prehistoric settlement often took

a rectilinear form (Halliday 2002), and where enclosed cemeteries also tend to be rectilinear (see below, 6.4.1). From the barrows over the Roman fort of Inchtuthil PER (4.2.1) to the reuse of abandoned brochs in Caithness, most instances of explicit monument reuse are in Iron Age or Roman monuments, indicating a complex relationship with the remains of a more recent past, discussed further in the context of early monasteries (8.3.4).

6.4. Cemetery layout and use of space

The landscape-based approach taken thus far allows us to see some spatial patterns in the placement of cemeteries. But it also risks the assumption that these sites exist only as fully-fledged entities, when of course they began with just a single grave. A burial in a 'greenfield' site is certainly a different statement from one in an existing family plot, and a different one altogether from a new plot added to an existing cemetery. Having established the kinds of places where cemeteries form, we must turn to the way the cemeteries took shape over time.

6.4.1. Enclosures

The cemeteries under discussion are primarily unenclosed groupings of inhumations. Very few sites have any vestige of an artificial bank or ditch specially constructed to define a burial space (as discussed above, 6.3.2). They have this in common with many early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and *reihengraberfelder* or row-grave cemeteries on the continent. Where boundary features occur, these tend to be pre-existing structures, such as the Iron Age enclosures reused as monastic *valla* at Iona and Portmahomack (Carver 2009: 335-336) or the prehistoric bank at Thornybank (see Figure 6.9; Rees 2002: 316; 326-327).

The majority of non-church cemeteries were unenclosed – Figure 6.11 shows how few burials actually were – although cemeteries in rectilinear enclosures have now been recognized from the air in southern Scotland: a series of small burial enclosures of about 10m across cluster in the Rhinns of Galloway (Cowley 2009), and large enclosures containing several hundred inhumations appear alongside the royal 'palace' complexes at Philliphaugh SLK and Sprouston ROX (Smith 1991). The latter two cemeteries may yet be associated with churches as has been argued for the similar site at Yeavering, Northumberland (Blair 2005: 54-57). The need to delimit the burial area may indicate a desire either to guard from outside pollution, or to constrain the dead within a settled landscape. Regardless, their rectilinear ditches show a shared desire to reference and recreate later prehistoric settlement enclosures (see above, 6.3.4). The enclosed cemeteries of southern Scotland thus simultaneously create a communal identity, highly charged with

the memory of past practices yet ostentatiously new. The high-status associations of these cemeteries indicate that they may not be negotiating an ethnic identity, but a religious one, the concern with pollution and purity being a self-conscious way of demonstrating control over the supernatural as well as the physical landscapes (Turner 2003).
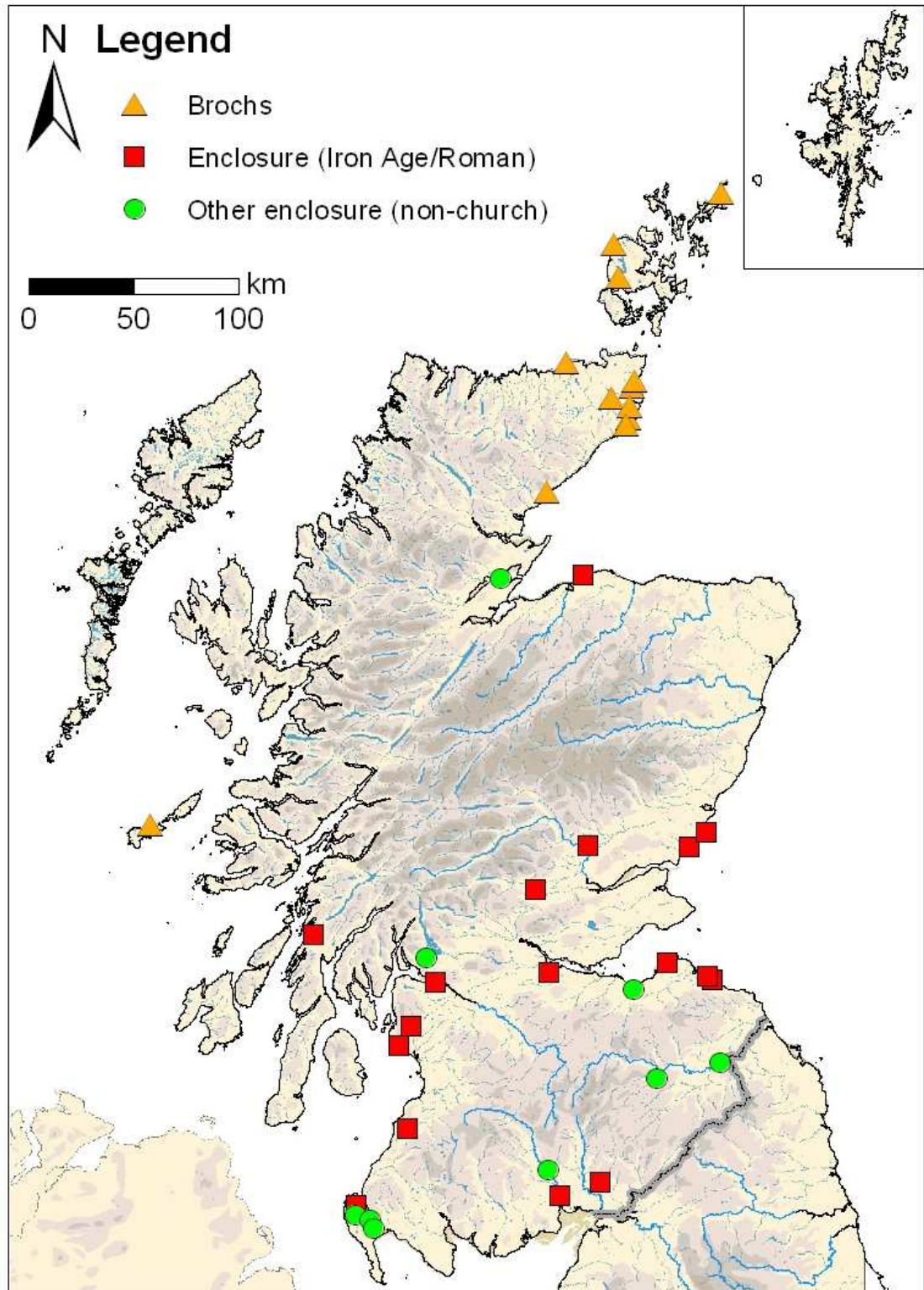
Figure 6.11: All non-church cemeteries in ditched or walled enclosures in Scotland, showing that newly-created burial enclosures (green dots) were primarily used in southern Scotland.

Field cemeteries rarely display any need for enclosures until late in the first millennium, for instance at Midross DNB (DES 2005) and Balblair ROS (Reed 1995). This supports recent work in England suggesting that the consecration of burial grounds largely began during 9-10th century reforms (Gittos 2002). A late date for enclosures has also been noted in Wales (Longley 2009; Petts 2002), although in Ireland, enclosure seems to be a widespread Late Iron Age practice (Kinsella 2010: 122-126; Stout and Stout 2008). The use of enclosed burial grounds is otherwise characteristic of church sites, and may well be a diagnostically Christian practice (see above, 6.3.2). Our modern conception of burial places as hallowed or sacred ground may be anachronistic in a Late Iron Age context. But it is clear that for a select few, represented by a small number of enclosed cemeteries among the many open ones, enclosure of cemeteries was one of the ways in which their religious identity could be expressed (Turner 2003).

6.4.2. Orientation
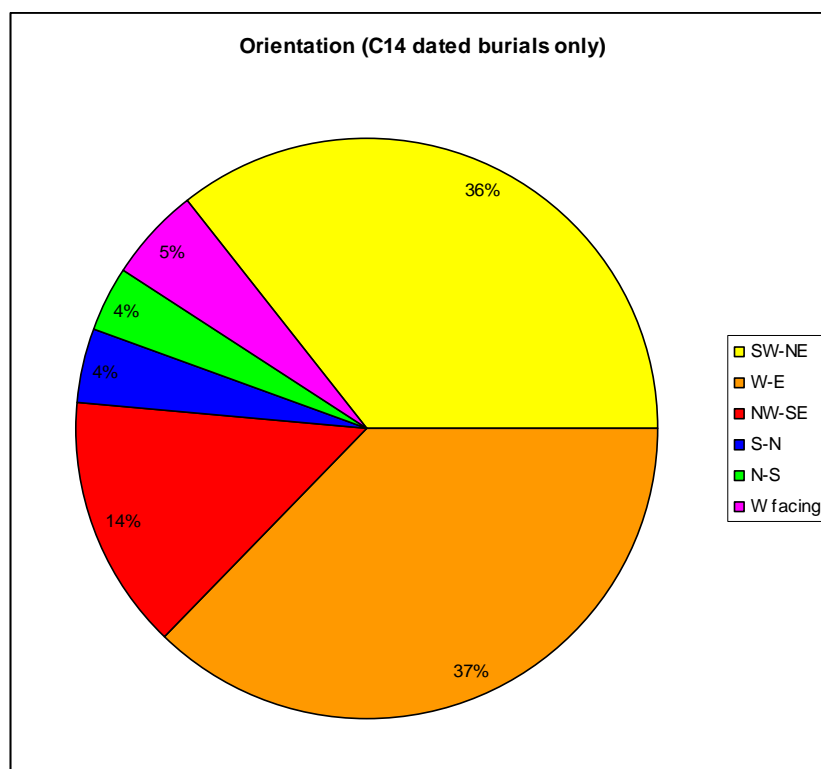
Figure 6.12: Overall distribution of grave orientation (radiocarbon dated burials only).

Across the first millennium AD, grave orientation is almost universally east-facing. However, it seems there was a marked preference for orientations north of east as well as true west-east (Figure 6.12). This preference is paralleled in North Wales, and has been explained as indicative of a special significance given to the midsummer sunrise (Longley 2002; Longley 2009). If we refine this further and plot the radiocarbon dates obtained among all east-facing graves, a striking pattern emerges (Figure 6.13). The SW-NE graves

cluster about the middle of the millennium, but are eventually overtaken by W-E orientations. When compared with the overall distributions of radiocarbon dates from Scotland (3.2), it is clear what these two trends represent. The spike at mid-millennium is caused by the rise of field cemeteries like Thornybank MLO and Redcastle ANG, both of which display a predominant SW-NE orientation. The dominance of W-E graves by the end of the millennium probably reflects greater church control, as shown by the orientations of graves at church sites from Auldhame ELO to St Ninian's Isle SHE.
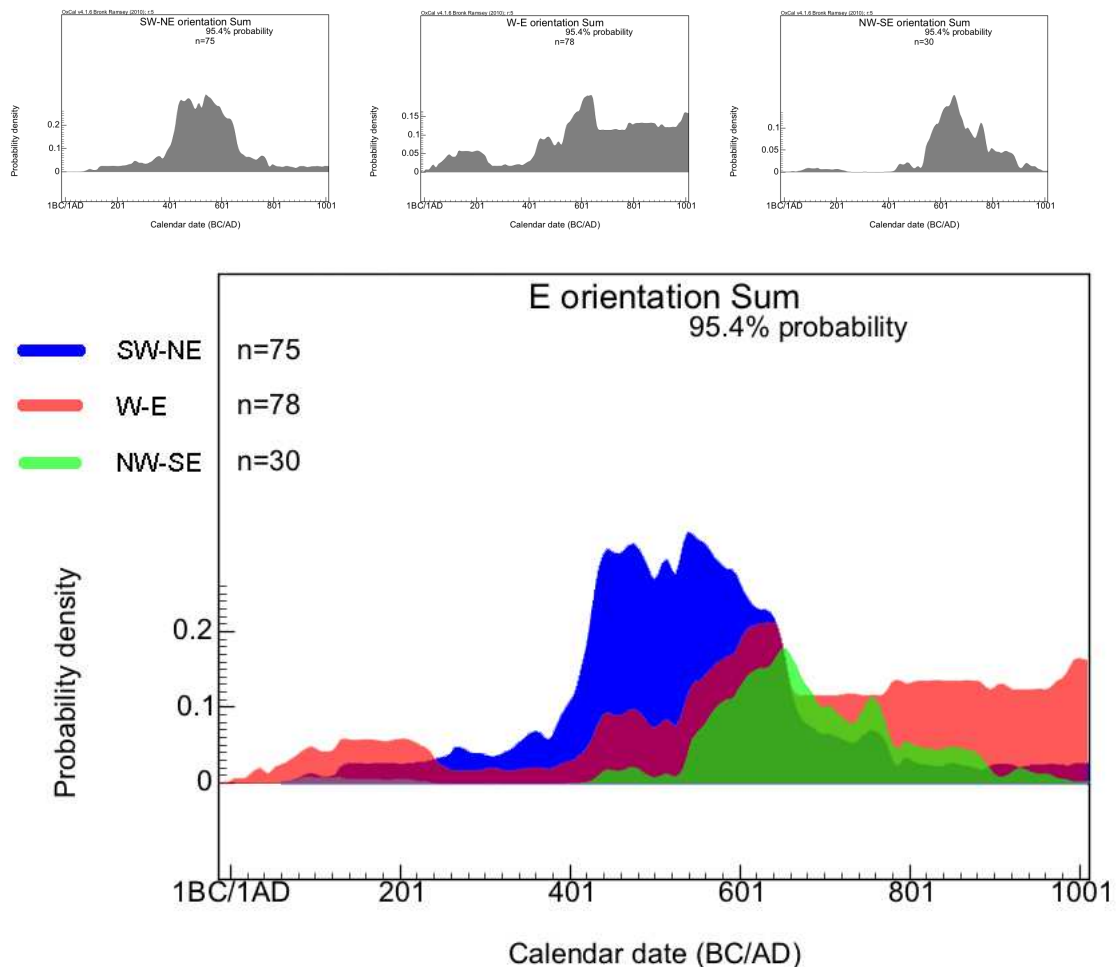
Figure 6.13: Top: Sum of all radiocarbon dated burials facing east in Scotland. Bottom: all distributions superimposed; drawn by the author based on the above.

This analysis is only intended as a first step, and only includes radiocarbon dated burials. But the difference between NE- and E-facing graves would appear to be a conscious choice as demonstrated on sites with long chronologies of use. A good example of this is in the Fey Field at Whithorn WIG (McComish and Petts 2008), where the 5-7th century phase of burials were orientated SW-NE, and later (Northumbrian phase) burials show a marked shift to W-E orientation (Figure 7.7). However, it is also clear that cemetery organisation was not always based on celestial observations, and may reference the surrounding

landscape or pre-existing features instead, since burials at the adjacent Glebe Field at Whithorn do not follow these same trends (7.6).

Despite a widespread preference for W-E burial by the end of the millennium, it should also be noted that this orientation is also used by many Middle Iron Age graves (Table 4.1), and so orientation alone is not diagnostic of religious affiliation. For instance, Thomas (1971: 56) made much of the apparent switch from north-south to east-facing burials at St Ninian's Point BTE as indicative of conversion (Aitken 1955), but it is equally possible that the deviating orientations are instead carefully placed to follow the curve of the enclosing 'cashel' wall rather than any imposed doctrine (8.1.3). In Caithness, where a number of cemeteries were inserted into natural sand mounds, the orientation of graves was adjusted to fit, even if it meant not facing east at all: at Keiss, the graves are laid S-N to parallel the coastline (Edwards 1926; Laing 1866). At Hallow Hill FIF (see below), the graves face SE along the long axis of the hill, and at Blairhall PER, the linear arrangement of the barrow cemetery seems to be deliberately referencing the cursus monument directly adjacent (RCAHMS 1994: 17-18).

It is therefore perilous to make much of statistical analyses of orientation alone. But given the peculiarities of cemetery layout (below, 6.4.3), it will become clear that referencing past practices is key to understanding the development of cemeteries. Following a pre-ordained orientation was as powerful a statement as deviating from it. We must always ask why separate groups of people choose to congregate in a similar place and follow a similar burial practice.

6.4.3. Cemetery management

Two important features of the cemeteries under discussion are that graves are rarely seen to cut each other, and their orientations are broadly uniform within each site. This would seem to imply some level of management, likely aided by above-ground grave markers; this type of careful layout is seen across Britain from the late Roman period (Thomas 1981: 232). Such organization is in stark contrast to later church or monastic burial grounds, where the burials often heavily intercut due to a desire to bury in proximity to a church (below, Chapters 7 and 8). Like ecclesiastical burial grounds, the field cemeteries were able to attract dozens, sometimes hundreds of burials; but unlike them, the spaces chosen for burial were not restricted to a closely defined zone.

The classic example of a row-grave cemetery in Scotland is surely the Catstane, Kirkliston MLO (Figure 6.14). In 1864, a cemetery of long cists at equal distances apart in regular north-south rows was excavated near a large boulder bearing a Latin inscription (Hutchison 1866). Rescue excavation in 1974 revealed a much-disturbed site due to many antiquarian interventions, but confirmed the rows of cists; it also revealed more long cists seemingly arranged around the inscribed Catstane itself (Cowie 1978). Unfortunately, only a few cists were able to be radiocarbon dated, and these have very wide margins of error; still, the dates are roughly contemporary with the proposed 6th-century date for the inscription (Forsyth 2005).
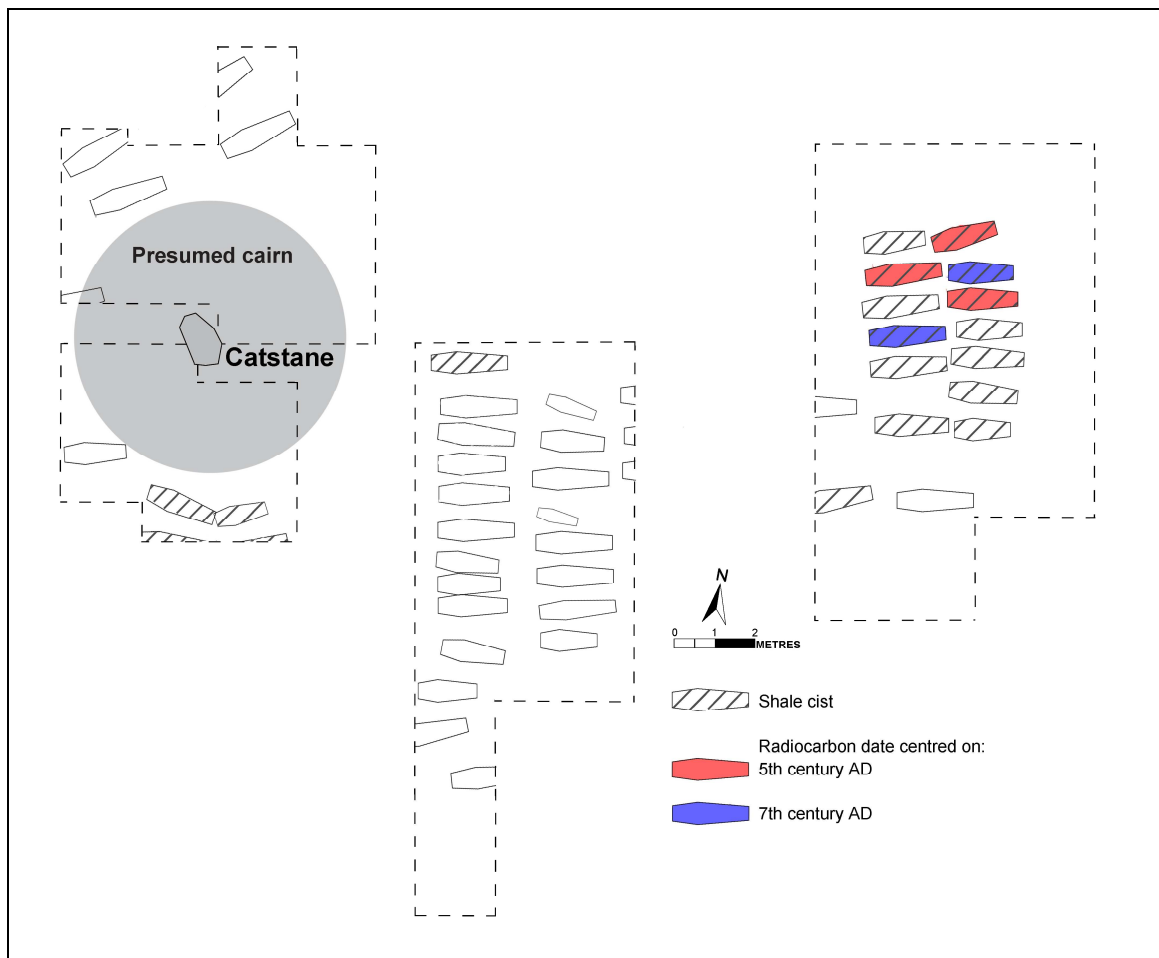
Figure 6.14: Simplified interpretive plan of the Catstane MLO cemetery after Cowie 1978 (redrawn by the author).

The dates obtained cannot be relied on too closely, but can be split into two groups: three broadly centred on the 5th century AD, and two closer to the 7th century. As shown in Figure 6.14, the dates are from a single cluster of shale cists, yet they span a wide period. This may indicate that this sector of the cemetery was used by a group of people who built cists in shale instead of the usual sandstone, adding burials here over a long period. During this period, an inscribed stone was added to the site, and a group of graves began to be arranged around it. Here, then, we may be seeing the employment of two separate but

contemporary layouts at work: a dominant row-grave layout, alongside a cluster of graves aligned on a focal point. The fact that the cists furthest from the inscribed stone are the only ones proven to be contemporary with it casts doubt on the theory that the cemetery began by clustering around the stone. Instead, the spread of dates among the shale cists may point to the existence of separate zones which were in contemporaneous operation.
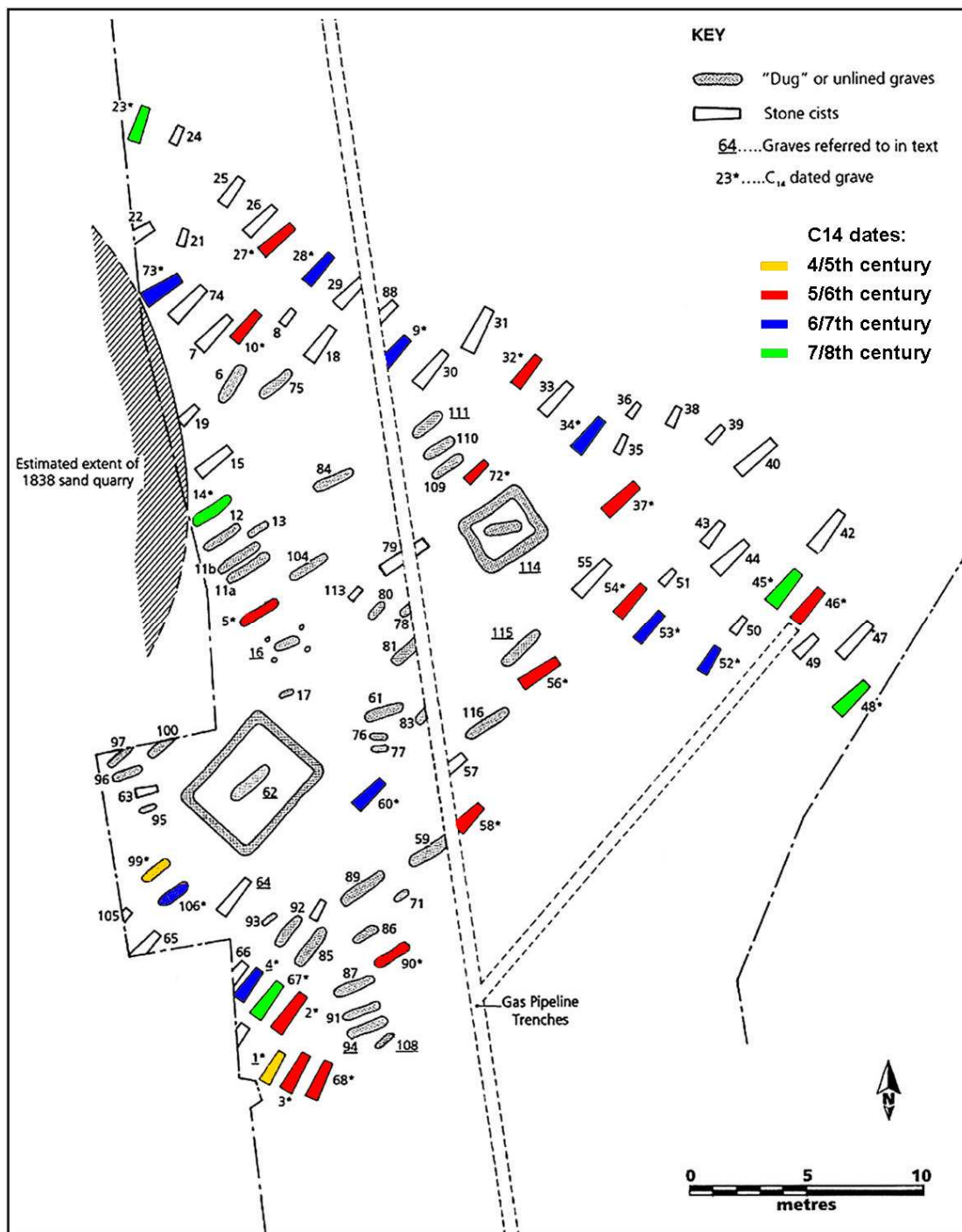
Figure 6.15: The Thornybank MLO row-grave cemetery with relative chronology based on median radiocarbon dates (plan and data from Rees 2002; colour-coding by the author). I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

Another Midlothian cemetery with a row-grave layout is Thornybank (Rees 2002). While this site does not appear as orderly as the Catstane cemetery, the graves are generally

arranged side-by-side (Figure 6.15). Three graves were singled out for some elaboration, whether by an enclosing rectangular ditch (graves 114 and 62) or by a setting of postholes (grave 16). These graves, while certainly 'special', do not seem to be focal; rather than attracting a radial layout of graves, they have large sterile zones surrounding them, as does the simple dug grave 84. They are otherwise incorporated into the predominant SW-NE orientation and E-W rows of the rest of the cemetery. A large suite of radiocarbon dates was obtained at Thornybank which helps elucidate the way this site developed over time. Barring two outliers at either extreme, all dates from the cemetery cluster neatly into the 5-7th centuries, with notable concentrations in the 5th and 6th centuries (ibid.: 342-344). When these dates are plotted onto the plan of the cemetery, the overall layout begins to resolve itself (Figure 6.15). Instead of the expected linear or radial expansion of graves from a single focus outward, the dates show that contemporary burials are scattered across the field. While there is significant statistical overlap among these dates, it seems that no single focus existed, and the cemetery accrued piecemeal over the centuries. This is seen most dramatically at the southern end of the trench, where graves 1, 2, 4 and 67, covering the entire chronological span of the cemetery, are situated in a neat row alongside one another. Like the cluster of shale cists at the Catstane, this is one cluster among many in simultaneous operation across the length of this field.

Further afield, the cemetery at Hallow Hill, St Andrews FIF (Figure 6.16) shows how a large excavation can discover many organisational schemes in use on a single site. The predominant layout appears once again to be linear rows, with most burials aligned towards the southeast. Despite this overall programme, there is at least one smaller sub-group arranged around a special or focal grave, the large dug grave 119 (Proudfoot 1996: 415-416), which seems to attract a haphazard cluster of intercutting graves. The two-tiered, furnished grave 54 should perhaps be expected to act as a focal grave if it was among the earliest burials here, but instead it is simply surrounded by a large sterile space like the enclosed graves at Thornybank, perhaps indicative of the rough cairn which may have existed over it (*ibid*., 413). Only grave 119 and the putative chapel (not shown in Figure 6.16, flanked by graves on a more W-E alignment) seem to interrupt or alter the overall organisational scheme. Furthermore, the earliest graves do not appear be those nearest to special graves 119 and 54, and so it is unlikely they formed the primary foci of the cemetery.
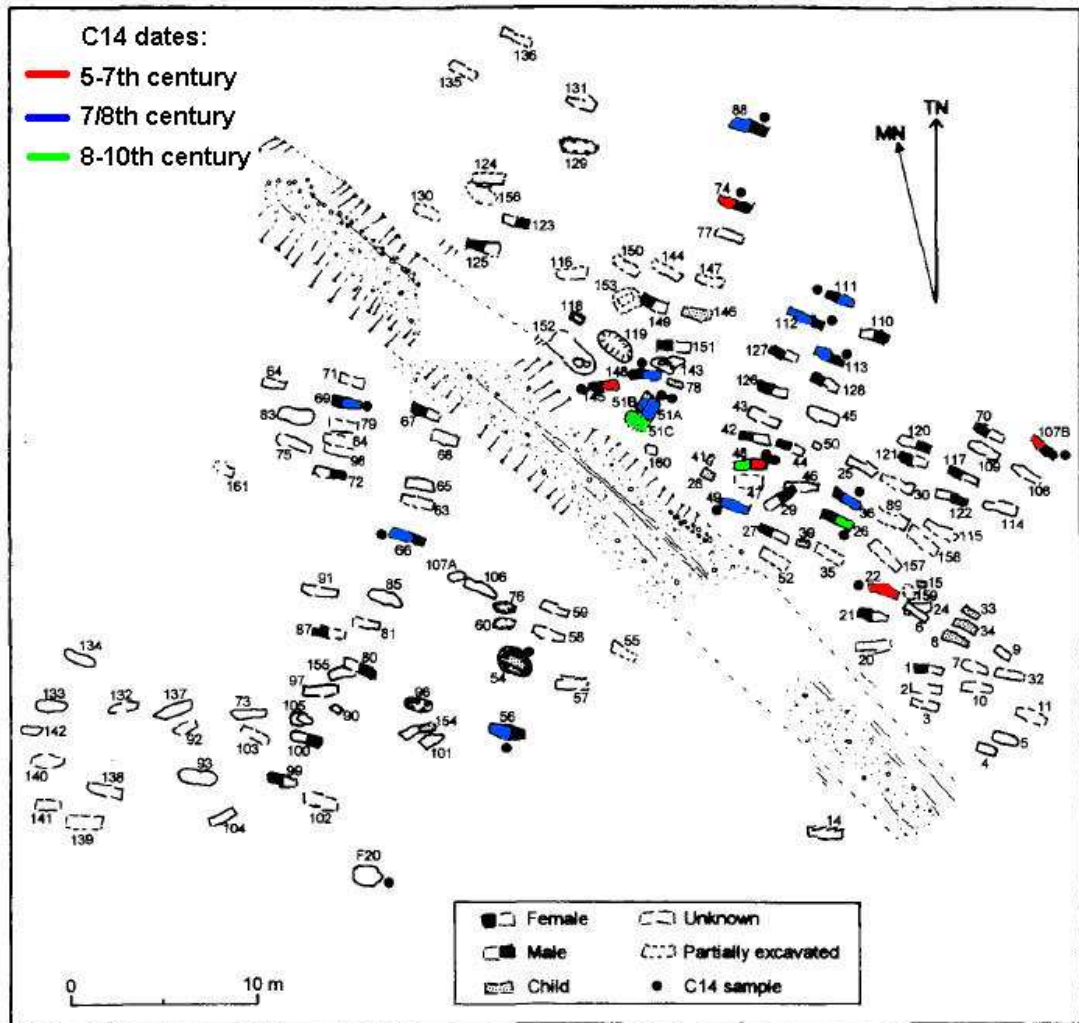
Figure 6.16: Plan of excavated graves at Hallow Hill FIF (Proudfoot 1996, 404). Interpretive colour-coding based on median radiocarbon dates added by author. I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

These special graves should thus be seen as short-lived experiments within the overall programme. Each of them even had a separate 'special' grave around it: near 119 is the cluster of three intercutting graves 51A/B/C, which were probably once capped by a cairn; and near 54 is grave 96, a possible log coffin which also may have been capped by a low cairn (Proudfoot 1996: 413-416). The fluctuating attraction of the focal graves at Hallow Hill should make us begin to question the neat theory of cemeteries growing around 'founder's graves' put forward by Charles Thomas. There were clearly a number of ways that focal graves influenced the layout of graves here. Instead of a single 'founder's grave', Hallow Hill seems to have many 'founders' whose fame waxed and waned over time, and were sometimes even superseded by new foci.

The use of barrows and cairns within cemeteries introduces an alternative form of grave layout than that of the row-grave cemeteries, and should perhaps be considered separately. Instead of burials laid shoulder to shoulder, monumental graves are often arranged head to foot, forming long 'strings' of conjoined monuments. These occur as simple linear

alignments easily spotted from aerial photographs as at Blairhall PER or Sheriffton PER (RCAHMS 1994: 17-18). Strings of graves occur in a small minority of flat grave sites, for instance at Parkburn, Lasswade MLO (Henshall 1956). But with monumental cemeteries, this organisational scheme provides a new way to reference past funerary events in an ostentatious, permanent fashion.
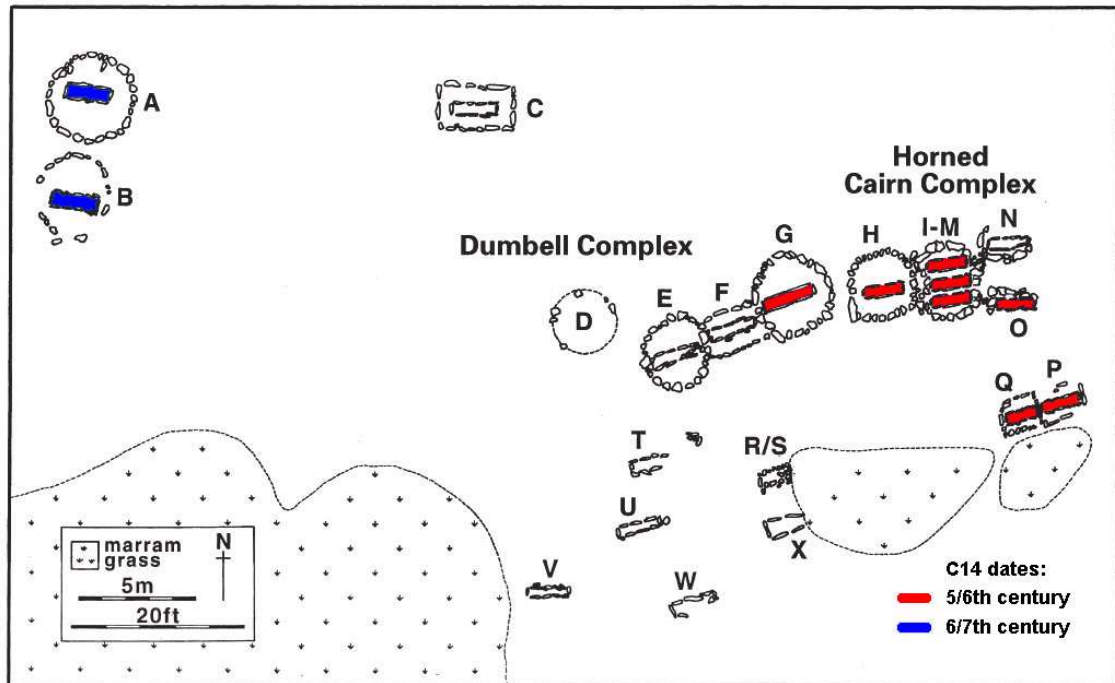
Figure 6.17: Different kinds of focal grave at Lundin Links FIF (Greig 2000, 591). Interpretive colour-coding based on median radiocarbon dates added by author. I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

The cairn cemetery at Lundin Links FIF provides a good example of a multitude of foci operating within a very short period of time. The excavated area (Figure 6.17) seems only to be the most visible sector of a much wider inhumation cemetery, as long cists in neat rows have been found over the years from as far as the old railway station nearly 100m to the north (Greig 2000: 586). These flat graves remain undated, as are the scattered long cists found in the main site, but the stone cairns date to the Late Iron Age, c. 400-650. As all the radiocarbon dates from the eastern end of the site are very similar, we cannot be more specific than this. However, the fact that almost all of the cairns are conjoined in some form or another indicates a complex chronology within this time span. The two largest monuments, the cairn complexes, would seem to form the initial focus of the cemetery, but it is difficult to tell how these monuments developed; for instance, the Horned Cairn Complex holds at least eight inhumations, five of them in the central element alone, but all seemingly deposited within a short span of time.

The most plausible interpretation is that these cairn complexes were 'family plots', but even this interpretation may be too simplistic. The lack of children and infants in this cemetery means that it was not intended to be inclusive of entire family groups (Williams 2007a: 157). Every burial in this cemetery was an adult of 18-45, with the majority falling within the 25-35 age group (Smart and Campbell-Wilson 2000), indicating that these were not immediate family but perhaps drawn from an extended kin group. A high-status interpretation is also problematic: nine individuals suffered from osteoarthritis in the lower vertebrae, including three severe cases and two fractures, all potentially caused by excessive load-bearing or repetitive strain. The female in cist O of the Horned Cairn suffered from long-term muscular paralysis of the left side, as shown by the shortening of the bones (ibid.: 613). The most elaborate grave, the triple-kerbed cairn at the east end of the Dumbbell complex (Cist G), contained a male with possible evidence for tuberculosis (ibid.: 625). It is worth repeating that the cairn cemetery is only one part of a wider flat grave cemetery, and so it can be argued that those buried here are not necessarily the highest ranking members of a family group, but people within the community who died in certain ways at certain times, requiring a more elaborate burial rite than the rest. The linked cairns may then be referencing these circumstances rather than familial relationships.

These cairn complexes did not form the only foci on this site. Cairns 1 and 2 at the western end of the site are somewhat isolated from the rest, and seem to represent two contemporaneous burials added to the site up to a century after those in the cairn complexes. These reference the pre-existing graves but instead of aligning with any pre-existing focus, they created a new one altogether. Another short-lived focus is Cairn 5, containing a young male in a long cist (S); this cairn was later reopened for the insertion of a mature adult male in a long cist (R). The isolated cairn C remains undated, but its long, rectangular form may indicate a later departure from the round cairn standard. The possibility remains for a much greater time-depth than revealed by the few dated graves from this site. At Lundin Links, rather than any single founder, there were numerous foci in operation, and new foci could be added to the site over the long term. The age and gender restrictions seen in the Horned Cairn Complex show than not all focal clusters were the result of familial veneration. The careful selection, by age, sex and perhaps even pathology means that these cairns acted more like structured depositions of human remains, managed by age and gender, perhaps to make an ideological statement on the seaward-facing extent of a wider cemetery.
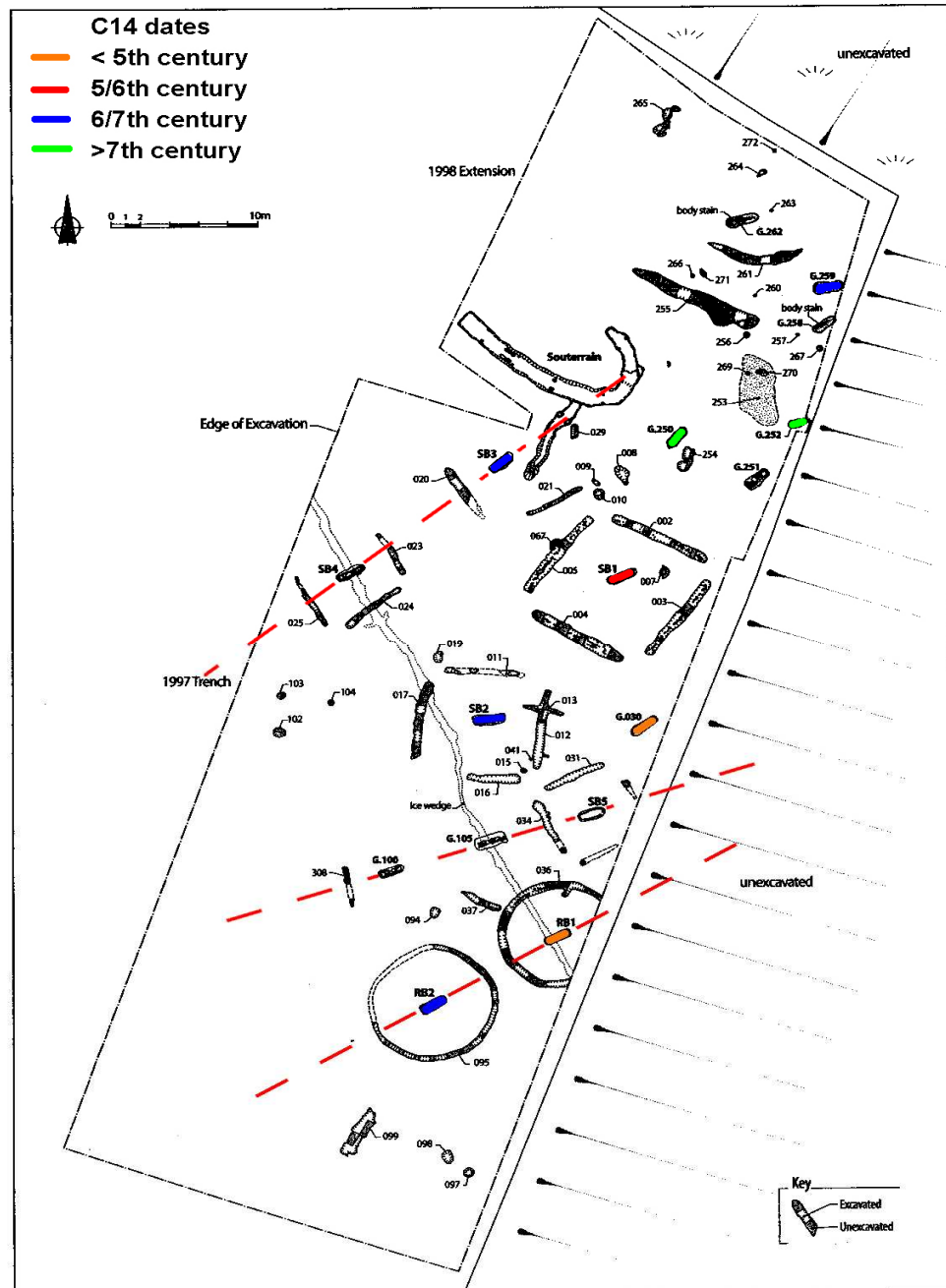
Figure 6.18: Plan of Redcastle ANG barrow cemetery (Alexander 2005, 44; dashed lines and colour-coding added by author). I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

Redcastle ANG provides an interesting example of how conjoined monumental graves built up within a larger cemetery. The graves at this site appear at first glance to be laid out almost at random, but are in fact a set of clusters in linear arrangements (Figure 6.18). These 'string' layouts only seem to apply to graves in barrows on this site, if graves 105 and 100 are interpreted as barrows with ditches obliterated by ploughing (Alexander 2005: 99). But the largest square barrows, 1 and 2, do not seem to be aligned on one another, showing that not every barrow was able to attract such strings, a situation paralleled at Lundin Links. Others only accrued them over long periods: for instance, round barrows 1 and 2 are dated centuries apart (ibid.: 106). The time-lag between burial events here helps

explain the changes in orientation, but also makes the persistence of the square and round barrow forms that much more important. The cemetery does not seem to have accrued in a linear fashion outward from the two large central graves; instead, after a period of many centuries in which square barrows seem to have been the norm, there was a return to the round form of barrow 2. Despite this quirk, the Redcastle clusters indicate a tendency for short-lived linear arrangements of no more than three burials. Triple conjoined monuments are also discernible at Lundin Links and a number of other barrow cemeteries; in fact, strings of more than three monuments are exceedingly rare. This limitation is not visible at flat grave sites, where some clusters can consist of vast rows, as at Thornybank MLO, thus indicating a very different approach to burial layout.

In this respect, it should be noted that barrows seem to have been used in a different manner from other grave types (5.3.2). A good example is at Forteviot PER, where the 'barrow cemetery' is more like a scattered punctuation of the landscape at irregular intervals arranged around prehistoric monuments (Figure 6.10). The large henges were certainly still visible in this time, since there is now evidence for early medieval disturbance of them (DES 2008, 2009). Much like the parallel arrangement of barrows outside the cursus at Blairhall PER (RCAHMS 1994: 17-18) or the scattered arrangement of barrows around the prehistoric Falcon Stone PER (Winlow 2010), it seems barrows accrued in small clusters over vast landscapes rather than in large cemeteries. If barrows are high-status or royal monuments, as has been argued for Forteviot and Redcastle, the hierarchy they illustrate in these sites is one in which lineages did not last much longer than two or three generations. The barrows are also hardly differentiated from one another, indicating that legitimacy may have derived from the relatively static referencing of previous practices rather than ostentatious elaboration. However, their scattered placement at sites like Forteviot shows that they could also derive meaning from their settings as much as their use for marking individual burials.

One final foray slightly beyond our period of study will suffice to demonstrate the power of the past in Late Iron Age cemeteries. The long-lived inhumation cemetery at Westness, Rousay ORK began as an easily-recognisable set of unfurnished, oriented dug graves, and continued in use through the period of Viking settlement in the area (Barrett 2000). Despite the influx of migrants with their own mortuary practices and beliefs, burials continued to be added here until the end of the millennium. The most obvious change was the appearance of ostentatiously furnished boat graves and oval cists containing crouched burials on a new south-easterly alignment. These graves were also highly visible monuments, with boat-shaped mounds and orthostat markers. But a close skeletal study

combined with stable isotope analysis to test for dietary preferences revealed that the indigenous population was not replaced by the Viking incomers, nor did their burial ways die out (Barrett and Richards 2004; Sellevold 1999).
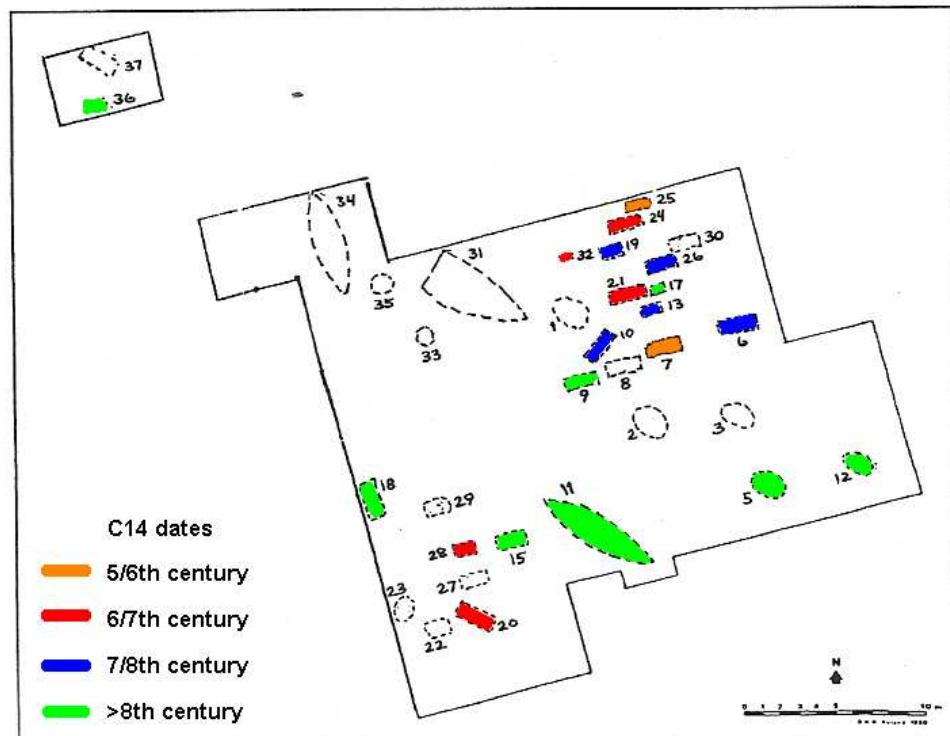
Figure 6.19: The Pictish-to-Norse cemetery of Westness, Rousay ORK (Sellevold 1999). Colour-coding added by author based on radiocarbon dates calibrated for combined terrestrial and marine diets (Barrett 2000; Barrett and Richards 2004).

The primary phases of burial here, from roughly the 6-8th centuries, can be seen to have taken place contemporaneously in two separate areas (Figure 6.19). These were mainly in dug graves placed on an axis slightly north of east. From the 9th century, the space between these zones was filled in with Viking graves, and yet radiocarbon dates show that burial in the old manner persisted alongside these new burial rites, even outlasting them as individuals eating a marine diet, the hallmark of immigrant Viking customs, continued to be buried in east-west dug graves. Rather than reflecting the assimilation of the Vikings over time, it shows the conservative effect which existing burials within a cemetery could have on communal social memory (cf. Devlin 2007a).

6.4.4. Discussion

Clustering of graves is therefore apparent all across the Scottish burial evidence, and it has this in common with post-Roman cemeteries elsewhere in Britain (Petts 2004). What this indicates is still open to debate. The presence of clusters may be the social practice that leads to the formation of cemeteries over time: it seems that these cemeteries grow up

organically as various groups congregate at a specific place to bury their deceased using similar depositional practices. But at certain times, unique to each site, one of these groups will deliberately try something that strays from the norm while still remaining within local tradition. At Thornybank, the 'special' graves enclosed by mortuary structures are set apart from the rest by these elaborations, but on the other hand they fit neatly into the larger layout of neat rows. In other words, they are not 'focal' graves, but experiments within the wider project of the cemetery, in line with the burial rites observed within the site, yet in tension with them. At Lundin Links, the highly-specialised monumentality of the site may be explained if the cairn cemetery is only the seaward side of a larger burial ground, as appears likely. At Hallow Hill and Redcastle, focal graves do occur, but can often be as short-lived as the memory of the deceased, replaced in due time by new foci. Finally, at Westness we can see that normative burial rites need not flow out from a single, prototypical focal grave, but rather carry on through the years via repeated use among a community, even after newer, grander foci were added to the site. In this way, the study of monumental graves alongside flat graves helps us understand the practices that led to the formation of cemeteries over time. To paraphrase Howard Williams, monumental graves within cemeteries are not simply commemorating individuals, but the relationships between them (2006: 167). As such, they are fulfilling a rather different purpose despite the superficially similar burial rites involved.

This model of cemetery-formation by a process of punctuated burial events has much to recommend it. It helps explain the layouts of any number of sites beyond those discussed here. For instance, the presence of barrows at Forteviot PER scattered across a wide area militates against there being a single funerary focus; here it seems the barrows were arrayed piecemeal around the limits of the larger prehistoric ceremonial complex. The same can be applied to flat grave sites: finds of graves far beyond the main excavated area at Lasswade MLO also indicated a more scattered cemetery than was originally proposed by the excavator (Henshall 1966), and recent radiocarbon dates obtained by the National Museum of Scotland show that burials in the main cemetery and scattered further down the ridge were roughly contemporary (M Goldberg, pers. comm.).

It has already been noted that field cemeteries are rarely enclosed and the burials not so tightly clustered that they intercut. This tells us that there was not necessarily a defined 'burial ground' set aside, and if there was, once this limit was met, burial simply carried on elsewhere. That would certainly explain the tight chronological span of many of our cemeteries, which often seem to be in use for few centuries before stopping abruptly. A model of punctuated burial events instead of ancestral or sacred burial grounds also helps

explain why 'special' graves were not always focal. It also helps explain the dispersed character of many cemeteries, of which Forteviot and Lasswade are again good examples, with graves appearing hundreds of meters apart. Seen in this light, the numerous finds of stray or seemingly isolated clusters of graves that do not add up to full cemeteries, which form a large part of the burial evidence across Scotland (see Figure 6.1), begin to make more sense. These may be outliers of dispersed cemeteries, but more probably these show that burial location was not centrally controlled by 'Christian' or other authorities in the centuries before the parish. Burial ways could and did change from generation to generation, but this occurred in a way that was unique within every site (cf. Lucy 2002).

In summary, a close study of the development of cemeteries over time shows that these develop according to a multifocal layout. Radiocarbon dating shows how relatively quickly these foci can appear and disappear within a site. Rather than looking for 'founder's graves' around which a cemetery develops, a multifocal arrangement should be expected, with clusters of graves accruing in an unpredictable manner around certain points in the topography of a site. Remarkably, these can prove to remain foci for long periods of time, or as brief as a single event. The amalgamation of normative burial rites out of this fragmented picture still requires some explanation. What we are seeing is not political or cultural alliance so much as pluralities of local groupings in constant negotiation over how to construct their own communities. As shown by the case of Lundin Links, whether these clusters need represent family groups is still up for debate, and whether special graves represent 'saints' or other 'very special dead' must be qualified by using a bio-cultural approach to the remains of all the individuals involved, including analysis of age, gender, pathology and other and osteological markers (see further below). To find out why these cemeteries emerge at all, we must be clear on who was being buried within them.

6.5. Cemetery populations

One final, but crucial, area of study within the context of cemeteries concerns the actual individuals involved. The above discussion of cemetery organization, which highlighted the organic, multifocal accumulation of graves over the centuries, may indicate that these cemeteries were open to anyone. At first glance, these cemeteries do seem quite inclusive, unenclosed and with all ages and genders represented. But occasionally there is evidence of segregation by sex or gender which implies some form of social filtering and control. Put another way, despite the seeming absence of physical boundaries in many cemeteries, there were certainly social boundaries in operation (Lamont and Molnár 2002). It is notable, for instance, that despite the open-ended nature of many cemeteries, there are few

mixed-rite cemeteries involving contemporary use of cremation and inhumation (5.1.7). Some of these boundaries were clearly biological, but defining these through osteological study is frustratingly difficult due to the generally poor preservation of bone; the severity of the problem is aptly demonstrated by the case of Thornybank MLO, where of 108 excavated graves, only 25 had enough bone left for rigorous analysis (Sinfield 2002: 339). As such, the large database of radiocarbon dates has relatively few accurately aged or sexed individuals, and so it is only cautiously that some potential patterns are presented here. This will serve to make clear the non-random nature of burial practices in the Late Iron Age, and provide the context for dealing with a specific subset of the population, those afforded overtly Christian burials, in the following chapter.

Site name	Individuals studied	Male	Female	Age 0-3	3-17	17-25	25-45	45+
Whithorn Priory WIG	118	15	10	39	30	4	33	8
Whithorn Fey Field WIG	116	25	27	3	13	20	34	3
Montefode AYR	14	2	3	0	0	4	4	0
Auldhame ELO	13	1	6	0	0	5	3	3
Thornybank MLO	25	6	11	1	6	5	9	3
Catstane MLO	13	0	2	0	6	4	2	0
Hallow Hill FIF	80	17	23	3	9	32	28	6
Lundin Links FIF	22	8	14	0	0	7	15	0
Isle of May FIF	42	32	4	1	2	8	14	11
Kirkhill FIF	282	44	104	17	39	28	166	32
Lochhead ANG	18	5	8	0	0	4	8	1
Redcastle ANG	11	1	5	0	0	3	3	0
Portmahomack ROS	75	56	4	0	1	5	29	26
Galson INV	10	4	5	0	1	2	3	1
Westness ORK	29	11	12	5	2	6	11	5

Table 6.2: Age and sex statistics from selected pre-11th century cemetery populations.

6.5.1. Gender

Segregation by sex is primarily seen as indicative of Christianity, specifically monastic control over burial (O'Sullivan 1994; Ó Carragáin 2009b). This is borne out by evidence for groups of all-male burial within early monastic sites on the Isle of May FIF (Battley *et al.* 2008) and Portmahomack ROS (Carver 2008). But gender certainly played a significant role in the structuring of field cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon contexts (Stoodley 1999), and we should expect to see some of this occurring beyond Christian sites. Some monumental cemeteries include hints of such gender boundaries, for instance within Lundin Links FIF where the Horned Cairn Complex contained only adult females (Figure 6.20; Williams 2007a), or the Birsay Brough Road ORK cairns, which seem to be exclusively male (Lunt and Young 1989).

Given the poor preservation of human bone at most sites, such spatial analysis is rarely possible. However, we can postulate long term general trends by utilising dated burials

from the database. Among radiocarbon dated individuals, there are more females (91) than males (79). This is a trend that has been noted in a number of Late Iron Age cemeteries across Scotland and beyond; indeed, in Anglo-Saxon contexts, the seventh century is notable for its 'disappearing men', as more wealthy barrow burials were allocated to women (Geake 2002: 147-148). The two leading explanations are either that more men died 'in the field' (whether in battle, hunting, or trading), or that women were not initially allowed to be interred in churchyards (Alexander 2005: 110). The latter theory is only plausible if it can be demonstrated both field and church cemeteries drew their numbers from the same social strata.
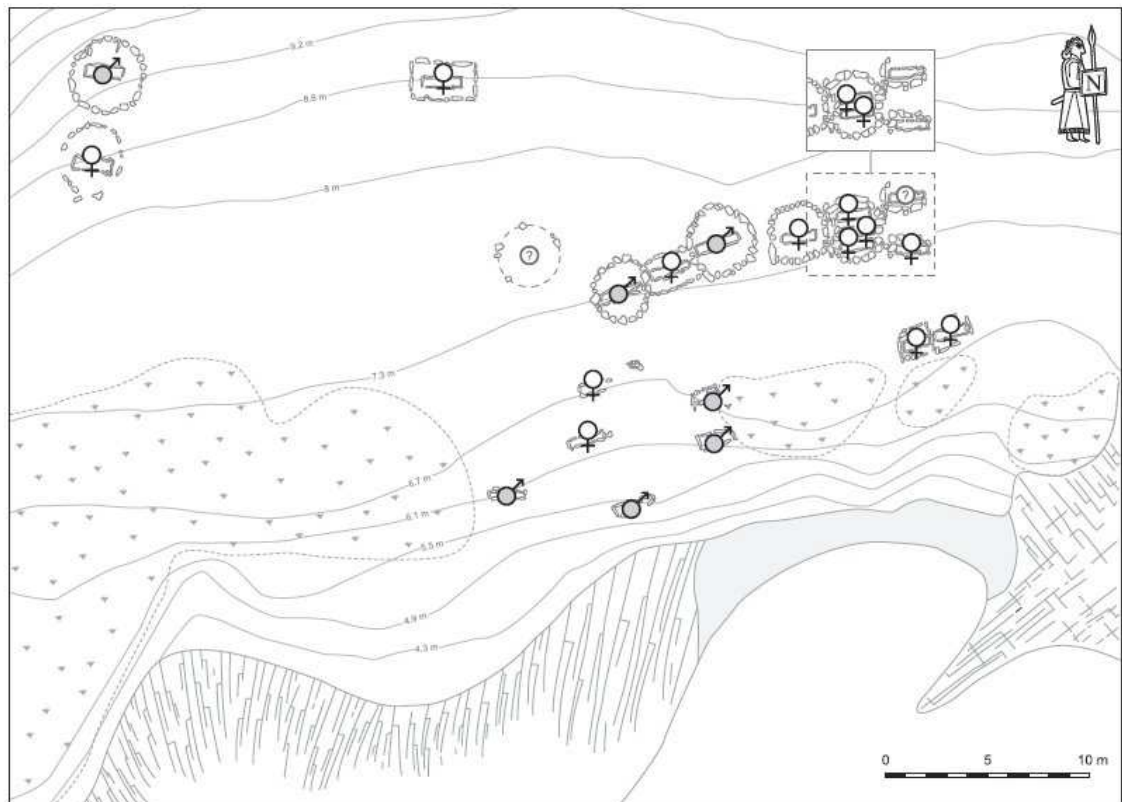
Figure 6.20: Map of sexed burials in Lundin Links FIF (Williams 2007a).

A more measured approach is that the social stresses and dislocations of the seventh century led to a new need to express social status through ostentatious burial rites, and that "complex signalling appears to be done more through female graves than through male graves" (Geake: ibid.). In other words, it was the loss of a female of child-bearing age that could cause the most disruption to the social obligations of a community. Across Scotland, we begin to see a distinctive pattern of gender imbalances that may help flesh out this picture (Figure 6.21). The Atlantic zone has more males overall, while the Lowland zone has almost twice as many females as males. One thing that both areas have in common is the occurrence of more males in Middle Iron Age burials. But it should be noted that in both regions, some of the most elaborate monumental graves of the 5-7th centuries were for

adult women (see Figure 6.22): the isolated Cille Pheadair cairn, South Uist INV (Mulville *et al.* 2003); the large and well-built square barrow 1 at Redcastle ANG (Alexander 2005); the entire Horned Cairn Complex at Lundin Links FIF (Greig 2000), the isolated cairn possibly marked with a Pictish stone at the Dairy Park, Dunrobin SUT (Close-Brooks 1980); the corner-post cairn at Sandwick, Unst SHE (Bigelow 1984); and the focal 'short cist' at St Ninian's Isle SHE (Barrowman forthcoming-a).
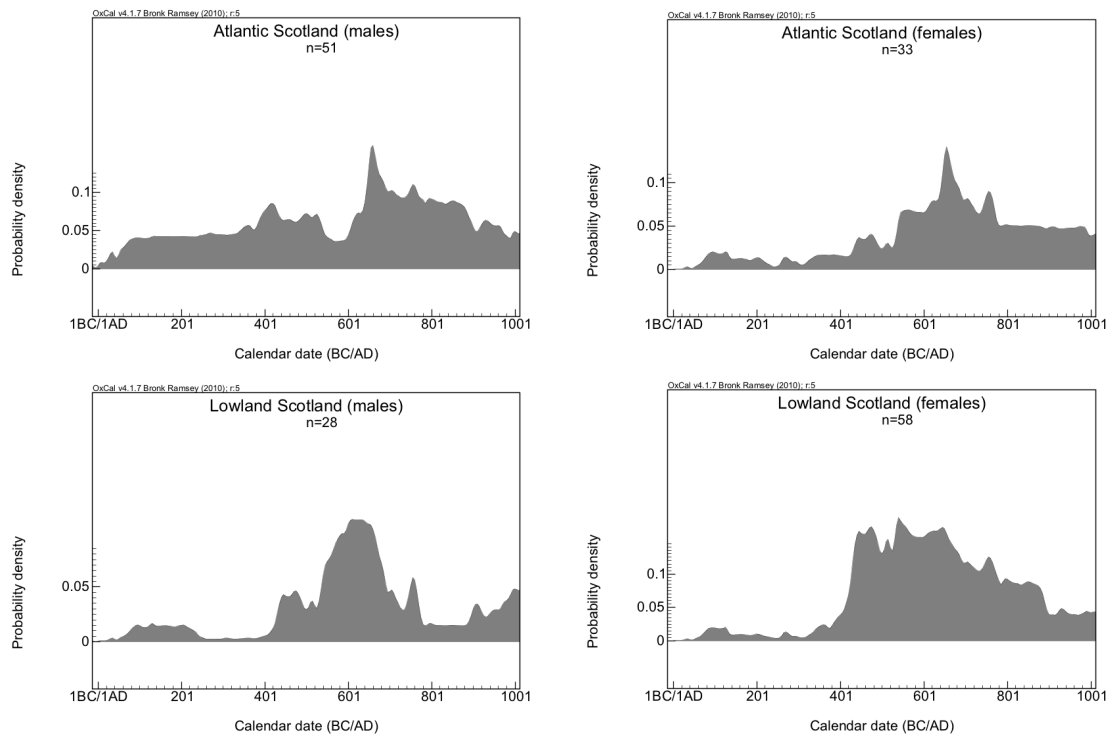
Figure 6.21: Gender imbalances in Atlantic and Lowland Scotland.

It is clear from the summarised radiocarbon dates that the societal transformations of the mid-millennium AD included the creation of more clearly-defined gender roles. Segregation by sex occurs not just in monastic burial grounds, but also in the field cemeteries with which they are contemporary. This is not distinctive to Scotland, and seems to be part of the wider social processes being signalled by cemeteries across Britain and the continent (Bowes 2008; Geake 1997; Gowland 2007; Halsall 1996; Smith 2000; Stoodley 1999; Yorke 2006). In monastic and other church sites, the separation of genders was one of the rules imposed by the community of brethren. Outside these, segregation by gender largely took place using monumental burial rites, with women playing a highly visible role in the negotiation of new identities at Redcastle and Lundin Links, as in the inscriptions on the Catstane MLO and Latinus Stone WIG (Forsyth 2005; 2009).
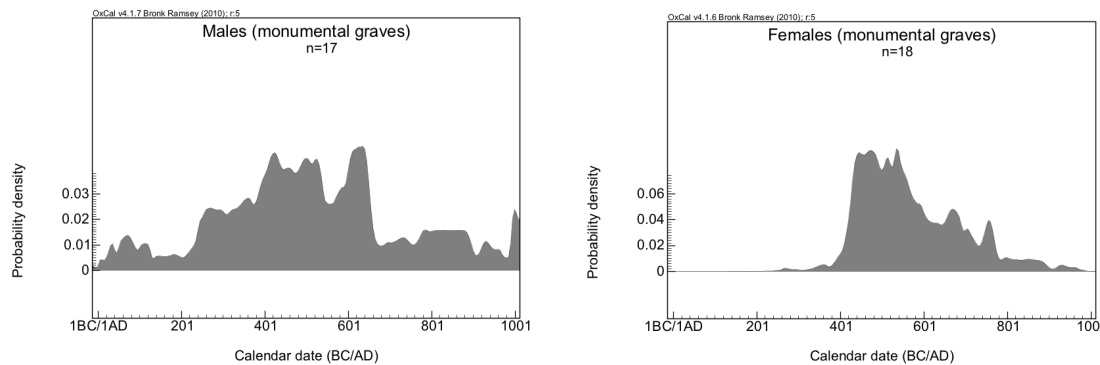
Figure 6.22: Radiocarbon dates from all burials in barrows, cairns, and other monumental graves in Scotland, by sex.

6.5.2. Age

The clearest sign that early medieval cemeteries were not open to just anyone is the overall dearth of infants and juveniles. Much like cemeteries elsewhere in Britain and across Europe, these sites were primarily fields of discourse for certain groups of adults, and the occurence of large amounts of subadults is usually connected to the conversion to Christianity (Stoodley 2000; Watts 1989). The sum of all radiocarbon dated infant graves from Scotland does seem to bear this out, as they tend to cluster in the late millennium; however, due to factors of preservation, these dates come from only three (primarily Viking-Age) cemeteries: Newark Bay, Deerness ORK, Westness, Rousay ORK and St Ninian's Isle SHE. However, we now know that infants were present, often in large numbers, on Middle Iron Age burial sites like Berst Ness, Westray ORK (DES 2002), early field cemeteries like Thornybank MLO (Rees 2002), and pagan Viking sites like Cnip, Lewis INV (Dunwell *et al.* 1995). Clearly, burial of children and infants is not a fail-safe indication of Christian communities. In fact, it seems that even Christians had alternative ways of dealing with their deceased children, since the small proportion of subadults, and especially infants, from early church sites is rarely what we would expect from a pre-modern society where child mortality could account for the majority of deaths (Chamberlain 1997).

The lack of infants at most sites is not likely to just be a product of preservation, and other explanations must be sought. Nick Stoodley's study of age among early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries showed that the infant age group was the only one treated as "totally separate from the rest of society" (2000: 469), rarely if ever afforded a burial with the typical funerary rites. In Scotland, this also seems to be the case, even though infants and even neonates are present in the skeletal analyses of a small number of early cemeteries (Table 6.2). Not unexpectedly, only church sites like Whithorn Priory WIG and St Andrews Kirkhill FIF have a significant proportion of infants, although in contrast, the Isle of May

FIF only had a single instance from disarticulated bone (Battley et al. 2008). The field cemeteries of Hallow Hill FIF (Lunt and Young 1996) and Westness, Rousay ORK (Sellevold 1999) would seem to be exceptional, although the former seems at one point to have become a church site.
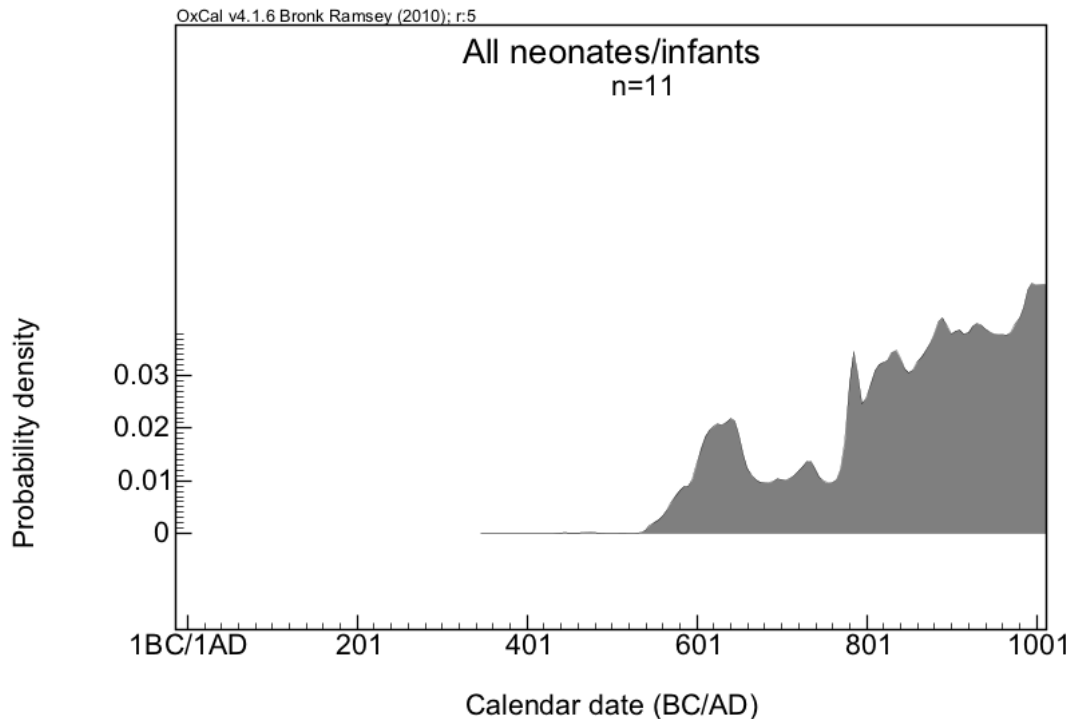
Figure 6.23: Sum of all radiocarbon dates from infant burials in Scotland.

But these numbers can be misleading: whether in church or field cemeteries, infants mostly appeared in special circumstances. The high numbers at Whithorn Priory are due to the creation of a dedicated children's cemetery in the 8th century, and it is worth stressing that before this neither the priory nor the adjacent Fey Field cemeteries had any infants present (Cardy 1997; Tucker 2008). Another cemetery with a high count of infants is St Ninian's Isle SHE, another early church with the majority were found in a single monument: a box-like construction with six compartments, capped with small pebbles and marked by cross-slabs (Barrowman 2003). Even before and after the changes of the Late Iron Age, infants were treated differently. At the 11-12th century enclosed cemetery of Newhall Point, Balblair ROS, the infants were most often 'paired' alongside adult graves, which the excavator posits were possible 'mother and child' graves (Reed 1995). This phenomenon is not unique to this site, and occurs in various ways across the first millennium AD. In the Middle Iron Age cemetery of Winton House, Cockenzie ELO, two multiple graves include young adult females and very young children (Dalland 1991); there is another instance of this kind of multiple grave at nearby Longniddry ELO (Dalland 1992); at Kirkhill FIF there were three cases of adult female graves incorporating disarticulated infant bone

(Bruce *et al.* 1997); and at Kirkhill and Westness ORK, there are instances of females buried while still pregnant (Sellevold 1999). The pregnant women aside, these multiple graves bear a whiff of structured deposition in the inhumation of newborns alongside females of child-bearing age, a recurring ritual surely powered by its emotive force (cf. Williams 2007b) rather than any fixed religious belief.
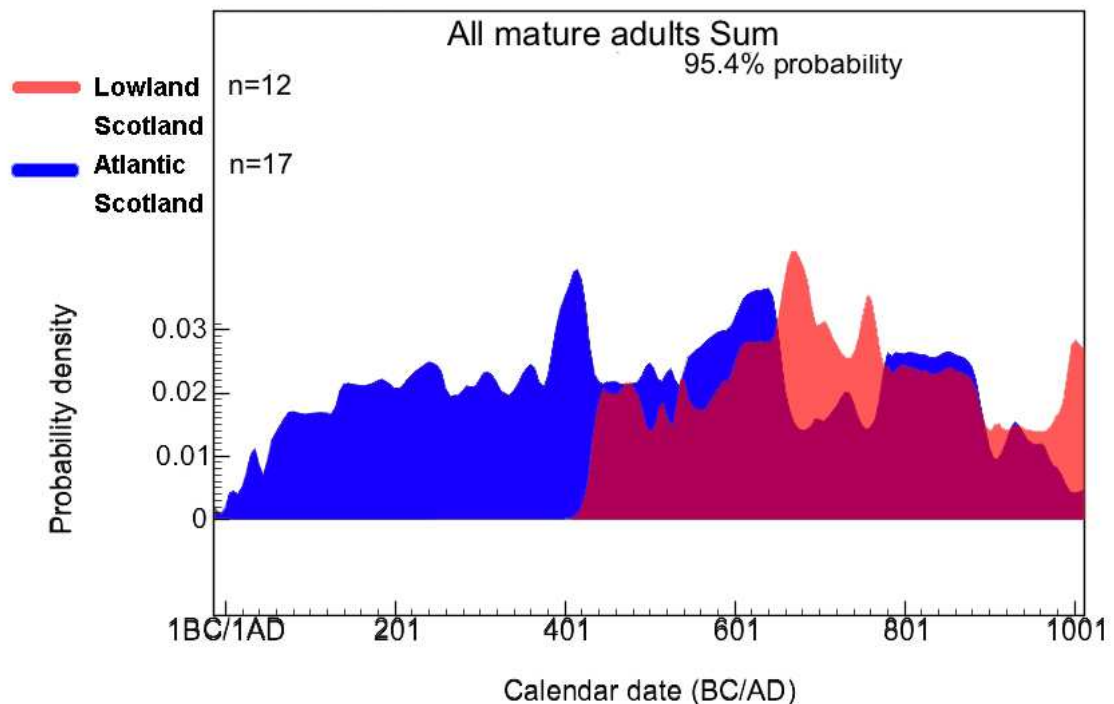
Figure 6.24: Sum of all radiocarbon dates from mature adult burials, Atlantic and Lowland zones compared (drawn by author).

After infancy, subadults tended to be treated much like every other age group, although they too were perhaps underrepresented, as some sites like Redcastle ANG and Lundin Links FIF do not have any (Table 6.2). Some early special graves make interesting use of children, including: the child 'reconstructed' using goat and cattle bones in the lower tier of short cist 54 at Hallow Hill (Proudfoot 1996: 413-414); the child left exposed before being capped by a cairn at Sangobeg SUT (Brady *et al.* 2007); the child furnished with a specially-made miniature brooch at Dunbar Golf Course (Baker 2002); and the child in a square-ditched enclosure at Thornybank (Rees 2002: 336-337). In contrast, most of the adolescents from Hallow Hill and Thornybank were in cists, log coffins and dug graves indistinguishable from the rest but for their smaller sizes; they were thus more likely to be treated similarly to adults in field cemeteries. Some of these cemeteries do tend to favour the young, and it may be that certain places were set aside for them. For instance, of the thirteen graves with human bone excavated at the Catstane MLO, fully ten of these were adolescents or young adults (Lunt and Young 1978). The cairn cemetery at Lundin Links

FIF was also seemingly restricted to individuals aged 17-35 (Smart and Campbell-Wilson 2000). Otherwise, young adults were treated in identical ways to other adult groups.

Mature adults, aged 45 and up, were an underrepresented age group (Table 6.2; Figure 6.24), potentially due to a lower life expectancy, as these individuals are most often marked by severe pathologies such as degenerative joint disease and periodontal infection. However, there is some indication that mature and elderly individuals were singled out for special graves in the early centuries AD, primarily in the Atlantic zone. These include the 'seated' burial in a roundhouse at Crosskirk Broch CAI and the elderly individuals under cairns at Loch Borralie, Durness SUT (MacGregor 2003), Birsay Brough Road ORK (Lunt and Young 1989), Sandwick, Unst SHE (Bigelow 1984), and various other graves at Middle Iron Age sites like Galson, Lewis INV (Neighbour et al. 2000) and An Corran, Boreray INV (Badcock and Downes 2000). Once the field cemeteries of the Late Iron Age came into use, this accordance of 'special' status to mature adults seemed to subside. In the Lowland zone, mature adults only began to be represented in the latter half of the millennium, largely on monastic sites like Whithorn WIG and the Isle of May FIF. It would appear that people of advanced age were also treated differently from other adults.

6.5.3. Health, disease, trauma
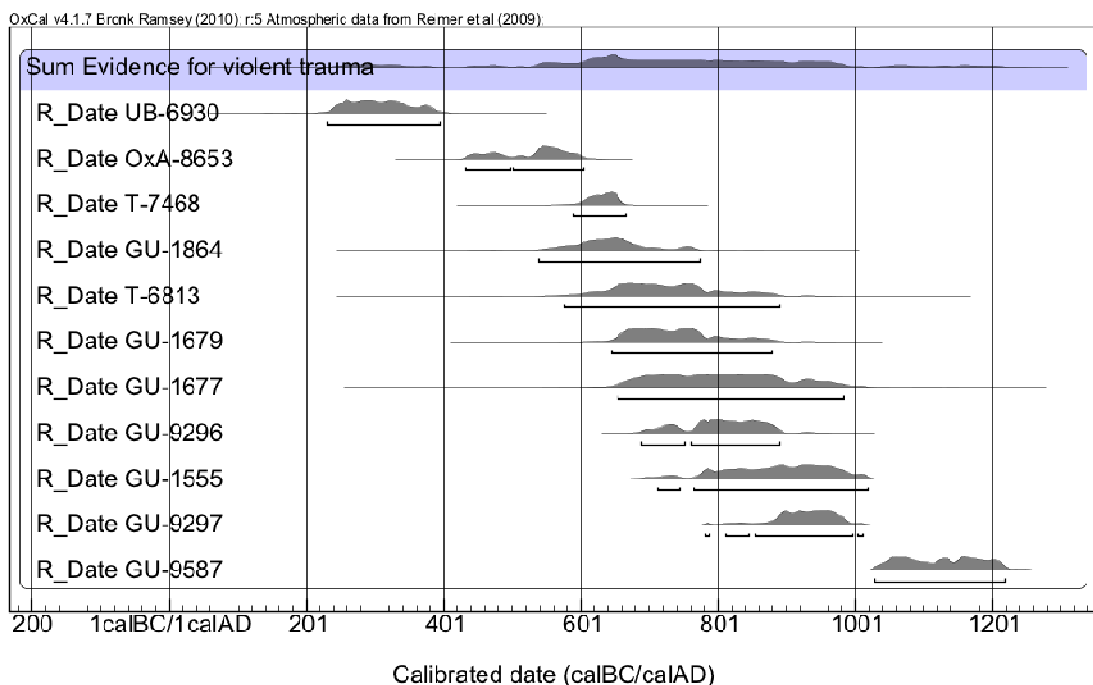
Figure 6.25: Radiocarbon dates from burials showing violent bone trauma.

One final aspect of the burial record that requires further analysis is the occurrence of disease, trauma and activity-related pathologies in the burial record. It may be significant that war and raiding are a feature of any history of the period from the Roman conquest to

the Viking period, yet the war dead are rarely found in Late Iron Age cemeteries. While there is now considerable evidence for decapitation in Iron Age Scotland (Armit and Ginn 2007; Armit and Schulting 2007), violent trauma is on the whole not a frequent occurrence in Late Iron Age and early medieval burial (Figure 6.25). In fact, of the few radiocarbon-dated instances of blade wounds, the majority are of Viking Age date. For instance, amidst the later burials at Westness, Rousay ORK there are a surprisingly high amount of bone fractures, along with incontrovertible evidence of violent death from a boat grave of a male with four arrow points seemingly lodged in the soft tissue, and a prone burial of a torture victim (Sellevold 1999: 13-14, 43-44). In the church cemeteries of Portmahomack ROS and St Andrews Kirkhill FIF, it is crucial to note that skeletons with blade injuries all come from later levels; in the former site, the excavator posits a catastrophic Viking raid which caused a 200-year hiatus in burial in the graveyard (Carver 2008: 80). It seems victims of violent trauma only began to be included in these sites in specific circumstances of social upheaval, and even then, mainly in church cemeteries.

Besides these extraordinary deaths, the general picture of life and death from skeletal analysis is one of relative good health, despite the evidence for hard physical labour combined with periods of restricted diet often experienced in childhood. The most common pathologies on any given site are degenerative joint diseases, most commonly in the lower vertebrae, associated with repeated heavy lifting. Poor oral hygiene is also noted in a majority of cases (Lunt and Young 1996), and like osteoarthritis, dental pathologies increased with age. A high prevalence of dental hypoplasia and *cribra orbitalia* bear witness to episodes of restricted nutritional intake and vitamin deficiencies (Bruce *et al.* 1997). There are even a handful of possible cases of tuberculosis: grave LL5 at Lundin Links FIF (Smart and Campbell-Wilson 2000), 226 at Kirkhill FIF (Bruce *et al.* 1997), 7 and 28 at Westness ORK (Sellevold 1999), and three possible cases at Whithorn Priory WIG (Cardy 1997). Despite the grim prognosis these seem to present, in the era before modern medicine, these were the realities for the majority of people.

Occupational pathologies include possible rowers at Galson, Lewis INV (Neighbour *et al.* 2000: 572-573), archers at the Isle of May (Battley *et al.* 2008: 88-89), and the frequent occurrence of compression fractures of the lower back, associated with heavy lifting, seen particularly at Portmahomack ROS (Carver 2008: 79-80). An interesting possibility is that cases of severe sinusitis causing the growth of new bone were caused by breathing in soot or smoke, as seen in grave 54, Thornybank MLO (Sinfield 2002) and SK1637 at Whithorn Priory WIG (Cardy 1997). The occurrence of five examples of this condition in the Whithorn Fey Field WIG cemetery (Tucker 2008), interspersed as it is with episodes of

metalworking, may indicate the graves of smiths. It is interesting that the graves for these specialised labourers and craftworkers are mainly found in church sites; it is therefore possible that field cemeteries largely consisted of an agrarian elite instead of skilled labourers.

All told, these and other disorders remind us that even though we may be dealing with high-status individuals in many cemeteries, few people had an easy life, and many had extremely difficult ones. The relatively infrequent osteological evidence for violent trauma shows another aspect of the population we are dealing with, and may be evidence for restrictions on burying the war dead, or perhaps that front-line soldiers were treated separately in death. More targeted research is needed on markers of activity and occupation to discern the societal strata from which these cemeteries are drawing; one potentially fruitful method is the use of stable isotope analysis in combination with other biological markers to see if, for instance, there were discrepancies regarding those who ate primarily plant or meat-based diets, the distance people travelled to these cemeteries, or whether certain occupations were associated with itinerant individuals (Montgomery *et al.* 2005).

Chapter 7: Burial and Christianity: Whithorn

Thus far, this close study of burial rites has revealed the complexity of the practices involved and the very different ways they were employed in different times and places. But the question of whether the emergence of cemeteries and their distinctive burial rites represents the influence of Christianity cannot be answered until we have looked at the sites we can be reasonably sure contain the burials of Christians.

The last three chapters have dealt with the evidence for burial outside of churchyards, focusing on the Late Iron Age (c. 400-650). It was argued that the burial rites of this period are based on existing Iron Age practices, although altered to suit the social requirements of the time. In this view, burial is a 'technology of remembrance' used by past societies in order to create new identities, including but not limited to Christianity. The Scottish burial evidence provides a key test of this model, with a large set of radiocarbon dates spanning the millennium from both church and non-church sites. By comparing and contrasting these two broad categories, we can begin to define what it means to have a 'Christian burial' in the Late Iron Age.

The term 'church site' is used herein to refer to any archaeologically investigated site with evidence for church construction occurring within the first millennium AD. In this way, we can constrain the dataset from the hundreds of potential medieval churches across the country to the select few that have received modern interventions. Sites with only early Christian sculpture but no certain evidence for a pre-Norman church, like the numerous evocative but undated West Highland chapels of Argyll, are excluded for the time being.

The main problem with the designation of 'church sites' is that there are actually no churches dated to before the 8th century in Scotland, the earliest being the Northumbrian structures at Whithorn itself (P Hill 1997). If we cannot place a church on any excavated site before c. AD 700, are we justified in labelling the preceding centuries of burial at these sites as 'Christian' burials? The majority of church sites that have received modern archaeological interventions have been presumed monasteries, largely on islands and promontories, which represent a very specific form of Christian project, one that is often tied closely to secular power struggles and political ideologies as much as the quest for salvation (Carver 1998). A pattern which emerges from these sites is that almost invariably burials appear along with or before any recognisable church structures. Charles Thomas (1971) took this to indicate the importance of burial places to pre-Christian societies, in

that these were the sites that missionaries chose to colonise. Recent work in Ireland suggests a rather more nuanced model in which monasteries were laid out with a separate burial and cult focus in mind, and with burials often being secondary to the initial settlement (Ó Carragáin 2010: 70; Sheehan 2009). Yet both models are primarily concerned with the activities of missionary monks, and their presumed control over the practice of burial. This study will strike the balance between these two views, and relate the burial evidence to its changing context. Instead of seeing all burials as explicitly 'Christian', allowing for the agency of the burial practices themselves will show how they helped form what it meant to be a Christian (amongst other social identities) in this period.

The last fifteen years have seen the publication of large-scale excavations at a number of early church sites in Scotland, England and Ireland which allow us to reinterpret the largely undated evidence used by Thomas (1967; 1971), Radford (1967) and others on which our understanding of the early church has been built (above, 2.1). There is not enough space here to critically assess all the important issues raised by these excavations, such as the liturgical implications of the architectural forms, or the art historical links presented by the early sculpture {Ó Carragáin, 2003 #1072; , 2005 #1305; Henderson, 2004 #257}. Instead, this study will focus on the treatment of human remains and use of space in these recent excavations, before discussing them within the context of previous excavations in Scotland. Studying the burial practices and cemetery layout within these sites will allow us to pose new questions about the origins of Christianity in Scotland, and begin to answer a few old ones.

The current chapter will introduce the potential and the limitations of the evidence from church sites in this period by discussing a single case study, Whithorn WIG. This evidence will be used to reassess the dominant paradigm of the missionary model in Scotland (Chapters 1 and 2), before we can move on to the most recent excavations.Whithorn WIG is at once the best and worst place to begin. Its value lies primarily in the amount of surviving archaeological material, providing a stratigraphic sequence reaching back to the Roman period. However, the sequence is not straightforward, and there are many problems with the site chronology suggested by the excavator, which is beginning to be reassessed (McComish and Petts 2008; Toop 2005).

7.1. Phasing
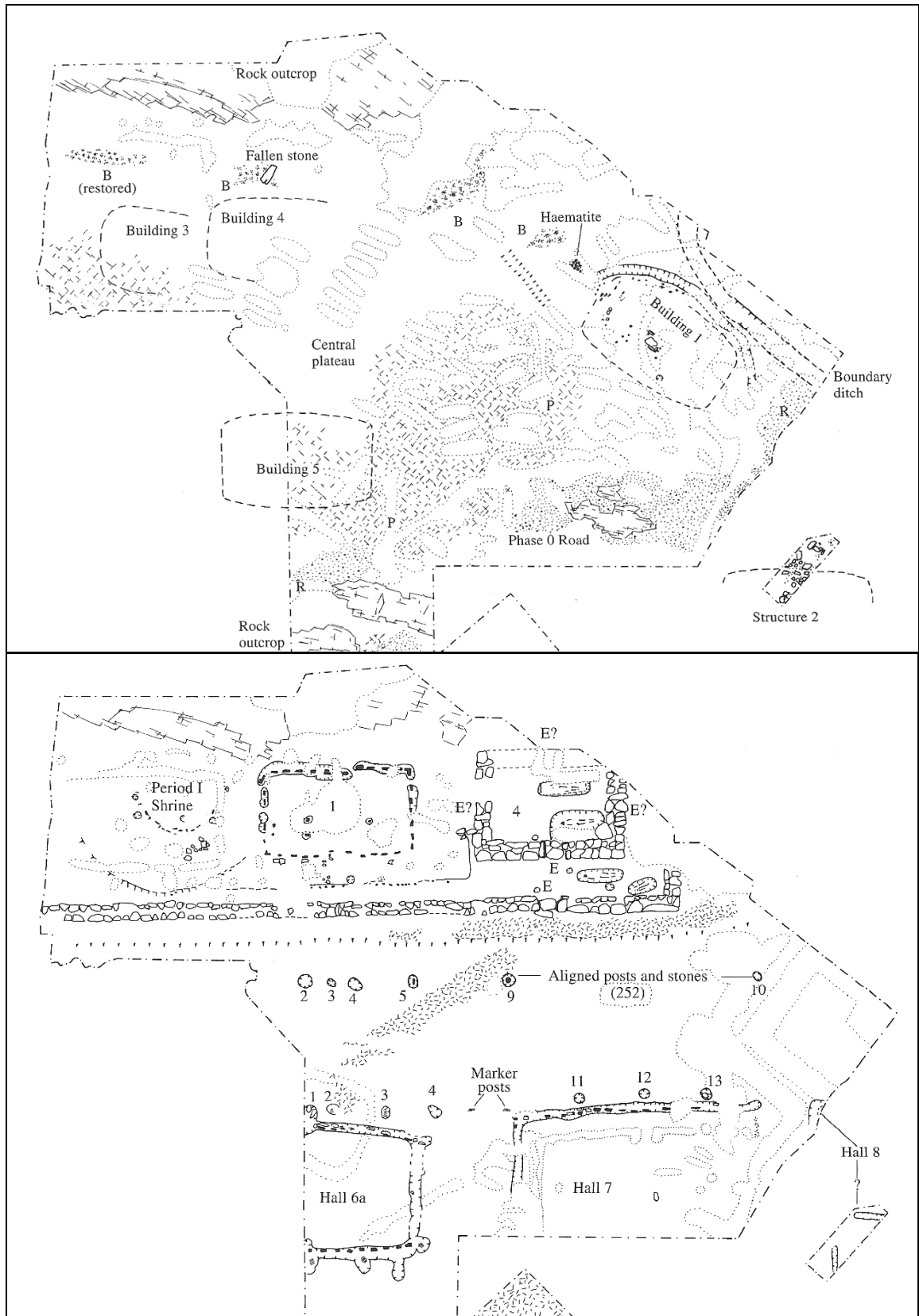
Figure 7.1: Whithorn Glebe Field after Hill 1997, 76, 140. Top: Period I, Phase 0-1.1-3, the earliest settlement, c. AD 500. Bottom: Period II, Phase 1, the first stage of Northumbrian reorganisation, c. AD 735.

Hill's proposed chronology, based mainly on excavations in the Glebe Field south of the medieval priory, is as follows. Period I, covering the 5-7th centuries, is divided into four phases, themselves subdivided into numerous stages. Despite a scattering of 2nd and 3rd-

century Roman pottery and some ephemeral roundhouse structures which may be contemporary (P Hill 1997: 296-297), the monastery is presumed to have been founded on a virgin site. There are indications of pre-existing roads and possible standing stones, but the earliest certain phase of activity on site, cultivation marks, already cut into these features. One of these standing stones may have been refashioned into what is now called the Latinus Stone, bearing a lengthy Latin inscription dating to the late 5th century (Forsyth 2009). This earliest phase is then cut by plough marks and ephemeral subrectangular structures associated with iron smelting, ferrous and non-ferrous metalworking and glass-working. These putative structures are very short-lived, and their associated boundary ditches and fence lines flit in and out of existence throughout the period described by Hill.

Later on in Period I, three larger fenced enclosures and platforms are described as 'shrines', even though they are all as short-lived as the other structures across the site, and are largely associated with the same kinds of domestic and industrial middens; one of the Phase 3 'shrines' seems to be built directly above a glass workshop and continues to get waste material deposited against it (P Hill 1997: 102-109). In recent years, reinterpretations of this site have cast significant doubt over the identification of the various shrines and enclosure ditches of Hill's interpretation (Gondek 2003: 271-282; Toop 2005: 279-286). These revisions tend towards the view of Ewan Campbell, who has repeatedly argued (1991; 1997; 2007; 2008a) on the quantity and quality of imported material that the site is probably not a monastery but a high-status settlement in its earliest phases. A more balanced view is that such high-investment sites often blurred the line between the trappings of secular and religious authority, as these were mutually dependent categories in the early medieval period (Driscoll 1988; Gondek 2003; Loveluck 1998; Morris 1989b).

The use of the site as a cemetery begins only after a period of settlement, since the earliest burials disturb extant structures and many include redeposited plough pebbles and metalworking waste in their fills (P Hill 1997: 88, 97, 108). The development of the early cemetery is rather implausibly divided by Hill into 17 discrete stages, ending with the Northumbrian reorganisation of the site in the early 8th century. At that time, the site is given a regimented linear layout, with rectilinear stone and timber structures laid out between stone walls and timber fences. These include the first recognisable church structures, as well as large timber halls. Burial in the cemetery appears to cease, restricted now to a small clay-bonded stone burial chapel with a handful of high-status graves within and a children's burial ground outside (P Hill 1997: 167-172). These may be the earliest verifiable instances of burial within a church in Scotland. Around this time, the continental imports of ceramic and glass cease, and Anglo-Saxon coinage appears across the site.
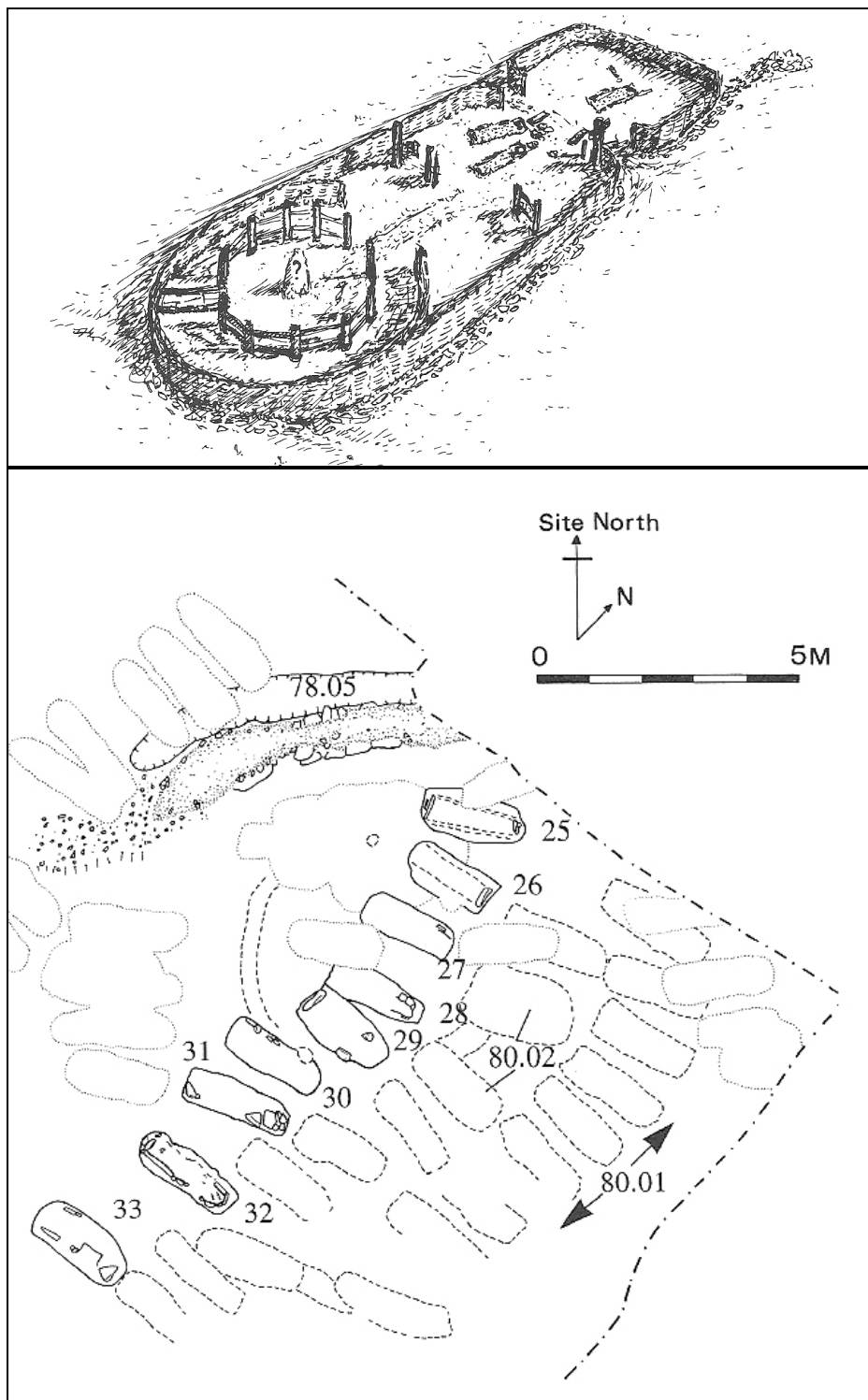
Figure 7.2: Top: reconstruction of the Period I/2 'shrine'; bottom: Period I/2 graves cutting into the Period I/2 'shrine' (Hill 1997, 94, 99).

The difficulty in defining a coherent sequence is exacerbated by the ephemeral but constant nature of all activity in the Glebe Field. The level of disturbance this creates does not lend itself to the kind of micro-stratigraphy that Hill attempts to impose on the excavated material. This can be seen most clearly through a study of the burials alone. The cemetery consists of 118 graves of various types, broken down into two broad categories: 'lintel graves' and log coffins (below, 7.3). Given the poor survival of bone, these graves were unfortunately not radiocarbon-dated. Instead, Hill's 4-phase, 17-stage chronology of the

burial ground is largely based on two overarching assumptions: first, that burial grew up around focal graves or 'shrines', and secondly, that graves progressed neatly from long cists to log coffins. In this model, some (but not all) of the SW-NE lintel graves near the Phase 2 'shrine' are the earliest, drawn there by the sanctity of its fenced enclosure. This 'shrine' consists of rather fugitive gullies, fence lines and areas of paving which are heavily disturbed by burial activity (P Hill 1997: 92-97). The strongest argument against the Phase 2 shrine is that Phase 2 itself begins with a 'special grave' (18) and a row of aligned graves, all of which cut the gullies and fences of the 'shrine', raising doubts as to whether a shrine existed here at all (Figure 7.2). Subsequent burials steadily eat into the shrine before engulfing it altogether. Further casting doubt on the existence of the shrine, the Phase 2 graves are on a distinctly different W-E alignment, whereas the shrine and Phase I graves had been on a SW-NE alignment.

In Hill's Phase 3, graves unaccountably revert to the SW-NE orientation of Phase 1 and are now scattered across the trench, occasionally cutting Phase 2 graves (P Hill 1997: 103-109). A new kind of 'shrine' is erected in the central plateau near the north end of the trench, consisting of a small four-post setting (88.03). The interpretation of this as a shrine is hard to sustain given that this was previously the site of a structure (Building 9) associated with industrial debris (89) in Phase 2, and its intimate link with the altar of the Period II minster raises doubts as to how clearly it belongs to Period I at all (P Hill 1997: 98-103). Finally, towards the end of Phase 3 and into Phase 4, there is a large-scale switch to log coffin burial, along with yet another shift back to the neat rows and W-E orientation of Phase 2. This switch in orientation and layout was interpreted as a sign of a new 'Irish influence' on the site, largely because at that point log coffins had mainly been recognised in Ireland, for instance at Armagh, Co. Down (P Hill 1997: 37; Lynn 1988). Now that Scotland has dozens of log coffins from flat grave cemeteries like Thornybank MLO and square barrow cemeteries like Redcastle ANG, we need not consider this burial rite a particularly 'Irish' import (5.1.5).

Towards the end of Phase 4, yet another 'shrine' (platform shrine 83) is built, cutting into the previous Phase 3 shrine. If the four-post setting of the Phase 3 shrine is supposed to have lasted long enough to become the central focus of the Period II church, it is hard to explain why it is now overlain by an entirely new shrine, and the phasing of these features is best considered doubtful. Furthermore, if the plateau on which both these shrines are built is a particularly sacred precinct, this makes it difficult to square with context 85.04, a layer of glass-working debris and specialized non-ferrous metalworking, including a gold ingot, which is found banked up against the fence of this last 'shrine'. Rather, it would

seem to imply the continuation of industrial activity here, seemingly in operation since the beginnings of the settlement (for instance, debris spread 85.04 is directly above Phase 2/3 debris spreads 85.01 and 85.02, which were themselves over Phase I debris 94.01: Hill 1997: 83-85, 108, 116-117). Burial in Phase 4 does not cut into the Phase 3 and 4 shrines, but neither can they be said to be focused or aligned on them. The fact that burials never encroach into this zone further strengthens the theory that this is a dedicated, long-lived craftworking zone before it was supplanted by the Northumbrian minster.

The phasing of burials outlined above is mostly based on the fact that some lintel graves are cut by log coffins, but there is otherwise no real evidence for the cemetery beginning in one end and spreading in a linear fashion to the other. The rather arbitrary rule followed here, that log coffins postdate lintel graves, leads to some special pleading to argue that adjacent graves on similar orientations, like graves 1-5 or 6-8, belong to entirely separate phases. It also requires an unfeasible level of indecision as the orientation of the graveyard has to shift from SW-NE in Phase 1, to W-E in Phase 2, back to SW-NE in Phase 3, back to W-E in Phase 4, and finally back to SW-NE in Period II. The fleeting 'shrines' are all quickly replaced by other shrines, or cut into by graves, and the Phase 3 and 4 shrines seem to act as foci for industrial debris more than burials. The 'shrines' posited here are thus probably not related to burial activity in any real sense, and are more likely just artefacts of a very long and jumbled stratigraphy. Removing the interpretive crutches of 'founder's graves' or shrines considerably aids in the interpretation of the site.

7.1.1. Reappraisal of the burial sequence

It is clear that the model of burial growing up around shrines, and a permanent shift in orientation and grave type sometime in the 7th century, does not stand up to close scrutiny. It is undeniable that there is a shift to a W-E orientation, and that this is followed by a shift back to a SW-NE orientation. It is also clear that log coffins and lintel graves occur in more or less discrete clusters, and that log coffins cut into earlier lintel graves. But it is also clear that both log coffins and lintel graves are cut by later lintel graves, so one type does not simply replace the other. Hill's argument that the rows of lintel graves near the Phase 2 'shrine' are earlier than the rows of log coffins near the Phase 3 'shrines' is based on an evolutionary progression from lintel graves to log coffins, but this is not provable since neither group can be stratigraphically related to the other. By analogy with the multifocal layout seen in the contemporary field cemeteries (above, 6.4.3) it is highly likely that burial grounds of this period were made up of separate clusters of graves in simultaneous use. In this model, the northern group of log coffins and the southern group of lintel graves can be

seen as contemporary clusters rather than a linear progression across the site. Armed with this framework, we can propose a much simpler three-stage chronology of burial at Whithorn, based solely on the stratigraphy of intercutting burials (Figure 7.3).

In this proposed new phasing, the primary graves at Whithorn are largely in SW-NE lintel graves, as Hill proposed, but not all graves on this orientation need be contemporary (cf. P Hill 1997: 102-109). Rather, this new 'Stage 1' seems to consist of scattered burial in poorly-defined clusters, cutting earlier buildings and incorporating metalworking debris in their fills, and so are clearly secondary to the primary settlement (P Hill 1997: 79-89). The proposed 'Stage 2' is characterised by a large-scale shift to a truer W-E orientation and a row-grave layout. These burials cut into some of the Stage 1 graves, indicating that there was some desire for continuity of burial location. But despite the overall change of layout and orientation, this stage does not indicate management by a single central authority, as there are at least two discrete clusters in operation: one of primarily log coffins to the north, and one of primarily lintel graves to the south. Despite Hill's attempts to make the 'special grave' 18 into a primary focus of the Phase 2 'shrine', it is clear this grave cuts into the 'shrine' enclosure, and can now be seen to belong to a secondary stage of burials on the site. Finally, the proposed 'Stage 3' of burial occurs primarily in the southern half of the trench, characterised by a shift back to a SW-NE orientation, using both lintel graves and log coffins. Many of these are demonstrably later than the W-E graves in the southern half of the trench, but some have no clear stratigraphic relationships, and could admittedly belong to either the proposed Stage 1 or Stage 3. Despite this caveat, it is clear that a three-stage phasing of the cemetery is more plausible than the published 17-stage phasing.
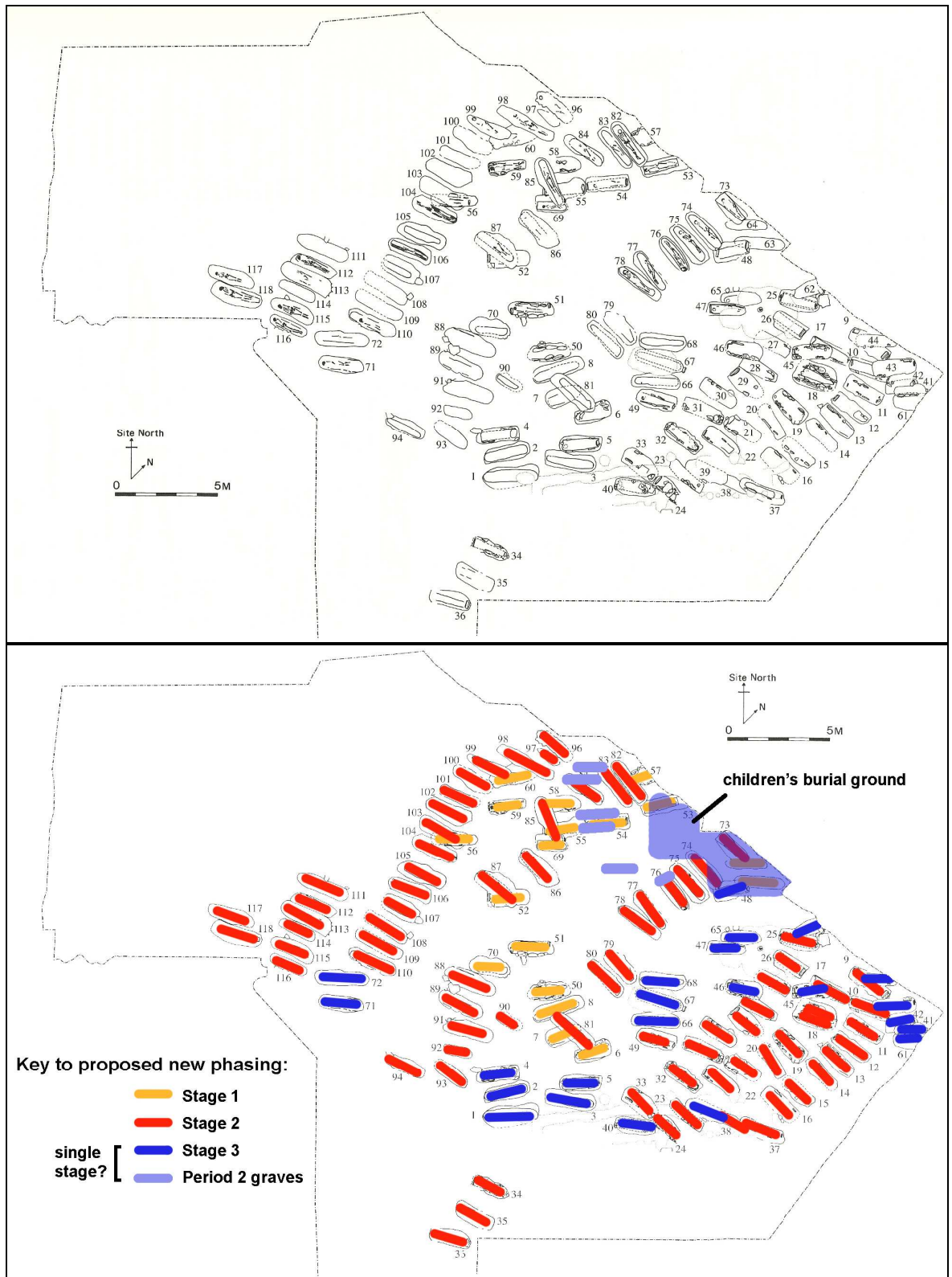
Figure 7.3: Summary and reinterpretation of burial at Whithorn. Top: all Period I burials (Hill 1997). Bottom: simplified chronology (colour-coded by the author based on Hill 1997, 71).

This new chronology of burial agrees in many cases with Hill's phasing: the earliest graves are still largely lintel graves; and there is no doubt that orientation changes a number of times in the Glebe Field. It simply serves to remove the essentialising nature of a model that requires a strict separation in time of lintel graves and log coffins, even when they are aligned with one another. This new phasing is also a relative one, freeing the graves from historical narratives based on the close dating imposed by Hill's model. Further, this new

model does not base a chronology on a specific grave type or orientation, showing that burial practices such as the use of lintel graves and SW-NE orientation could be quite tenacious even after a period of large-scale changes. Much like the field cemeteries discussed previously, here we see clear evidence of burial being structured in clusters rather than a centralised top-down management (6.4.3). Given the multifocal layout attested at contemporary field cemeteries, Hill's attempt to impose a linear development of graves was perhaps too idealistic. Looking back at the 17-stage chronology, it is clear that what Hill was describing was not a progression through time, but the existence of a number of grave clusters in roughly simultaneous operation.

7.2. Cemetery population reappraised

Under this new three-stage phasing of burial at Whithorn, we can begin to be clearer on what the burial rites can and cannot tell us about the communities using this site. Because the anatomical report is divided into Hill's Period I and Period II, we cannot unfortunately discuss these within the proposed three-stage chronology (Cardy 1997). Period I had very little evidence for grave reuse, except for the four individuals in 'special grave' 18 (P Hill 1997: 95-96). The majority of burials may have been adult males, although out of 118 graves, only 21 individuals had sufficient bone to be sexed, so this may not be statistically significant (Cardy 1997: 552-556). Only 53 graves had enough surviving bone to age the skeleton, and of these only 13 were sub-adults. Only very few mature adults (age 45+) were reported, and there were no juveniles younger than the age of seven. The trend towards adults of roughly 25-45 fits well with contemporary field cemeteries like Thornybank MLO (Sinfield 2002). However, skeletal material also showed a surprising amount of trauma and disease, something not paralleled at contemporary field cemeteries (6.5). This also differs with the four adults from the Period II burial chapel, all relatively tall, robust adults, but again the numbers are not high enough to make broad generalizations (Cardy 1997: 556-560). The Period II children's burial ground just outside the burial chapel tells a different story altogether: this seems primarily to be for infants and neonates, comprising 39 of the 56 inhumations, followed by a phase consisting of 17 juveniles of up to age ten (P Hill 1997: 170-172). As expected, the skeletal material betrays extreme ill-health and malnutrition. The Glebe Field cemetery is thus a shifting pattern of numerous selective populations, rather than a single 'normal' population distribution.

7.3. Burial rites reappraised

In terms of grave types, these are more varied than the simple distinction of lintel graves or log coffins. The 'lintel graves' actually consist of a variety of lined graves, including long cists, partial cists, boulder-lined graves, stone-lined graves with timber lids, and plank-lined coffins (P Hill 1997: 70-73). The early graves are termed 'lintel graves' due to their use of lids of stone or timber supported on side walls. Within Scotland, the use of cists combining wood and stone is almost unique to this site, and plank-lined graves are exceedingly rare, surely due in part to poor preservation (5.1.5). Other organic materials may also be present, including special grave 18, a lintel grave containing two primary inhumations possibly wrapped in leather (P Hill 1997: 95-96).

The other major grave type is the log coffin, comprising nearly a third of all graves, and possibly even more if some of the unlined graves and boulder-lined graves are poorly-preserved examples. These are characterized by telltale deep, round-sectioned grave cuts, and a small number of these were marked on the surface by marker posts or stones, or quartz pebble layers (P Hill 1997: 73). They represent a very different approach to burial, requiring a high level of effort to build and a high level of resource consumption, consisting of split and hollowed-out tree trunks. Yet as we have seen above, these are roughly contemporary with simple dug graves and lintel graves, though they tend to cluster in the northern half of the proposed Stage 2, meaning there was some special significance attached to the rite in this cluster. Stage 3, as we have seen, incorporates both lintel graves and log coffins, so there is no direct chronological significance to the grave type. One of the Period II graves, II/5 south of the burial chapel, is also in a log coffin, proof that local burial rites continued even after the site was re-founded as a Northumbrian monastery.

Grave #	Stage (this study)	Finds
I/52	1	Worn fragment of Type 2 Roman glass bangle, late 1st-early 2nd century AD
I/56	1	Copper needle
I/9	2	Riveted copper plates
I/25	2	Sherd of samian ware, late 2nd century AD; barb and tang iron arrowhead
I/32	2	Iron stick pin; iron brackets
I/74	2	Copper alloy wire and plate
I/87	2	Silver bead; dark blue glass tessera; both poss. Roman?
I/89	2	Iron snaffle bit
I/107	2	Iron heckle
I/108	2	Fragment of Type 3A Roman glass bangle, late 1st-early 2nd century AD
I/4	3	Iron finger ring
I/66	3	Sherd of samian ware, 2nd century AD
II/4	3?	Iron key (chest burial)
II/6	3?	Two glass beads, 1 perforated phyllite flake

Table 7.1: Possible grave goods from the Whithorn Glebe Field, after Hill 1997.

Only chest burials correlate well with Hill's phasing. Burials in reused wooden chests or nailed timber coffins number only six in the Glebe Field, but these all belong to Period II (P Hill 1997: 412-415). Since there are so few of these graves on site, it is difficult to generalize about the social status of the interred; however, it is clear that chest burial is predominantly a late Anglo-Saxon high-status burial rite, occurring mainly in northern England (Ottaway 1996). Whether these graves are those of migrants is impossible to prove without undertaking stable isotope analysis, but it is clear that the four adults (2 female, 1 male, 1 indeterminate) buried inside the stone chapel are given special treatment, as there are no other burials within a church in this period. The two graves outside the east wall include a juvenile in a chest locked shut (Grave II/54), and a neonate no older than six weeks in a wood box with iron fittings (Grave II/10). Evidence for locks was found in three of these chests, and Grave II/4 even included the key in the grave fill, after possibly being deposited on top of the lid before backfilling the grave (P Hill 1997: 169). Their association with the burial chapel could mean that chest burial, with keys laid on the chest, is a potentially Christian rite, a question that needs to be explored alongside other evidence for intentional grave deposits.

While many graves included redeposited industrial waste in their fills, a small number contained exotic material not common elsewhere on site that are most likely intentional deposits (Table 7.1): these include two graves with sherds of 2nd-century samian ware (25 and 66), two graves with fragments of Romano-British glass bangles (52 and 108); and grave 87 with a possibly Roman silver bead and a blue glass tessera made in the Mediterranean in the 6-8th centuries. With the exception of the tessera, which may relate to medieval pilgrimage activity, it is striking how many of these potential grave goods are Roman artefacts. While there is a possibility that these finds were displaced from a 2nd-century settlement context, they fit in with a wider tradition of the reuse of fragmented Roman material from graves elsewhere in southern Scotland and Anglo-Saxon England (see above, 5.2.4). Less ambiguous evidence for intentional grave deposits comes from Period II, where the locked chest burial II/4 included a key, and possibly the two glass beads and pierced phyllite flake found in grave II/6 south of the burial chapel (P Hill 1997: 143). Other graves in the Glebe Field with possibly deliberate furnishings, such as those with tools like the iron heckle in grave 107 and the copper needle in grave 56, are more likely to be related to redeposited industrial debris layers these graves were cut into. To separate intentional from accidental deposits, we will need to be clearer on the use of space in the Glebe Field (below, 7.4).

In light of the new proposed phasing outlined above, it is worth noting that furnished burials can be found in all stages of burial, as well as the Period II graves associated with the burial chapel (Table 7.1). Although most of the furnishings seem to be in the proposed Stage 2, some of these are probably residual deposits from the disturbed workshops these graves were cut into. The inclusion of curated Roman material seems to continue into Stage 3, and this may be further evidence for some continuity of burial rites even after the Anglian colonisation of the site. Although furnished graves are not generally characteristic of the early medieval Scottish burial record (5.2.4), there is ample evidence for this practice at Whithorn before and after the Northumbrian phase.

7.4. Zonation and the use of space

The use of furnished graves is just one of many features which set Whithorn apart from the field cemeteries; another divergence is the way the cemetery seemed to undergo various shifts in orientation over time. The difficulty in assigning dates using only diagnostic finds and stratigraphy opens up the possibility that not all the graves need belong to Hill's Period I. Given the presence of at least two churches on site at any given time from the 8th century onward, it would be very odd indeed if these were not associated with contemporary burials. The assumption that the Period II burial ground lay beyond the trench edges does not fit well with other evidence from contemporary Northumbrian minsters, where burial grounds built up outside the east end, and often to the south of the church (Cramp 2005). It is worth investigating whether some of Hill's Period I graves actually belong to Period II.

In the new phasing proposed above, Stage 3 involved a shift back to a SW-NE orientation, and these late burials were seen to occur only in the southern part of the trench (7.1.1). As these quite clearly overlay many previous graves, it is notable that they seem to be restricted to the southern half of the trench; there must have been a reason why the northern plateau was avoided. Indeed, when seen alongside field cemeteries like Thornybank MLO, where graves do not intercut, the frequent intercutting of graves at Whithorn seems quite anomalous. This is even odder given the evidence for grave markers at Whithorn (P Hill 1997: 73), in contrast to contemporary field cemeteries, where there is almost no evidence for grave markers (see 5.3.4). The frequently intercutting burials therefore require further explanation.
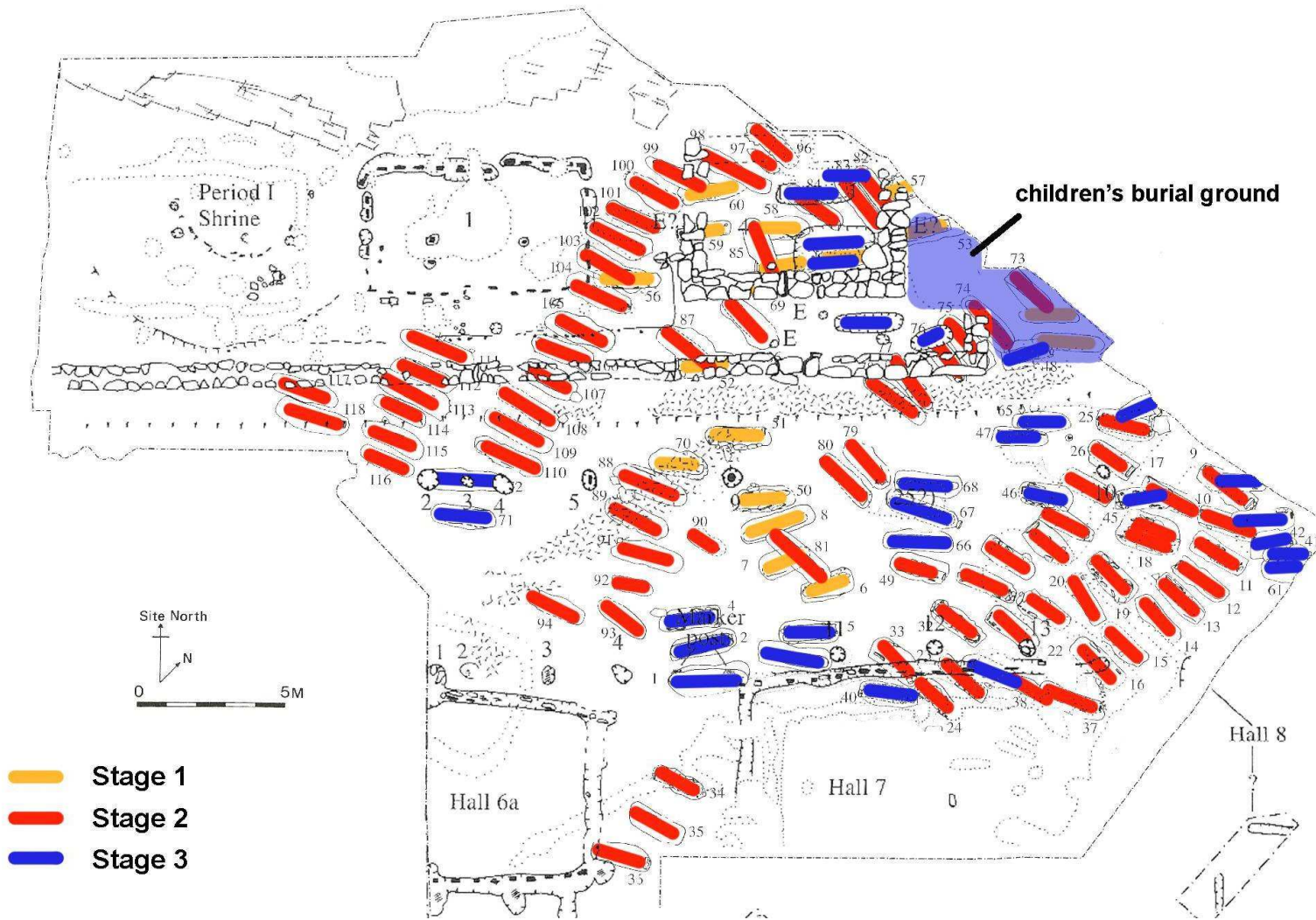
Figure 7.4: New phasing of Period I cemetery at Whithorn including Period II graves, indicating that Stage 3 graves (in blue) may potentially belong to Period II instead (after Hill 1997, 71, 140).

The problem lies in Hill's phasing of the burial ground, placing the majority of burial activity in the Glebe Field within Period I. If we overlay the plan of all graves alongside Hill's plan of the early stages of Period II, an interesting correlation arises (Figure 7.4). The proposed Stage 3 graves not only respect the footprints of both churches and timber halls, they are also on the same SW-NE orientation. The graves within and without the new stone burial chapel are also on this new orientation (compare Figure 7.3 and Figure 7.4), so it is not a stretch to say that the reorientation of burials was part of the Northumbrian reorganisation of the site. A late date for the Stage 3 graves is actually supported by the discovery of a stone slab with incised crosses and other graffiti reused as cist material in grave 45, which must postdate the foundation of a monastery on site (Craig 1997). If the alignment of the proposed Stage 3 graves with the Northumbrian oratories is more than just a coincidence, it would certainly help explain the shift in orientation and the reuse of an already-full burial ground: on church sites, it was the location of burial that mattered more than the sanctity of each individual grave (9.3)

7.4.1. Settlement and burial

Like the practice of furnished burial, the appearance of domestic and industrial activity alongside burials is another peculiarity of Whithorn. It is clear that the Glebe Field had separate zones, which Hill deems the inner and outer precincts, but this did not necessarily conform to the idealised notion of a sacred centre, operating more along the lines of a "polyfocal" ecclesiastical landscape such as that posited for Ripon, North Yorkshire (Hall and Whyman 1996). At Whithorn, it is clear that there was more than one cult focus at any given time, and that burial and industrial activity often shared rather closer quarters than that predicted by Hill's radial model. For instance, while the 'outer precinct' of the Glebe Field is consistently domestic and agricultural in nature, the 'inner precinct' is actually defined by the presence of craftworking, domestic and industrial middens, churches and/or burial. Frequent finds of crucibles, moulds and slag in the Whithorn graves shows that it was these industrial areas, rather than domestic zones of the 'outer precinct', that were reused as burial places. A separation of the abodes of the living and the dead would seem to be in place at Whithorn, but craftworking and metalworking could still take place near burials. This would seem to place these activities in a sort of liminal zone between sacred and profane (Aldhouse-Green 2002; Gillies 1981; Hingley 1997).

However, there is more to be teased out from the burial evidence. Even though this study proposes an extended chronology of burial in the Glebe Field, it is clear that the majority of burials still belong to the 5-7th centuries. This is also broadly the period in which the

Mediterranean and continental imports of pottery and glass were arriving on site (Campbell 1997; 2007). While some of the eastern Mediterranean and North African wares could feasibly have arrived and been used before burial began on this site, the E-Ware pottery and Group C and D glass vessels are certainly contemporaneous with the burial activity. It is clear from the distributions of such vessels that by the end of the 7th century, the majority are found in the 'outer precinct' of domestic structures (P Hill 1997: 325-326). But there are two distinct spreads of imports and other domestic refuse amongst the burials which casts doubt on the labelling of this as a sacred 'inner precinct', as shown by a rough visual approximation of these spreads in Figure 7.5. The larger western spread correlates with a succession of structures in Period I which are likely to represent specialised craft activity, including the Phase 2 glass workshop (P Hill 1997: 99-101). The smaller eastern spread consists largely of sherds of Mediterranean amphorae, and corresponds with Hill's description of this area as a "hollow…covered with a layer of charcoal into which numerous sherds of pottery (and a few of glass) had been pressed" (1997: 88). Interestingly, this 'hollow' is associated with and respected by the earliest stage of burials within the revised chronology proposed above, whereas later burials cut through these spreads indiscriminately.
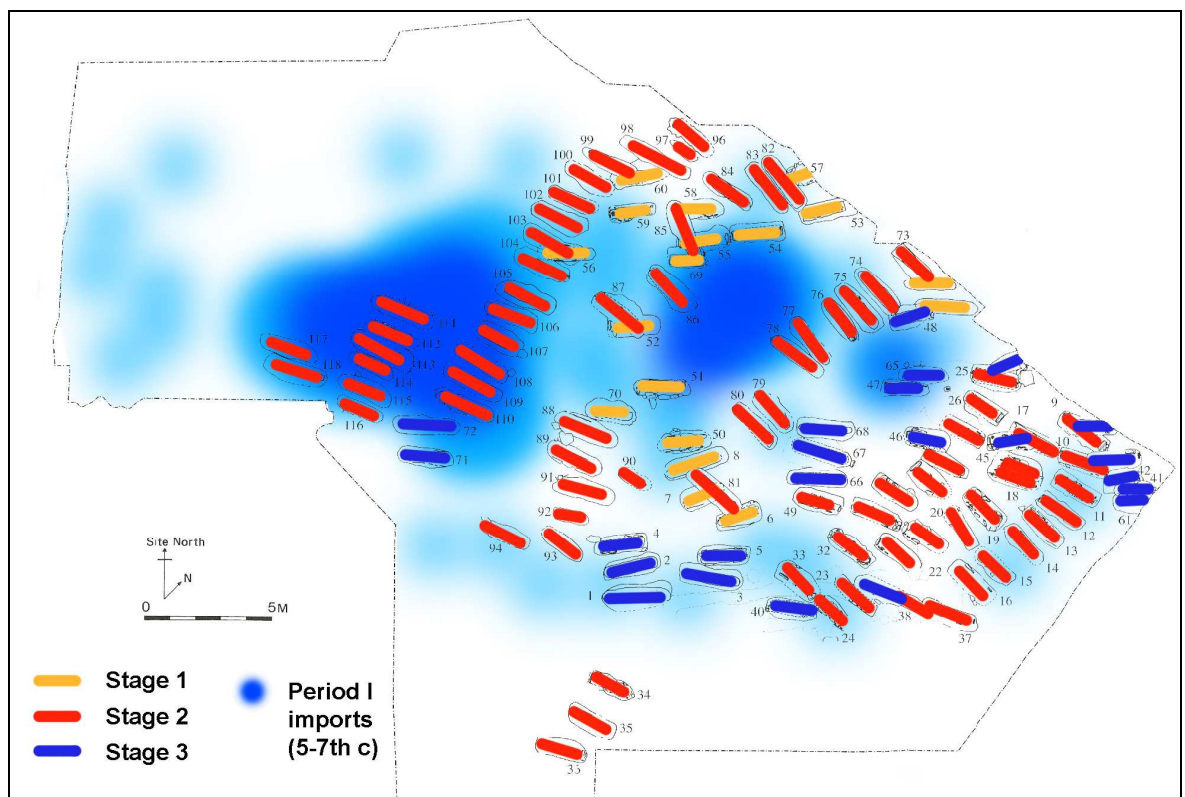
Figure 7.5: New phasing of burial at Whithorn, plus 5-7th century imported pottery and glass (drawn by the author based on Hill 1997).

Alongside the evidence for furnished burial presented above (7.3), it seems there were more complex funerary rituals taking place at Whithorn, perhaps including graveside

feasting. Sherds of B-ware amphorae pressed into the ground near graves at the contemporary church site of St Materiana's opposite Tintagel in Cornwall have been interpreted this way (Nowakowski and Thomas 1992). Feasting also took place alongside graves in the contemporary 'settlement cemetery' of Knowth Site M, Co. Meath (Stout and Stout 2008), and there is ample evidence for the practice among Merovingian cemeteries (Effros 2002b). Even if it is accepted that this is evidence for funeral feasting at Whithorn, it should be noted that this was a short-lived practice here, which perhaps fell out of favour around the time when the shift to W-E burial occurs. It is tempting to link this change with the foundation, or perhaps just reorganisation, of the site as a monastery, but this is entering the area of conjecture (cf. Effros 2002a: 184-187).

7.5. Evidence from the Fey Field excavations, 1992-96
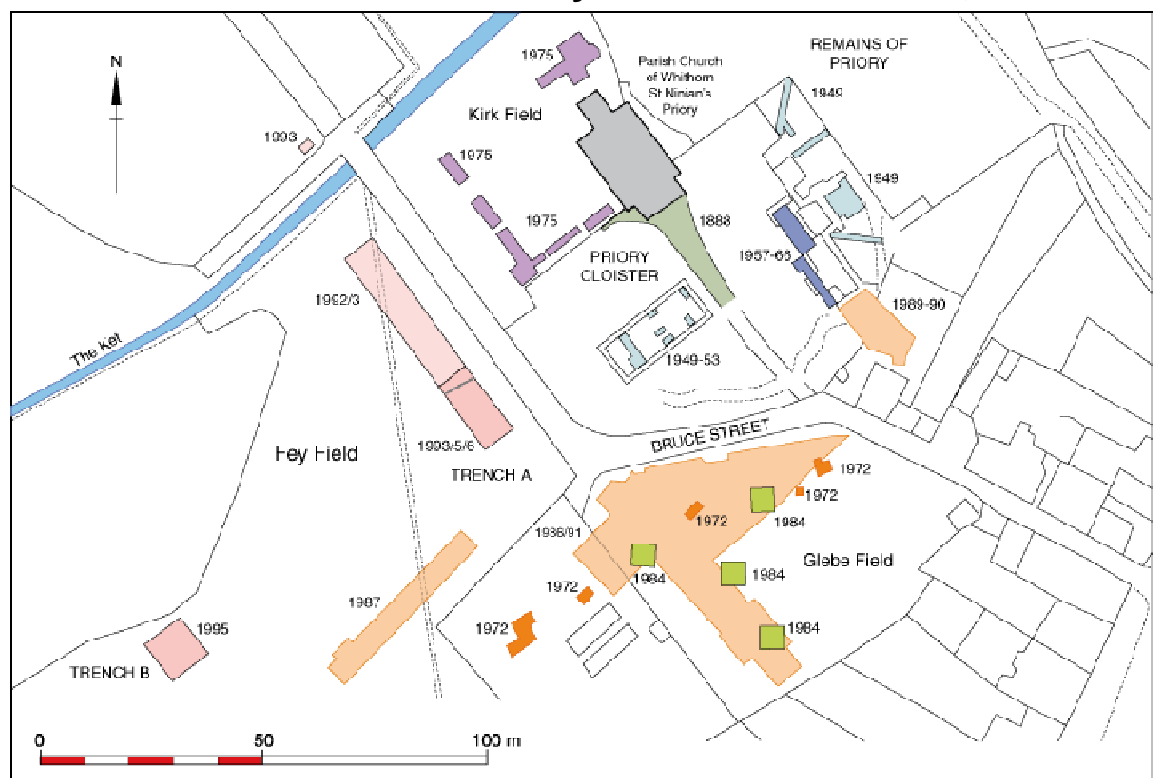
Figure 7.6: the location of the excavations in the Fey Field (trenches A and B) with all previous interventions (McComish and Petts 2008). Image © York Archaeological Trust.

Thus far, this chapter has set out to question and reinterpret the chronology and function of burial rites at Whithorn. We now have further evidence to draw upon: the recently published excavations at Whithorn's Fey Field (McComish and Petts 2008). These were undertaken mainly by the York Archaeological Trust (YAT) on behalf of the Whithorn Trust, independent of Peter Hill's work as it was being prepared for publication. Hill's excavations had previously included a trial trench in the Fey Field (marked 1987 in Figure 7.6 below) which did not turn up any certain evidence of early medieval occupation (P Hill 1997: 277-291). In contrast, a new trench was placed closer to the medieval priory,

unearthing a similar assemblage to that in the Glebe Field. While these excavations were on a much smaller scale than those in the Glebe Field, they provide a useful comparison and, in some aspects, a corrective to the previously published phasing.

Human activity in the Fey Field begins with Period 2, poorly-defined and undated settlement traces directly above the natural bedrock (McComish and Petts 2008: 6.2). Similar to Period I/0 in the Glebe Field, these consist of ephemeral traces of sub-circular and sub-rectangular structures, alongside possible roadways and slighted standing stones (P Hill 1997: 74). In neither excavation could these roadways be securely dated, but they appear to predate any settlement on site and would seem to be primary features at Whithorn. It is tempting to ascribe these features to the Romano-British period for which there is some evidence in the Glebe Field (P Hill 1997: 296-297); however, there were no Roman ceramics in the Fey Field assemblage, and it is quite likely these represent 5th century occupation of this part of the site. The subsequent early medieval deposits are arranged into three stages: Period 3 corresponds with Hill's Period I, roughly 5-7th centuries AD; Period 4 corresponds to the Period II Northumbrian monastery, c. AD 730-845; and Period 5 rationalises Hill's Period III and IV monastic town into one phase, c. AD 845-1250/1300.

7.5.1. Zonation and enclosure

Crucial to establishing the status of Whithorn in the 5-7th centuries is the study of its use of space. Fey Field Trench A was positioned to test Hill's proposed concentric enclosure system (P Hill 1997: 33), as previous geophysical survey in the area had failed to verify it (McComish and Petts 2008: 2, Fig. 3). Of the proposed inner and outer enclosures, only the inner enclosure boundary was found in the Fey Field, but this was of a slightly different form than expected. The excavations showed that all early medieval activity in this part of the site was divided into two zones, suggesting a long-lived zoning of the site, potentially in place from the earliest phase of settlement. The earliest boundary feature demarcating these two zones is the Group 4 ditch (context G4), which could belong to either Period 2 or 3 (*ibid.*, 6.2, 6.3). This would seem to relate to Hill's hypothesised inner precinct enclosure, although it does not appear to be curvilinear. In Period 4 (8-9th century AD), this ditch is replaced by a well-built stone wall directly comparable to the stone wall enclosing the Northumbrian churches in the Glebe Field, and appears to correspond to Hill's proposed Period II rectilinear enclosure (P Hill 1997: 41). That the stone wall and the pre-existing G4 ditch seem to be on the same alignment is puzzling given Hill's theory that the site changed from a curvilinear to a rectilinear layout in the 8th century; the evidence from

the Fey Field seems to show that the Northumbrian reorganisation reused an existing boundary rather than imposing a new one altogether. Remarkably, this boundary continues in use down to Period 5 (9-13th century AD), although it is now represented by a wattle fence on a slightly different alignment (McComish and Petts 2008: 6.5.2, 6.5.4). This is important because it disproves Hill's model of a completely new enclosure away from the main church in the 10th or 11th century (P Hill 1997: 51); despite intermittent use for industrial and domestic activity, some memory of this area as a burial ground must have remained (McComish and Petts 2008: 6.5.1-5).

Importantly, in no period was the hypothetical outer enclosure of the monastery found, and so Hill's proposed concentric layout for Whithorn is still debatable (McComish and Petts 2008: 14.2.1). This model seems to have been heavily influenced by the existence of these in Irish sites like Nendrum, Co. Down, but such complex enclosures like these have proven difficult to date and some were more likely built up over time rather than primary features (McErlean and Crothers 2007; Stout and Stout 2008). Still, the excavations at the Fey Field seem to show that a certain level of internal zonation can be seen at Whithorn from the start, possibly evidence for a planned settlement as would be expected for an early medieval ecclesiastical site (Ó Carragáin 2010: 58-59; Sheehan 2009).

But the reality is not so straightforward. The persistent use of the southern part of Trench A for burial would seem to argue for a primary, dedicated monastic burial ground. However, throughout the early medieval period, layers of burial in this zone were interleaved with episodes of industrial and domestic activity (McComish and Petts 2008: 6.2; 6.3.3; 6.5.1; 6.5.3; 6.5.5). This apparently long-lived burial ground is paradoxically characterised by rather short-lived burial events followed by episodes of 'secular' use. The exception is Period 4, the roughly hundred-year span associated with the Northumbrian reorganisation (c. 730-845), where only burial activity takes place here. But even within this short period, there are five distinct tiers of burial activity, with some evidence for ground levelling using redeposited earth in between layers (McComish and Petts 2008: 6.4.3, 6.4.8). We can thus posit that 'episodes' of burial at Whithorn last about a century at a time, but even within these periods, burial clusters can wax and wane.
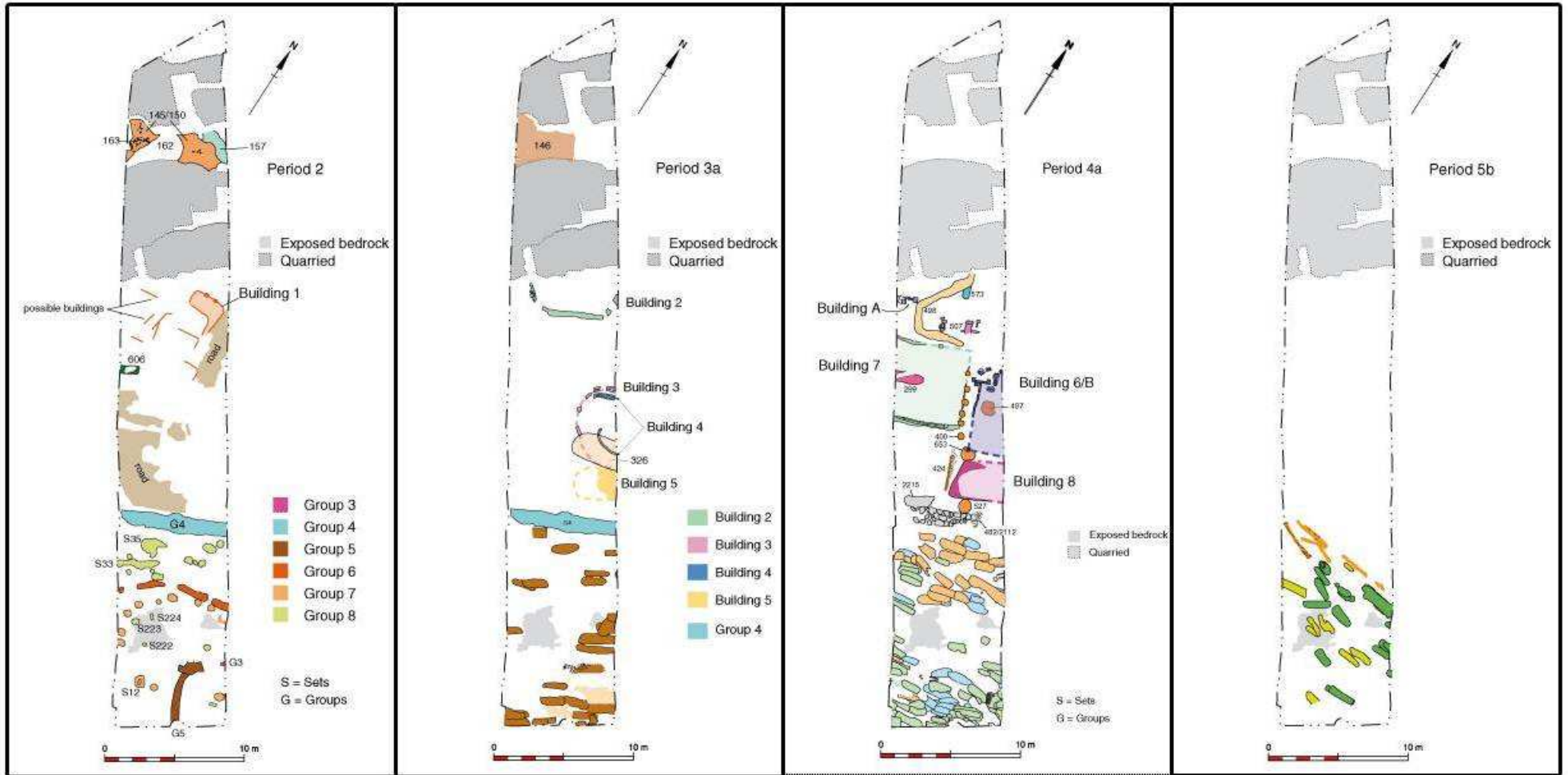
Figure 7.7: Early medieval burials from the Whithorn Fey Field excavations. Long-lived zonation of the site is shown by way burials occur south of a roughly east-west line in the southern third of the trench from Periods 3-5. Images © York Archaeological Trust.

Burial in the Fey Field seems to be arranged around settlement activity, not the other way around. While certainly long-lived, the 'burial ground' at Whithorn can more realistically be characterized as a series of episodic, superimposed burial *grounds*. Similarly ephemeral and overlapping burial episodes have been reported at other Anglo-Saxon monastic and urban sites, and indicates that there was no fixed notion of 'hallowed ground', even on church sites, until much later (Boddington 1990; Cherryson 2007; Cramp 2005; Gittos 2002; Hadley 2007; Hall and Whyman 1996; Morton 1992). This model would also help explain the superimposed 'clusters' of burial found in the Whithorn Glebe Field (7.1.1).

7.5.2. Burial rites

There are certain small but significant divergences in burial rites in the Fey Field relative to the Glebe Field. Once again, bone preservation was markedly poor, and there are no radiocarbon dates; all phases have been dated stratigraphically using diagnostic finds from within and around the graves, and by reference to Hill's phasing. Furthermore, there were serious issues of rationalising the largely handwritten archival data between the excavations and their eventual publication, so the phasing of the burials is still a hypothesis rather than a certainty (McComish and Petts 2008: 3.1-3.4). But by comparing these results to the revised Glebe Field sequence, we can use come to some general conclusions.

Beginning with Period 3, the earliest phase of burial, it should be noted that as with the Glebe Field, these took place in areas previously used for domestic and industrial activity. For instance, out of the 28 Period 3 graves, 10 contained residual iron slag and copper-working debris (ibid., 6.3.2). Two graves also had sherds of E-ware or Late Roman amphorae in their fills, and since three of these sherds could be assigned to specific vessels with adjoining fragments found elsewhere on site, these are likely residual deposits (Campbell 2008b), indicating potentially domestic as well as industrial activity in this area. However, it should also be noted that the Period 3 graves are partially overlain by a layer of levelling material, a dump of soil including a discarded crucible and slag (Set 59), which may explain some of these inclusions (ibid., 6.3.3). This levelling was seemingly not in preparation for future burials, since Period 3 ends with the burial ground reused for the construction of a corn-drying kiln. Given the amount of levelling and reuse, it is significant that no graves in the Fey Field include clear evidence of intentional deposits. This differs from the situation in the Glebe Field, where it was argued that a small number of Period I burials included exotica such as sherds of samian ware and fragmented Roman glass bangles as grave furnishings (see above, 7.3).

The Period 3 graves differ from the Glebe Field's Period I by the notable absence of long cists, log coffins, and evidence for grave marking in the form of quartz pebble covers. In fact, the only instance of a grave marked with a quartz pebble layer in the Fey Field comes from as late as Period 5 (context 1087). Also largely missing are Hill's 'lintel graves' except for one instance of a stone-lined, timber lidded grave (Set 43), and one plank-lined grave (Set 46); the rest are simple dug graves. Due to poor preservation, only one grave was able to be accurately sexed (Set 64, male adult). Judging by grave size alone, there seem to have been few or no children buried here, which is also reminiscent of the earliest graves in the Glebe Field.

In terms of layout, the graves seem to have no clear organisational scheme, only delimited to the north by the Group 4 ditch, with a possible clustering of graves near the southern extent of the trench. A similarly scattered layout was also seen among the proposed Stage 1 graves at the Glebe Field (Figure 7.3). The use of redeposited soil to raise the ground level was also seen in the later stages of Period I, mainly to create the large platforms on which the Period II Northumbrian churches would be built (P Hill 1997: 109-118).

Fey Field's Period 4 graves represent enough of a departure in orientation and grave type to lend credence to a distinct reorganisation of the site, concordant with Hill's Period II Northumbrian monastery (McComish and Petts 2008: 6.4.3, 6.4.8). The earlier boundary ditch (G4) is infilled, but a stone wall (482/2112) along its outer edge perpetuates its roughly east-west line, suggesting continuity of this internal division. The most significant change is the quantity of burials, with 146 added in just this hundred-year period. This invariably meant a more intense level of intercutting, comprising at least five layers of burial, and some evidence for the artificial raising of ground level to accommodate them. There is also a more mixed population than before, including roughly equal amounts of males, females and sub-adults. Intriguingly, the graves shift from a SW-NE to a more W-E orientation, which remains the case in this area down though Period 5. This single, lasting reorientation differs from the Glebe Field, where there were numerous shifts in orientation over time. Given the use of clustered, polyfocal burials at Whithorn, it would be a mistake to expect the Fey Field and Glebe Field cemeteries to evolve in lockstep. The differences in burial practice in these two excavations indicate the usefulness of interpreting these as contemporary but separate burial grounds.

Some Period 4 graves were marked with low mounds of stony upcast, and there was one instance of a grave marked at the head by a reused millstone set upright (Set 175). The continuing inclusion of metalworking debris and fragmented pottery in many grave fills

would seem to imply the introduction of soil for raising and levelling the ground in preparation for further burials, or the presence of workshops beyond the trench edges. There is a clear example of this practice among the two latest tiers of burial (Period 4e), where the levelling consists of "stony soil" containing "some slag, furnace lining fragments and hearth base fragments, all of which could have originated from the settlement to the north-west" (McComish and Petts 2008: 6.4.8). However, iron coffin fittings were also found in these levelling deposits, indicating that they partially consist of redeposited grave soil as well as earth brought in from other parts of the site (Rogers 2008). Like the zoning of the Glebe Field, a continuing correlation between burials and industrial activity can be seen here, even though they are separated by a wall.

Most Period 4 burials are in dug graves and possibly shrouded, meaning burial rites maintained some continuity despite broader changes across the site. Significant innovations include the first appearance of 'ear-muff' stones and stone head-boxes intended to stop the skull from rolling. Another new development is the occasional use of organic paving material, most likely turf, and one instance of a burial with large amounts of charcoal in the fill (Sets 97, 126, 127). But perhaps the most diagnostically new grave types are the nailed coffins and chest burials (above, 7.3). Eleven instances of these were found in Periods 4a and 4b, along with two others among Period 3 graves which may date to this period (Rogers 2008). In the Glebe Field, six further examples all dated to the early Northumbrian period, c. AD 710-845 (P Hill 1997: 412-415), and these are likely contemporary with those in the Fey Field. The occurrence of this new grave type in both burial grounds implies some correlation in terms of the social status of the interred.

The occurrence of chest burials, charcoal burials, massive grave markers and soft linings all raise important historical questions of Anglo-Saxon influence at Whithorn. The documentary evidence is clear that the Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia had annexed Whithorn by the early 8th century and the reorganisation of the site into a reformed monastery had begun by the time Bede wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* in c. 730 (Clancy 2001; Fraser 2002; P Hill 1997: 16-18). Are these new burial types evidence for incoming Anglo-Saxons? Chapter 5.2 discussed the appearance of soft linings and charcoal burial in the context of wider Anglo-Saxon burial practices, which are relevant here (cf. Buckberry and Cherryson 2010). However, the appearance of head boxes and related settings has been seen on a number of other sites from the 7th century onwards, appearing almost exclusively on church sites (5.1.4). Thompson's pioneering study of these burial rites alongside the documentary evidence has described a growing anxiety over salvation and the ways the grave could help or hinder this process. More than simply announcing social standing,

these kinds of graves betray a perceived need for the corpse to remain intact and correctly positioned even after the grave is closed (Thompson 2004: 117-126). As such, what these new practices are signalling is Christian beliefs regarding penance and the afterlife, and they are best interpreted as ways to ensure this extended process of transformation is completed with minimal interruption. Locked chests, charcoal burial, and soft linings can all be seen to have a similar liminal function, not just to conserve the integrity of the corpse but as reassurance for the mourners, whose last memory of the deceased as securely resting in the grave will help mediate their own anxieties about the afterlife. These concerns are part of the wider changes in Christian doctrine in this period, and their association with any ethnic identity or social status is perhaps secondary to their primary salvific function (Brown 2003: 262-265; Effros 2002a; Paxton 2008).

In comparison to the first phase of graves, significant trends include the increasing densities of burial, a more mixed population, and the appearance of burial rites associated with anxieties over salvation. The placement of these graves over areas previously used for smoky, noxious industrial activity such as metalworking and corn-drying may be a significant and lasting feature (Stout and Stout 2008), and a level of concern over the intercutting of graves may be seen in the levelling deposits of stony soil mixed with metalworking debris. If these are correctly attributed to the period of the Northumbrian monastery, it is a good indication of the emergence of potentially 'Christian' modes of burial, and this will be discussed using the evidence from contemporary church sites in the following chapter.

7.6. Discussion and implications

The burial evidence from Whithorn thus introduces the problems but also the potential of the evidence from church sites. Despite initial similarities to a field cemetery like The Catstane MLO, with its Latin-inscribed stone and row-grave layout, Whithorn is actually rather anomalous as a burial site in 5-7th century Scotland. The amount of intercutting graves, the association with settlement and industrial activity, and the use of enclosure walls and boundary ditches all set this site apart from contemporary field cemeteries. Less certainly, the evidence presented here for the use of grave goods and funeral feasting further differentiates it from the sites this study has considered thus far.

The consumption of exotic foodstuffs such as dill, coriander and mustard (P Hill 1997: 124), the importation of Mediterranean and continental goods such as wine brought in ceramic vessels, and the use of fine glass vessels, both imported and made on site, already

sets Whithorn apart as one of only very few with such material from Scotland (Campbell 2007). Among sites with comparable imported material in Scotland, Whithorn is one of very few with evidence for burial activity, including only Iona ARG, Birsay ORK, and Bruach an Druimein, Poltalloch ARG. Interestingly, of these, only Iona is still considered a monastery during the period of importation of these exotic goods; Bruach an Druimein is potentially the first 'settlement cemetery' in Argyll (above, 6.3.2) and Birsay has also been reinterpreted as a high-status settlement in its pre-Norse phase (Morris 1989b), similar to Campbell's interpretation of Period I at Whithorn (Campbell 1997; Campbell 2008a).

The site is difficult to categorise because it was a place of burial as well as a high-status settlement; elsewhere in the Insular Late Iron Age, the juxtaposition of early imports and burial is attested at a variety of sites including the cemetery at Cannington, Somerset, which also had a metalworking area (Rahtz *et al.* 2000); the monastery at Armagh (Gaskell Brown and Harper 1984), and the 'settlement cemetery' at Knowth Site M, Co. Meath (Stout and Stout 2008). It is clear from these parallels that no single label will do for this kind of site, and that in the Late Iron Age, burial does not reliably indicate the presence of an early church. Even though the Latinus Stone would seem to indicate a Christian community here from the very start, and there were many adult males in the earliest graves, it is also true that neither the content of the inscription nor the scanty skeletal material can prove this was a monastery (Forsyth 2009). Finally, it is also becoming clear that we should not be too quick to distinguish between 'secular' and 'religious' settlements; in the Late Iron Age, these two roles may have bled into one another and as such, this distinction may perhaps be anachronistic (Barrowman *et al.* 2007; Blair 2005; Morris 1989b; Rahtz 1973).

One approach to the identity of those buried here lies in the layout of burials within the site. As mentioned above, burials in field cemeteries rarely intercut and were laid out in clusters, whereas the burials at Whithorn were also clustered but also frequently intercut. As such, it appears that burial in a specific location was more important here, even if burial grounds were not permanently 'sacred' places. Regardless of whether Whithorn is a monastery from its inception, it is arguably a community of Christians from the start (see papers in Murray 2009). If this is accepted, then it is worth noting that the use of both long cists and log coffins was acceptable among Christians, with implications for the community using the same two grave types at Thornybank MLO at this time (Rees 2002). A complex relationship with the Roman past is also implied: at Thornybank via the reuse of Roman masonry for cist material (Rees 2002: 329), and at Whithorn by the use of curated Roman material culture as grave goods. The occurrence of Latin epigraphy itself,

here in the area beyond Hadrian's Wall, provides a useful way into an understanding of this relationship with the past. Forsyth's (2009) comprehensive study of the Latinus Stone shows how the dedicators of the monument combined the visual language of Roman monumental epigraphy with the venerable local symbolism of standing stones to create a new identity: that of the post-Roman Britons (cf. Bowles 2007; cf. Woolf 2003). The point was not to ape the authority of Rome but to use it to bolster a new legitimacy. Christianity was part of this process, but not necessarily its driving force, as has been assumed in the past. The community gathered for funeral feasts using imported foodstuffs, but this was not simply to be like 'Romans', but to reinforce and reproduce social bonds.

It is arguable then that shifts in orientation, the frequent intercutting of graves, and the occurrence of settlement and industrial activity alongside graves can be seen as indicative of the presence of Christian attitudes towards burial. If the evidence for grave goods and funeral feasting is also accepted, then these can be added to that list. This may come as a surprise, given later medieval documentary evidence for restrictions on many of these practices (Effros 2002a; Thompson 2002). However, it is also clear that Whithorn is a very anomalous site in many ways, and these generalisations will be discussed further in the following chapter, in light of new excavations of early monasteries.

The new extended chronology of burial proposed for the Whithorn Glebe Field is significant in that it shows the limitations of imposing text-led chronologies on sites without radiocarbon-dated burials. Given the recent work on the typologies of masonry churches and shrines in Ireland (Ó Carragáin 2010), we can now also begin to question the early date of the clay-bonded structure seen beneath the crypt of Whithorn Priory (Radford 1957), and hence also of such undated 'monasteries' as Ardwall KCB and St Ninian's Point BTE (Thomas 1971). Furthermore, if the proposed Stage 3 burials at Whithorn belong to the period of the Northumbrian minster, we can see that the shift to burial near churches did not have an appreciable effect on the archaeologically visible component of the burial rite; in other words, graves from church sites will look practically identical to graves on non-church sites; only the setting is different. This only begins to change from the 8th century onwards, with the introduction of new grave types such as head boxes and chest burial in the Fey Field, which may reflect anxieties about salvation and the increasing disturbance of graves on church sites. Only then do we see the change from burial as a 'technology of remembrance' to a 'technology of salvation', discussed further below (Chapter 9). The recently-published sequence of graves from the Fey Field thus helps us understand the evidence from the Glebe Field, and begins to hint at what a 'Christian' burial may look like, something which has eluded us thus far.

If the extended chronology of burials at Whithorn has shown that diagnostically Christian burial rites may not appear until the 8th century, it is also clear that these new grave types build on a foundation of long-lived burial practices dating back to the origins of the cemetery in the 5th century. The use of long cists and log coffins seems to be restricted to the Glebe Field, but these rites continue into the Northumbrian period amidst the introduction of chest and coffin burial. New funerary rituals for the preparation and above-ground marking of graves appear along with the Anglo-Saxons, but they do not replace earlier practices. And while certain shifts in the orientation of graves seems to coincide with the Northumbrian colonisation of the site, these do not coincide across the separate burial grounds: while burials shift to a SW-NE orientation in the Glebe Field, they become increasingly W-E in the Fey Field. In all aspects, neither the foundation of churches nor the arrival of migrants seems to fundamentally change the multifocal, ultra-local nature of the burial rites in use at Whithorn. It seems that new religious and ethnic affiliations do not impose top-down restrictions on burial here. The following chapter will test this model using recently-excavated church burials in Scotland.

Chapter 8: Burial and Christianity: Recent Excavations at Ecclesiastical Sites

Having shown the potential of reappraising the burial evidence from Whithorn WIG in the previous chapter, this chapter will synthesise and discuss the burial evidence from church sites across Scotland. The focus will be on three recent excavations of early ecclesiastical settlements: Inchmarnock BTE, the Isle of May FIF, and Portmahomack ROS. After an in-depth summary of each case study, the implications for their regional contexts will be considered. Although these 'regions' cover vast areas, this should not be taken as implying cohesive local 'traditions', but rather to provide a framework which takes into account long-lived maritime and overland networks instead of the usual cultural affiliations deduced from documentary or art historical evidence (Northumbrian, Irish, Columban, Ninianic, etc). The focus remains on the period AD 400-650, but like the previous chapter, occasional forays beyond this will prove useful in tracking changes over time.

8.1. Inchmarnock

Inchmarnock is an island 1.2km off the west coast of Bute in the Firth of Clyde. A church here was first documented in a charter of 1391; by the time of the first OS map in the 19th century, it was simply a turf-covered foundation known as St Marnock's Chapel, accompanied in the literature by the occasional find of early medieval carved stones nearby. Ground clearance in 1970s confirmed its medieval date, but it was not until a large-scale excavation in 2001-2004 that the importance of the site was realized. The result was a thousand-year sequence of burial, with occupation stretching back to the 6th century (Lowe 2008). A unique collection of early inscribed slates and early sculpture proves this was a monastic settlement with evidence for the schooling of children. Importantly, one of the epigraphically earliest inscriptions includes the name Ernán no less than three times, which in the early Irish hypocoristic form *Mo-Ernóc*, meaning 'my dear Ernán', could form the root of the place-name Inchmarnock (Butter 2008; Forsyth and Tedeschi 2008). If so, this would imply the existence of a cult of the saint since the 7th century, not long after the foundation of the settlement.

Figure 8.1: Inchmarnock Phase 1 features, c. AD 600-1000 (Lowe 2008, 76). I am grateful to Dr Lowe and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

The upstanding remains of the church are no earlier than the 13th century, but it was found to be built over a 12th-century mortared stone nave-and-chancel church. This in turn overlay a smaller stone foundation of a building dated no earlier than the 10th century. In addition, the church seems to have had a complex but roughly concentric subrectangular enclosure system of modest size; charcoal samples from the outer ditch fill show it was used from the 7th to the 10th century (Lowe 2008: 250-255). More early Christian sculpture was found in secondary contexts during the excavation, but all pieces were roughly from within the main enclosure, and a cist-like feature at the north end of the site may have been a cross-base. Survey and excavation beyond the site itself discovered remnants of a wider monastic estate, including medieval corn-drying kilns and a possible hermitage: a rock

shelter to the south of the island, in an area locally referred to as *Dysart*, uncovered a hearth which was radiocarbon dated to the 7/8th century, broadly contemporary with the foundation of the monastery (ibid.: 223-230). All in all, the evidence allows us to be fairly certain that this was a planned eremitic settlement of middling size, dating back to the 6th or more likely the 7th century. Similarities of date and material culture link this site with the nearby monastery of Kingarth BTE, which has recently re-emerged as a significant regional hub of early Christian activity (Campbell 2010; JE Fraser 2005; Laing 1998). As such, the likeliest scenario would have Inchmarnock as a subsidiary or daughter church of the larger 'mother church' at Kingarth, which is recorded as a bishopric from the 7th century. That presents us with a unique opportunity to investigate the setting of a lower tier of early Christian site, rather than the top-down approach encouraged by the greater archaeological visibility of larger sites like Whithorn WIG and Iona ARG.

8.1.1. Use of space

Even with modern scientific dating techniques, early church sites in Scotland are notoriously difficult to date due to the preference for organic building materials and the intensive disturbance and redeposition of soils in long-lived burial grounds. At Inchmarnock, the most careful excavation and rigorous sampling strategy still did not allow the excavators to confidently subdivide the earliest layers to anything broader than an early medieval Phase 1 (Figure 8.1) and a later medieval Phase 2 (Figure 8.3). The earliest evidence for occupation on the site is a palimpsest of postholes and associated hearths, representing at least three successive structures, to the north of the medieval church (Figure 8.2). This area produced metalworking debris indicative of iron smelting rather than smithing, but the associated finds of whetstones indicate that the full metalworking process from start to finish took place here, the hallmark of a self-sustaining monastic community (Lowe 2008: 81). Study of the slag and crucibles show that some copper was also being worked, suggesting specialist craftworking beyond everyday blacksmithing, indicative of a high-status settlement (Heald 2008). Evidence for cannel coal jewellery production also abounded in this area, which for this period strongly indicates an ecclesiastical context, and the spread of related material in the Clyde estuary suggests participation in an existing network of redistribution (Hunter 2008a). Organic material from this industrial zone returned the earliest radiocarbon dates from the site, reaching back to the 6th or 7th century.
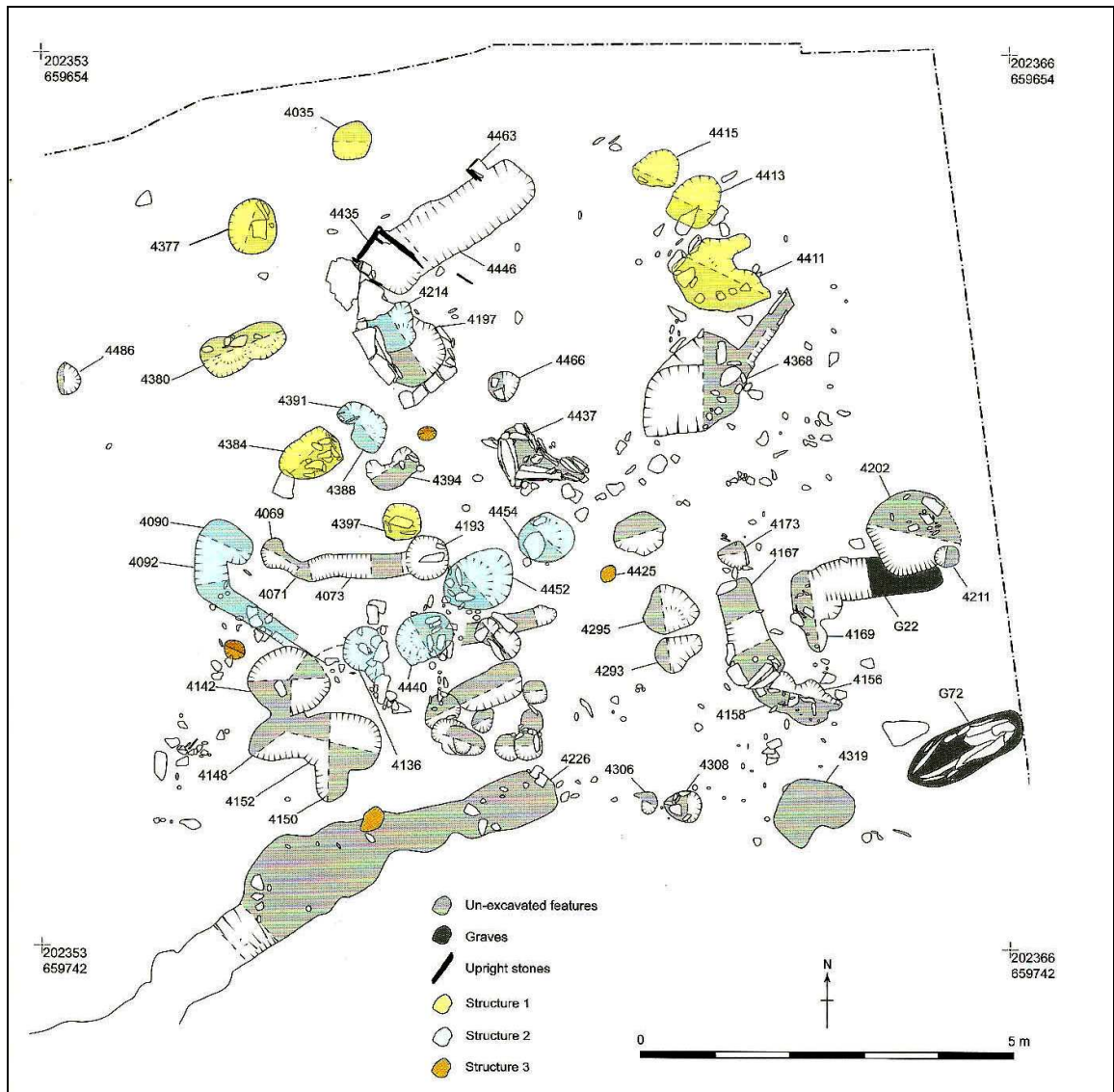
Figure 8.2: Inchmarnock Phase 1 metalworking area, possible enclosure boundary, and associated graves (Lowe 2008, 77). I am grateful to Dr Lowe and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

A SW-NE-running gully seems to have formed the southern boundary for this activity; the purpose of the ditch seems to be to separate the industrial zone from the burial zone, as a cluster of ten burials appears on the other side of it (Figure 8.2). A division between spaces of the living and the dead is a well-known aspect of planned Irish monastic sites (Doherty 1985), but there is room for ambiguity here. Basal deposits from the ditch were dated to rather later than the industrial activity, in the 7-8th centuries, and cist grave G11 included redeposited slag and charcoal in its fill which was radiocarbon dated to the 7-9th centuries, indicating that metalworking continued near the burials. No bone survived from the graves, but the presence of slag and metalworking debris in many of them suggests broad contemporaneity, or the reuse of former craftworking areas as was reported at Whithorn (7.4). The division of space between the living and the dead may be partly illusory, or perhaps a later development, since grave G22 is certainly within the industrial zone, and a number of elongated pits north of the ditch may also represent graves (Figure 8.2).

Further evidence for 6-7th-century occupation at Inchmarnock was found beneath the medieval church, where a stone-lined pit and charcoal lens were dated to this period. Much like Whithorn, the overall impression here is one of industrial or domestic activity, followed only later by burial and internal divisions. This industrial activity need not be solely 'secular', as the production of black jewellery has also been noted from early medieval ecclesiastical sites like Govan, Kingarth and Barhobble (Hunter 2008a). At least one of the finished products, a fragment of an armlet, ended up in a grave on the Bute mainland just opposite from Inchmarnock, at St Ninian's Point (Aitken 1955). While secular sites in the southwest were also involved in producing black jewellery in this period, it seems the church sites were the most intensive production centres, and the finished products must have carried with them added apotropaic value by association, with implications for other finds of lignite jewellery in early graves across Scotland (5.2.4).

As mentioned earlier, the evidence of the inscribed slate plaques and early Christian sculpture confirms this was an ecclesiastical centre of some importance in the early medieval period. However, the evidence for a physical church from this period remains elusive, and its relationship to burial ambiguous due to the lack of radiocarbon dates. The earliest church on site seems to be the stone foundation deemed Structure 4, a rectangular building overlain by the later church and aligned with a narrow, rectilinear stone-lined palisade slot (4565/4484) enclosing the structure (Figure 8.1). Only when Structure 4 was replaced by a larger, bicameral stone church on the same alignment did it begin to attract burials, cutting into earlier features including the enclosure palisade. This later stone church is fairly reliably dated to the 12th century based on architectural parallels, corroborated by the radiocarbon date of grave 102, which cuts its foundation trench, to cal AD 1020-1210. Structure 4, on the other hand, was only dated stratigraphically: it postdates pit 4619, a context radiocarbon dated to cal AD 650-780. A church on site from the 9-12th century is assumed to be the context for much of the early medieval sculpture, but burials did not certainly take place around it until later in the 12th century. Of course, heavy disturbance from late- and post-medieval graves could obscure earlier layers.

Figure 8.3: Inchmarnock Phase 2 graves, paths and church (Lowe 2008, 86). I am grateful to Dr Lowe and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

All graves near the church and to the north have been attributed to the later medieval Phase 2 (12-16th century), since many graves cut early medieval features. The argument for their overall lateness stems largely from the alignment of many of these later graves on features which can be feasibly dated to the 12th century, including the stone church and the paved paths leading to it (Figure 8.3). However, just like contemporary cemeteries at Whithorn and elsewhere, the evidence suggests a multifocal layout at Inchmarnock. The Phase 2 graves are clearly a series of separate clusters, including the tightly intercutting group to the south of the church, the more scattered arrangement to its north, the graves aligned on stone paths, and two tightly-clustered foci in the burial ground to north and west of the

church. Each of these clusters can be said to be contemporary with or postdate Phase 2 structures, except for the cluster of graves directly south of the Phase 1 burials. In fact, there is no convincing reason provided by the excavators why this cluster belongs to Phase 2, except that they did not include residual metalworking debris in their fills. However, the overall spread of this material does not reach too far beyond the boundary ditch anyway (Lowe 2008: 79), so this argument does not stand up to scrutiny. Most tellingly, grave 30 is directly in line with the earlier row of Phase 1 graves, and it also included an iron arrowhead of broadly 9-11th-century type (ibid., 181-183).
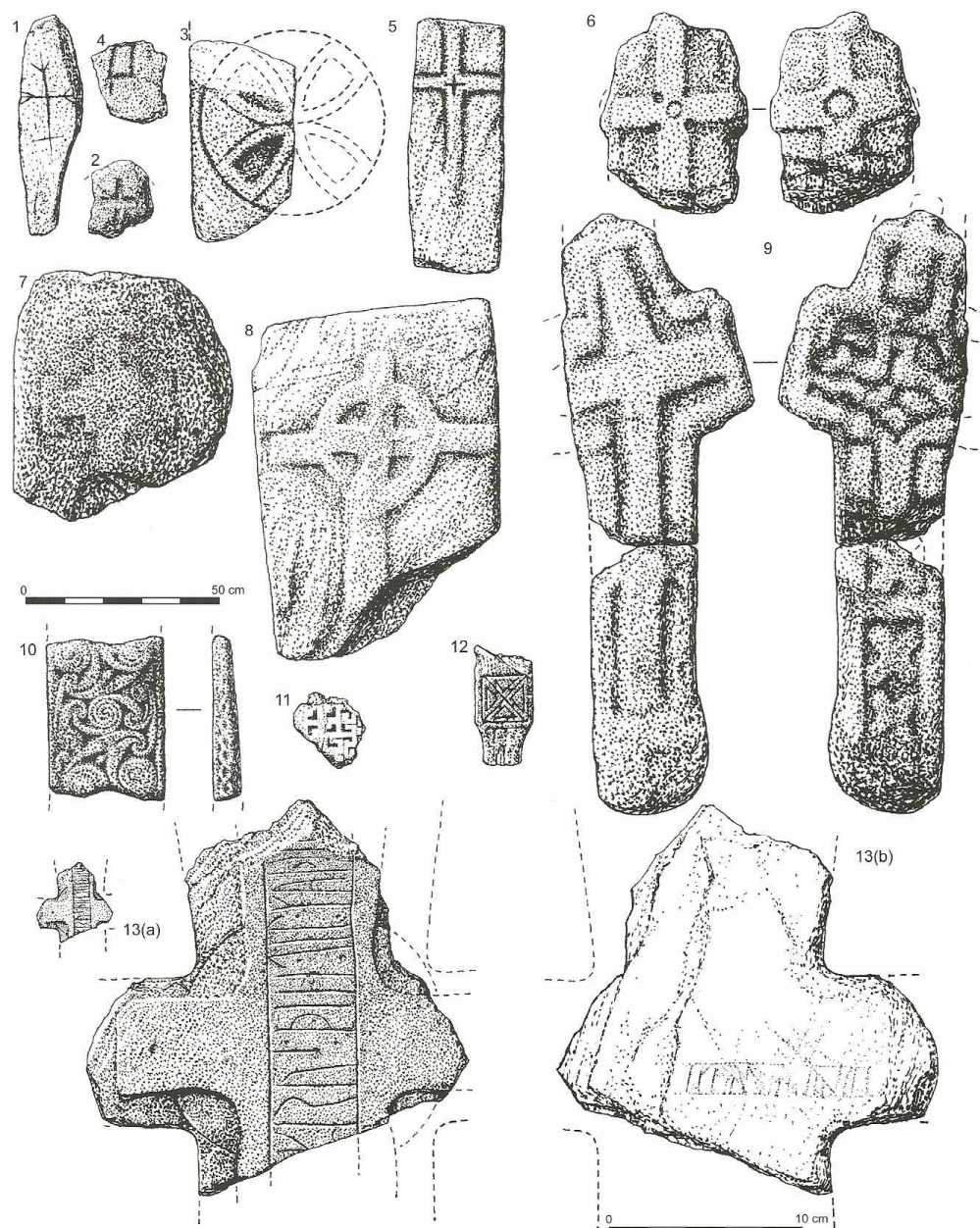
Figure 8.4: Selection of cross slabs from Inchmarnock, dated from the 7-11th centuries (Fisher 2008, 100). I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

If we accept that at least some of these graves are early medieval, we would have a clearer context for the remarkable number of cross-marked grave markers found at Inchmarnock:

at 34 pieces dated to the 7-11th centuries, the collection is now one of the largest in Scotland (Fisher 2008). Rather than being concentrated around the church, these were scattered across the site, indicating a multifocal layout of burial throughout this period. Clustered burial even within church sites has also been reported in northern England (Cramp 1993), as well as in Whithorn, where burial seemed to occur in short-lived, discrete episodes rather than a continuous use of a single burial ground (above, 7.4). This is significant as it implies that even within a planned ecclesiastical settlement, burial was not always as rigorously managed as may be expected. Even in the carefully managed rows of the contemporary Late Saxon churchyard of Raunds Furnells in Northamptonshire, it is clear that not everyone was equal even in the eyes of the church, and that churchyards became the new setting for the performance and display of status by the end of the first millennium (Boddington 1996).

8.1.2. Burial rites

Unfortunately, due to the lack of skeletal material at Inchmarnock, we cannot be too clear on chronology, nor on the differences of demographics among these clusters. It is, however, significant that the only well-made long cists found at Inchmarnock are from Phase 1 graves. Much like at Whithorn and on a number of other church sites discussed below, the use of long cists does indeed seem to have a chronological significance.

Little evidence for furnished graves was recorded at Inchmarnock, except for the iron arrowhead in grave 30, which may instead be evidence for a fatal wound (Franklin 2008). However, the use of cross slabs as grave markers does seem to be practiced here as elsewhere in the southwest. The quantity of these makes this supposedly middling monastic site comparable to collections from larger foundations like Whithorn, Hoddom and Govan (Gondek 2003; P Hill 1997; Lowe 2006; Ritchie 1994). The remarkable variety of form and size of the cross slabs is worth comment. It seems likely that many grave markers were made *ad hoc*, and not always by well-trained craftspeople, judging by the occasional use of simple cross-marked stones like EMS 1 and 2 (Figure 8.4). Indeed, diminutive stones like EMS 2 are more accurately deemed cross-marked pebbles, and could have served as amulets inserted in the grave rather than surface grave markers, a possibility first mooted by Lionard (1961) and only briefly entertained by later scholars (Kelly 1988; Thomas 1971: 114). Similar cross-marked pebbles and plaques have been found at a number of sites in the southwest, including one each from Hoddom (Craig 2006: 131-132) and Ardwall (Thomas 1967). Interestingly, the pebble from Hoddom was found in the demolition layer of an early stone building (Lowe 2006: 43-45). There is also

evidence for the use of such cross-marked stones in 'secular' contexts, for instance at the fort of Dunadd ARG: there, a cross-marked quernstone and a hand-sized pebble inscribed with the abbreviated prayer *INOMINE* hint at personal devotion (Lane and Campbell 2000). A cross-marked pebble was also found in an unstratified context at the Mote of Mark (Laing and Longley 2006). At Inchmarnock itself, slate IS 35 had the name Ernán inscribed on it three times, along with the word *casa*, possibly meaning church, and this may also have served as a portable amulet (Forsyth and Tedeschi 2008: 133-137).

Unfortunately, none of the cross slabs were found in their primary contexts – only EMS 23 was found face-down over a grave (Fisher 2008: 111), and the cross slab over a cist in the chancel may be a fortuitous juxtaposition: cists are used only in Phase 1, and the church potentially postdates the grave by a century or more; in the context of the paved chancel, this cross slab may simply have been used as paving material. This echoes the situation at Ardwall KCB where the majority of the cross slabs were found in odd locations with regard to the graves: many were found face-down above graves, or in the grave fills at foot level (Thomas 1967: 161). Given the small size of many of the cross slabs at both Ardwall and Inchmarnock, they were likely laid recumbent above the backfilled grave, or perhaps even deliberately inserted in the grave facing downward toward the body, rather than set upright in the ground. A possible parallel can be seen in the inclusion of a portable altar in the coffin of St Cuthbert (d. 687) at Durham (Coatsworth 1989), and another more locally at Ardwall (Thomas 1967: 162-163). It may be that instead of furnished graves as we find at Whithorn, a key part of the commemorative ritual on some sites was the provision of a cross-marked stone for placement in or on a grave. We should not limit our interpretation of these as simple grave markers, and a salvific or other apotropaic function should also be considered. If so, then in contrast to the received knowledge that Christian graves were always unfurnished, the burial ritual for many people in the 7-11th centuries included the use of a simple cross-marked stone, which can be read as a kind of grave furnishing (e.g., Thompson 2004: 107-108, 88-91).

8.1.3. Discussion: reinterpreting the early church in Strathclyde and the southwest

The use of space at Inchmarnock echoes what we have seen at Whithorn: graves predate the churches on this site, but they do not occur at a single ritual focus which eventually becomes the church. Instead, they follow a similar layout to the early field cemeteries, appearing in clusters, some in neat rows, some more scattered, all short-lived. Despite being on an ecclesiastical site, there is little evidence for any sort of centralised control of a

fixed burial location until the later medieval period. Another interesting pattern that is emerging is the association of graves with craftworking and industrial activity; in fact, much like at Whithorn, the graves are in such close association that they end up churning up slag and other debris in their grave fills. At both sites, it is clear the industrial activity came first, any enclosures or internal divisions second and seemingly after burial had already begun near the workshop area. The separation of the living from the dead that has been posited on analogy with Roman practice or concentric Irish monasteries is not so clear-cut on early medieval Scottish church sites. Indeed, it seems Thomas' 'developed cemetery' model may require some modification: while it is true that burial here predates the church, it was not the primary function of the site and as such burial is more of a side-effect than the sole motivation for the location of churches in the early medieval period.
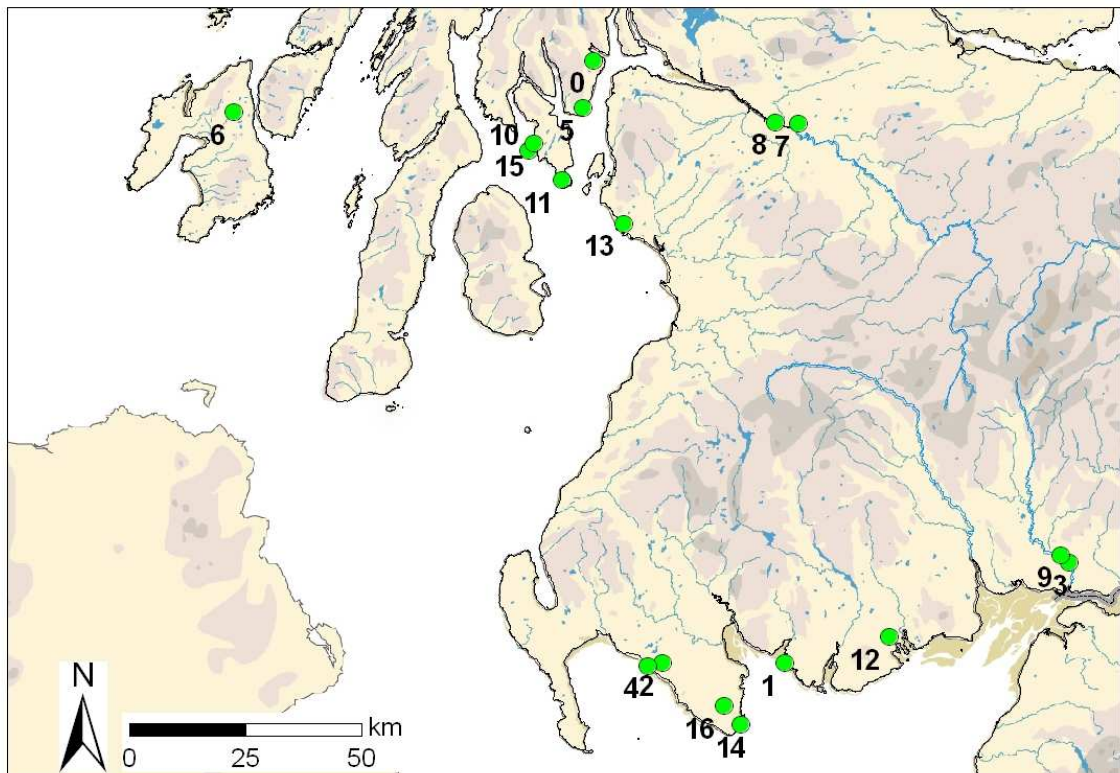
Figure 8.5: Sites discussed in Strathclyde and the southwest.

0 Ardnadam; 1 Ardwall; 2 Barhobble; 3 Brydekirk; 4 Chapel Finian; 5 Chapelhall; 6 Eilean Mor, Islay; 7 Glasgow Cathedral; 8 Govan; 9 Hoddom; 10 Inchmarnock; 11 Kingarth; 12 Kirkmirran; 13 Montfode; 14 St Ninian's Chapel, Isle of Whithorn; 15 St Ninian's Point; 16 Whithorn.

One difficulty with Inchmarnock is that none of the cross slabs were found *in situ*. The ambiguous context of the early Christian sculpture echoes that at Whithorn, Ardwall, Govan and Barhobble, where despite the substantial assemblages of graves and carved stones, only in a vanishingly few cases can one carved stone be directly related to one grave. Disturbance caused by the long reuse of such sites is only part of the explanation. It

is also clear that not every piece of sculpture served as a surface grave marker, and there are other documented uses for sculpture from the early medieval period, such as boundary-marking, prayer stations, and marking the site of important events in the site's history (Fisher 2001; King 1997; Ó Carragáin 2009c). A lesser-known but potentially relevant function is the use of carved stones as grave furnishings. The accumulated finds of cross-marked pebbles and plaques within grave fills in the southwest suggests a more varied use for these items, with interesting implications for the development of Christian burial rites from pre-existing depositional practices. Alternatively, it is possible that due to their small size and recumbent position, they were quickly overgrown and forgotten, which may explain the findspots of some in awkward positions above or in the upper fills of graves. However, the dense arrangement of graves, frequently intercutting, is difficult to square with the regular use of individual surface grave markers, and many cross slabs and free-standing crosses may be more usefully thought of as marking burial clusters or family plots as individual graves (cf. Stocker 2000).

The dense layout of intercutting graves implies that, in contrast to the earlier field cemeteries, it was more important to be buried in a specific location than to preserve the integrity of each individual grave. The use of space on church sites seemingly required the revisiting of past graves rather than their preservation in perpetuity. In other words, this layout implies the existence of a cult focus for burial. One question to ask of church sites studied below is when a focal layout emerges. By favouring excavations on church sites, Thomas and other scholars of early Christianity have assumed that a focal layout is a primary feature of all early cemeteries, but it seems that the earliest graves at both Whithorn and Inchmarnock were scattered at first, changing to a row-grave layout before giving way to a focal layout where graves frequently intercut. This last stage only seemed to occur once there was evidence for a church on site, in both cases from the 8th century on.

Unfortunately, due to a combination of acid soils with relatively sparse modern excavations in the southwest, we have only very few radiocarbon-dated burials from church sites in this region, even when we include the single date from the enclosed cemetery at Montfode AYR (Table 8.1). So far, we can only assume a broad chronology of burial based on circumstantial evidence and analogy, usually by comparison with the early church sites of Ardwall KCB (Thomas 1966; 1967), St Ninian's Point BTE (Aitken 1955) and Ardnadam ARG (Rennie 1984; 1999). These three sites include all the expected hallmarks of an early foundation, including curvilinear enclosures and possible shrines, similar to early Irish churches. But a number of relatively little-known church excavations in the area highlight the problems with using Irish or other analogues as a way of dating

these sites. Many minor churches with curvilinear enclosures and seemingly early dedications preserved in their names, including St Ninian's Chapel on the Isle of Whithorn WIG (Radford 1950), Chapel Finian WIG (Radford 1951), Brydekirk DMF (Crowe 1984) and Kirkmirran KCB (Crowe 1986), have been partially excavated. In each case, the evidence for an early medieval origin was slight to nonexistent. Importantly, on none of these sites do the physical church structures predate the 12th century.

This would then accord well with the rather more intensive excavations at Barhobble WIG, another early Christian site which also ended up being later than expected. Here, radiocarbon dates, carved stones and material culture all point to a 10-12th century *floruit* for the site, with a masonry church replacing a timber one only in the 12th century. A mortared stone altar including the disarticulated fragments of at least three individuals was at first considered evidence for a cult of a 'founder saint' or disturbed 'founder's grave', but later radiocarbon dating of these bones confirmed a 13th-century date (Oram 2009). The only evidence for earlier activity on the site is a single Anglo-Saxon coin of the mid-8th century in a redeposited context, and ambiguous structural evidence underlying the 12th-century church (Cormack 1995). Given the evidence for furnished graves among the earliest burials at Whithorn (7.3), it may be interesting to note that fragments of Roman glass bangles and iron tools were also found as deliberate inclusions at Barhobble, indicating a particularly local but long-lived form of commemoration of the dead via meaningful deposits of material culture.

Had this site been excavated before the advent of scientific dating techniques, it may simply have been considered an early monastery of Irish type. Thanks to the important work on the early Christian sculpture of the southwest by Craig (1991; 1992), it is clear that Barhobble, Chapel Finian and a number of other churches with 9-11th century sculpture represent a distinctive period after the break-up of the large monastic estates, with burial rights now granted to a number of smaller proprietary churches on secular estates. This provides an alternative framework for interpreting the early remains at Ardwall and St Ninian's Point. Inchmarnock was clearly an early foundation, but the addition of a church which became a focus for burials only dates to after the 10th century, showing that even important monastic sites did not require masonry churches until quite late in the millennium; it is then difficult to imagine that minor sites like St Ninian's Point and Ardwall had them much earlier.

Inchmarnock eventually became a parish church and pilgrimage site due to the existence of a long-standing cult focus. However, this early focus need not be a founder's grave or any

single burial at all, but the long-standing tradition of veneration of St Marnock or *Mo-Ernóc*, attested since the 7th century. Barring a lost timber church, the earliest burials here are not only secondary to the settlement of the site, they are also not associated with the church but with the workshop area. Indeed, the earliest evidence for burial focused on a church anywhere in the southwest is from the 8th-century chapel at Whithorn (above, 7.1), itself quite an exceptional site. The early chapel at Ardnadam was sited in a reused Iron Age enclosure with a drystone cellular structure, not a grave, acting as the focus for a possible shrine or chapel, and the previous chapter cast considerable doubt on the presence of 'founder's graves' at Whithorn (7.4). Thus, without additional excavation further away from the church at Barhobble, Ardwall, and St Ninian's Point, the burial activity cannot be demonstrated to be as early as the 7th century as proposed by their excavators, and the strongly focal layout of burial on these sites hints at their association with the church rather than a single special grave. Furthermore, it is no longer likely that the early masonry chapels and enclosures on these sites are much older than the 10th century, given recent revisions of the chronology for masonry architecture in Ireland (Ó Carragáin 2003a; 2005). At Ardwall, the presence of the 'Cudgar' cross slab, with an inscription dated paleographically to the 8th or 9th century (Okasha 1971: 48; Thomas 1967), is the only indication of an earlier foundation there. The north-south graves at St Ninian's Point BTE need not be pre-Christian (see above, 6.4.2); the fact that two of these graves have head-support stones, a grave type consistently dated to the late first millennium AD (5.1.4), would tend to argue for a later rather than earlier date.

The lack of diagnostically monastic features like concentric enclosures and craftworking areas at the smaller church sites indicates they were not monasteries at all. The status of such early chapels in southwest Scotland has yet to be clearly resolved, but given their relative austerity, they are neither comparable to the regional mother churches of Kingarth, Hoddom, Govan and Whithorn, nor subsidiary sites like Inchmarnock (Lowe 2008: 250-255). There are other models outside the rigid hierarchical minster system in which they may fit: for instance, Blair (2005: 376-373) describes a continuing tradition of "folk-cult sites" such as holy wells and other places of local veneration, which accrued small chapels that remained outside the emerging parochial system and are often now abandoned.

Another category to consider is the proprietorial or estate church characteristic of Norse-dominated areas of northern Britain (Barrow 1989; Barrow 2000; Morris 2004). Barhobble, for instance, was intensively used for burial in the 9-11th centuries, and seems a viable candidate for a proprietary church of the incoming Gall-Ghàidheil lords, staffed and administered at the behest of a local landowner (Clancy 2008b). Barhobble is also just 3km

inland from the contemporary foundation of Chapel Finian on Luce Bay, and the relationship between these two sites, and that of Whithorn, was surely more complex than mother and daughter (Radford 1951; 1967). It speaks to a church hierarchy that was continually developing from the ground up rather than being managed from above.

A similar situation may exist at Inchmarnock, which while clearly a subsidiary of Kingarth, neighbours the early foundation at St Ninian's Point, directly opposite on the Bute mainland (Aitken 1955). While the settlement at St Ninian's Point remains undated, Radford and later scholars argued based largely on the 'simplicity' of the remains that it dates as far back as the 6-7th century, and by its name, again not strictly dateable, that it was founded from Whithorn (Radford 1967; Thomas 1971). Although the simple enclosed oratory and burials here are often treated as an example of an early hermitage, it is unclear how they relate to the nearby monastic settlement of Inchmarnock. There is no early sculpture that might help reconstruct its ecclesiastical ties, nor is it likely to be an eremitic retreat for the Inchmarnock community, who made use of the caves on the south coast of the island (Lowe 2008: 223-230). Inchmarnock also had a complex relationship with the lost Bute chapel of Kildavanan which remains unresolved (Butter 2008).

What all this demonstrates is that the hierarchical links between church sites in the southwest were not set in stone in the early medieval period – in fact, they were still in the process of being created and rationalized down to the 12th century and beyond, as evidenced by the apparent abandonment of both Ardwall and St Ninian's Point around this time, and this is partly due to the disruptions of the Viking Age (Dumville 1997). To return to the burial evidence, it should by now be clear that the ecclesiastical sites we are dealing with were also being created and recast in new roles throughout this period. In every case, we cannot simply attach a simple label of 'mother church' or 'hermitage', and both monastic and proprietary chapels could either become parish churches or be abandoned altogether. Instead, we need to contextualise the material remains of the burial rite on a site-by-site basis.

Using radiocarbon-dated burials as a starting point, we can begin to reinterpret the progress of Christianity in this region (Table 8.1). Thanks to the Latin-inscribed stones of the southwest, we can be quite sure that Christianity was present from the 5th century (Forsyth 2005), and a similarly early presence can be inferred in the Clyde Firth area based on careful study of the historical evidence (Clancy 2001; Clancy 2009; JE Fraser 2005). But the context of the burials from this period is more ambiguous. It was argued previously that the earliest phase of burial at Whithorn relates to a high-status enclosed settlement before

the site became a monastery in the late 7th or 8th century (Chapter 7). The 5-7th century burials at Govan and Montfode also occur within enclosures, although in both cases, the dating of the enclosure ditch is inferred from secondary deposits and stratigraphic relationships (Driscoll 2004b; Hatherley 2010). On both sites, the primary burials are contemporary with domestic and industrial activity, including lignite jewellery production at Govan as at Inchmarnock in this period. But while Govan and Inchmarnock became major ecclesiastical centres later on, Montfode did not.

.
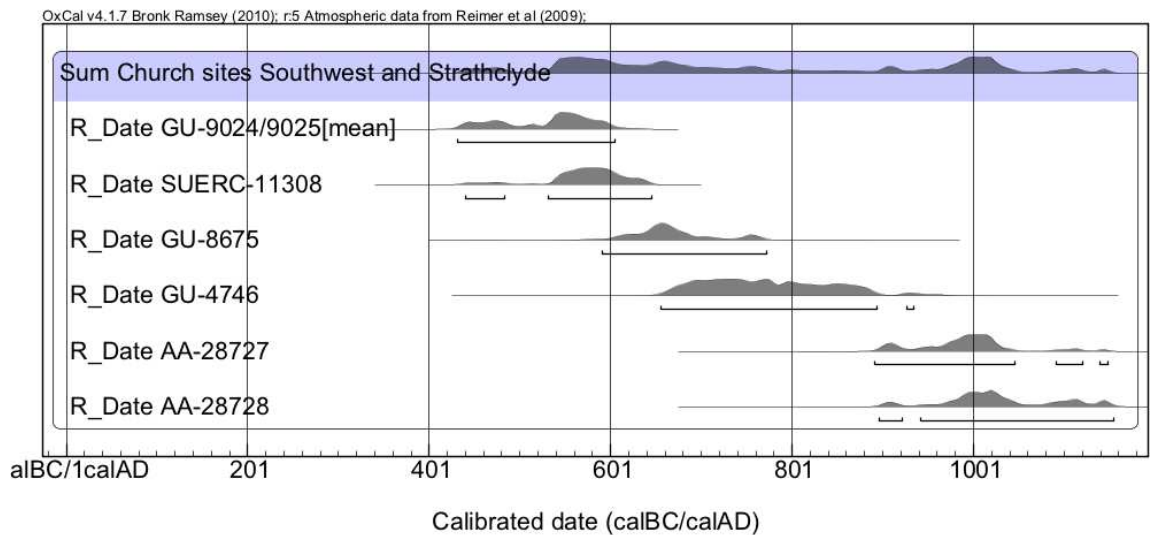
Site name	Lab Code	C14 2σ	Grave type	Age	Sex	Orient.
Govan LAN	GU-9024/9025[mean]	432-605	Dug grave	adult	?	W-E
Montfode AYR	SUERC-11308	441-646	Long cist	adult	?	NW-SE
Eilean Mor, Islay ARG	GU-8675	602-771	Long cist	middle adult	F	NW-SE
Glasgow Cathedral LAN	GU-4746	657-935	Dug grave	?	?	W-E
Chapelhall, Innellan ARG	AA-28727	891-1145	Long cist	young adult	F	W-E
Chapelhall, Innellan ARG	AA-28728	897-1155	Dug grave	juvenile	?	W-E

Table 8.1: All radiocarbon dated burials from church sites in Strathclyde and the southwest to AD 1000, including the enclosed cemetery of Montfode AYR.

The only other early radiocarbon dates come from Glasgow Cathedral LAN and Eilean Mor, Islay ARG, where they suggest a primary occupation no earlier than the 7-8th centuries. This seems to be a crucial period of transformation at Inchmarnock and Whithorn, including the earliest dated evidence of burial enclosures and cross-slab production. As such, the available dating evidence in Strathclyde and the southwest suggests an early period of burial in small cemeteries alongside settlements, after which the majority of burials are found on monastic or other ecclesiastical sites, dating from the 7th century onward. On balance, it seems that while Christianity accompanied the earliest burials in this area, monasticism may only have been a secondary development (contra Thomas 1971), and other explanations need to be sought for the ambiguous settlement evidence which characterises the earliest deposits at Glasgow, Inchmarnock, and Whithorn.

One way to do this is to return to their use of space, and consider the impact of an open-plan excavation on our interpretation of Inchmarnock. An excavation of just the church and its immediate surroundings would have spotted the densely packed medieval and post-medieval graves only. Without the late radiocarbon dates from these simple, unfurnished graves, the fragments of early sculpture and inscribed slates in this area could have been used to date burial activity to the early medieval period. In fact, this is precisely what seems to have occurred at Ardwall Island KCB, where Thomas' excavation was focused on the church, and both the masonry structure and the associated graves were assigned dates as early as the 7th century based on the redeposited early sculpture and heavily intercutting graves (Thomas 1966). The clay-bonded masonry of the chapels at Ardwall and St Ninian's Point now fits more comfortably in the 8-12th century based on analogies with small chapels at Whithorn (P Hill 1997) and Barhobble WIG (Cormack 1995), and recent work in Ireland which suggests a similarly late date for the construction in masonry of local churches like these (Ó Carragáin 2005). At both Barhobble and Ardwall, there is limited sculptural or artefactual evidence for occupation in the 8/9th centuries, but these are from unstratified contexts, and cannot be precisely related to the excavated burials. St Ninian's Point has no sculpture to help date it, and the chapel at Ardnadam is associated only with late medieval pottery, casting doubt on its presumed early date (Rennie 1999). In fact, given the small size of the graves at Ardnadam, it is possible this undated cemetery was a medieval *cilleen* or infant burial ground, as often found around abandoned church sites in Ireland (Finlay 2000).

In contrast, the large-scale excavations beyond the church at Inchmarnock and Whithorn provide enough evidence to say that these were multifocal burial grounds, with only some later burial clusters relating to the church. A large-scale excavation allows us to see things very differently from excavations that chase the walls of a medieval church. Not only are the earliest churches on both sites later than the 5-7th century period with which this study is concerned, there is no longer any need to presume that burials are the primary feature of either site: in both cases, burials were preceded by domestic and industrial activity. In southwest Scotland, the 'developed cemetery' model is giving way to a more nuanced monastic model like that being proposed for western Ireland (Ó Carragáin 2010; Sheehan 2009), where the settlement is planned and laid out first, and burials are only a secondary concern. This differs from the field cemeteries of eastern Scotland, where burial was apparently the only concern and evidence for settlement activity is almost completely lacking. To discuss this further, we can now turn to the church sites of eastern Scotland.

8.2. The Isle of May

Ten kilometers off the coast of the East Neuk of Fife lies the Isle of May, or simply the May as it is known locally, a narrow rocky strip 1.5km long and only 400m wide. Although the May is closest to Fife, it lies at the mouth of the Firth of Forth and is clearly visible from both Fife and Lothian. Documentary evidence attests to the existence of a Cluniac priory here since the mid-12th century, dedicated to St Ethernan, latterly known as St Adrian. The dedication seems to relate to a widespread early medieval cult of a churchman who "died among the Picts" in 669, as recorded in the Annals of Ulster (James and Yeoman 2008: 3-5). The ruins of a medieval structure deemed 'St Adrian's Chapel', presumed to be the site of the priory, were investigated in a trial season of excavation undertaken by GUARD as part of a wider survey of the island commissioned by Fife Regional Council in 1992. This was then expanded into a program of four further years of excavation which resulted in an archaeological sequence covering roughly the 5th to the 18th century (ibid.: 1-13).

The medieval priory overlay an early medieval monastic settlement including a 10th-century stone church and a burial ground from which 56 articulated inhumations were excavated (Figure 8.6). The site appears to have been founded on a sheltered, raised pebble beach which had been revetted on the east side to create a level platform (James and Yeoman 2008: 16-17, 37-38). Surprisingly for an early medieval monastic site, there were no cross slabs or carved grave markers except for one very dubious fragment (James and Yeoman 2008: 77), and none have been found elsewhere on the island.

Seventeen skeletons were radiocarbon dated, providing a tight chronology for the development of the burial ground (Table 8.2); however, the structures were largely dated by stratigraphic relationships to pottery and coins, making them difficult to relate directly to the burials. A case in point is the drystone revetment wall and the kerbed, paved stone roadway. The road is respected by early burials, and so is presumed to predate burial activity. However, the revetment seems to have been rebuilt and expanded in at least three phases of construction predating the medieval priory; in two areas the revetment can be shown to predate burials 832 and 386, radiocarbon dated to cal AD 430-853 and 899-1220, respectively (James and Yeoman 2008: 37). The excavators conclude that the roadway and the revetment are the earliest evidence for occupation here, followed by burial activity. This would indicate a planned conceptualisation of the site as a large cobble platform, at least 60m N-S and 22m E-W, with a road leading to its centre around which burials were placed. A contemporary parallel for a primary roadway can be found at Hallow Hill FIF, where the cobbled road is also respected by all burials, although there is no evidence for an

enclosure or other boundary (Proudfoot 1996). Its placement on a revetted cobble beach, essentially creating a large platform burial cairn, is otherwise unique to this site.
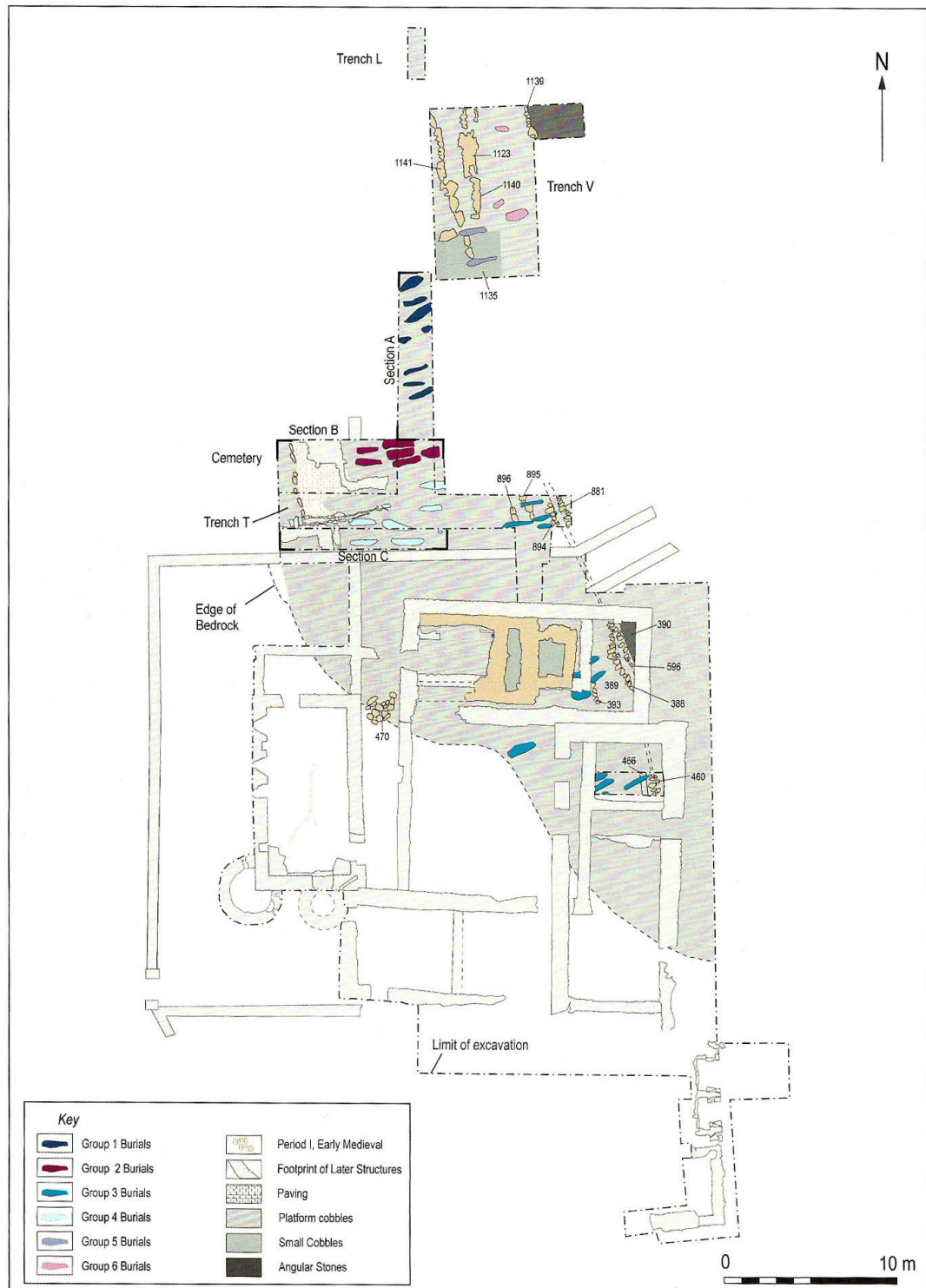
Figure 8.6: Isle of May excavated burials (James and Yeoman 2008).

In a few areas, the earliest burials were sealed by discontinuous areas of burning. The charcoal retrieved from these layers contained insubstantial timbers, indicating rather ephemeral structures possibly made from driftwood (James and Yeoman 2008: 77-78). Small finds from these layers were very few, but contexts 459 and 826 beneath the priory church included bone spindle whorls and butchered animal bone including mammals, fish

and seabirds, while in Trench L at the northern extent of the excavation (Figure 8.6), context 879 contained a bone pin of broadly early medieval type and evidence for iron smelting (James and Yeoman 2008: 38). One of these ashy layers, context 420, contained finds datable to the 10th century, including possibly Late Saxon shell-tempered pottery and a Frankish silver coin (Bateson 2008; Will and Haggarty 2008: 142). Intriguingly, this context also included a worn fragment of a tegula roof tile of a type found in nearby Roman forts, which appears to have been imported to the island (Hunter 2008b). The foundations of the earliest stone church on site cut into the 10th-century context 420, as does burial 442, dated cal AD 680-1010; the church can thus be dated roughly to the late 10th century or later (James and Yeoman 2008: 21, 38).

Despite difficulties in relating structures to burials, the early medieval chronology of the site can be divided into two broad phases: before and after the burning episode. In Phase 1, the stone revetment and kerbed road were laid out, followed by the first burials (Group 1), covering roughly the 5-7th centuries. Phase 2.1 represents the areas of burning and settlement dated artefactually to the 8-10th centuries, sealing some of the graves in Group 3. Burials in Group 2, a discrete cluster between Group 1 and Group 3, seem to overlap these first two phases of the site. Phases 2.2-2.4 represent the construction of a series of churches dated stratigraphically to the late 10th to 13th centuries. Although the site was colonised by Cluniac monks in the 12th century, they do not appear to have replaced the church until the 13th century (ibid.: 38-41).

8.2.1. Use of space

The foundation of the site consisted of laying out boundaries, with a drystone revetment wall to the east and a kerbed road to the west; within the excavated area, all early medieval activity seems to have been confined to these limits. The creation of a clearly-defined platform and regimentation of movement through this space by use of a road suggest this was a planned settlement, possibly even a monastery, though it should be noted that early roads at Whithorn WIG and Hallow Hill FIF also predate burial activity. Unlike at Whithorn and Inchmarnock, the early graves are not accompanied by industrial activity: the only evidence for metalworking comes from Trench L, far beyond the northern extent of the cemetery, possibly indicating effective separation of burial and industrial activity on this site. However, butchered animal bone and spindle whorls were found in Phase 2.1 layers beneath the church, just south of the Group 1 burials and near to Group 3 graves, so a short period of settlement activity seems to take place between Phase 1 and Phase 2. The group of 10th-century imports under the first church, roughly at the centre of the cairn,

indicate this was a focus for activity in the later first millennium AD. This seems also to be the endpoint of the kerbed road, indicating a lost early focus, much like the endpoint of the road at Hallow Hill now obscured by modern housing (Proudfoot 1996: 416).
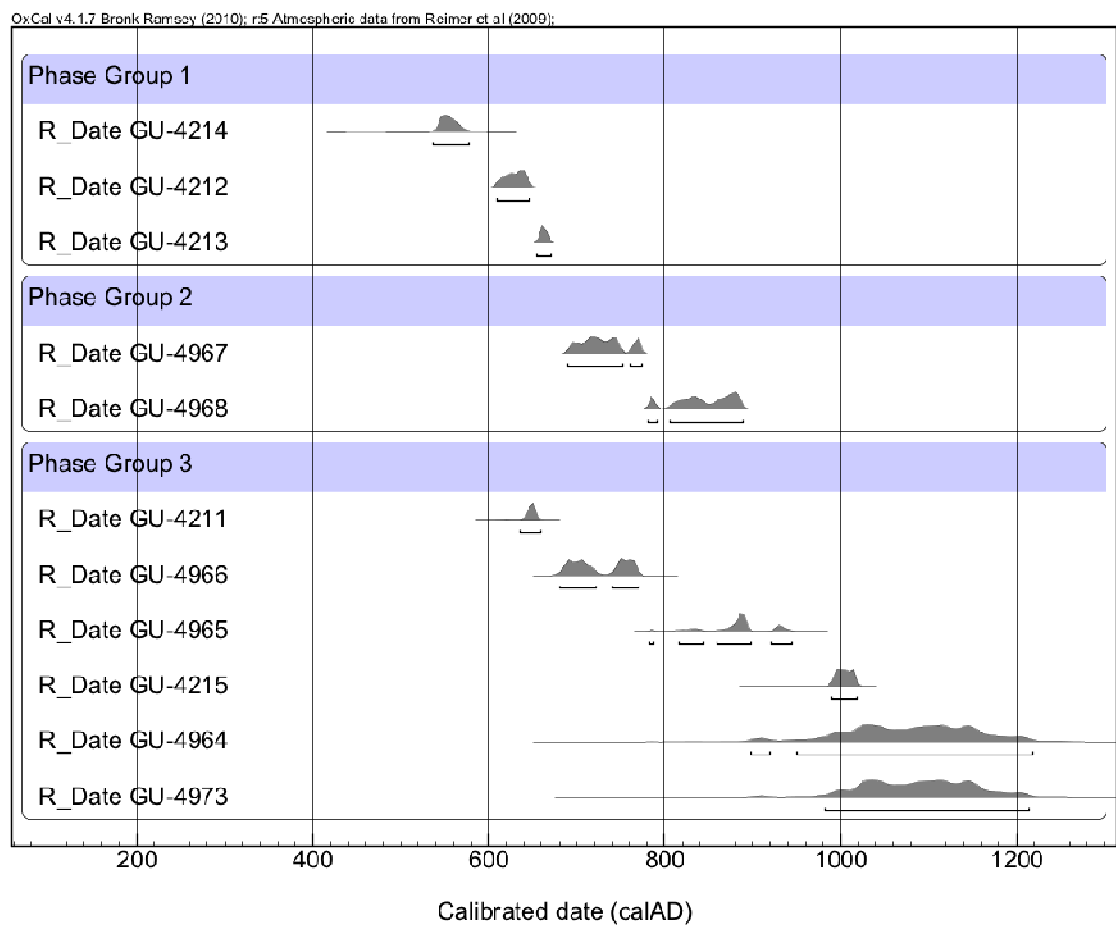
Lab Code	C14 2σ	Context	Sex	Age	Orient.	Grave type	Marker
GU-4214	409-651	869/835	M	adult	SW-NE	Long cist	Quartz pebbles
GU-4212	390-867	885	M	middle adult	SW-NE	Long cist	Quartz pebbles
GU-4213	602-775	820/835	?	?	SW-NE	Long cist	Quartz pebbles
GU-4967	665-879	985/983	F	young adult	SW-NE	Long cist	Quartz pebbles
GU-4968	690-983	1023/983	F	middle adult	SW-NE	Long cist	Quartz pebbles
GU-4211	425-867	832	M	young adult	W-E	Dug grave	None
GU-4966	656-870	444	M	middle adult	SW-NE	Dug grave	None
GU-4965	690-1014	442	?	?	?	Dug grave	None
GU-4215	888-1152	831	M	mature adult	W-E	Dug grave	None
GU-4964	899-1218	386	M	young adult	SW-NE	Dug grave	None
GU-4973	982-1214	1211	M	young adult	SW-NE	Dug grave	None

Table 8.2: Radiocarbon dated burials from Isle of May Groups 1-3.

Clearer evidence for zonation on the May comes from the burial evidence. Early burials across the site are categorised into discrete clusters (Groups 1-3). The clusters are grouped according to spatial relationships rather than chronologically, since the radiocarbon dates in each of these groups often overlap (Table 8.2). Given the evidence for a multifocal layout seen on other contemporary sites discussed in this study, this grouping is more realistic than those often proposed for early cemeteries, which usually involve a regular, radial

accumulation from the church outwards. These three clusters were bounded on the west by the kerbed road and on the east by the drystone revetments. Nine inhumations from these three groups were radiocarbon dated, providing a sequence of burial activity covering the second half of the first millennium AD (Table 8.2). However, it should be noted that at least two Group 3 burials may be as late as the 12th century, and indicate some continuity of burial location even after the construction of the first stone church.

Each group of burials was laid out differently. Groups 1 and 2 were laid out in neat, N-S rows without intercutting, and aligned roughly on the kerbed roadway; however, the Group 2 burials were placed markedly closer together, with adjacent cists often sharing side or end slabs. There is no visible dividing feature between Groups 1 and 2, but there is a small sterile area which hints at the presence of an ephemeral boundary. The row-grave layout employed here is reminiscent of contemporary long cist cemeteries in Fife and Lothian (6.4). In contrast, Group 3 burials were scattered across the centre of the platform, beneath what would later become the church, cloister and chapter house. What started as a managed burial ground later became sporadic burial in the general location of the cult focus. As we saw at Inchmarnock, burial focused on the church only very late in the sequence.

There is a small shift in orientation between the first two groups, with Group 1 graves aligned SW-NE and Group 2 aligned closer to W-E; this shift to a truer orientation was also seen at the Whithorn Fey Field (7.5) and Portmahomack (below, 8.3.1), and now appears to be a wider trend of the 7-9th centuries on all three sites. The construction of a new church is often the explanation sought for such shifts in orientation, but here as at the Fey Field, there is no evidence for a church focus and other explanations can be sought. One similarity with the shifts at Whithorn is that this change only seems to relate to a discrete burial cluster or burial episode rather than occurring across the entire site. Given the overlapping dates between Groups 2 and 3 on the May, it is clear that burial on both W-E and SW-NE orientations occurred contemporaneously in neighbouring burial grounds (Table 8.2). Perhaps then, there is no need to argue that burials were always oriented on a single location such as a church, but that these shifts had some other social significance. One might posit that the different burial grounds were allocated for different sectors of society, but to show this we must look at the demographics of the population.

8.2.2. Cemetery population

On the May, each burial group had a distinctive demographic profile (Battley *et al.* 2008). Group 1 consisted of 18 inhumations, and of the 14 which could be sexed, all were male.

Moreover, of these, six were mature adult males (45+) and only one was an adolescent. Mature adults are generally under-represented among contemporary field cemeteries, making this highly selective assemblage distinctive in a Scottish context (6.5.2). Group 2 burials, in contrast, consisted of a more mixed population: of 22 individuals, there were 19 adults and 3 adolescents, as well as a single infant among the disarticulated bone. Of the adults, 14 were males, but despite continuing male over-representation, this 7-9th century phase presents a markedly more inclusive demographic. Group 3, which is partly contemporary with Group 2, was once again dominated by male adults: of 20 individuals analysed, there were only two females, and no subadults. Because this group covers the widest date range (7-12th centuries), this selectivity is all the more significant.

Another important difference between the groups is in the health of the deceased. The sample size is very small, but there were a striking number of pathological conditions noticed among Group 2 burials, including several cases of severe infection, in some cases probably fatal (sk. 997), and rarer abnormalities such as acrocephalosyndactyly causing congenital skeletal deformities (sk. 971). There were also a large number of fractures and cut marks, including at least one fatal blade wound (sk. 959). The possibility that this burial ground also included soldiers, not often found in contemporary field cemeteries, is further supported by the two young adult males from Group 2 with evidence for repetitive stress to the right shoulder, which has been associated with the use of a longbow (Battley *et al.* 2008: 90-91). Group 2 also had a high proportion of degenerative diseases and metabolic disorders, such as rickets (sk. 1023) and related nutritional deficiencies (sk. 957). It is clear from this evidence that Group 2 was not an inclusive, 'normal' population, but made up of those needing special treatment and care. On this evidence, the excavators argue for the existence of a famous healing cult here and we should consider the possibility that this island site was the early medieval equivalent of later leper colonies, in that it cared for the socially outcast as well as the infirm (James and Yeoman 2008: 34-35, 177). A high rate of disease and trauma has also been noted at other ecclesiastical cemeteries (Bruce *et al.* 1997; Cardy 1997); one notable example is the 'children's burial ground' at Whithorn, dating to the 8-9th-century, and a good indicator of care for the most vulnerable at roughly the same time as on the May.

Considering the demographic profile of the separate burial groups, we can see a long-lived segregation by certain criteria. The male-dominated Groups 1 and 3 are in stark contrast to the more mixed but sicklier population of Group 2, and we can reasonably argue that 1 and 3 were the burial grounds used by the monastic brethren themselves. It will be worth asking, then, whether we can see any difference in the burial rites afforded to each group

(see below). The layout may be a clue: the positioning of Group 3 burials in the centre of the platform, to the east and south of the later church, indicates that among the brethren, there was a desire to be buried closer to the cult focus of the site, but only from the 7th century onwards.

Overall, the Isle of May is a male-dominated cemetery, with an overall male to female ratio of 4:1 (James and Yeoman 2008: 173); in fact, new osteological research by Marlo Willows (Edinburgh University; pers. comm.) suggests an even lower count of females than the published report. The selection of males has emerged as a distinct pattern of early-phase burials on presumed monastic sites in Scotland, with a similar situation seen at Portmahomack and Whithorn. A preponderance of mature adults is another important factor, as is the almost complete absence of children. The appearance of the injured and the sick, including many rare diseases and abnormalities, makes it likely that this was a place of healing (James and Yeoman 2008: 34-35). The occurrence of rare diseases only increases in the later medieval period, perhaps indicating that this reputation grew over time (Battley *et al.* 2008: 91). In contrast, the survival to old age by almost half of the excavated individuals in Group 1 is a good indication that this cemetery's 5-7th century origins were as a separate place of sepulture for a male-dominated group of elders, a group rarely attested in the contemporary field cemeteries. The mostly male Group 3 may well be the continuation of the monastic burial ground, but the appearance of a multiple grave with two females (431) and one possible prone burial (442) shows that the dominant social boundaries could occasionally be subverted.

8.2.3. Burial rites

All graves on the May are categorised into long cists, boulder cists, and dug graves, with long cists largely used in Group 1. But the most distinctive aspect of this site is the use of the cobble platform itself. Since the primary act of settlement on the May was revetment of the cobble beach, it is clear that the intention was to create what is essentially a massive platform cairn. While there is some evidence for revetment of raised beaches to create platforms in Scotland, this site is so far unique in its use for burial. Its closest comparison is Port an Fhir-bhreige, Iona ARG (Figure 8.7), a group of cairns on a raised cobble beach near a good landing place, but it is still unclear whether these are graves or later pilgrimage activity (James and Yeoman 2008: 173). Given the tight spacing of graves in Groups 1 and 2 – especially in Group 2 where the graves are so close that they share side and end slabs – it is unlikely that each grave had its own cairn on the May.

Figure 8.7: Cairns at Port an Fhir-Bhreige, Iona ARG. Is this what the Isle of May platform cairn originally looked like? Image Crown copyright © RCAHMS.

Group 1 cists were laid in close proximity but without intercutting, akin to other nearby long cist cemeteries like The Catstane MLO (Cowie 1978). However, a significant difference here is the common occurrence of disarticulated bone, sometime representing up to four separate individuals in a single grave. The admixture of bones is a well-known feature of long-lived church cemeteries, but the amounts of disarticulated and disturbed burials is rare for the 5-7th century in Scotland (6.4). A handful of cists contained spreads of white quartz pebbles in their fills; the use of quartz pebble markers for graves was attested in the Whithorn Glebe Field (P Hill 1997: 73, 143). However, quartz pebble layers seem to occur mainly in cists with multiple inhumations (James and Yeoman 2008: 16). Some of these inhumations were laid on layers of shell sand, which was widely available on the island; however, quartz pebbles would have had to be carefully gathered and brought to the grave from elsewhere (James and Yeoman 2008: 33). It seems that special treatment was required for these multiple graves, thus far unique to the May.

Despite their later date, Group 2 graves were quite similar to those in Group 1. Again, they were primarily in cists, in neat rows aligned on the kerbed road, although these had a truer W-E orientation than the earlier graves. However, the organisation is much denser here, with graves sharing end slabs, and with many instances of multiple burials. Almost all Group 2 graves have skeletal evidence for more than one individual, and again the use of quartz pebbles seems to be a feature of these multiple burials (James and Yeoman 2008: 20). The shift to a truer orientation and a denser layout is characteristic of the contemporary 'Northumbrian' phase at the Whithorn Fey Field (McComish and Petts 2008), and may thus have a chronological significance across Scotland. The density of the graves may be due in part to the opening up of the burial ground to a more mixed demographic (8.2.2). Whether the cramped layout was caused by anxiety over the

provision of space or the introduction of a non-monastic population, it is clear that a vast change in conceptions of the burial community has taken place between Groups 1 and 2.

Group 3 burials are different altogether. These are primarily uncisted graves but for the few early examples. Group 3 graves were scattered across the centre of the platform rather than in neat rows. There is very little evidence of intercutting and multiple graves, and markedly less use of white quartz pebbles (James and Yeoman 2008: 21). The move to this part of the site, underneath the later stone church, may be a conscious move toward a cult focus, whatever form this may have taken. The presence of a kerbed road leading to this general area, and the occurrence of imported material of 10th century date beneath the church may point to this part of the site being a central place even before our first recognisable church structure. If we are correct in assuming Groups 1 and 3 were monastic burials, we may propose a sequence by which the earlier monastic burial zone was now handed over to the population of the infirm, while the monks would now be buried nearer to the centre of the site. It may then be significant that Group 3 retained Group 1's preference for SW-NE orientation down to the 12th century, even after the switch to W-E orientation in Group 2.

8.2.4. Discussion: Christianity in the southeast

Only very few ecclesiastical sites in the southeast of Scotland have seen large-scale excavation to date, and of these, even fewer have radiocarbon-dated burials (Figure 8.9). Recent additions to this assemblage are the early dates obtained from beneath the later medieval churches of Ballumbie ANG (Derek Hall pers comm.), and St Nicholas Farm, St Andrews FIF (DES 1999), which are included here for context.

When compared to the abundance of evidence for burial in the 5-7th centuries in this region (6.1), the relative lateness of the ecclesiastical burials becomes apparent. With the exception of the May and perhaps St Nicholas Farm, it seems that burial on church sites is a product of the 7th century and after. Even recent excavations of church sites in the Borders, where there is evidence of a Christian presence since the 5th century in the Latin-inscribed stones (Forsyth 2005), excavations at Coldingham Priory BWK (Stronach 2005) and The Hirsel BWK (Cramp 1985) have only turned up hints of early medieval occupation. Besides the Isle of May, the most comprehensive excavation of an early medieval monastery in this region is at Auldhame ELO, which has yet to be published fully (Hindmarch and Melikian 2006). This site has turned up a crucial sequence of burial around a 10th-century chapel, but because the excavation was left incomplete, both the enclosure ditch and the burials currently date back no further than the 7th century (Erlend

Hindmarch, pers. comm.). Similarly, the enclosure walls and ditches recently encountered at Abernethy PER (Fyles 2008) and Dunning PER (Cook 2008) date back no further than the 8th century. What is emerging from this region is a fully-developed monastic church structure being developed from the 7th century onwards, possibly due to ongoing Pictish and Northumbrian church reforms (Blair 2005; Clancy 2004; JE Fraser 2008; Lowe 1999).
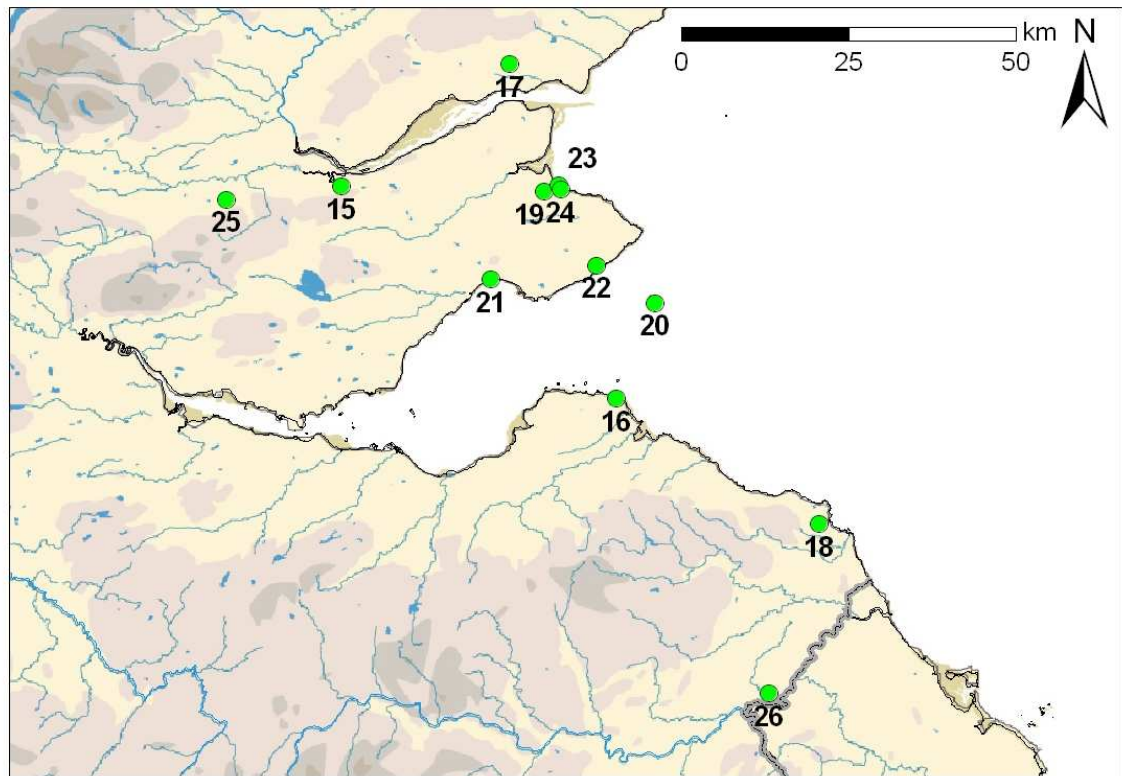
Figure 8.8: Sites discussed in the southeast.

15 Abernethy; 16 Auldhame; 17 Ballumbie; 18 Coldingham Priory; 19 Hallow Hill; 20 Isle of May; 21 Lundin Links; 22 Skeith Stone, Kilrenny; 23 St Andrews Kirkhill; 24 St Nicholas Farm, St Andrews; 25 St Serf's, Dunning; 26 The Hirsel.

In order to trace the impact of Christianity before this reform period, we will have to look beyond the ecclesiastical sites. The excavation of this early island monastery in Fife introduces a very different image of early Christianity than that seen at Whithorn and Inchmarnock. Indeed, in its use of multiple graves and a possible platform cairn, it has more in common with the 'Pictish' cairn cemetery of Lundin Links, a short journey by sea on the south coast of Fife (Greig 2000). The radiocarbon dates from that site correspond quite neatly with the Group 1 dates on the May, and the two sites have been compared elsewhere (Maldonado 2011). Beyond their general contemporaneity, their similarities can be summarised briefly. Both sites utilize long cists, sometimes reopened for multiple interments; while at Lundin Links these were covered with kerbed cairns, the May platform can also be compared to a large kerbed cairn, clearly visible to sea travellers. On both sites we find layers of sand and seashells used to line individual graves, linking the dead with

the sea (Greig 2000: 595). This association is not surprising, since both sites are coastal and sited adjacent to good landing places; it may be significant in terms of a long-lived association of death with a sea-journey in Scotland (Pollard 1999). In this respect, it is surely significant that the May would in later centuries be the end-point of a pilgrimage involving a sea journey, and for the 'lay' population of Group 2, the importance of the journey to their final resting place was surely not lost on the mourners (Yeoman 1998).

In terms of cemetery layout, both sites show evidence for clustering (for Lundin Links, see above, 6.4.3), and within these clusters, there is evidence for segregation by sex: the May includes all-male clusters, while the Horned Cairn Complex at Lundin Links was exclusively used for females (Smart and Campbell-Wilson 2000). Finally, the sites are linked by their association with the Pictish saint Ethernan: the church on the May was dedicated to him, while an ogham inscription bearing his name appears on the symbol stone at Scoonie (RCAHMS 2008), 3km down the Largo Bay coast from Lundin Links. Since Ethernan probably died in the late 7th century (Yeoman 1998), we cannot know how much earlier than this we can project the link between the May and the Largo Bay area, but the place-name evidence seems to suggest a strong connection between the saint of the May and southeast Fife from early on (Taylor and Márkus 2009).

In the 5-7th centuries, then, both these cemeteries would have looked very similar indeed. Both were part of the explosion of cemeteries starting in the 5th century seen elsewhere in Scotland (Chapter 6). On both sites, what may have begun as individual graves in monumental settings soon became a series of linked monuments creating and reaffirming some form of group identity. On the May, the revetment of the pebble beach to form a massive platform cairn was seemingly the initial act of occupation; at Lundin Links, the conjoined cairn complexes form distinctive clusters of graves. Indeed, the central element of the Horned Cairn Complex is itself a multiple grave, containing five females in separate long cists laid in a sand layer within a circular kerb, possibly an unfinished cairn. The use of communal monuments may indicate that the creation of collective identity through cemeteries was perhaps more important than the commemoration of individuals on these two sites. Furthermore, both sites show some willingness for the living to revisit old graves and add to them, particularly on the May, where the large assemblage of disarticulated bone is unlike any from contemporary field cemeteries. Along with the frequently intercutting and overlapping graves seen at Whithorn and Inchmarnock, frequent reuse of graves is now recognisable as a characteristic of early church sites.
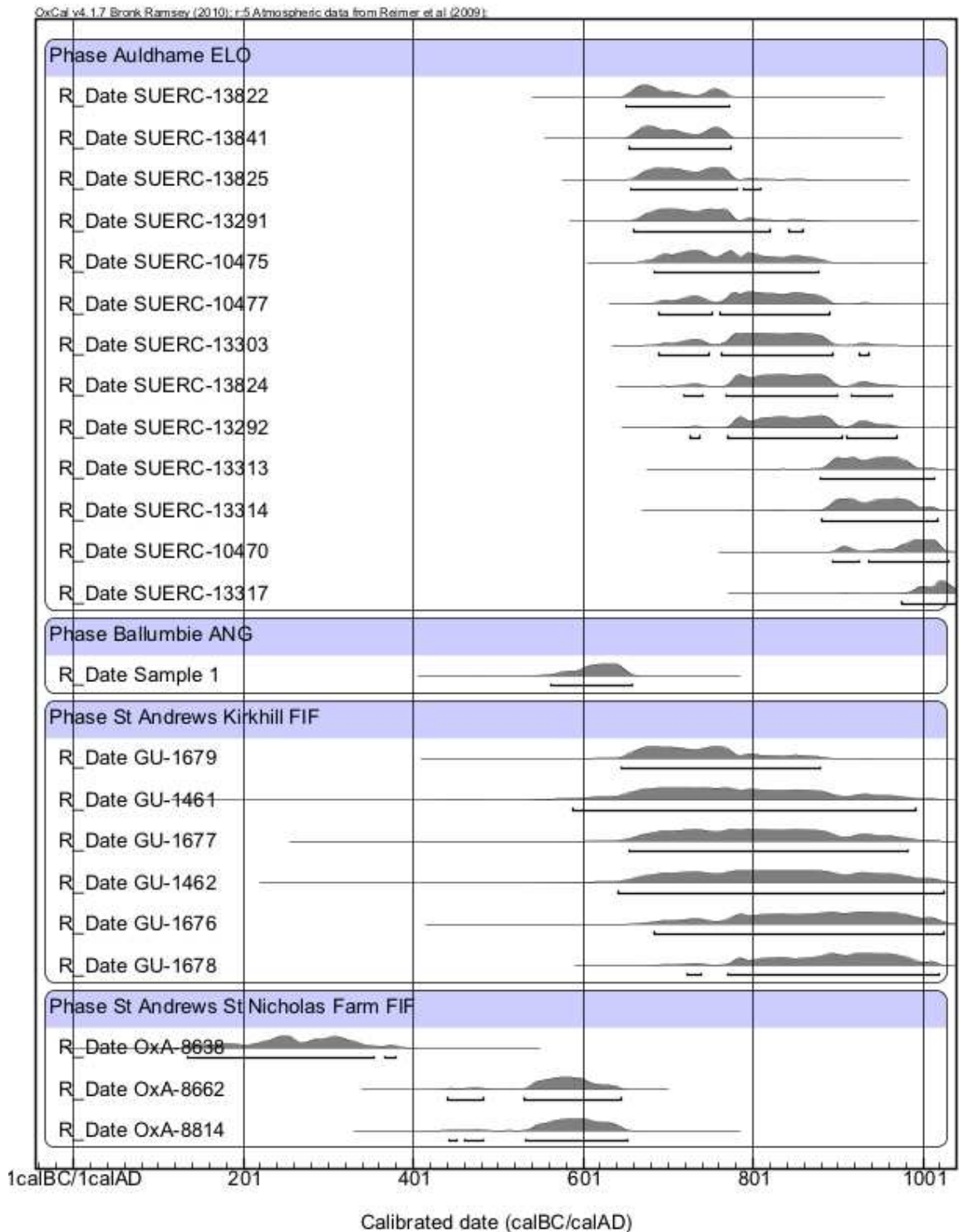
Figure 8.9: All radiocarbon-dated burials from ecclesiastical sites in southeast Scotland; for Isle of May, see Table 8.2.

The major difference between the two sites is in their demographic profile: the predominantly female Lundin Links cairns contain mainly young adults and no subadults, whereas the male-dominated May cemetery has many older adults and a few subadults. Another difference is that, like other field cemeteries in Fife including Hallow Hill (Proudfoot 1996), Lundin Links seems to go out of use (although not all burials were dated) after the 7th century, with local monumental expenditure now shifting to the nearby sculptured stones at Scoonie and Upper Largo (RCAHMS 2008). On the May, burial

carried on through to the later medieval period. This also seems to be the case at the early cemetery at St Andrews Kirkhill FIF, certainly a church site since the 8th century if not earlier (Anderson 1976; Wordsworth and Clark 1997). But one thing to notice about the cemetery at the May is that, while burial did continue here beyond the 7th century, it did not do so in the same space. Unlike at Whithorn and Kirkhill, the Group 1 cluster of all-male graves on the May is not reused for later burials. In fact, this part of the site actually goes out of use after the 7th century, replaced by at least two burial clusters further south: Group 2, used for the wounded and infirm, and Group 3, presumably for the monastic brethren. In this sense, the site is comparable to Inchmarnock, where the Period 1 burials are not overlain by future burials: on both sites, the focus for burial shifts toward the church.

Lab Code	C14 2σ	Context	Sex	Age	Grave type	Orientation
SUERC-13822	651-773	321	F	middle adult	Dug grave	NW-SE
SUERC-13841	655-775	755	M	mature adult	Dug grave	W-E
SUERC-13825	656-810	394	F	middle adult	Dug grave	NW-SE
SUERC-13291	660-860	455	?	young adult	Dug grave	W-E
SUERC-10475	684-878	289	F	middle adult	Dug grave	NW-SE
SUERC-10477	689-891	641	?	adult	Dug grave	W-E
SUERC-13303	691-937	843	F	mature adult	Dug grave	W-E
SUERC-13824	720-965	352	F	young adult	Dug grave	NW-SE
SUERC-13292	727-970	752	F	young adult	Dug grave	W-E
SUERC-13313	880-1014	104	?	adult	Dug grave	SW-NE
SUERC-13314	881-1019	122	M	young adult	Dug grave	W-E
SUERC-10470	895-1030	219	F	young adult	Dug grave	W-E
SUERC-13317	975-1155	626	M	mature adult	Dug grave	SW-NE
Sample 1	563-658	747	?	?	Long cist	W-E
GU-1679	646-880	SK105	F	adult	Head box	W-E
GU-1461	588-993	SK326	F	adult	Dug grave	W-E
GU-1677	655-984	SK143	F	adult	Dug grave	W-E
GU-1462	642-1026	SK306	?	?	Dug grave	W-E
GU-1676	684-1025	SK300	F	mature adult	Long cist	W-E
GU-1678	723-1020	SK226	F	adult	Dug grave	W-E
OxA-8638	134-380	n/a	?	?	Unstrat bone	n/a
OxA-8662	441-646	n/a	?	adult	Unstrat bone	n/a
OxA-8814	443-654	n/a	?	?	Unstrat bone	n/a

Table 8.3: All radiocarbon-dated burials from ecclesiastical sites in southeast Scotland; for Isle of May, see Table 8.2.

However, the use of separate burial grounds rather than a single burial place on the May is also similar to the situation at Whithorn, as with the early ecclesiastical site at St Andrews, where early burials have been reported not just on the Kirkhill, but also at nearby St Nicholas Farm (DES 1999); St Leonard's School (Fleming 1931); St Rule's church (Foster 1998); and the supposed site of a lost chapel dedicated to St Peter near the medieval cathedral (Yeoman 2009: 234-235). The burial ground at St Nicholas Farm is particularly intriguing, as radiocarbon dates obtained from disarticulated bone were as early as the 3-4th centuries AD (Figure 8.9; Table 8.3). Here, as we will see at Portmahomack (below), it is clear that ecclesiastical settlements had to map onto existing landscapes of burial.

Multifocal sites like these are indeed better perceived as Christian landscapes rather than individual sites, as has been noted on many other early medieval monastic settlements (Cramp 1993; Ó Carragáin 2009c; Stronach 2005; Turner 2006). As Blair succinctly put it, "some minster enclosures were merely the nuclei of diffuse constellations" which could extend far beyond the vallum (1992: 257). It is important to note that such 'constellations' did not arrive fully formed, but accrued organically over time during repeated ritual activity (Hall and Whyman 1996; Ó Carragáin 2003b; Ó Carragáin 2009c). Within the early phases of this process, a 'shift' to burial nearer to a church can be more reasonably be explained as the cyclical use and abandonment of a certain burial ground or burial cluster (Boddington 1990; Buckberry 2007; Daniels 1999).

Another similarity the May shares with other ecclesiastical sites in Scotland is the association of burials with evidence for settlement. However, unlike the primary burials at Inchmarnock, Whithorn, and Kirkhill, the Group 1 graves at here are not preceded by domestic or industrial activity, but are kept separate. In this, the early burials at the May are more akin to a monumental cemetery like Lundin Links than other ecclesiastical sites, and this may cast doubt on the role of the first burials made on the island. The overall lack of carved or inscribed stones also sets this particular burial ground apart from other ecclesiastical sites studied thus far, although this may be due to a lack of suitable stone. In contrast, the Group 2 and 3 burials were certainly associated with industrial and domestic activity, and are overlain by a charcoal layer indicative of ephemeral structures nearby. If burial amongst the living was not a primary feature of the cemetery on the May, it certainly was in later centuries.

But the first burials on the May were not the earliest evidence for settlement there: the excavators conclude that the kerbed roadway and drystone revetment of the cobble platform cairn are the primary features of the site. Evidence for a planned settlement and management of space is more in line with ecclesiastical sites elsewhere (P Hill 1997; Lowe 2008; Ó Carragáin 2010; Sheehan 2009). The Isle of May cemetery thus emerges as somewhere between an ecclesiastical site and a monumental field cemetery in the 5-7th century. However, it is worth remembering that this is only the island side of a larger monastery. The evidence for a corresponding monastic site on the mainland, at Kilrenny near Anstruther FIF, which is still the site of the modern ferry to the May, has been discussed elsewhere (Trench-Jellicoe 1998). The occurrence of a *kil-* place-name alongside early Christian sculpture and traces of a curvilinear enclosure suggests that the monumental expenditure usually associated with an early medieval monastery, including a large *vallum* marked at nodal points with sculptured stones, was concentrated at Kilrenny instead. The

association of large monastic settlements with smaller island offshoots used as hermitages has long been noted elsewhere in western Britain and Ireland (Edwards 2009b; Fisher 1996; Horn 1990; Macquarrie 1992), and it seems this is what we are dealing with here, rather than a self-sustaining island monastery like Iona.

Rather than see this island settlement as the head of a monastic *familia*, we would be closer to the mark in suggesting it was one of many important nodes in the distinctive early Christian landscape of eastern Fife (Gondek 2006; Taylor 1996; Taylor 1999; Trench-Jellicoe 1998; Yeoman 1999). In this, it is similar to Inchmarnock, itself a subsidiary to the mother church of Kingarth (see above), but fulfilling a different role: where Inchmarnock was a centre of monastic training and production, the May was a place of refuge and healing. Both sites eventually grew into important pilgrimage centres in their own right, obtaining well-built bicameral mortared stone churches in the 10th or 11th century. Before this, however, they fit into a poorly-understood category of Christian settlement in Scotland, hierarchically subsidiary but increasingly important focal points of local veneration, and we are fortunate to have well-excavated and promptly published accounts of their use over the long-term. It is crucial that we do not back-date their later function and importance into the period of their foundation as simple cemeteries and craftworking sites.

What is emerging through the study of these cemeteries is the way that eremitic missionaries were not the only driving force for the emergence of Christian burial practice in Scotland. Our models of neatly hierarchical monasteries, mother churches, daughter houses and hermitages do not always fit the evidence closely, and we should allow for a more organic formation of these sites over time, which were only later rationalized into a hierarchical church structure. The role of burial in creating these landscapes and the way these were remembered and referenced as part of their continuing spiritual function makes ecclesiastical sites different from the field cemeteries of the Late Iron Age. What is missing from the eastern sites is clear evidence of how these sites were conceptualised before their use for burial. The presence of Middle Iron Age burial at St Andrews Kirkhill, St Nicholas Farm and possibly Hallow Hill hints at some reoccupation of existing ritual landscapes. To find clearer evidence of the Iron Age predecesessors to these sites, we must head north.

8.3. Portmahomack

The excavation at Portmahomack ROS is critical for our understanding of how Christianity came to Scotland. Because the site was largely undocumented, its potentially early origins were only hinted at by the occasional finds of early sculpture in the vicinity (Allen and

Anderson 1903). One fragment in particular excited considerable interest: the piece of a high cross bearing a relief inscription in Latin display lettering, similar to the finest illuminated manuscripts of the time, dated to the late 8th century (Higgitt 1982). Since its discovery in the 19th century, it formed part of the push and pull of the debate over the extent of Irish and Northumbrian 'influence' on the church in Scotland.
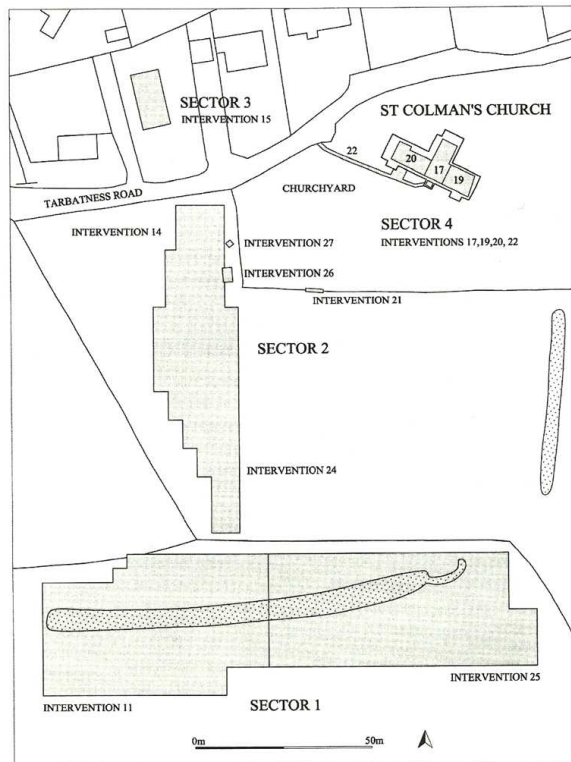
Figure 8.10: Location of trenches at Portmahomack (Carver 2008; image courtesy M Carver and University of York).

In 1991, a curvilinear feature to the south of the church spotted in aerial photography was excavated and found to be a large ditch, perhaps a monastic *vallum*, although it returned Middle Iron Age radiocarbon dates (Harden 1995). This paved the way for a large-scale excavation of the church and fields to the south, which took place from 1996-2004 (Carver 2008). As part of the project, St Colman's Church has been refashioned into the Tarbat Discovery Centre, which is now known to stand on a series of nine churches, possibly dating as far back as the 8th century (ibid.: 49). The associated sequence of radiocarbon-dated burials takes us back further still to the 6th century (*ibid*.: 207-209). Crucially, an extensive industrial and craftworking zone was also uncovered south of the churchyard which allows us to contextualize these burials in unprecedented detail. The full results of this work have not been published yet, and so the following discussion can only be considered preliminary, but there is already enough evidence available to initiate some reinterpretation of its regional context in northern Scotland.

8.3.1. Use of space

The excavations at Portmahomack took place in three main areas (Figure 8.10): the interior of St Colman's Church (Sector 4), a large trench in the south field incorporating the cropmark of the enclosure ditch (Sector 1), and a narrow trench in the Glebe Field between these two areas (Sector 2). Beyond a narrow service trench (int. 22), no archaeological investigation of the churchyard was possible. As at Inchmarnock, the project also included archaeological survey elsewhere on the Tarbat peninsula.

Unsurprisingly, the majority of burials were found beneath the church, but three graves were also encountered at the north edge of Sector 2 (Figure 8.11). Human remains have also been found at the fringes of the modern village, including antiquarian notices of bones at Chapel Hill to the northwest, and three cists found during drainage works in 1977 at Balnabruach, near the shoreline west of the church (Carver 2008: 80-81). Interestingly, the cists at Balnabruach were radiocarbon dated to the Middle Iron Age (Table 8.4).
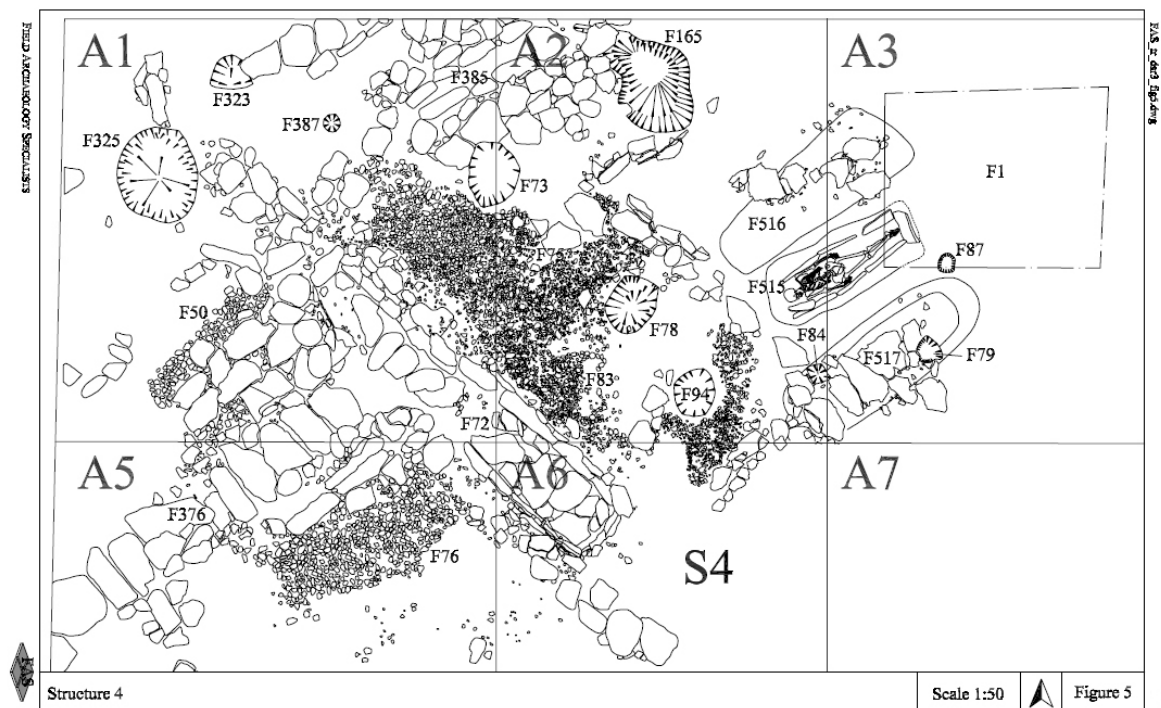
Figure 8.11: Burials adjacent to the workshop in Sector 2 (Carver 2006). The central inhumation (F515/Cist 186) was radiocarbon dated to cal AD 430-610 (GU-14997). Image courtesy M Carver and FAS-Heritage.

Because the churchyard could not be excavated, we cannot know whether the graves near the Sector 2 workshops were part of the same cemetery as the ones beneath St Colman's; at least one of these graves is exactly contemporary with the earliest burials in the church, roughly the 5-6th centuries (Table 8.4). However, despite their proximity, the relationship between the workshops and the associated burials remains unclear. These three graves were on the same axis as the adjacent Structure 4, but the excavators dated this leather-

workshop to the 7th or 8th century based on radiocarbon dates from related contexts (Carver 2008: 208). Indeed, radiocarbon dates of both human bones and organic material suggest the most intensive settlement of the site was the period from the late 7th to late 8th century. Only a timber-lined gully beneath the church, containing charred grain dated cal AD 540-650, can be considered contemporary with the earliest burials; otherwise the earliest features seem to be scattered pits containing slag and worked animal bone (ibid.: 76-77). Much like the Isle of May, the first phase of occupation here consisted of a few burials and ephemeral settlement evidence. If the leather workshop postdates the cluster of three burials, it is still worth noting the use of space this implies, with only a small kerb of stones separating it from the existing burial ground. Similarly, corn-drying kilns overlay the earliest graves at Whithorn's Fey Field, indicating a more permeable boundary between spaces of the living and the dead on early monastic sites (Cherryson 2007; McComish and Petts 2008: 6.3.3).

The outer enclosure ditch excavated in Sector 1 may also be a primary feature of the site. When it was first trial-trenched, it was found to have been re-cut several times, yet basal peat deposits returned very early radiocarbon dates, spanning the 2nd to 6th centuries (Harden 1995). However, it would be unwise to lean too heavily on dates from organic material from a heavily disturbed feature. Later excavation found that certain parts of the ditch were lined with wattles, some of which were radiocarbon dated to the 7-8th century. Later excavations in Sector 1 also found that there was an earlier, smaller inner enclosure ditch preceding the outer one; this was not dated but it cut a series of ard-marks, and was certainly infilled by the time a glass workshop was established over it in the 7-8th century.

If the date of the successive enclosure ditches is still debatable, the combined stratigraphic and radiometric evidence certainly suggests very early agricultural activity in Sector 1. The discovery of a saddle quern reused as building stone in the churchyard wall suggests an Iron Age occupation of the site, as does the 'roundhouse' found beyond the enclosure ditch in Sector 1 (Carver 2008: 73-76). The existence of ard marks cut by the inner enclosure ditch and many stray plough pebbles across the site also hint at early agricultural activity. These features strongly echo the earliest evidence for occupation at Whithorn (P Hill 1997: 74), though these remain undated and could just as easily represent Iron Age occupation as the earliest monastic settlement. Still, the structural evidence from Whithorn and the Middle Iron Age long cists at Balnabruach strongly indicate pre-monastic settlement at both sites. Similarly, a sherd of Roman pottery and early radiocarbon dates from the outer vallum ditch at Iona also suggest some form of pre-monastic settlement there (McCormick 1993; Reece 1981). The origins of Portmahomack, like those of Iona, Whithorn and St

Andrews, may thus belong in the early centuries AD, which begs the question of what the nature of these sites was before their transformation into monasteries.
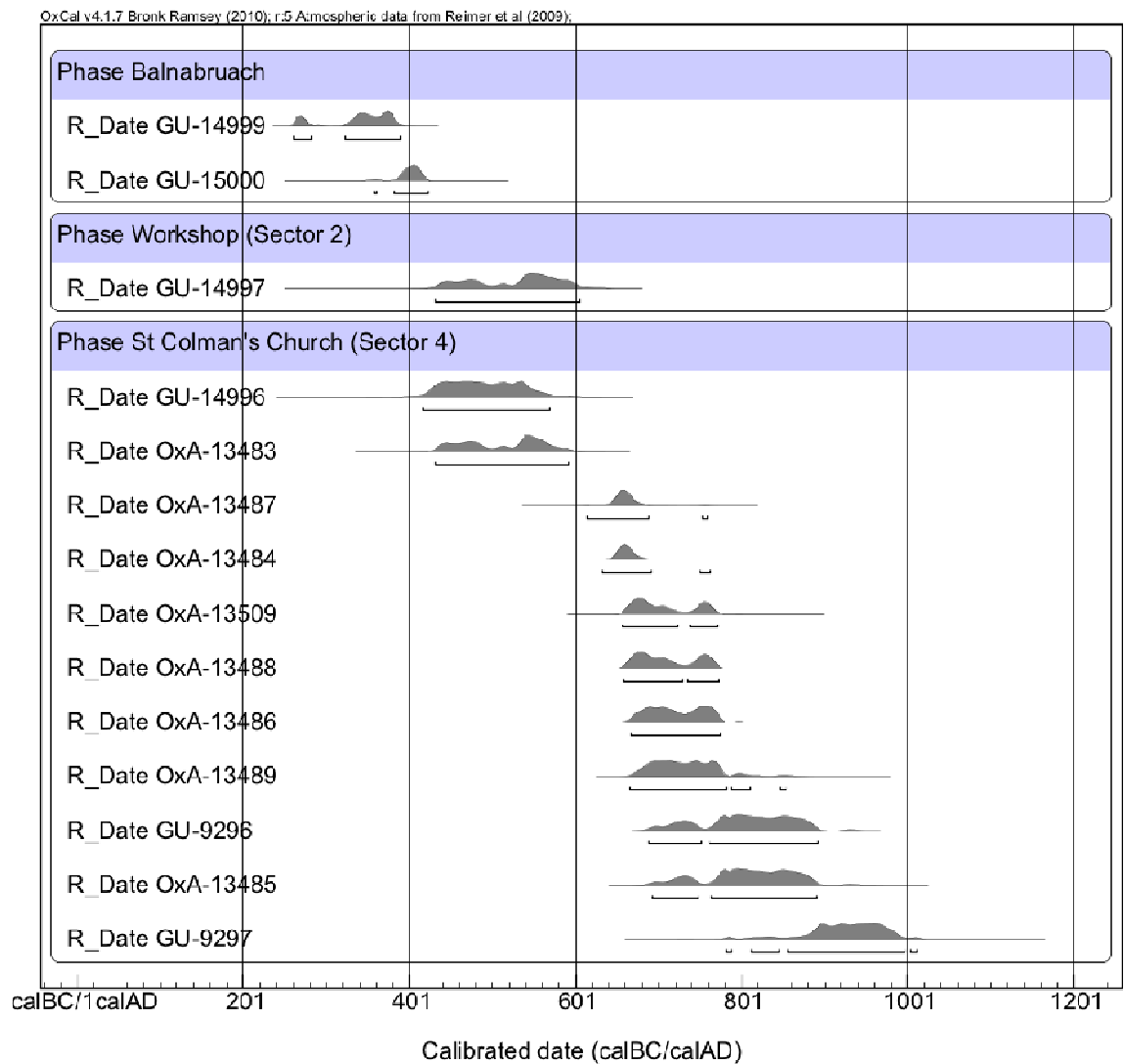
Site name	Context	Lab Code	C14 at 2σ	Sex	Orientation	Grave type
Balnabruach	Burial B	GU-14999	261-390	F	S-N	Long cist
Balnabruach	Burial C	GU-15000	358-424	M	W-E	Long cist
Portmahomack	Cist 162	GU-14996	417-570	M	W-E	Long cist
Portmahomack	Cist 186/F515	GU-14997	431-606	M	SW-NE	Long cist
Portmahomack	Cist 172	GU-9699	430-650	F	SW-NE	Long cist
Portmahomack	Burial 128	OxA-13487	614-759	M	W-E	Head box
Portmahomack	Burial 163	OxA-13484	633-763	M	W-E	Dug grave
Portmahomack	Burial 165	OxA-13509	657-771	?	W-E	Dug grave
Portmahomack	Burial 144	OxA-13488	659-772	M	W-E	Dug grave
Portmahomack	Burial 116	OxA-13489	666-854	M	W-E	Head box
Portmahomack	Burial 160	OxA-13486	667-776	M	W-E	Dug grave
Portmahomack	Burial 158/F138	GU-9296	689-891	M	W-E	Dug grave
Portmahomack	Burial 147	OxA-13485	693-890	M	SW-NE	Dug grave
Portmahomack	Burial 152/F132	GU-9297	782-1013	M	W-E	Head box

Table 8.4: Radiocarbon dates from Portmahomack and Balnabruach (after Carver 2008).

Unlike at Whithorn, most of the burials were indeed beneath or aligned on the earliest church. These largely occurred in the 7-9th centuries, but it is clear that burial in this

location began in the 5-6th century, precisely when the long cist cemeteries were emerging across Scotland (6.2). In landscape setting, a prominence overlooking a harbour, they recall the early cemeteries of the Isle of May, Inchmarnock and Kirkhill, but also monumental cemeteries like Redcastle and Lundin Links. What sets the church cemeteries apart is the adjacent evidence for settlement or industrial activity. This disconnect between the diagnostically Christian use of the site, in the form of large vallum ditches, early sculpture and related craftworking activity, and the primary settlement of the site, consisting of a few burials and poorly-defined settlement traces, is one that we have seen on other church sites, and will be discussed further below.

8.3.2. Cemetery population

Like the Isle of May, it is clear that the early medieval burials at Portmahomack were those of a monastic community, given the unusual preponderance of middle-age and mature adult males, while the later medieval burials were those of a parish church including a more 'normal' distribution of age and gender. The early burials can be subdivided into two phases, easily visualised in the distribution of radiocarbon dates (Table 8.4): Phase 1 consists of the sporadic burials of the 5-6th centuries, while Phase 2 includes the majority of burials, mainly of the 7-9th centuries (Carver 2004: 11-14). This corresponds with the broad periodisation of burials at Whithorn and the Isle of May, and corroborates the distinction between Late Iron Age and early medieval periods proposed at the start of this work (1.2.1).

The available skeletal report (summarised in Carver 2004; 2008) only differentiates early from later medieval burials, so a fine-grained analysis of burial clusters must await full publication. However, it should be noted that although adult males dominate the assemblage, women and children were not entirely absent, and females appear among the very earliest graves in Phase 1. Since the Balnabruach cists included a middle adult female and a young adult male, the likelihood is that burial was not segregated until the 7th century (Table 8.4). Also intriguing is the complete absence of infants, but again, burials beneath the church may represent only one specialised subset of the population.

In terms of health, the high occurrence of back injuries and repetitive "battering" of the left clavicle and right fibula suggests these individuals undertook repetitive, arduous labour, possibly related to the use of large stones for building and carving on site (Carver 2008: 76-80). Another interesting feature of this assemblage is the appearance of blade wounds. The two from the monastic burial phases were both from adult males: the individual in dug

grave 158 (GU-9296) survived the blade wound, while the one in head box grave 152 (GU-9297) died of a particularly vicious attack. Notably, these are among the latest monastic burials on site, and both dates would be consistent both with the period of Viking attacks on monasteries in the north of Scotland (Dumville 1997), as well as the widespread burning found across the site, dated cal AD 780-830 (Carver 2008: 209). A Viking silver hoard found outside the churchyard in the 19th century shows that Portmahomack was certainly part of the wider Scandinavian maritime trade network of the 10-11th centuries (Graham-Campbell 1995), and it is possible that the apparent hiatus in burial between the 10-12th centuries was part of the reorganisation of the site in this period (Carver 2008).

Violent trauma is rare among contemporary burials in Scotland (6.5.3), so the appearance of two instances here is of interest. Even the monastic burial ground at the Isle of May, with its abundant evidence for chronic disease and malformation among Group 2 burials, does not include many certain instances of mortal blade wounds until the later medieval period (Battley *et al.* 2008), and the excavators are sceptical of any connection of these with Viking raids (James and Yeoman 2008: 176). Rather, we should see the inclusion of such instances of 'bad deaths', generally marginalised in field cemeteries due to fear of revenants or death pollution (Reynolds 2009; Williams 2006: 99-100), as evidence of attitudes to churchyard burial becoming more inclusive as the doctrines of purgatory and constant penance steadily took hold among the general population, leading to a desire to be buried in churchyards (Effros 1997).

8.3.3. Burial rites

Only some general points on burial rites can be presented here, as the sample sizes are small and only published in fragments, but the opportunity to track changes from the Iron Age to the Viking Age cannot be missed. The earliest inhumation in the area is a crouched young adult male in a short cist from Balnabruach, dated to 410-200 BC (Burial A, GU-14998). Near this early grave were two further burials, both fully extended, within long cists, and dated to the early centuries AD (Carver 2008: 81, 207). One of these was oriented west-east, the other south-north, and both also included disarticulated fragments of other individuals, indicating long-lived burial activity in this location. Extended inhumations within cists from roughly the same time period have been found elsewhere in the Atlantic coastal zone in Scotland, usually close to Iron Age settlements (above, 4.1). The proximity to Portmahomack is more evidence that the unfurnished, extended long cist inhumation is indeed an indigenous development rather than an innovation of missionary Christianity (4.1.2).

Returning to early medieval Portmahomack, some general trends differentiate the Phase 1 and 2 burials. Long cists are primarily a feature of Phase 1, while Phase 2 graves are mostly in dug graves or head box graves (Table 8.4). However, there are cists in Phase 2 and dug graves in Phase 1 as well. For instance, within the cluster of graves near the workshop, two were in long cists, while one was in a dug grave marked at ground level with a low earth mound capped with stones (Carver 2006: 15-19). Even though we have seen at Inchmarnock and the May that long cists are generally the earliest grave types on early church sites, they remained in use through the end of the millennium. Orientation is also not a reliable chronological marker: many of the earliest graves were oriented SW-NE, but again, both northeast and east-facing graves can be found in Phases 1 and 2.

The only grave type that acts as a clear chronological marker is the head box grave: inhumations with upright stone settings placed about the head, either in 'boxes' or in a simpler 'ear-muff' setting (5.1.4). Head box graves are consistently dated to the later part of the millennium and are largely found on church sites, making them a potentially diagnostic 'Christian' rite. At Portmahomack, three examples have been radiocarbon dated to Phase 2 (Table 8.4). An interesting connection with Portmahomack and this burial rite comes from the nearby 11-12th century enclosed cemetery of Balblair, Newhall Point ROS on the Black Isle (Reed 1995). Of 58 excavated graves, 21 had head boxes, indicating that by the end of the millennium, this rite had spread to the small secular burial grounds that presumably sprang up in the aftermath of the break-up of monastic estates like Portmahomack after the 9th century (Carver 2008).

8.3.4. Discussion: burial and Christianity in the Atlantic zone

Portmahomack is the first 'Pictish' mother church to receive a large-scale excavation, and there is much that is unique to this site thus far. It is interesting to see how interpretations of it evolved over the years of the project. Initial discussions rather relegated its importance to that of a subsidiary of the major monastic centre of Iona ARG (Carver 2004), demonstrating the Iona-centric missionary model which was still influential within the last decade (2.1). Happily, the singular importance of the finds have recently been emphasised, and the site is now a part of a general reawakening of scholars to the potential of the Pictish contribution to the progress of early Christianity through Europe (Carver 2009; Driscoll *et al.* 2010; Forsyth 2008; Meyer 2010; Spall 2009). Iona still looms large in this discussion, however, due largely to the expectation that Christianity can only have arrived this far north through the work of Irish missionaries. Despite the undoubted importance of Iona in this process, its archaeological potential has largely been wasted through decades of

keyhole interventions (O'Sullivan 1999), and its value as a point of comparison for early church sites is much less than is often presumed. Keyhole excavations are particularly unhelpful for finding and understanding burial activity, and thus Iona can unfortunately be discussed only briefly in the space available here. In fact, thanks to recent discoveries at Portmahomack and elsewhere in the Atlantic zone, we can now begin to understand the archaeology of Iona better by putting it in its regional context.

On Iona itself, there is sufficient evidence for early medieval activity, as summarised most recently by O'Sullivan (1999). The complex enclosure ditch system may predate the monastery, as some parts were dated to the early centuries AD (Barber 1981). In terms of burial though, excavations have uncovered only scattered early graves and only two possibly early chapels. The small square chapel known as St Columba's Shrine was found to predate the medieval abbey which now incorporates it, and may be as early as the 9th century (Ó Carragáin 2010: 69-70; Redknap 1977). An early cemetery of oriented dug graves was found to underlie St Ronan's Church, predating a clay-bonded masonry church dated roughly to the 10-11th century (O'Sullivan 1994). More oriented inhumations, some in long cists, were reported from beneath the floor of the medieval abbey during restoration in the early 20th century (Chalmers 1923: 114; RCAHMS 1982). Two stray burials (an oriented dug grave and a north-south long cist) were found south of the 'Old Guest House', west of the medieval cloister, associated with early medieval post-built timber buildings, but without any surviving bone or other dating evidence (Reece 1981: 29-31). Finally, a natural sand mound on the coast near the modern harbour at Martyr's Bay locally known as *An Eala*, incorporating the Gaelic word for coffin, was found to cover a dense group of female adult burials in long cists; when two of these were radiocarbon dated, one returned late medieval dates, while the other centred on the 7-8th century AD (Reece 1981: 63-66, 106). The overall picture which emerges from Iona is of a multifocal burial landscape, much like the large monasteries discussed previously. However, not all of these burials are in the satellite *cladh* cemeteries and chapels which surround the abbey, and can be found in a variety of contexts, whether wedged in between the rocks at Martyr's Bay, or associated with domestic activity at the Old Guest House. These latter graves are reminiscent of graves near workshops at Inchmarnock and Portmahomack, and should by now be recognisable as a peculiar feature of burial in Scottish early Christian sites (see above, 7.5.1; 7.4; 8.1.1).
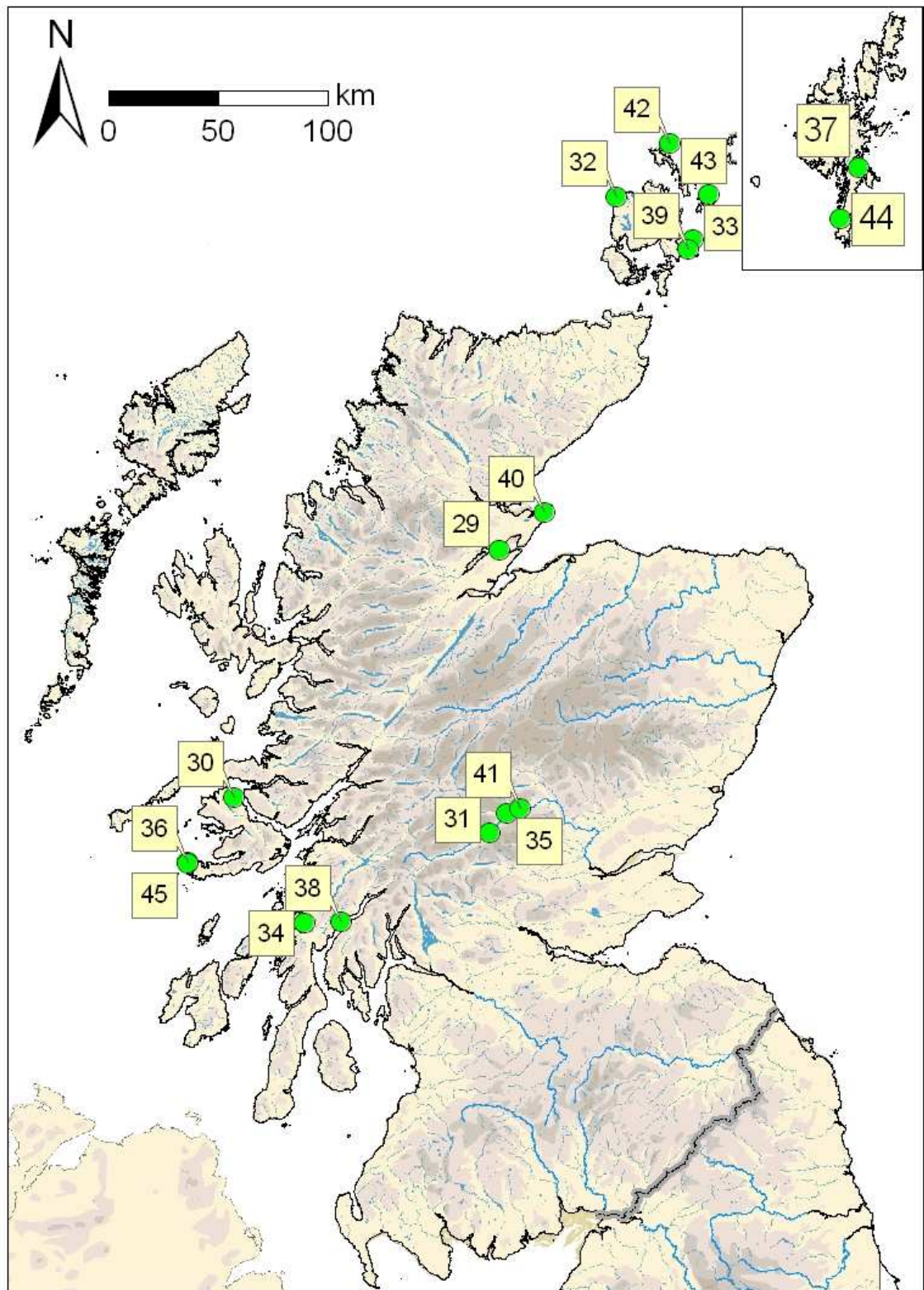
Figure 8.12: Sites discussed in the Atlantic zone.

29: Balblair, Newhall Point; 30 Baliscate, Mull; 31 Balnahanaid; 32 Brough of Birsay; 33 Brough of Deerness; 34 Bruach an Drumein, Poltalloch; 35 Fortingall; 36 Iona; 37 Kebister; 38 Killevin; 39 Newark Bay, Deerness; 40 Portmahomack; 41 St Adamnan's, Dull; 42 St Boniface, Papa Westray; 43 St Nicholas, Papa Stronsay; 44 St Ninian's Isle; 45 St Ronan's Church, Iona.

Despite the limited archaeological data obtained from Iona, its influence over the rest of Atlantic Scotland should not be understated. Recent work in toponymics has confirmed an

8th-century stratum of place-names and dedications deriving from connections to Iona, particularly in the Great Glen and Highland Perthshire (Taylor 1999; Taylor 2000); Portmahomack itself is one such site (Higgitt 1982). But a great deal of new work has also been done in Highland Perthshire around Loch Tay and Glen Lyon, where the numerous Columban dedications are bolstered by finds of early sculpture and a series of early Christian handbells (Bourke 1983; Watson 1930). A full excavation of the interior of the parish church of St Adamnan in Dull PER revealed an intensively used burial ground and a fragment of an 8th-century inscribed cross-slab (Will *et al.* 2003). During the recent Ben Lawers Historic Landscape Project on the north shore of Loch Tay, a small long cist cemetery was excavated at the evocatively-named site of Balnahanaid PER, which includes the element *annat*, possibly denoting an early church (Atkinson 1999; Clancy 1995). These were too degraded to date, but it increases the potential for finding early remains in this area. Finally, deep within Glen Lyon, the small parish church of Fortingall PER has turned up dozens of fragments of early medieval sculpture over the years (Robertson 1997), and recent aerial photography (Brennan 2003) and geophysical survey (Oliver O'Grady, pers. comm.) have confirmed the presence of an extensive system of enclosure ditches around it. In terms of burial evidence, there is not much more to go on just yet, but it is clear that should large-scale excavations take place at Fortingall, it is now to Portmahomack rather than Iona that comparison should be made.

Despite the abundance of surviving medieval church architecture catalogued by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland since the 1970s (i.e., RCAHMS 1982), outside of Iona, the Atlantic zone of western Scotland has seen relatively few modern church excavations. The burial record in this region is largely made up of unsubstantiated notices of stone cists, here rendered even less reliable than usual given the substantial number of surviving prehistoric cists (i.e., RCAHMS 1988). Otherwise, our main evidence for burial in this region consists of the hundreds of early medieval carved stones, often found in church sites and burial enclosures (Fisher 2001). However, these are notoriously difficult to date, and even the plain incised crosses generally thought to be of early type can be seen to be used as late as the 10th century in sites like St Ninian's Isle SHE (Barrowman 2003; forthcoming-a).

One of the earliest sculptured stones in Argyll is the fragment of an ogham inscription found at Bruach an Druimein, Poltalloch ARG, possibly dating to the 6th century (Craw 1932; Forsyth 1996: 443-447). Further excavation and reassessment of the site has shown it to be a relict Iron Age enclosure reused for early medieval occupation (Abernethy 2008). This included a small group of long cist burials, near which the ogham stone was found,

and a craft area including high-status metalworking dated to the 7-10th centuries AD. The area had been known locally as *Kil-y-Kiaran* or Kilchiaran, raising the possibility that this was a lost church; however, there was no certain church structure on site, and it has been interpreted here as a 'settlement cemetery' of Irish type (above, 6.3.2). This raises the question of whether the numerous *kil-* names of Argyll are all necessarily ecclesiastical sites (cf. Butter 2007). Another *kil-* name that shows potential is Killevin, Crarae ARG on Loch Fyne, where a 7-9th century radiocarbon date was obtained from the fill of a possible monastic *vallum* ditch (Kirby and Alexander 2009). But not all church sites will necessarily bear such evocative names; a recent Time Team excavation of a previously unknown chapel at Baliscate on the Isle of Mull obtained a 7th-century radiocarbon date from a grave beneath the chapel wall (DES 2009).

The evidence from the west of Scotland and Highland Perthshire thus accords well with the 7th-century expansion of monastic sites seen elsewhere in Scotland, as discussed previously. But none of these sites yet provides a clear parallel for the earliest burials at Portmahomack and Balnabruach, although Iona may also have its origins in the Middle Iron Age. In order to better contextualise the transition from the Iron Age to the Christian era at Portmahomack, we must head even further afield.

Possibly the most important advances in the archaeology of the Atlantic zone have come from the ongoing reinterpretation of early Christianity in Orkney, Shetland and the Western Isles. The evocative sea stacks and headlands with upstanding turf-covered remains of chapels and huts so common to this area have fuelled over a century of speculation on their supposed 'Celtic' monastic origins (Anderson 1881; Lamb 1973; Radford 1959). This interpretation has been bolstered by the relationship of many such sites with early sculpture and place-names in *papar-*, a Norse element meaning monk or priest (Fisher 2002; MacDonald 2002). Excavations around these chapels seemed to support monastic origins, based largely on the frequent encounter of long cists and drystone architecture seemingly akin to the beehive huts known from Irish eremitic sites like Skellig Michael (Morris and Emery 1986). For instance, a large Pictish stone was found near the cemetery of the chapel at the Brough of Birsay in 1935, leading to the persistent theory of Pictish monastic occupation of the site before the Viking settlement (Curle 1982). Similarly, in 1958, a remarkable hoard of ecclesiastical silver was found buried in a larch box within the church at St Ninian's Isle SHE (Small *et al.* 1973); this was dated to c. 800, inspiring tales of hurried deposition by Celtic monks in the face of Viking raids (McRoberts 1963).

Continued research on these headland sites has highlighted the overwhelmingly Norse character of the archaeological remains, and it is becoming clear that any 'Pictish' occupation was ephemeral and almost certainly not monastic (Lamb 1974; Morris 1989b; Morris 1996b). More recently, targeted excavation and re-excavation of a number of chapel sites on Orkney and Shetland has clarified their chronology significantly with radiocarbon dates. On Papa Westray ORK, the medieval church of St Boniface, associated with Pictish sculpture, is adjacent to a broch-like structure and a 'farm mound' of Norse type. Coastal erosion threatening the survival of these deposits necessitated thorough recording of the site and tapestry excavation of the cliff face, resulting in a nearly continuous stratigraphic sequence extending back to the Bronze Age (Lowe 1998). Despite the evidence for 8th century sculpture found nearby, and the potentially 'Pictish' dedication to Boniface (Lamb 1998), the late first millennium layers seemed to show decline if not abandonment. Instead, a continuous sequence of occupation around the 'broch' lasted into the early centuries AD, followed by a series of 'plaggen soils' associated with manuring and cultivation, dated by radiocarbon to the 5-8th centuries, which may yet be evidence for pre-Norse monastic agricultural improvements (Bond *et al.* 2004). The site was later reoccupied with a mortared stone church and fish-processing station in the 11-12th centuries.
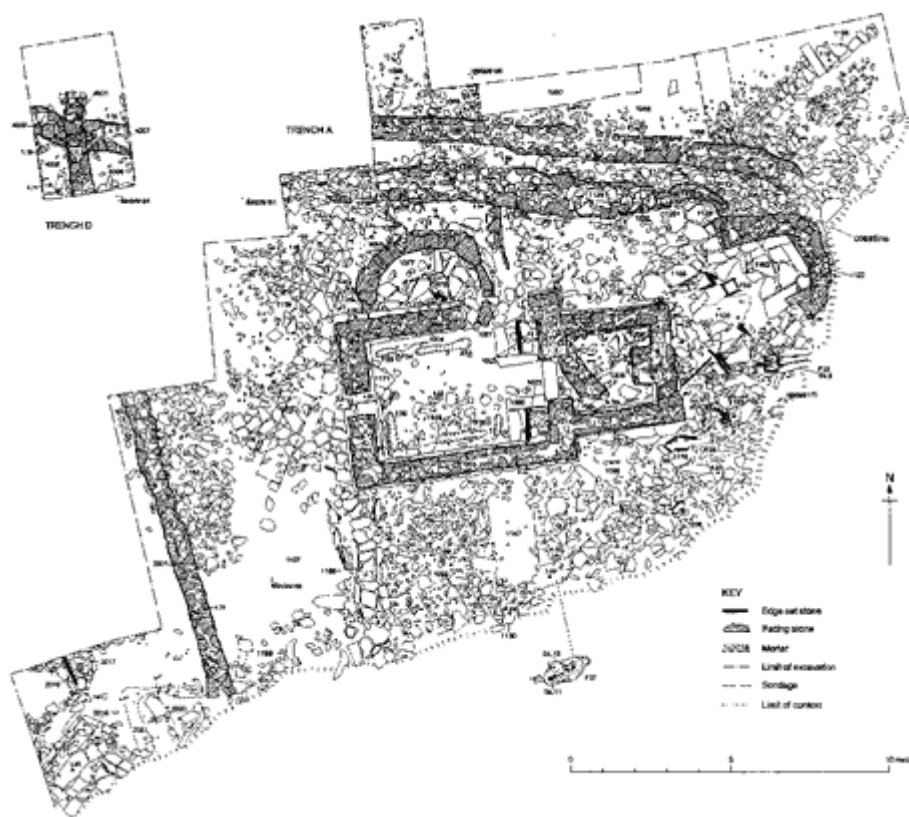
Figure 8.13: Excavated area at St Nicholas Chapel, Papa Stronsay ORK, showing Late Iron Age structures underlying the Romanesque church (DES 2000, 67). I am grateful to Dr Lowe and Headland Archaeology for permission to reproduce this image.
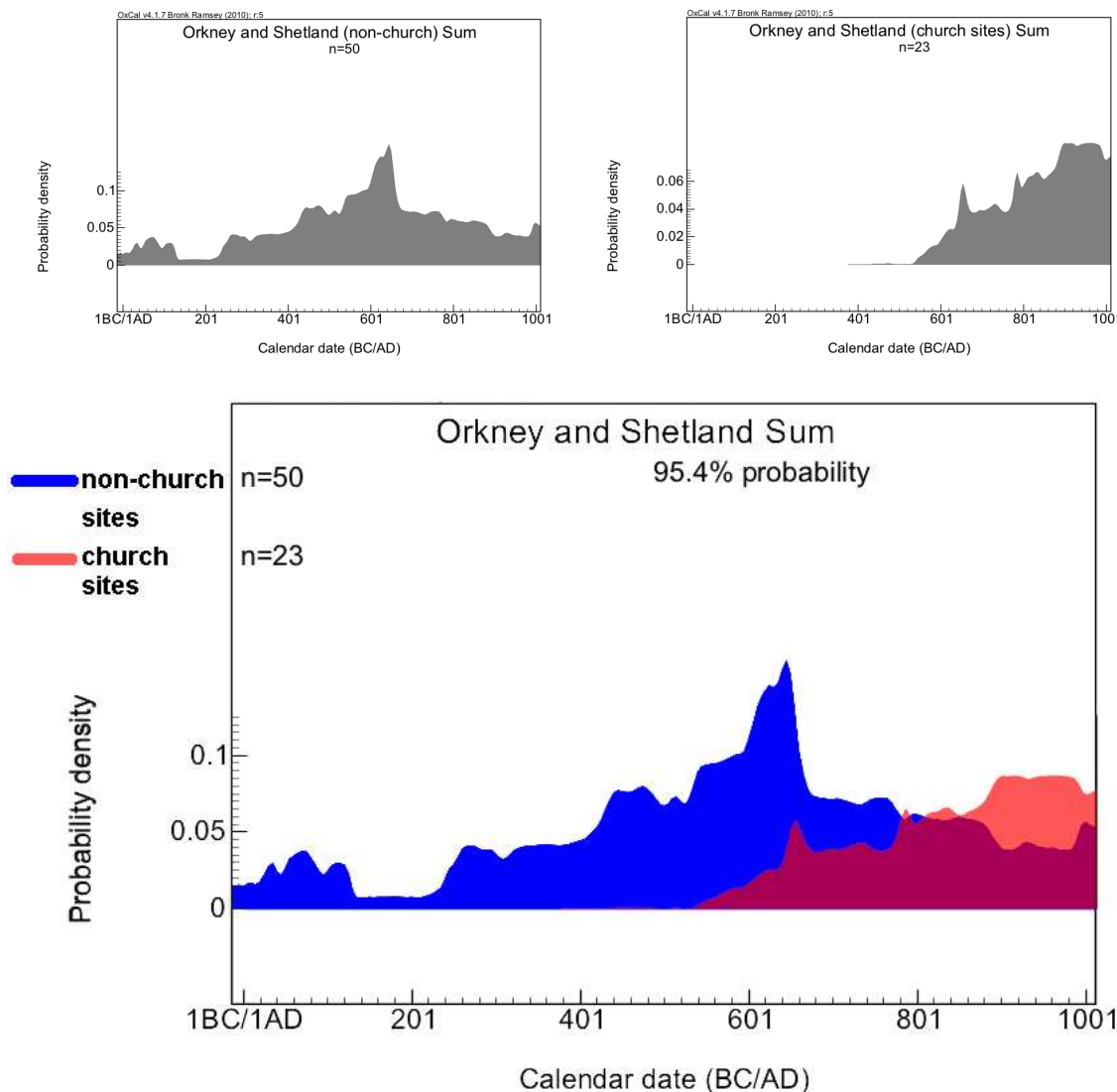
Figure 8.14: Radiocarbon dated burials in Orkney and Shetland. Top left: non-church sites; top right: church sites; bottom: both distributions superimposed (drawn by the author).

Excavations at another *papar-* site with 8th century sculpture took place at St Nicholas' Chapel, Papa Stronsay ORK (Figure 8.13), and discovered a mortared stone church which overlay a series of earlier drystone structures and burials (DES 1999, 2000). One of these is a corbelled circular hut with a drystone path leading up to it, which is evocative of an eremitic site; however, this was associated with a fragment of imported green porphyry of a kind often found on Norse-period ecclesiastical sites in Ireland and Scotland (Lowe 2002). Post-excavation work is still ongoing, but the preceding settlement seems to be potentially 'Pictish' in date: small finds include Late Iron Age material such as bone combs, and one hearth setting was radiocarbon dated to the mid-first millennium AD. Yet the associated inhumations have thus far have only turned up 11-12th century radiocarbon dates (DES 2003, 163-164). It is too early to conclude much about this site, but it is plausible that this was an ecclesiastical reoccupation of an abandoned Iron Age settlement in the 11th century, with only minimal evidence for earlier church structures (Lowe 2002). Both St Boniface's Church and St Nicholas' Chapel are found on some of the most fertile

land in the Orkneys, and it is clear that whatever the date and nature of the pre-Norse occupation, they were high-status sites long before the arrival of Christianity. Is the apparent hiatus in occupation due to abandonment, or simply, as at Portmahomack, evidence of changing use in the late first millennium?

Excavations of ecclesiastical structures at Kebister SHE (Owen and Lowe 1999), Birsay St Magnus Kirk ORK (Barber 1996), Newark Bay ORK (Barrett 2000), Brough of Deerness ORK (Morris and Emery 1986) and St Ninian's Isle SHE (Barrowman 2003) have revealed burials, but where dated, they are overwhelmingly of the Norse period. The only earlier dates come from St Ninian's Isle SHE (discussed further below) and Newark Bay, Deerness, where only two of c. 250 burials centred on a 10th century chapel were certainly pre-Norse (Barrett 2000; Barrett and Richards 2004). This is at odds with other radiocarbon dated burials from non-ecclesiastical sites in Orkney and Shetland (Figure 8.14), which provide sufficient evidence that this region participated in the wider trend for oriented, unfurnished inhumation beginning in the Late Iron Age (Ashmore 2003; Bigelow 1984; Morris 1989a: 109-127, 131). On the other hand, this activity was largely not found at later church sites, which become foci for burial largely in the period of Norse lordship from the 9th century onwards (Morris 2004). As we have seen in the southwest of Scotland, it is increasingly likely that most of the excavated chapels in this area also belong to this period, and this speaks to a wider trend of 9-12th-century local church-building activity across northern Britain (Barrow 2000). Crucially, just as there are almost no surviving 'Pictish' place-names in Orkney, the evidence for an existing church in Orkney may have been largely wiped out by the re-conceptualisation of the landscape by the Norse settlers (Abrams 2007; MacDonald 2002; B Smith 2003).

Yet there is undeniably a Late Iron Age presence beneath many of these Norse chapel sites. The classic example is the Brough of Birsay, with its massive Pictish stone, bronze Celtic handbell, and Pictish-style metalworking (Morris 1996a). However, much of this material has been found in residual contexts, and is now scattered across the headland in no coherent fashion. The overall picture this suggests is of high status settlement with a Christian flavour rather than a monastery on the scale of Portmahomack (Morris 1996b). Re-excavation of the Brough of Deerness is currently ongoing, but middens beneath the Norse structures have been radiocarbon dated to the 6-7th century (Barrett and Slater 2009). Once again, the domestic character of this material has been stressed; a residual find of a sherd of 6-7th century glass vessel adds to the vision of this as an elite settlement, possibly similar to that at Whithorn in this period (see Chapter 7).

The best evidence for pre-Norse Christian burial at an ecclesiastical site in Shetland is at St Ninian's Isle SHE. While the recent re-excavations have largely taken place in and around the stone church, and are nowhere near as extensive as those at Portmahomack, they suggest a sequence of activity that will surely become crucial to our understanding of Pictish Christianity in the north when they are fully published (Barrowman 2003; forthcoming-a). The upstanding medieval church was found to overlie an earlier stone structure containing the famous Pictish silver hoard beneath a cross slab. This church was associated with long and short cist burials to the south and east, and underlying this were the middens, drystone cellular structures and paving of a Late Iron Age settlement. The sequence is very complex due to previous disturbance and layers of blown sand across the site, but the small finds suggest the underlying settlement covers the period roughly AD 300-800 (Barrowman forthcoming-a). A number of oriented long cists on site date from the 7-9th centuries, and one was seemingly furnished with a string of glass beads with Anglo-Saxon parallels, making them broadly contemporary with the 'Pictish' silver of the hoard (Batey forthcoming). The mixed nature of this treasure, including church plate (in the form of decorated silver bowls and spoons) as well as personal items like brooches and sword chapes, suggests it was the combined portable wealth of a Christian community rather than the furnishings of a monastery (Graham-Campbell 2003). A more unusual burial also belongs to this period: a prone, flexed adult female oriented north-south in a cist built into a wall was dated to cal AD 655-755. This may well have been a 'foundation deposit' integral to the enclosure wall, as all future burials respected its position. Expectations that the short cists belonged to the preceding Iron Age settlement were confounded when one turned up a Viking Age date, and a kerbed cairn containing six infant burials marked by upright cross slabs was found to date to the 9-10th century, implying continuing use of this site for Christian burial even after the Viking invasions (Barrowman 2003). Importantly, the infant burials were all found to have stone head-boxes, discussed above as a diagnostically Christian burial rite.

At St Ninian's Isle, we may have the clearest evidence for the complicated process of conversion of an existing Iron Age community. The church was built over an existing settlement in the Late Iron Age, and burials soon began to accumulate. The presence of a 'deviant' burial and a furnished long cist alongside unfurnished graves and Christian metalwork shows how Christianity did not impose specific burial rites, but mapped onto existing social practices and belief structures. Perhaps more interestingly, the site allows us to see a second 'conversion' in progress, as the site continued in use into the period of Norse hegemony. Isotope analysis shows that after the 9th century, a more marine diet was consumed by the inhabitants (Barrowman forthcoming-a), a change seen in other Norse-

period populations in the north (Barrett and Richards 2004). Whether or not these individuals represent newcomers or a continuing indigenous Christian community with a changed diet, it is clear from the innovative use of burial in the Norse period, including an 11th century flexed burial in a short cist furnished with a knife, and the special grave for infants, that social upheavals could also affect established Christian burial traditions. In both periods, the local community buried their dead not according to an orthodoxy imposed from above, but as an expression of their own hopes for the salvation of the deceased.

It is in this light that we can begin to reinterpret the ephemeral Late Iron Age and 'Pictish' levels at sites like Papa Westray, Papa Stronsay and Kebister, Birsay and Deerness. The reuse of upstanding Iron Age monuments, especially brochs, is certainly a distinctive characteristic of the Atlantic zone, and has long been an area of study (Lamb 1973; Lamb 1998; Lowe 1998). It is notable how frequently Viking burials and longhouses reuse existing burial and settlement mounds in Atlantic Scotland, for instance near the cairns at Sandwick, Unst SHE (Bigelow 1984; Lelong 2007), the cairns at Birsay Brough Road (Morris 1989a), the barrow cemetery at Newton, Islay ARG (Anderson 1880; McCullagh 1989); and near the cairn and Pictish stones of Dunrobin SUT (Close-Brooks 1980; 1984). This was certainly a purposeful aspect of the cosmology of the immigrant population, a way of writing themselves into the timeless, ancient past (cf. Driscoll 1998c; Griffiths 2004). The placement of well-built Romanesque chapels on such sites should be seen as a continuation of this strategy.

In light of the sequence now seen at St Ninian's Isle, the lack of an archaeologically-visible Late Iron Age church in Orkney and Shetland may instead be that it took a distinctive form based upon existing architectural and domestic practices. The cellular drystone structures and related material culture underlying Papa Stronsay and similar sites have only begun to be reinterpreted regarding changing religious practices and cosmological structures (Brundle *et al.* 2003; Gilmour 2000; Ritchie 2003; Sharples 2003), but it is clear they assume unique local forms in every case. The production of fine metalwork, bone combs and related material on these sites is reminiscent of the 'secular' phases identified beneath Whithorn and elsewhere, and future work should discuss the Late Iron Age of Atlantic Scotland along with its wider Scottish context.

Going beyond the northern isles, the possibility that Iona was a reused, pre-existing Iron Age enclosure now has wider regional parallels. Whithorn was also interpreted as being founded on or near a Roman Iron Age settlement, and hints of earlier occupation, including burial activity, were also noted at St Andrews Kirkhill. Returning to Portmahomack, we

have seen that the sequence of burial and other activity begins in the early centuries AD, and this fits in with the picture that is emerging of large monastic foundations across the country. The excavations at Papa Westray and Papa Stronsay highlight the possibility that when Christianity arrived to these sites, it was in existing, potentially high status settlements that it flourished. However this early Christianity manifested itself, it was not by the construction of an Irish-style chapel, and not even by the use of the site for burial, which may have continued in familial burial grounds away from settlement (O'Brien 2009). More likely, this early Christianity probably looked like a continuation of vernacular building forms such as drystone cellular structures, the production of metalwork and other crafts, and intensive farming and food processing.

Much like the evidence that has been presented at the early church sites of Whithorn, Inchmarnock, the Isle of May, and Portmahomack, the overtly Christian evidence from many of these sites overlies a period of ephemeral domestic and industrial activity alongside burial. Similar evidence for early 'secular' activity has been found beneath or alongside early burials at Iona ARG, Glasgow Cathedral LAN, St Andrews Kirkhill FIF, and Govan LAN. The close study of the burial evidence in the Atlantic zone does indeed have implications for our understanding of sites elsewhere in Scotland, and for the nature of the conversion to Christianity among Iron Age societies elsewhere.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

This work began by asking whether there is likely to be an archaeology of Christianity in Scotland in the period c. 400-650. Having established, on historical grounds, the feasibility of the study, it went on to analyse the archaeological approaches to this question and how it has helped shape the practice of archaeology itself over the last century. The underlying question of whether we can see the complex process of religious conversion in the mute material record led to the selection of the archaeology of death as the best way to trace long-term variation in social practices. The remainder of the work produced the first synthesis of the evidence for human burial across the first millennium AD in order to place this short period into perspective. With the rapidly increasing availability of radiocarbon dates and new excavations in recent decades, this can only serve as a first attempt at bringing new archaeological paradigms to bear on some long-held assumptions. The conclusions presented here are thus hypotheses to be tested, and to this end, some recommendations for future work will be presented below.

9.1. A new chronology

An important conclusion reached in reviewing previous work was the importance of chronology. The historical documents and material evidence all show a significant burst of activity in roughly AD 650-750. Almost everything we think of as characterising a 'Celtic Christian' society can be dated to this period, from the emergence of saint's cults, the use of Class II Pictish symbol stones, to the earliest Insular illuminated manuscripts, to the nucleation of hillforts (Alcock 2003: 190; Henderson and Henderson 2004). This cannot be divorced from the wider transformation of society in Scotland in this period, particularly with the emergence of an ethnic consciousness as evidenced by the appearance of an over-kingship and the earliest Pictish king-lists (Evans 2008). Similar transformations were taking place across Europe, from the emergence of an 'English' identity in the work of Bede (Pohl 1997), to the rise of hereditary kingships from Visigothic Spain to Carolingian Francia (Roger Collins 2006; Fouracre 2004).

The vast range of material dating to this hundred-year period has influenced our view of everything that came before it. The model of missionary Christianity as the driving force for the conversion in Scotland was based on texts and place-names largely formulated in this period. This highlights a more pervasive problem in perceptions of the early medieval period: while neighbouring areas in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England have an abundance of relevant texts and material culture which allow for a relatively tight chronology of the

early medieval period, Scotland has long been seen as having a rather timeless 'Celtic' past. For instance, any discussion of the Pictish square barrows has traditionally included Iron Age barrows from Yorkshire from hundreds of years earlier. This is also why Charles Thomas could argue for an indigenous cult of grave veneration based on ideas of relic-cults and 'founder's graves' developed in Ireland centuries after the earliest long cist cemeteries. The collection of radiocarbon dates from Scotland should now begin to emphasise the need for greater chronological precision.

The task now is to build up a picture of the distinctive archaeology of the 5th and 6th centuries. It was argued that this period should be referred to as the 'Late Iron Age' rather than the Early Historic period, given that the texts generally postdate it (above, 1.2.1); this is not to deny the possibility that there were literate Christians at this time, but to emphasise that the arrival of Christianity did not constitute a sudden break with the past. The review of the historical evidence established the likelihood of a 5th and 6th century Christian population in Scotland, and the material form of this Late Iron Age Christianity should be the focus of future research. The contexts of the Latin-inscribed stones of southern Scotland and the Pictish Class I symbol stones of the northeast, which are in use at roughly the same time as the long cist and square barrow cemeteries, would seem like an obvious place to start. However, given the recent excavation of early ecclesiastical settlements like Whithorn and Portmahomack, more fruitful comparisons may now be made with the so-called secular evidence. Inhumation burials flourish across the country in the 5th and 6th centuries, and how we interpret this phenomenon depends on how much we know of the archaeological context of this period. Not enough use has been made of the 'long Iron Age' sequences of the northern and western isles, and the nature of the mid-first millennium occupation of these sites may shed light on social changes elsewhere.

One distinctive aspect of the earliest burials from Whithorn WIG, Inchmarnock BTE, the Isle of May FIF, Portmahomack ROS, Govan LAN, and St Andrews Kirkhill FIF is their association with craftworking, domestic and industrial activity, especially metalworking (Chapters 7, 8). While this may have significant cosmological implications which we will return to, it is worth stressing that the nature of these monastic sites was essentially productive and redistributive in the 5th and 6th centuries. While we tend to see early monasteries as eremitic sites, isolated from worldly affairs, the inhabitants of these sites were also busy crafting lignite jewellery, glass drinking vessels and bronze implements. Processing of grain on an industrial scale beyond the subsistence needs of a single community can be seen at Portmahomack, Whithorn and Hoddom DMF from early on, comparable to that from secular sites like Dunadd ARG (Lane and Campbell 2000). It has

long been noted that the line between 'secular' and 'religious' sites was blurred in this period, but perhaps we can do away with this blurry line altogether and attempt a more focused view of what we rather crudely call 'monasteries' in the 5th and 6th centuries.

9.2. Burial rites and identity

To return to the burial evidence, this work has helped disprove the old trope that Iron Age burial was archaeologically invisible in Scotland. Roughly a sixth of all radiocarbon dates in the database predate the 5th century, and more continue to be obtained (Armit and Ginn 2007; Tucker and Armit 2009). The preliminary study of this material presented here found that almost all grave forms in use in the early medieval period, from cairns to barrows to long cists, and even burial rites such as extended, supine, and east-oriented inhumation, all originate in this period. The difference between these early graves and later ones is primarily one of context: Middle Iron Age inhumations of articulated and disarticulated human remains are most often found in recently-abandoned settlement contexts, whereas Late Iron Age graves tend to be in new burial places. Middle Iron Age burials are often more like 'closing deposits' as at Crosskirk Broch CAI (Fairhurst 1984), and this may have interesting implications for the deposition of human remains in cemeteries later on.

The question of Roman influence on the rise of cemetery burial was found to be a complex one deserving of further study (above, 4.2). Burial in the late Roman frontier zone did not tend to be in managed inhumation cemeteries like those in southwestern British sites like Poundbury (Rahtz 1977), but in scattered cremation burials, sometimes elaborated with barrows (e.g., Charlton and Mitcheson 1984). In fact, the emergence of long cist burial seems to occur simultaneously along Hadrian's Wall and Northumbria as in southern Scotland, showing that diffusionist theories of Roman 'influence' do not hold up with regard to the new burial rite, with implications for any comparable models involving Christian 'influence' spreading uniformly beyond the frontiers (cf. Petts 2004; cf. Sparey-Green 2003).

Across Scotland, inhumation burial away from settlement became common in the 5th century, and these 'field cemeteries' were often in use until the 7th century before being abandoned for new sites. The close study of burial rites turned up many interesting trends, such as the lack of evidence for head stones or other grave markers, a minority rite involving the use of curated, fragmented objects as grave goods, and some evidence for more unusual practices such as cremation, prone burial and multiple graves (5.1). The relationship between burial and Pictish stones remains ambiguous, but it is interesting that

in most cases, the association is with fragmented and reused symbol stones rather than upright 'stelae' marking a grave (5.1.2; 5.3.4).

The various sources for the material culture of the grave are indicative of how the burial ritual was organised in the Late Iron Age. A good example is Lasswade MLO, where the various forms of long cist included one built with reused Roman masonry, probably brought from Elginhaugh MLO 2km away; another reused a broken quernstone; and one cist had a carefully dressed lid and paving slabs. Furthermore, at Lasswade there were two instances of furnished burial, one with an iron knife and one with a fragment of shale/lignite armlet. As was argued here, the fragmentation of black jewellery in a funerary context is a rare but widespread practice in southern Scotland, as is the reuse of Roman materials for use as grave goods. Rather than seeing these necessarily as signs of status or ethnic identity, such practices reveal something of the social bonds that came together and were forged anew at the graveside. Combined with a possible funeral procession to these field cemeteries, even the simplest stone-lined grave can reveal a myriad of personal memories, biographies and relationships which coalesce in the material culture of death.

The clustered layout of these cemeteries (6.4.3) has important implications for the differential distribution of burial evidence across Scotland. If burial was managed at the level of small groups of people, the density of cemeteries in the Lothians becomes remarkable evidence of community-building and social interaction unparalleled elsewhere in northern Britain. This may have been occasioned by their location between two often rival powers: Bernicia to the south, and the Picts to the north, creating constant instability mediated by periodic, ritualised gatherings such as funerals. In this respect, it is worth noting that these cemeteries are rarely associated with settlement evidence; if they were deliberately placed away from settlement, then processions with the cadaver would be required, adding to the communal involvement in funerary rituals.

Monumental graves were found to perform related but distinct social functions. It is significant that the posture of the cadaver and the grave architecture beneath cairns and barrows are identical to those found in 'flat graves', and indeed many monumental graves are adjacent to flat graves, so the two are not mutually exclusive practices (contra Carver 1998). Barrows were found to have distinct regional distributions from cairns, which could indicate an ethnic significance, but a difference in function may also explain their use: barrows are usually found in small groups scattered over large areas, while cairns are fewer but more likely to contain multiple burials or attract episodes of reuse. Cairns are also more likely to be embellished with fragmented Pictish stones, and the occurrence of incomplete

examples at Ackergill CAI among many other cairn sites should be seen as a powerful instance of revisiting and rewriting the social memory of these monuments.

The elaboration of certain graves with an above-ground element is indicative of a different commemorative strategy rather than variations in religious systems. A 'royal' interpretation does not always fit the barrow evidence, given the number of square barrows known from across the country with little evidence of local elaboration on the scale of Sutton Hoo (Carver 2005). Rather, the repeated use of architectural features such as causewayed corners and corner posts, with little evidence for much further elaboration, would tend to argue for a 'flatter' shape to social hierarchy: "'self-governing farmer republics' in which there were few or no formal distinctions between normal freemen" (Fraser 2009a: 34). Only their placement in the landscape, often arranged around prehistoric monuments as at Forteviot PER, sets them apart from the flat grave cemeteries.

However, 8-9th century radiocarbon dates from Forteviot and Redcastle ANG are beginning to show the longevity of the square barrow rite, and their reuse of prehistoric landscapes may indeed be evidence of what Driscoll (1998c) has seen as a collapsing of time between the present and the ancient past executed by these monuments. If this is the case, it is then crucial to note that the architectural symbolism these monuments use, much like the symbolic language of Pictish sculpture adopted in 9th century monuments like the Dupplin Cross, was by this time 'ancient' in itself. All this indicates a dynamic change in the function of the square barrow over time; in the 9th century, these can be seen as attempts to conflate not just the prehistoric past, but the proto-historic Pictishness of the Late Iron Age also being claimed in the king lists and saints' lives being composed at this time (Broun 1998; Clancy 2002b).

While barrows, cairns and cists are all present in the Middle Iron Age burial record, with very few exceptions these are found in small groups, or even single 'stray' burials until the 5th and 6th centuries. The real innovation of this period is not the appearance of inhumation burial, but the emergence of burial in cemeteries. The long cist cemeteries of Lothian appear at the same time as the square cairns and barrow cemeteries further north, and with some exceptions, seemingly go out of use at the same time (Chapter 6). This broad pattern is not unique to Scotland, but also appears in western Britain and across the continent to North Africa (Petts 2004). That the trend for inhumation in cemeteries is not limited to 'Celtic' populations shows that it is a social practice which transcends religious and ethnic boundaries. These kinds of widespread, coincident changes across vast areas require more reflexive models for cultural change than theories of monolithic 'Roman' or 'Christian'

influence (Williams 2005b), especially when it has been demonstrated that Christian doctrine was not concerned with burial practice until late in the millennium (O'Brien 1999). In many cases, from the Merovingian sarcophagi to the Anglo-Saxon boat-graves to the reuse of prehistoric hillforts, what these burial practices are referencing is their own perceived 'Iron Age' pasts as much as much as contemporary identities. Burial rites were generative rather than conservative strategies of commemoration. Christianity was just one social identity being cited and recreated using these rites.

9.3. Cemetery layout

In studying the way these sites built up over time, there was no evidence for Thomas' model of accrual around founder's graves or special graves; burials were laid out in multifocal clusters instead, as has been noticed in many contemporary Anglo-Saxon and Welsh cemeteries (cf. Petts 2004). With few exceptions, cemeteries did not seem to emerge from clustering around an Iron Age special grave, and the use of Roman and other artefacts in supposed focal graves at Hallow Hill was argued to be contemporary with the rest of the Late Iron Age cemetery (4.2.2). Even carefully 'managed' cemeteries like the Catstane MLO were seen to have clustered rather than focal layouts: contemporaneous but clearly defined burial 'plots' accrued into neat rows at one end of the site, while other 'plots' grew up radially around the inscribed stone (6.4.3). This insight has only been possible with the recent availability of large suites of radiocarbon dates at sites like Thornybank MLO, where it was shown that separate clusters were in simultaneous operation for long periods of time. Within these clusters, each grave referenced and respected the others, and there was little evidence for multiple graves or intercutting so often seen at later churches and tomb-shrines. The interaction between these clusters is interesting as well, since they generally used identical burial practices and a single orientation is generally adhered to across each cemetery, indicating a higher order of community organisation. However, sometimes this consensus could be subverted; the appearance of ditched graves at Thornybank and an internal dividing wall at Lasswade indicates an attempt to control or limit access to certain graves. Like any other communal gathering, cemeteries were contested spaces in which social tensions could be enacted, reinforced or mediated. But there is little evidence for what we might describe as a top-down organisation and management of any site, with implications for our understanding of the social order, concordant with Fraser's (2009a) model of 'fully civil societies'.

Early medieval grave clusters are often interpreted as 'family plots' on analogy with modern burial practices, but a closer look at cemetery populations has made this

interpretation untenable (6.4.3). Where good skeletal evidence is available, Late Iron Age cemeteries represent only a highly selective portion of the population: primarily young adults and females of generally fair health who nevertheless died in their prime. The low number of mature adults may be explained by a lower life expectancy rate, but the dearth of subadults indicates that these cemeteries simply do not represent entire populations. Further, the very low incidence of violent trauma or 'bad' deaths in field cemeteries sets them apart from later medieval assemblages, further indicating that not everyone was allowed to be buried in these sites. Rather, the interred seem to be from a small subset of a relatively well-off and healthy rural class.

9.4. Landscape location

Several interesting patterns can be seen in the landscape location of burial. Burials were not usually found at high altitudes or inaccessible locations, but locally conspicuous terraces and knolls. An association with fords and landing places is also significant, showing that cemeteries accumulated at nodal points in the landscape, integral to everyday movement and as such highly visible even after burial had ceased. Reuse of existing monuments is rarer than has been presumed; where it does occur, it tends to be in Iron Age settlement sites like brochs, hillforts and souterrains more often than barrows or henges (6.3.4); a complex relationship with the recent rather than the distant past can be discerned (Maldonado forthcoming). The exception would seem to be with barrow cemeteries, which are generally arranged around existing monuments of various periods: the cursus at Blairhall PER, the souterrain at Redcastle ANG, the Roman fort of Inchtuthil PER.

Cemeteries eventually became an important aspect of the landscape in their own right, and continued to be referenced even after their abandonment. Burial sites were found to correlate with medieval parish boundaries, indicating that long-deserted field cemeteries were remembered when these began to be drawn up late in the millennium (6.3.3). Boundary burial in Anglo-Saxon England and Ireland has been shown to constitute a belief in the continuing agency of the dead on the living, and their presence at such liminal locations was seen as a legally-recognised form of territorial claim (Charles-Edwards 1993a; Reynolds 2002). Such documents originate in an overtly Christian context from the 7th century onwards, and as such these beliefs could arguably have been formulated within a context of a landscape already thoroughly inhabited with ancient cemeteries and burial monuments. However, Reynolds (2009) has convincingly traced the origins of later Anglo-Saxon judicial practices in the earlier field cemeteries; the power of regular gatherings at a specific place can be seen to have significant mnemonic effects long after such sites are

abandoned. In this respect, it is worth noting that early court sites in Scotland demonstrate a tangible link with previous and existing burial places (O'Grady 2008).

Newly-built enclosures around cemeteries are exceedingly rare; enclosed burial grounds tend to reuse pre-existing enclosures and are often associated with monasteries like Iona ARG and Auldhame ELO (6.4.1). New enclosures are limited to ecclesiastical sites until the end of the millennium, when penannular ditches are dug to receive graves at Balblair, Newhall Point ROS and Midross, Luss DNB (6.3.2). A late date for burial enclosures has also been argued for western Britain (Petts 2002), and it may be that this is another development of the 7-8th century which has often been projected back into the Late Iron Age (e.g., Thomas 1971). Recent studies have also argued for the late date for the practice of consecration of churchyards (Gittos 2002), and the evidence from Scotland would seem to support this. Otherwise, enclosure only seems to be a concern at the level of the individual grave or grave cluster as discussed above.

9.5. Burial within the church

The final two chapters reviewed the evidence for burial on ecclesiastical sites. An entire chapter (7) was devoted to disentangling the layers at Whithorn, and the resulting tentative chronology of burial has many implications for what we think of as 'Christian' burial, and for the nature of the site. It was argued that Whithorn was not a monastery until the 7th century, even though the existence of a 5th-century Latin inscribed stone indicates the existence of a Christian population. The existence of early 'shrines' proposed by the excavator were also rejected, and the layout of burial is comparable to that found in contemporary field cemeteries. The burial rites used are also superficially similar, but there is a higher than usual incidence of grave goods, often reusing fragmented Roman material, and some evidence for funeral feasting using imported ceramic vessels (7.3). While funeral feasting in Scotland is so far unique to Whithorn, it has been noted at another import site at the churchyard of Tintagel (Nowakowski and Thomas 1992); the use of curated Roman material was noted at a number of other non-church burials in Scotland as in Anglo-Saxon contexts (Eckardt and Williams 2003), providing further evidence for the complex interplay between burial practices, material culture and Christianity in this period.

Some general points can be made about church burial across Scotland (Chapter 8). The burial rites used are generally the same as those of the field cemeteries and are contemporaneous, demonstrating the way both ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical burial rites were being developed at the same time. One major difference lay in the number of

interments, usually very few in Late Iron Age church sites. Unlike in field cemeteries, burial in ecclesiastical sites occurred in close proximity to domestic and industrial activity; there was little evidence for the strict separation of spaces of the living and spaces of the dead. In fact, it was argued that certain graves were purposefully integrated into craftworking areas, especially metalsmithing and smelting activity. A minority of graves in field cemeteries were also associated with quernstones and stone pot lids (5.1.2). Together, these associations between burial and productive activity may indicate that inhumation burial was also seen as having transformative or regenerative properties, and could be more complex than just the commemoration of the dead. This has implications for the way we interpret the social practice of metalworking and jewellery production in the Late Iron Age, and the significant ceremonial aspects of other productive sites like Dunadd ARG, Little Dunagoil BTE and the Mote of Mark KCB cannot be so easily separated from 'monastic' sites like Whithorn and Iona.

The demographics of church burial are also different from the field cemeteries (6.5). In the Late Iron Age, ecclesiastical burials tend to be almost exclusively male, but this may be due to our selection of monastic sites for large-scale excavations. Also intriguing is the appearance of many mature adults in ecclesiastical sites, when they are so rare in the contemporary field cemeteries. Another aspect which sets ecclesiastical sites apart is their use for burial over long periods of time, unlike the field cemeteries, which tend to be abandoned by the 8th century. This allows us to trace the changing demographic profile of ecclesiastical cemeteries, and it seems that after the 7th century, these become more inclusive of age, gender and status: for the first time, larger numbers of juveniles and victims of violent trauma begin to appear in the burial record.

With this new openness came increased social tension, and from this point on, ecclesiastical cemeteries were characterised by a cramped, heavily intercutting, focal layout, indicative that the function of burial had changed. Whereas in the Late Iron Age, the construction of the grave was of primary importance, after the 7th century it was the location of burial that became the overriding concern, even when it meant disturbing previous graves. As Reynolds (2009) has shown for Anglo-Saxon England, by the end of the millennium, church control over burial location had grown to such an extent that the denial of burial in a churchyard could be used as punishment.

From this period on, new kinds of burial rite emerged which may be seen as indicative of increasing anxiety over the integrity of the body within the grave. These include the use of cross slabs, in most cases seemingly meant to lie recumbent over a grave rather than

upright at head end; 'head boxes', or upright stones around the head to preserve the correct burial posture; and burial in padlocked wooden chests or nailed coffins. However, there are other ways of interpreting these new burial rites other than bodily preservation. They can be seen as expressions of status, especially in the case of reused, possibly decorated wooden chests, and more certainly in the use of elaborate carved cross slabs (8.1.3). While many cross slabs used simple incised or sunken crosses, some were executed in relief and bore inscriptions using a variation on the legend 'pray for [personal name]'. The kind of status these were meant to display was as much for this world as the next; those who could afford such elaborate grave furnishings did so to alleviate increasing concern over the prospect of salvation emerging along with the concept of purgatory in the 7th century (Effros 2002a; O'Loughlin 2000; Paxton 1990; Thompson 2002). Head box graves are most indicative of this; they are consistently dated to the 7th century and later, showing that by this point the posture of the corpse was directly implicated in Christian expectations of bodily resurrection (5.1.4). Head box graves, chest burial, and cross-marked gravestones are almost exclusively found on ecclesiastical sites. If this study has found any conclusive evidence of 'Christian' burial practices, it is only from the 7th century and later.

9.6. Converting Christianity

This brings us back to the relationship between burial and Christianity. This study has clearly demonstrated that certain aspects of the material record, such as long cists, appear across wide areas without any evidence for the time-lag associated with diffusionist models of cultural change. However, cemeteries are more usefully interpreted for the social interactions played out within them (Lucy 2002), and in this respect, the organic accrual of burials in contemporaneous but exclusive 'clusters' hints at the structure of the societies creating these places. While there were some higher-order organisational properties structuring Late Iron Age inhumation, such as a preference for generally east-facing orientations, there was otherwise no evidence for top-down control over burial. In this context, it is difficult to imagine conversion being imposed from above. Rather, until the 7th century, the burial evidence tends to confirm a flatter, more egalitarian social structure than the highly stratified picture created by the early Anglo-Saxon burial evidence (Lucy 2000). Regional differences, such as the density of burial in the Lothians, the preference for dispersed burial in Angus, and the reuse of brochs in the north, show that approaches to death varied according to local circumstances (Chapter 6). It is clear that when Christianity came to these societies, it had to map onto existing regional practices.

Burial in the Late Iron Age seemed to be a way of creating and reaffirming communal identities, and this study has focused on changing strategies of coping with death, rather than the imposition of rites by an authority such as the church (2.2.4). Generally speaking, only a highly selective class of people, drawn from a certain age group, were included in these cemeteries, unlike the oft-cited universal acceptance attributed to Christianity. The most plausible explanation is that burials were made only in certain social situations, for instance at the loss of a woman of child-bearing age or a male of warrior age, which could disrupt existing social obligations (Halsall 2010: 281). Late Iron Age burial was thus more concerned with maintaining peaceful social relations among the scattered, rural communities involved, than with any religious motive. It achieved this by creating memorable scenes which were retained and frequently recalled by mourners, such that the dead 'lived on' in the landscape (Halsall 2003; Reynolds 2009; Williams 2007b). Burial in turn played a large role in the growing ethnic, religious, and socio-political discourses that characterised this period in history; it served as an enabling technology of remembrance (Jones 2003).

As for burial in ecclesiastical sites, despite expectations of Christian brotherhood within a monastery, there is evidence for a multifocal layout in these sites as elsewhere. Furthermore, while burials in field cemeteries rarely intercut, at Whithorn, Portmahomack and the May there is evidence for frequent reuse of burial locations and even individual graves – ironically, given the supposed Christian mandate of preservation of the body in hopes of the eventual resurrection (Sparey-Green 2003), it is the explicitly Christian graves which were less likely to respect the integrity of the grave. Furthermore, on many church sites, burials often reused areas previously used for industrial and domestic activity, perhaps indicating that burial was not always a primary concern during the planning of the site, and adding complexity to the supernatural connotations of inhumation. In this light, the association with metalworking and other transformative processes was perhaps intentional; burial near areas of production aided the transformation of the body into a member of the community of the saved, just as ore was transformed into metal, after which the disturbance of the grave was no longer an issue as the 'soul' had already passed on.

It is only after the 7th century that we see an explicitly Christian approach to burial, with the anxieties over salvation mediated by placement near a church, or the use of cross slabs which elicit prayers for the safe passage of the soul. But it is worth noting that this was a wider process occuring across Europe (Brown 2003), and given the variety of cross-slabs in sites like Inchmarnock, there is no indication that these were top-down regulations imposed by the church (8.1.2). Rather than a technology of remembrance, the focus on

church sites was on forgetting: burial was instead a technology of salvation, a casting aside of the corporeal form. From this point on, burial began to focus on a church, but even when it did not, as in the new enclosed field cemeteries of Midross and the Anglo-Saxon proto-urban cemeteries of *Hamwic* (Southampton), forgetting and disturbance of human remains became a normal occurrence (Cherryson 2007). In this context, the 'very special dead' whose remains were miraculously preserved became a source of fascination and veneration, leading to the increasing conception of certain graves as numinous sites, embellished with reliquary shrines and shrine-chapels we can see being built in Ireland and Scotland from the late millennium (Brown 1981; Ó Carragáin 2010; Thomas 1998c). From its Iron Age beginnings to its widespread acceptance across Europe, inhumation burial continually converted Christianity itself.

9.7. Future research

Overall, this study has introduced complexity into what are often thought to be static and unchanging burial rites; the simple, unfurnished grave that characterises the evidence in Scotland still has much more to offer. To this end, a few suggestions for future research can be offered.

- For reasons of time and space, this study was limited to the boundaries of modern Scotland, but the potential for extending the database to include neighbouring regions such as Northern Ireland, the Isle of Man, and northern England is demonstrated by the few distribution maps which included sites across the border.

- The crucial period c. 650-750 has been shown to have strongly clouded our view of what came before, in both an ecclesiastical and secular setting. A full reappraisal of all the archaeological evidence for the period 400-650 still needs to be done, which does not discriminate between 'secular' and 'religious' sites. Only by taking into account aspects of both lowland and Atlantic Scotland together can the wider transformations across Europe at this time be appreciated.

- Recent work by Sarah Winlow (2010) in Perthshire has shown the value of close regional studies of the burial evidence for drawing out the complex local trajectories of the wider trends noted in this study. More such work needs to be undertaken, preferably using a long-term perspective as adopted here.

- This study has argued that there is a strong correlation between burial and parish boundaries, but with only a few exceptions, modern parish boundaries were used in this study. Only by reconstructing medieval parish boundaries can this be taken further; recent work in Aberdeenshire has created such a framework (RCAHMS 2007), but the archaeological record for burial here remains to be populated.

- Field cemeteries were shown to be abandoned by the 8th century, but burial outside of churchyards carried on through the end of the millennium in sites like Midross, Balblair, and Redcastle. A closer study of the social context of such sites, and how they relate to the emerging tradition of richly-furnished Viking burials in this period, is badly needed.

- The subject of paganism in Scotland has yet to receive any full-length treatment (Ritchie 2003). This study has cited a variety of ways in which pre-existing depositional practices carry on in different ways in burial rites, while emphasising that a distinct 'religious' label cannot be assigned to any continuing ritual activity. Rather than proposing research into some phantom category of 'paganism', more fruitful avenues would be the study of long-term changes and continuity of depositional practices, including but not limited to the treatment of human remains. In this regard, finds of Christian material culture in 'secular' contexts, such as the Birsay bell (Morris 1996a) or the Buckquoy ogham-inscribed spindle whorl (Brundle *et al.* 2003) must also play a role.

- As noted at the outset of this work, the story of early Christianity in Scotland has traditionally begun with St Columba of Iona. However, Argyll and the west have only figured in fleeting glances herein due to the lack of excavated burial evidence from this region. It is still only an assumption that Columba arrived to a fully Christian Dál Riata territory (Sharpe 1995), and given the revisions presented here and elsewhere (Campbell 2001; JE Fraser 2005), a rigorous archaeological chronology for Christianity in Argyll remains to be established.

Bibliography

Abbreviations:
DES: Discovery and Excavation in Scotland
PRIA: Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology
PSAS: Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
RCAHMS: Royal Commission for the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
SAIR: Scottish Archaeological Internet Reports, available at http://www.sair.org.uk/
SAJ: Scottish Archaeological Journal
TAFAJ: Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal
TDGNHAS: Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and
Antiquarian Society

Abercromby, J 1904, "Excavations made on the Estate of Meikleour, Perthshire, in May
        1903." *PSAS* 38: 82-96.
Abercromby, J, Ross, T and Anderson, J 1902, "Account of the Excavation of the Roman
        Station at Inchtuthil, Perthshire, undertaken by the Society of Antiquaries of
        Scotland in 1901." *PSAS* 36: 182-242.
Abernethy, D 2008, "Bruach An Druimein, Poltalloch, Argyll: excavations directed by the
        late Eric Cregeen,1960–2." *SAIR* 27.
Abrams, L 2007, "Conversion and the Church in the Hebrides in the Viking Age: "A Very
        Difficult Thing Indeed"". In Ballin-Smith, B, Taylor, S and Williams, G (eds.),
        *West over Sea: Studies in Scandinavian Sea-borne Expansion and Settlement
        Before 1300*. The Northern World 31. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill. 169-193.
Aitken, WG 1955, "Excavation of a chapel at St Ninian's Point, Bute." *Transactions of the
        Buteshire Natural History Society* 14: 62-76.
Alcock, E 1992, "Burials and Cemeteries in Scotland." In Edwards, N and Lane, A (eds.):
        125-129.
Alcock, L 1981a, "Early Historic Fortifications in Scotland." In Guilbert, G (ed.): 150-180.
    --- 1981b, "Quantity or Quality: the Anglian Graves of Bernicia". In Evison, VI (ed.),
        Angles, Saxons and Jutes: Essays Presented to J.N.L. Myres. Oxford: Clarendon
        Press. 168-186.
    --- 2003, *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550-850*.
        Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Aldhouse-Green, M 2002, "Any old iron! Symbolism and ironworking in Iron Age
        Europe". In Aldhouse-Green, M and Webster, P (eds.), *Artefacts and Archaeology:
        Aspects of the Celtic and Roman World*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 8-19.
Alexander, D 2005, "Redcastle, Lunan Bay, Angus: the Excavation of an Iron Age Timber-
        lined Souterrain and a Pictish Barrow Cemetery." *PSAS* 135: 41-118.
Allan, A 1900, *History of Channelkirk*. Edinburgh: J Thin.
Allason-Jones, L and Jones, JM 1994, "Jet and Other Materials in Roman Artefact
        Studies." *Archaeologia Aeliana* 12: 265-272.
Allen, JR and Anderson, J 1903, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*. Balgavies,
        UK: Pinkfoot Press.
Anderson, J 1876, "Notes on the Survival of Pagan Customs in Christian Burial." *PSAS* 11:
        363-406.
    --- 1880, "Notes on the Contents of Two Viking Graves in Islay." *PSAS* 14: 51-89.
    --- 1881, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*. Rhind Lectures in Archaeology.
        Edinburgh: David Douglas.
    --- 1897, "Notices of some recently-discovered inscribed and sculptured stones." *PSAS*
        31: 293-308.
    --- 1902, "Notices of Cists discovered in a Cairn at Cairnhill, parish of Monquhitter,
        Aberdeenshire, and at Doune, Perthshire." *PSAS* 36: 675-688.

Anderson, MO 1976, "The Celtic Church in Kinrimund". In McRoberts, D (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*. Glasgow: John S Burns and Sons. 1-10.

--- 1980, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.

Andrén, A 2007, "Behind Heathendom: Archaeological Studies of Old Norse Religion." *SAJ* 27(2): 105-138.

Angenendt, A 1998, "Review article: The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity, by James C. Russell." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49(1): 156-157.

Armit, I 1997, *Celtic Scotland*. 1st ed. London: BT Batsford/Historic Scotland.

--- 2005, *Celtic Scotland*. 2nd ed. London: BT Batsford/Historic Scotland.

Armit, I and Ginn, V 2007, "Beyond the Grave: Human Remains from Domestic Contexts in Iron Age Atlantic Scotland." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 73: 113-134.

Armit, I and Ralston, IBM 2003, "The Iron Age". In Edwards, KJ and Ralston, IBM (eds.), *Scotland After the Ice Age*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 169-193.

Armit, I and Schulting, R 2007, "An Iron Age Decapitation From The Sculptor's Cave, Covesea, Northeast Scotland." *Past* 55: 1-3.

Ashe, G 1971, *The Quest for Arthur's Britain*. London: Paladin.

Ashmore, PJ 1980, "Low Cairns, Long Cists and Symbol Stones." *PSAS* 110: 346-55.

--- 2003, "Orkney Burials in the First Millennium AD." In Downes, J and Ritchie, A (eds.): 35-50.

Ashmore, PJ and Hill, P 1983, "Broxmouth and high-precision dating". In Ottaway, BS (ed.), *Archaeology, Dendrochronology and the Radiocarbon Calibration Curve*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.

Atkinson, JA (ed.) 1999, *Ben Lawers Historic Landscape Project: The Final Pilot Season*. Glasgow: GUARD report 290.4.

Badcock, A and Downes, J 2000, "Excavation of Iron Age Burials at Corran, Boreray, Outer Hebrides." *PSAS* 130: 197-222.

Baker, L 2002, "An Iron Age child burial at Dunbar Golf Course, East Lothian." *PSAS* 132: 205-212.

Ballin-Smith, B 1994, *Howe: Four Millennia of Orkney Prehistory: Excavations 1978-1982* Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Bannerman, J 1999, "The Scottish Takeover of Pictland and the Relics of Columba." In Broun, D and Clancy, TO (eds.): 71-94.

Barber, JW 1981, "Excavations on Iona, 1979." *PSAS* 111: 282-380.

--- 1996, "Excavations at St Magnus' Kirk, Birsay." In Morris, CD (ed.): 11-31.

Barclay, GJ 1983, "Sites of the third millennium BC to the first millennium AD at North Mains, Strathallan, Perthshire." *PSAS* 113: 122-281.

Barrett, J 2000, "What Was the Viking Age and When Did it Happen? A View from Orkney." *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 33: 1-39.

Barrett, J and Richards, MP 2004, "Identity, Gender, Religion and Economy: New Isotope and Radiocarbon Evidence for Marine Resource Intensification in Early Historic Orkney, Scotland, UK." *European Journal of Archaeology* 7(3): 249-271.

Barrett, J and Slater, A 2009, "New Excavations at the Brough of Deerness: Power and Religion in Viking Age Scotland." *Journal of the North Atlantic* 2: 81-94.

Barrow, GWS 1983, "The Childhood of Scottish Christianity." *Scottish Studies* 27: 1-15.

--- 1989, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* New History of Scotland. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

--- 2003, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Barrow, J 2000, "Survival and Mutation: Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Danelaw in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries." In Hadley, DM and Richards, JD (eds.): 155-176.

Barrowman, R 2003, "A Decent Burial? Excavations at St Ninian's Isle in July 2000." In Downes, J and Ritchie, A (eds.): 51-61.

--- forthcoming-a, *The Chapel and Burial Ground on St Ninian's Isle, Shetland: Excavations Past and Present*.

--- forthcoming-b, "Putting things in context: Revisiting the St Ninian's Isle excavations". In Smith, B (ed.), *The St Ninian's Isle Treasure: Fifty Years On*. Lerwick.

Barrowman, R, Batey, CE and Morris, CD (eds.) 2007, *Excavations at Tintagel Castle, Cornwall, 1990-1999*. London: Society of Antiquaries of London.

Barth, F 1992, "Towards Greater Naturalism in Conceptualizing Societies". In Kuper, A (ed.), *Conceptualising Society*. London: Routledge. 17-33.

Bassett, S 1992, "Church and diocese in the West Midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon Control." In Blair, J and Sharpe, R (eds.): 13-40.

Batey, CE 1983, "A disturbed inhumation from Stain, Keiss, Caithness." *PSAS* 113: 642-645.

--- forthcoming, "The glass beads." In Barrowman, R (ed.).

Battley, N, Roberts, J and King, SE 2008, "Human remains." In James, HF and Yeoman, P (eds.): 82-91.

BBC 2011, "Rare Roman altar stones uncovered in Musselburgh." *BBC News* (online news article). http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-12771243, accessed 17 March 2011.

Bell, T 2005, *The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures in Early Medieval England*. BAR British Series. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Berger, R 1995, "Radiocarbon Dating of Early Medieval Irish Monuments." *PRIA* 95C(4): 159-174.

Bidwell, P and Speak, S 1994, *Excavations at South Shields Roman Fort*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne/Tyne and Wear Museums.

Bigelow, GF 1984, "Two Kerbed Cairns from Sandwick, Unst, Shetland." In Friell, JGP and Watson, WG (eds.): 115-129.

--- 1985, "Sandwick, Unst and Late Norse Shetland Economy". In Smith, B (ed.), *Shetland Archaeology: New Work in Shetland in the 1970s*. Lerwick: The Shetland Times. 95-127.

Bishop, MC (ed.) 2002, *Roman Inveresk: Past, Present and Future*. Braemar: Armatura.

Blackwell, A 2007, "An Anglo-Saxon figure-decorated plaque from Ayton (Scottish Borders), its parallels and implications." *Medieval Archaeology* 51: 165-172.

--- in prep, *Anglo-Saxon artefacts from northern Britain: an insight into personal identities, social relationships and cultural horizons in the Early Historic period*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

Blair, J 1992, "Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review." In Blair, J and Sharpe, R (eds.): 226-266.

--- 2005, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blair, J and Pyrah, C (eds.) 1996, *Church Archaeology: Research Directions for the Future*. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Blair, J and Sharpe, R (eds.) 1992, *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*. London: Leicester University Press.

Boardman, S 2007, "The Gaelic World and the Early Stewart Court." In Broun, D and MacGregor, M (eds.): 83-109.

Boardman, S, Davies, JR and Williamson, E (eds.) 2009, *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press.

Boardman, S and Williamson, E (eds.) 2010, *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press.

Boddington, A 1990, "Models of Burial, Settlement and Worship: The Final Phase Reviewed". In Southworth, E (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: A Reappraisal*. Stroud, UK: Alan Sutton. 177-199.

--- 1996, *Raunds Furnells: the Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard*. London: English Heritage.

Bond, JM, Guttman, E and Simpson, IA 2004, "Bringing in the Sheaves: Farming Intensification in the Post-Broch Iron Age". In Housley, RA and Coles, G (eds.),

Atlantic Connections and Adaptations: Economies, Environments and Subsistence in Lands Bordering the North Atlantic. Symposia of the Association for Environmental Archaeology. Oxford: Oxbow. 138-145.

Bourke, C 1983, "The Handbells of the Early Scottish Church." *PSAS* 113: 464-468.
--- 2004, "Illaunloughan Island: An Early Medieval Monastery in County Kerry [book review]." *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 63(3rd ser.): 144-146.

Bourke, C and Close-Brooks, J 1989, "Five Insular Enamelled Ornaments." *PSAS* 119: 227-237.

Bowen, EG 1977, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements in the Celtic Lands*. 2nd ed. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Bowes, K 2008, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowie, F 2006, *The Anthropology of Religion: an Introduction*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bowles, CR 2007, *Rebuilding the Britons: the Postcolonial Archaeology of Culture and Identity in the Late Antique Bristol Channel Region* BAR British Series. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Boyle, A, Jennings, D, Miles, D and Palmer, S 1998, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire, Volume 1: Prehistoric and Roman activity and grave catalogue*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology/Oxford Archaeological Unit.

Bradley, I 1999, *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bradley, R 2000a, *An Archaeology of Natural Places*. London: Routledge.
--- 2000b, *The Good Stones: A new Investigation of the Clava Cairns*. Soc Ant Scot Monographs 17. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
--- 2002, *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*. London: Routledge.

Brady, K, Lelong, O and Batey, CE 2007, "A Pictish Burial and Late Norse/Medieval Settlement at Sangobeg, Durness, Sutherland." *SAJ* 29(1): 51-82.

Brassil, KS, Owen, WG and Britnell, WJ 1991, "Prehistoric and early medieval cemeteries at Tandderwen, near Denbigh, Clwyd." *Archaeological Journal* 148: 46-97.

Brather, S 2002, "Ethnic Identities as Constructions of Archaeology: The Case of the *Alamanni*." In Gillett, A (ed.): 149-175.

Breeze, DJ, Close-Brooks, J and Ritchie, JG 1976, "Soldiers' Burials at Camelon, Stirlingshire, 1922 and 1975." *Britannia* 7: 73-95.

Breeze, DJ and Ritchie, JG 1980, "A Roman Burial at High Torrs, Luce Sands, Wigtownshire." *TDGNHAS* 46: 104-107.

Brennan, A 2003, *Fortingall Kirk and Village*. Perth, UK: Perth and Kinross Heritage Trust.

Bronk Ramsey, C 2009, "Bayesian analysis of radiocarbon dates." *Radiocarbon* 51(1): 337-360.

Brooke, D 1994, *Wild Men and Holy Places: St Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway*. Edinburgh: Canongate.

Broun, D 1997, "Dunkeld and the Origin of Scottish Identity." *Innes Review* 48(1): 112-24.
--- 1998, "Pictish Kings 761-839: Integration with Dál Riata or Separate Development?" In Foster, S (ed.): 71-83.

Broun, D and Clancy, TO (eds.) 1999, *Spes Scottorum, Hope of Scots: Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

Broun, D and MacGregor, M (eds.) 2007, *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*. Glasgow: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow.

Brown, GB 1915, "Notes on a Necklace of Glass Beads found in a Cist in Dalmeny Park, South Queensferry." *PSAS* 49: 332-338.

Brown, P 1971, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity." *Journal of Roman Studies* 61: 80-101.

--- 1981, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* Haskell Lectures on History of Religions, New Series. London: SCM Press.

--- 1995, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

--- 2003, *The Rise of Western Christendom*. 2nd ed. Malden, MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing.

Bruce, MF, Cross, JF and Kerr, NW 1997, "Human remains." In Rains, MJ and Hall, DW (eds.): 118-131.

Brück, J 1999, "Ritual and Rationality: Some Problems of Interpretation in European Archaeology." *European Journal of Archaeology* 2(3): 313-344.

--- 2006a, "Death, Exchange and Reproduction in the British Bronze Age." *European Journal of Archaeology* 9(1): 73–101.

--- 2006b, "Fragmentation, Personhood and the Social Construction of Technology in Middle and Late Bronze Age Britain." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 16(3): 297-315.

Brundle, A, Lorimer, DH and Ritchie, A 2003, "Buckquoy Revisited." In Downes, J and Ritchie, A (eds.): 95-104.

Buckberry, J 2007, "On Sacred Ground: Social Identity and Churchyard Burial in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, c. 700-1100 AD." In Semple, S and Williams, H (eds.): 117-129.

Buckberry, J and Cherryson, AK (eds.) 2010, *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England c.650-1100 AD*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Budd, P, Millard, A, Chenery, C, Lucy, S and Roberts, C 2004, "Investigating Population Movement by Stable Isotope Analysis: a Report from Britain." *Antiquity* 78(299): 127-141.

Burrow, ICG 1973, "Tintagel - some problems." *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 5: 99-103.

Butter, R 2007, *Cill-names and saints in Argyll: a way towards understanding the early church in Dál Riata?* . Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

--- 2008, "Inchmarnock and Kildavanan: The Place-name Evidence." In Lowe, C (ed.): 53-56.

Cachart, R 2008, "Excavations at the New Kinross High School Site, Lethangie, Kinross." *TAFAJ* 14: 26-55.

Cameron, K 2003, "Archaeological Investigation at West Grange of Conon Souterrain." *TAFAJ* 9: 65-73.

Cameron, K, Rees, AR, Dunwell, A and Anderson, S 2007, "Prehistoric pits, Bronze Age roundhouses, an Iron Age promontory enclosure, Early Historic cist burials and medieval enclosures along the route of the A92, Dundee to Arbroath." *TAFAJ* 13: 39-73.

Campbell, E 1987, "A cross-marked quern from Dunadd and other evidence for relations between Dunadd and Iona." *PSAS* 117: 105-117.

--- 1991, *Imported Goods in the Early Medieval Celtic West: With Special Reference to Dinas Powys*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

--- 1997, "The early medieval imports." In Hill, P (ed.): 297-322.

--- 2001, "Were the Scots Irish?" *Antiquity* 75: 285-292.

--- 2007, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD 400-800*. CBA Research Report. York: Council for British Archaeology.

--- 2008a, "Early medieval imported glass." In McComish, JM and Petts, D (eds.): 9.1.

--- 2008b, "Early medieval imported pottery." In McComish, JM and Petts, D (eds.): 7.1-7.4.

--- 2010, "The Archaeology of Writing in the Time of Adomnán". In Wooding, J, Aist, R, Clancy, TO and O'Loughlin, T (eds.), *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker*. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 139-144.

Campbell, E and Gondek, MM (eds.) 2009, *Forteviot, Perthshire: Excavations of a Pictish cemetery and Iron Age enclosure 2009 [unpub interim report]* Strathearn Environs and Royal Forteviot Project. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Campbell, L 2011, *A Study in Culture Contact: The distribution, function and social meanings of Roman pottery from indigenous sites in the Scottish Lowlands* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

Cannell, F 2006, "The Anthropology of Christianity". In Cannell, F (ed.), *The Anthropology of Christianity*. London: Duke University Press. 1-50.

Cardy, A 1997, "The human bones." In Hill, P (ed.): 519-562.

Carey, J 1994, *The Irish National Origin-legend: Synthetic Pseudohistory* Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, University of Cambridge.

Carter, S and Fraser, D 1996, "The Sands of Breckon, Yell, Shetland." *PSAS* 126: 271-301

Caruana, I 2004, "The Cemetery at Beckfoot Roman Fort". In Wilson, RJA and Caruana, I (eds.), *Romans on the Solway: Essays in Honour of Richard Bellhouse*. Kendal, UK: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society. 134-173.

Carver, M (ed.) 1992, *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-western Europe*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press.

--- 1998, "Conversion and Politics on the Eastern Seaboard of Britain: Some Archaeological Indicators." In Crawford, BE (ed.): 11-40.

--- (ed.) 2003, *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*. Woodbridge, UK: York Medieval Press.

--- 2004, "An Iona of the East: The Early-Medieval Monastery at Portmahomack, Tarbat Ness." *Medieval Archaeology* 48: 1-30.

--- 2005, *Sutton Hoo: a Seventh-century Princely Burial Ground and its Context* London: British Museum Press.

--- 2006, "Portmahomack, Ross-shire: Data Structure Report, March 2006". York: University of York.

--- 2008, *Portmahomack: Monastery of the Picts*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

--- 2009, "Early Scottish Monasteries and Prehistory: A Preliminary Dialogue." *Scottish Historical Review* 88(2): 332–351.

Cessford, C 2000, "A Possible Anglo-Saxon Burial at Castle Hill, Ayrshire". In Griffiths, D (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*. 11. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology. 187-188.

Chadwick, NK (ed.) 1954, *Studies in Early British History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

--- 1961, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*. London: Oxford University Press.

Chalmers, P 1854, "Notice of the discovery of a curious bronze cross and chain, in a stone cist, at Kingoldrum, Forfarshire." *PSAS* 1: 191.

Chalmers, PM 1923, *A Short Guide to Iona*. Glasgow: printed for the trustees by Robert Maclehose & Co.

Chamberlain, A 1997, "Commentary: Missing stages of life—towards the perception of children in archaeology". In Moore, J and Scott, E (eds.), *Invisible people and processes: writing gender and childhood into European archaeology*. London: Leicester University Press. 248-250.

Chapman, J 1997, "Places as Timemarks - the Social Construction of Prehistoric Landscapes in Eastern Hungary." In Nash, G (ed.): 31-45.

--- 2000, *Fragmentation in Archaeology: People, Places, and Broken Objects in the Prehistory of South-eastern Europe*. London: Routledge.

Charles-Edwards, TM 1976, "Boundaries in Irish Law". In Sawyer, PH (ed.), *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*. London: Edward Arnold. 83-90.

--- 1993a, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

--- 1993b, "Palladius, Prosper, and Leo the Great: Mission and Primatial Authority." In Dumville, DN (ed.): 1-12.

--- 1998, "The Context and Uses of Literacy in Early Christian Ireland " In Pryce, H (ed.): 62-82.

--- 2000, *Early Christian Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Charlton, B and Mitcheson, M 1984, "The Roman Cemetery at Petty Knowes, Rochester, Northumberland." *Archaeologia Aeliana* 12: 1-31.

Cheape, H 2010, "The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and their Museum: Scotland's National Collection and a National Discourse." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14(3): 357-373.

Cherryson, AK 2007, "Disturbing the Dead: Urbanisation, the Church and the Post-Burial Treatment of Human Remains in Early Medieval Wessex, c. 600-1100 AD." In Semple, S and Williams, H (eds.): 130-142.

Childe, VG 1946, *Scotland Before the Scots*. Rhind Lectures in Archaeology. London: Methuen.

Children, G and Nash, G 1997, "Establishing a Discourse: the Language of Landscape." In Nash, G (ed.): 1-4.

Clancy, TO 1995, "Annat in Scotland and the Origins of the Parish." *Innes Review* 46: 91-115.

--- 1996, "Iona, Scotland, and the Céli Dé." In Crawford, BE (ed.): 111-130.

--- 1999, "Columba, Adomnán and the Cult of Saints in Scotland." In Broun, D and Clancy, TO (eds.): 3-33.

--- 2001, "The Real St Ninian." *Innes Review* 52(1): 1-28.

--- 2002a, "'Celtic' or 'Catholic'? Writing the History of Scottish Christianity, AD 664-1093." *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 32: 5-39.

--- 2002b, "Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages." In Thacker, A and Sharpe, R (eds.): 398-421.

--- 2004, "Philosopher-King: Nechtan mac Der-Ilei." *Scottish Historical Review* 83(2): 125-149.

--- 2006, "Aberdeen Breviary". In Koch, JT (ed.), *Celtic Culture: a Historical Encyclopedia*. Oxford: ABC-CLIO. 1.

--- 2008a, "Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland." In Forsyth, K (ed.): 385-419.

--- 2008b, "The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway." *Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 2: 19-50.

--- 2009, "The Cults of Saints Patrick and Palladius in Early Medieval Scotland." In Boardman, S, Davies, JR and Williamson, E (eds.): 18-41.

--- 2010, "The Big Man, the Footsteps, and the Fissile Saint: paradigms and problems in studies of insular saints' cults." In Boardman, S and Williamson, E (eds.).

Clancy, TO and Márkus, GOP (eds.) 1995, *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Clark, G 2001, "Translating Relics: Victricius of Rouen and Fourth Century Debate." *Early Medieval Europe* 10(2): 161-176.

--- 2004, *Christianity and Roman Society*. Key Themes in Ancient History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clarke, DV 2002, "'The foremost figure in all matters relating to Scottish archaeology': aspects of the work of Joseph Anderson (1832–1916)." *PSAS* 132: 1-18.

--- 2007, "Reading the Multiple Lives of Pictish Symbol Stones." *Medieval Archaeology* 51(19-39).

Clarke, L and Carlin, N 2009, "From focus to locus: a window upon the development of a funerary landscape". In Deevy, M and Murphy, D (eds.), *Places Along the Way: First Findings on the M3*. NRA Monographs No. 5. Bray, Ireland: Wordwell. 1-20.

Cleary, SE 2000, "Putting the Dead in their Place: Burial Location in Roman Britain." In Pearce, J, Millett, M and Struck, M (eds.): 127-142.

Close-Brooks, J 1980, "Excavations in the Dairy Park, Dunrobin, Sutherland, 1977." *PSAS* 110: 328-345.

--- 1984, "Pictish and Other Burials." In Friell, JGP and Watson, WG (eds.): 87-114.

--- 1986, "Excavations at Clatchard Craig, Fife." *PSAS* 116: 117-184.

Coatsworth, E 1989, "The pectoral cross and portable altar from the tomb of St Cuthbert". In Bonner, G, Rollason, D and Stancliffe, C (eds.), *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press. 287-302.

Collard, M and Hunter, F 2000, "A Roman burial from Cramond (Edinburgh) rediscovered." *PSAS* 130: 525-535.

Collins, R 2006, "Late Roman frontier communities in northern Britain: A theoretical context for the 'end' of Hadrian's Wall". In Ray, N, Croxford, B, Lucas, J and Goodchild, H (eds.), *TRAC 2005: Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Birmingham 2005*. Oxford: Oxbow. 1-11.

--- 2006, *Visigothic Spain 409-711*. Oxford: Blackwell.

--- 2008, "Identity in the Frontier: Theory and Multiple Community Interfacing." In Fenwick, C, Wiggins, M and Wythe, D (eds.): *TRAC 2007: Proceedings of the 17th Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London*. Oxford: Oxbow. 45-52.

Collins, R and Gerrard, J (eds.) 2004, *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300-700*. BAR British Series. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Comaroff, J and Comaroff, JL 1991, *Of Revelation and Revolution, v. 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Cook, M 1999, "Excavation of two cairns, a cist and associated features at Sanaigmhor Warren, Islay, Argyll and Bute." *PSAS* 129: 251-279.

--- 2008, "An Early Christian Vallum in Dunning?" *TAFAJ* 14: 9-15.

Cool, HEM 2000, "The Parts Left Over: Material Culture into the Fifth Century." In Wilmott, T and Wilson, P (eds.): 47-65.

--- 2004, *The Roman Cemetery at Brougham, Cumbria: Excavations 1966-67*. Britannia Monograph Series. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Cormack, WF 1995, "Barhobble, Mochrum: Excavation of a Forgotten Medieval Church Site in Galloway." *TDGNHAS* 70: 5-106.

Cowan, EJ 2005, "The Invention of Celtic Scotland". In Cowan, EJ and McDonald, RA (eds.), *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era*. Edinburgh: John Donald. 1-23.

--- 2008, "Scottish History: Competing Pathways to the Past." *TAFAJ* 14: 99-105.

Cowan, I 1967, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*. Scottish Records Society. Edinburgh: Neill and Company.

Cowie, TG 1978, "Excavations at the Catstane, Midlothian 1977." *PSAS* 109: 166-203.

Cowley, DC 1996, "Square Barrows in Dumfries and Galloway." *TDGNHAS* 71: 107-114.

--- 2002, "A case study in the analysis of patterns of aerial reconnaissance in a lowland area of southwest Scotland." *Archaeological Prospection* 9(4): 255-265.

--- 2003, "Changing Places - Building Life-spans and Settlement Continuity in Northern Scotland." In Downes, J and Ritchie, A (eds.): 75-81.

--- 2009, "Early Christian Cemeteries in Southwest Scotland." In Murray, J (ed.): 43-56.

Craig, D 1991, "Pre-Norman Sculpture in Galloway: Some Territorial Implications." In Oram, RD and Stell, GP (eds.): 45-62.

--- 1992, *The Distribution of Pre-Norman Sculpture in South-West Scotland: Provenance, Ornament and Regional Groups*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University.

--- 1997, "The sculptured stones." In Hill, P (ed.): 433-441.

--- 2006, "The Later Carved Stone Assemblage." In Lowe, C (ed.): 123-133.

Cramp, R 1969, "Excavations at the Saxon Monastic Sites of Wearmouth and Jarrow, co. Durham: an Interim Report." *Medieval Archaeology* 13: 21-66.

--- 1985, "Excavation at the Hirsel, Coldstream, Borders." *University of Durham and Newcastle Archaeological Report for 1984* 8: 52-57.

--- 1993, "A Reconsideration of the Monastic Site of Whitby." In Spearman, RM and Higgitt, J (eds.): 64-73.

--- 2005, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites, vol. 1*. Swindon, UK: English Heritage.

Craw, JH 1929, "On a Jet Necklace from a Cist at Poltalloch, Argyll." *PSAS* 63: 154-189.

--- 1932, "Two long cairns (one horned) and an Ogham inscription, near Poltalloch, Argyll." *PSAS* 66: 445-450.

Crawford, BE (ed.) 1994, *Scotland in Dark Age Europe*. St John's House Papers. St Andrews: St John's House.

--- (ed.) 1996, *Scotland in Dark Age Britain*. St John's House Papers. St Andrews: St John's House.

--- (ed.) 1998, *Conversion and Christianity in the North Sea World*. St John's House Papers. St Andrews: St John's House.

Crawford, S 2004, "Votive Deposition, Religion and the Anglo-Saxon Furnished Burial Ritual." *World Archaeology* 36(1): 87-102.

Cressey, M, Strachan, R and Hamilton, J 2003, "Three long cist burials at Easter Broomhouse, near Dunbar, East Lothian." *PSAS* 133: 277-282.

Crone, A 1992, "An Iron Age cist at North Belton Farm, Dunbar." *PSAS* 122: 161-170.

Crow, J and Jackson, M 1997, "The Excavation of Hadrian's Wall at Sewingshields and the Discovery of a Long Cist Burial." *Archaeologia Aeliana* 25: 61-69.

Crowe, C 1984, "Excavation at Brydekirk, Annan. 1982-1984." *TDGNHAS* 59: 33-40.

--- 1986, "An Excavation at Kirkmirran, Dalbeattie, 1985." *TDGNHAS* 61: 55-62.

Crumley, C 1999, "Sacred landscapes: constructed and conceptualized." In Knapp, AB and Ashmore, W (eds.): 269-276.

Cunliffe, B 2008, *Europe Between the Oceans: 9000 BC-AD 1000*.

Curle, CL 1982, *Pictish and Norse finds from the Brough of Birsay 1934-74*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Curle, J 1932, "An Inventory of Objects of Roman and Provincial Roman Origin found on Sites in Scotland not definitely associated with Roman Constructions." *PSAS* 66: 277-397.

Curta, F 2007, "Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology." *Early Medieval Europe* 15(2): 159-185.

Cusack, CM 1998, *Conversion Among the Germanic Peoples*. London: Cassell.

Dalglish, C 2010, "For the Community: Scottish Historical Archaeology and the Politics of Land Reform." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14(3): 374-397.

Dalland, M 1991, "Burials at Winton House, Cockenzie and Port Seton, East Lothian." *PSAS* 121: 175-180.

--- 1992, "Long cist burials at Four Winds, Longniddry, East Lothian." *PSAS* 122: 197-206.

Daniels, R 1999, "The Anglo-Saxon Monastery at Hartlepool, England." In Hawkes, J and Mills, S (eds.): 105-112.

Dark, KR 1994, *Civitas to Kingdom: British Political Continuity 300-800*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

--- 2000, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire*. Stroud, UK: Tempus.

Davidson, J 1886, "Notice of a Small Cup-shaped Glass Vessel, found in a Stone Cist at the Public School, Airlie." *PSAS* 20: 136-41.

Davies, JR 2002, "The Saints of South Wales and the Welsh Church." In Thacker, A and Sharpe, R (eds.): 361-395.

--- 2009, "Bishop Kentigern among the Britons." In Boardman, S, Davies, JR and Williamson, E (eds.): 66-90.

Davies, W 1992, "The Myth of the Celtic Church." In Edwards, N and Lane, A (eds.): 12-21.

De Paor, L 1996, *Saint Patrick's World*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Devlin, ZL 2007a, *Remembering the Dead in Anglo-Saxon England: Memory Theory in Archaeology and History*. BAR British Series 446. Oxford: Archaeopress.

--- 2007b, "Social Memory, Material Culture and Community Identity in Early Medieval Mortuary Practices." In Semple, S and Williams, H (eds.): 38-46.

Díaz-Andreu, M and Lucy, S 2005, "Introduction". In Díaz-Andreu, M, Lucy, S, Babić, S and Edwards, DN (eds.), *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. London: Routledge. 1-12.

Doherty, C 1985, "The monastic town in early medieval Ireland". In Clarke, HB and Simms, A (eds.), *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe*. BAR International Series. 255. Oxford: Archaeopress. 45-75.

Downes, J and Morris, CD 1997, "Hermisgarth, Sanday: the investigations of pyre settings and Pictish burials in Orkney." *PSAS* 127: 609-626.

Downes, J and Pollard, T (eds.) 1999, *The Loved Body's Corruption*. Glasgow: Cruithne Press.

Downes, J and Ritchie, A (eds.) 2003, *Sea Change: Orkney and Northern Europe in the Later Iron Age AD 300-800*. Balgavies, UK: Pinkfoot Press.

Drinkwater, J and Elton, H (eds.) 1992, *Fifth-century Gaul: a Crisis of Identity?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Driscoll, ST 1988, "Power and Authority in Early Historic Scotland: Pictish Symbol Stones and Other Documents". In Gledhill, J, Bender, B and Larsen, MT (eds.), *State and Society: the Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization*. One World Archaeology. London: Unwin Hyman. 215-236.

--- 1998a, "Church Archaeology in Glasgow and the Kingdom of Strathclyde." *Innes Review* 49(2): 95-114.

--- 1998b, "Formalising the Mechanisms of State Power: Early Scottish Lordship from the 9th to the 13th Centuries". In Foster, S, Macinnes, A and MacInnes, R (eds.), *Scottish Power Centres*. Glasgow: Cruithne Press. 32-58.

--- 1998c, "Picts and Prehistory: Cultural Resource Management in Early Medieval Scotland." *World Archaeology* 30(1): 142-158.

--- 2000, "Christian Monumental Sculpture and Ethnic Expression in Early Scotland". In Frazer, WO and Tyrell, A (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*. London: Leicester University Press. 233-52.

--- 2003, "Govan: an Early Medieval Royal Centre on the Clyde." In Welander, R, Breeze, DJ and Clancy, TO (eds.): 77-83.

--- 2004a, "The Archaeological Context of Assembly in Early Medieval Scotland - Scone and its Comparanda." In Pantos, A and Semple, S (eds.): 73-94.

--- 2004b, *Govan from Cradle to Grave*. Glasgow: Friends of Govan Old.

--- 2010, "Pictish Archaeology: Persistent Problems and Structural Solutions." In Driscoll, ST, Geddes, J and Hall, M (eds.): 245-280.

Driscoll, ST, Geddes, J and Hall, M (eds.) 2010, *Pictish Progress: New Studies on Northern Britain in the Early Middle Ages* The Northern World. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Duffy, P (ed.) 2003, *Marshill, Alloa*. Glasgow: GUARD report 1478.

Dumville, DN 1984, "Gildas and Uinniau." In Lapidge, M and Dumville, DN (eds.): 207-214.

--- (ed.) 1993, *Saint Patrick AD 493-1993*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press.

--- 1997, *The Churches of North Britain in the First Viking-Age*. Whithorn Lecture Series. Whithorn, UK: Friends of the Whithorn Trust.

--- 2002, "The North Atlantic Monastic Thalassocracy: Sailing to the Desert in Early Medieval Insular Spirituality." In Crawford, BE (ed.): 121-131.

Dunbar, LJ forthcoming, "Remnants of a later first millenium AD Pictish long cist cemetery at Lochhead Quarry, Auchterforfar, Forfar, Angus."

Duncan, AAM 1975, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

Dunn, M 2009, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons c. 597-c. 700: Discourses of Life, Death and Afterlife*. London: Continuum.

Dunwell, A 2007, "Cist burials and an Iron Age Settlement at Dryburn Bridge, Innerwick, East Lothian." *SAIR* 24.

Dunwell, A, Cowie, TG, Bruce, MF, Neighbour, T and Rees, AR 1995, "A Viking Age cemetery at Cnip, Uig, Isle of Lewis." *PSAS* 125: 719-52.

Eckardt, H and Williams, H 2003, "Objects without a past?" In Williams, H (ed.): 141-170.

Edel, D (ed.) 1995, *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Edwards, AJH 1926, "Excavation of a Number of Graves in a Mound at Ackergill, Caithness." *PSAS* 60: 160-182.

--- 1927, "Excavation of Graves at Ackergill and of an Earth-house at Freswick Links, Caithness, and a Description of the Discovery of a Viking Grave at Reay, Caithness." *PSAS* 61: 196-209.

Edwards, N (ed.) 2009a, *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches*. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph. Leeds: Maney.

--- 2009b, "The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches: An Introduction." In Edwards, N (ed.): 1-18.

Edwards, N and Lane, A (eds.) 1992, *The Early Church in Wales and the West*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Effros, B 1997, "Beyond cemetery walls: early medieval funerary topography and Christian salvation." *Early Medieval Europe* 6(1): 1-23.

--- 2002a, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.

--- 2002b, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul* Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Elbourne, E 2003, "Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the Work of Jean and John Comaroff." *American Historical Review* 108(2): 435-459.

Elm, S 2003, "Inscriptions and Conversions: Gregory of Nazianzus on Baptism." In Mills, K and Grafton, A (eds.): 1-35.

Esmonde Cleary, S 2000, "Putting the Dead in their Place: Burial Location in Roman Britain." In Pearce, J, Millett, M and Struck, M (eds.): 127-142.

--- 2001, "The Roman to Medieval Transition." In James, S and Millett, M (eds.): 90-97.

Etchingham, C 1994, "Bishops in the Early Irish Church: A Reassessment." *Studia Hibernica* 28: 35-62.

Etchingham, C and Swift, C 2004, "English and Pictish Terms for Brooch in an 8th-century Irish Law-Text." *Medieval Archaeology* 48: 31-49.

Evans, N 2008, "Royal succession and kingship among the Picts." *Innes Review* 59: 1-48.

--- 2010, "Ideology, Literacy and Matriliny: Approaches to Medieval Texts on the Pictish Past." In Driscoll, ST, Geddes, J and Hall, M (eds.): 45-66.

Fahlander, F and Oestigaard, T (eds.) 2008, *The Materiality of Death: Bodies, Burials, Beliefs*. BAR International Series. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Fairhurst, H 1984, *Excavations at Crosskirk Broch, Caithness*. Soc Antiq Scot Monograph. Edinburgh.

Farwell, DE and Molleson, TI 1993, *Excavations at Poundbury 1966-80, Vol.2: The Cemeteries*. Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society.

Faulkner, N 2004, "The Case for the Dark Ages." In Collins, R and Gerrard, J (eds.): 5-12.

Ferris, I and Jones, R 2000, "Transforming an Elite: Reinterpreting Late Roman Binchester." In Wilmott, T and Wilson, P (eds.): 1-12.

Finlay, N 2000, "Outside of Life: Traditions of Infant Burial in Ireland from Cillin to Cist." *World Archaeology* 31(3): 407-422.

Fisher, I 1996, "The West of Scotland." In Blair, J and Pyrah, C (eds.): 37-42.
 --- 2001, *Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands*. RCAHMS and Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph Series. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
 --- 2002, "Crosses in the Ocean: Some *Papar* Sites and their Sculpture." In Crawford, BE (ed.): 39-57.
 --- 2008, "Early medieval sculpture." In Lowe, C (ed.): 101-114.
FitzPatrick, E 2004, "Royal Inauguration Mounds in Medieval Ireland: Antique Landscape and Tradition." In Pantos, A and Semple, S (eds.): 44-72.
Fleming, DH 1909, "Notice of a Sculptured Cross-shaft and Sculptured Slabs recovered from the Base of St Andrews Cathedral by direction of Mr Oldrieve of H.M. Office of Works, with Notes of other Sculptured Slabs at St Andrews." *PSAS* 43: 385-414.
 --- 1931, *St Andrews Cathedral Museum*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.
Fletcher, R 1994, "Time perspectivism, *Annales*, and the potential of archaeology." In Knapp, AB (ed.): 35-50.
Fletcher, RA 1997, *The Conversion of Europe: from Paganism to Christianity, 371-1386 AD* London: Harper Collins.
Flint, VIJ 1991, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Forsyth, K 1996, *The Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland: An Edited Corpus*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University.
 --- 1998, "Literacy in Pictland." In Pryce, H (ed.): 39-61.
 --- 2005, "*Hic Memoria Perpetua*: the Early Inscribed Stones of Southern Scotland in Context." In Foster, S and Cross, M (eds.): 113-134.
 --- (ed.) 2008, *Studies in the Book of Deer*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
 --- 2009, "The Latinus Stone: Whithorn's Earliest Christian Monument." In Murray, J (ed.): 19-41.
Forsyth, K and Tedeschi, C 2008, "Text-inscribed slates." In Lowe, C (ed.): 128-151.
Foster, S (ed.) 1998, *The St Andrews Sarcophagus: a Pictish Masterpiece and its International Connections*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
 --- 2004, *Picts, Gaels and Scots*. 2nd ed. London: B.T. Batsford/Historic Scotland.
Foster, S and Cross, M (eds.) 2005, *Able Minds and Practiced Hands: Scotland's Early Medieval Sculpture in the 21st Century*. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph. Leeds: Maney Publishing.
Fouracre, P 1999, "The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt to Regulate the Cult of Saints." In Howard-Johnston, J and Hayward, PA (eds.): 143-165.
 --- 2004, "Conflict, Power and Legitimation in Francia in the Late Seventh and Eighth Centuries". In Alfonso, I, Kennedy, H and Escalona, J (eds.), *Building Legitimacy: Political Discourses and Forms of Legitimacy in Medieval Societies*. The Medieval Mediterranean 53. Leiden: Brill. 3-26.
Fowler, C 2004, *The Archaeology of Personhood: an Anthropological Approach*. London: Routledge.
Franklin, J 2008, "Metalwork." In Lowe, C (ed.): 178-185.
Fraser, I 2005, "'Just an Ald Steen': Reverence, Reuse, Revulsion and Rediscovery." In Foster, S and Cross, M (eds.): 55-68.
 --- 2008, *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
Fraser, JE 2002, "Northumbrian Whithorn and the Making of St Ninian." *Innes Review* 53(1): 40-59.
 --- 2003, *Ministry, Mission, and Myth in Early Christian Fortriu*, University of Edinburgh.
 --- 2005, "Strangers on the Clyde: Cenél Comgaill, Clyde Rock and the Bishops of Kingarth." *Innes Review* 56(2): 102-120.
 --- 2007, "St Columba and the convention at Druimm Cete: peace and politics at seventh-century Iona." *Early Medieval Europe* 15(3): 315-334.
 --- 2008, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795*. New Edinburgh History Series. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

--- 2009a, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795*. New Edinburgh History Series. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

--- 2009b, "Rochester, Hexham and Cennrígmonaid: the movements of St Andrew in Britain 604-747." In Boardman, S, Davies, JR and Williamson, E (eds.): 1-17.

--- 2010, "From Ancient Scythia to The Problem of the Picts: Thoughts on the Quest for Pictish Origins." In Driscoll, ST, Geddes, J and Hall, M (eds.): 15-44.

Frend, WHC 2003, "Roman Britain: a Failed Promise." In Carver, M (ed.): 79-91.

Friell, JGP and Watson, WG (eds.) 1984, *Pictish Studies: Settlement, Burial and Art in Dark Age Northern Britain* BAR British Series. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Fyfe, R and Rippon, S 2004, "A Landscape in Transition? Palaeoenvironmental Evidence for the End of the "Romano-British" Period in Southwest England." In Collins, R and Gerrard, J (eds.): 33-42.

Fyles, C 2008, "Excavations at School Wynd, Abernethy." *TAFAJ* 14: 16-25.

Gallagher, D and Clarke, A 1993, "Burials of possible Romano-British date from Inveresk, East Lothian." *PSAS* 123: 315-318.

Gaskell Brown, C and Harper, AET 1984, "Excavations on Cathedral Hill, Armagh, 1968." *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 47: 109-161.

Geake, H 1997, *The Use of Grave-goods in Conversion-period England, c.600 - c.850*. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges.

--- 2002, "Persistent Problems in the Study of Conversion-Period Burials in England." In Lucy, S and Reynolds, A (eds.): 144-155.

Geary, PJ 1994, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*. London: Cornell University Press.

--- 2002, *The Myth of Nations : the Medieval Origins of Europe*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Gibbon, SJ 2007, "Medieval Parish Formation in Orkney." In Ballin-Smith, B, Taylor, S and Williams, G (eds.): 235-250.

Gillett, A 2002a, "Introduction: Ethnicity, History, and Methodology." In Gillett, A (ed.): 1-18.

--- (ed.) 2002b, *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*. Studies in the Early Middle Ages. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.

Gillies, W 1981, "The Crafstman in Early Celtic Literature." *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 11: 70-85.

Gilmour, B 2007, "Sub-Roman or Saxon, Pagan or Christian: who was buiried in the early cemetery at St Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln?" In Gilmour, L (ed.), *Pagans and Christians - from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. BAR International Series. Oxford: Archaeopress. 229-256.

Gilmour, S 2000, "First Millennia Settlement Development in the Atlantic West". In Henderson, JC (ed.), *The Prehistory and Early History of Atlantic Europe*. BAR International Series. Oxford: Archaeopress. 155-170.

Gittos, H 2002, "Creating the Sacred: Anglo-Saxon Rites for Consecrating Cemeteries." In Lucy, S and Reynolds, A (eds.): 195-208.

Goetz, H-W 2003, "Introduction." In Goetz, H-W, Jarnut, J and Pohl, W (eds.): 1-11.

Goetz, H-W, Jarnut, J and Pohl, W (eds.) 2003, *Regna and Gentes: the Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*. The Transformation of the Roman World. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Goffart, W 1988, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

--- 2006, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire*. Philadelphia, USA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goldberg, M 2009, "The Dichotomy in Romano-Celtic Syncretism: Some Preliminary Thoughts on Vernacular Religion". In Hendriks, J (ed.), *TRAC 2008: Proceedings*

of the Eighteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Amsterdam 2008. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Gondek, MM 2003, *Mapping Sculpture and Power: Symbolic Wealth in Early Medieval Scotland, 6th-11th Centuries AD*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

--- 2006, "Investing in Sculpture: Power in Early-historic Scotland." *Medieval Archaeology* 50: 105-142.

Gondek, MM and Noble, G 2010, "Together as One: The Landscape of the Symbol Stones at Rhynie, Aberdeenshire." In Driscoll, ST, Geddes, J and Hall, M (eds.): 281-306.

Goodier, A 1984, "The Formation of Boundaries in Anglo-Saxon England: a Statistical Study " *Medieval Archaeology* 28: 1-21.

Gooney, D in prep, *The human remains from the Iron Age cemetery at Berst Ness/Knowe of Skea, Westray, Orkney*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Gosden, C and Marshall, Y 1999, "The Cultural Biography of Objects." *World Archaeology* 31(2): 169-178.

Gourlay, RB 1984, "A Symbol Stone and Cairn at Watenan, Caithness." In Friell, JGP and Watson, WG (eds.): 131-134.

Gowland, R 2007, "Beyond Ethnicity: Symbols of Social Identity from the Fourth to Sixth Centuries in England." In Semple, S and Williams, H (eds.): 56-65.

Graham-Campbell, J 1991, "Norrie's Law, Fife: on the Nature and Dating of the Silver Hoard." *PSAS* 121: 241-259.

--- 1995, *Viking-age Gold and Silver of Scotland, AD 850-1100*. Edinburgh: National Museum of Scotland.

--- 2003, *Pictish Silver: Status and Symbol*. H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 13. Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge.

Graham-Campbell, J and Batey, CE 1998, *Vikings in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Greig, C 2000, "Excavation of a Cairn Cemetery at Lundin Links, Fife, in 1965-6." *PSAS* 130: 585-636.

Grieg, S 1940, *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland Oslo: Aschehoug.

Griffiths, D 2004, "Settlement and Acculturation in the Irish Sea Region." In Hines, J, Lane, A and Redknap, M (eds.): 125-138.

Griffiths, D, Reynolds, A and Semple, S (eds.) 2003, *Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain*. Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 12. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology.

Gwilt, A and Haselgrove, C (eds.) 1997, *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies: New Approaches to the British Iron Age*. Oxbow Monograph. Oxford: Oxbow.

Hadley, DM 2007, "The Garden Gives Up its Secrets: the Developing Relationship between Rural Settlements and Cemeteries, c. 750-1100." In Semple, S and Williams, H (eds.): 194-203.

Hadley, DM and Richards, JD (eds.) 2000, *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Studies in the Early Middle Ages. Turnhout: Brepols.

Hair, N and Howard-Davis, C 1996, "The Roman Cemetery at Low Borrowbridge near Tebay: Excavation of the Roman cemetery in 1991 and 1992". In Lambert, J (ed.), *Transect through Time: the Archaeological Landscape of the Shell North Western Ethylene Pipeline*. Lancaster: Lancaster Imprints. 96-125.

Hall, M 2005, "Of holy men and heroes: the cult of saints in medieval Perthshire." *Innes Review* 56(1): 61-88.

Hall, RA and Whyman, M 1996, "Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon, North Yorkshire, from the 7th to 11th Centuries AD." *Medieval Archaeology* 40: 62-150.

Halliday, S 2002, "Settlement, territory and landscapes: the later prehistoric landscape in the light of the "Survey of Eastern Dumfriesshire"." *TDGNHAS* 76.

--- 2006, "Into the Dim Light of History: More of the Same or All Change?" In Woolf, A (ed.): 11-28.

Halsall, G 1992, "The Origins of the *Reihengräberzivilisation*: Forty Years On." In Drinkwater, J and Elton, H (eds.): 196-207.

--- 1995, *Early Medieval Cemeteries*. Glasgow: Cruithne Press.

--- 1996, "Female status and power in early Merovingian central Austrasia: the burial evidence." *Early Medieval Europe* 5(1): 1-24.

--- 2003, "Burial Writes: Graves, Texts and Time in Early Merovingian Northern Gaul". In Jarnut, J and Wemhoff, M (eds.), *Erinnerungskultur Im Bestattungsritual*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink. 61-74.

--- 2010, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul: Selected Studies in History and Archaeology, 1992-2009*. Brill's Series on the Early Middle Ages 18. Leiden: Brill.

Hamilakis, Y, Pluciennik, M and Tarlow, S (eds.) 2002, *Thinking Through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality*. London: Plenum Publishers.

Hamlin, A 1985, "The Archaeology of the Irish Church in the Eighth Century." *Peritia* 4: 279-299.

--- 2008, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity in the North of Ireland*. BAR British Series. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Hammond, M 2006, "Ethnicity and the Writing of Medieval Scottish history." *Scottish Historical Review* 85(1): 1-27.

Handley, MA 2001, "The Origins of Christian Commemoration in Late Antique Britain." *Early Medieval Europe* 10(2): 177-199.

Hanson, IL and Wickham, C (eds.) 2000, *The Long Eighth Century*. Transformation of the Roman World 11. Leiden: Brill.

Hanson, WS 2004, "Scotland and the Northern Frontier: Second to Fourth Centuries AD". In Todd, M (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Britain*. Malden, Massachussetts: Blackwell. 136-61.

Harbison, P 1970, "How old is Gallarus Oratory?" *Medieval Archaeology* 14: 34-59.

Harden, J 1995, "A Potential Archaeological Context for the Early Christian Sculptured Stones from Tarbat, Easter Ross." In Bourke, C (ed.): 221-227.

Harding, DW 2004, *The Iron Age in Northern Britain: Celts and Romans, Natives and Invaders*. London: Routledge.

--- 2006, "Redefining the Northern British Iron Age." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25(1): 61-82.

Härke, H 2000, "The Circulation of Weapons in Anglo-Saxon Society." In Theuws, F and Nelson, JL (eds.): 377-399.

--- 2001, "Cemeteries as Places of Power." In De Jong, M and Härke, H (eds.): 9-30.

Harrington, S 2007, "Soft Furnished Burial: An Assessment of the Role of Textiles in Early Anglo-Saxon Inhumations, with Particular Reference to East Kent." In Semple, S and Williams, H (eds.): 110-116.

Harvey, A 1992, "Latin, Literacy and the Celtic Vernaculars around the Year AD 500". In Byrne, CJ, Harry, M and Ó Siadhail, P (eds.), *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples: Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: St Mary's University. 11-26.

Haselgrove, C 1997, "Iron Age Brooch Deposition and Chronology." In Gwilt, A and Haselgrove, C (eds.): 51-72.

Haselgrove, C and Moore, T (eds.) 2007, *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Hatherley, C 2010, "Into the west: excavation of an Early Christian cemetery at Montfode, Ardrossan, North Ayrshire." *PSAS* 140.

Hawkes, J and Mills, S (eds.) 1999, *Northumbria's Golden Age*. Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing.

Hayward, PA 1999, "Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom." In Howard-Johnston, J and Hayward, PA (eds.): 115-142.

Heald, A 2001, "Knobbed spearbutts of the British and Irish Iron Age: new examples and new thoughts." *Antiquity* 75: 689-696.

--- 2008, "Crucibles and other vitrified ceramics." In Lowe, C (ed.): 207-208.

Heather, PJ 2006, "Foedera and Foederati of the Fourth Century." In Noble, TFX (ed.): 292-308.

Henderson, I 1971, "North Pictland". *The Dark Ages in the Highlands: Ancient Peoples, Local History, Archaeology*. Inverness: Inverness Field Club. 37-52.

--- 1996, *Pictish Monsters: Symbol, Text and Image*. H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 7. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

Henderson, I and Henderson, G 2004, *Art of the Picts*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Henig, M 2004, "Remaining Roman in Britain AD 300-700: the Evidence of Portable Art." In Collins, R and Gerrard, J (eds.): 13-23.

Henry, D (ed.) 1997, *The Worm, the Germ, and the Thorn: Pictish and Related Studies Presented to Isabel Henderson*. Balgavies, UK: Pinkfoot Press.

Henshall, AS 1956, "A Long Cist Cemetery at Parkburn Sand Pit, Lasswade, Midlothian." *PSAS* 89: 252-283.

--- 1966, "Second Report of cist burials at Parkburn Sandpit, Lasswade, Midlothian." *PSAS* 98: 204-214.

Herbert, M 1988, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Herren, MW and Brown, SA 2002, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century*. Studies in Celtic History Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press.

Herrin, J 1987, *The Formation of Christendom*. London: Fontana Press.

Higgitt, J 1982, "The Pictish Latin Inscription at Tarbat in Ross-shire." *PSAS* 112: 300-321.

Higham, N 1997a, *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Early Anglo-Saxon England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

--- 1997b, "*Imperium* in Early Britain: Rhetoric and Reality in the Writings of Gildas and Bede". In Dickinson, TM and Griffiths, D (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*. 10. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Hill, JD 1997, ""The End of One Kind of Body and the Beginning of Another Kind of Body"? Toilet Instruments and "Romanization" in Southern England during the First Century AD." In Gwilt, A and Haselgrove, C (eds.): 96-107.

--- 2001, "Romanisation, Gender and Class: Recent Approaches to Identity in Britain and their Possible Consequences " In James, S and Millett, M (eds.): 12-18.

Hill, JD and Cumberpatch, CG (eds.) 1995, *Different Iron Ages: Studies on the Iron Age in Temperate Europe*. BAR International Series. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Hill, P 1982, "Broxmouth Hillfort Excavations, 1977-1978. An Interim Report". In Harding, DW (ed.), *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*. University of Edinburgh Occasional Papers. 8. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh. 141-187.

--- 1997, *Whithorn and St Ninian: the Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984-91*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.

Hindmarch, E and Melikian, M 2006, "Baldred's Auldhame: An early medieval chapel and cemetery." *Church Archaeology* 10: 97-100.

Hines, J 2003, "Editor's Note." *Medieval Archaeology* 47: 199-200.

Hingley, R 1992, "Society in Scotland from 700 BC to AD 200." *PSAS* 122: 7-53.

--- 1997, "Iron, Ironworking and Regeneration: a Study of the Symbolic Meaning of Metalworking in Iron Ages Britain." In Gwilt, A and Haselgrove, C (eds.): 9-18.

--- 1999, "The creation of the later prehistoric landscape and the context of the reuse of Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age monuments in Britain and Ireland". In Bevan, B (ed.), *Northern Exposure: Interpretative Devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain*. Leicester: University of Leicester School of Archaeological Studies. 233-251.

--- 2005, *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity And Empire*. London: Routledge.

Hinnells, JR 2005, "Why Study Religions?" In Hinnells, JR (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*. London: Routledge. 5-20.

Hogarth, AC 1973, "Structural Features in Anglo-Saxon Graves." *Archaeological Journal* 130: 104-119.

Hoggett, R 2007, "Charting Conversion: Burial as a Barometer of Belief?" In Semple, S and Williams, H (eds.): 28-37.

Holtorf, CJ 1997, "Christian Landscapes of Pagan Monuments. A Radical Constructivist Perspective". In Nash, G (ed.), *Semiotics of Landscape: Archaeology of Mind*. BAR International Series. 661. Oxford: Archaeopress. 80-88.

Hope-Taylor, B 1977, *Yeavering: an Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria*. London: HMSO.

Horn, W 1990, *The Forgotten Hermitage of Skellig Michael*. California Studies in the History of Art Discovery Series Oxford: University of California Press.

Howard-Johnston, J and Hayward, PA (eds.) 1999, *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hughes, K 1971, *Early Christianity in Pictland*. Jarrow Lectures. Jarrow, Durham: St Paul's Church.

Hunter, F 1997a, "Iron Age Hoarding in Scotland and Northern England." In Gwilt, A and Haselgrove, C (eds.): 108-133.

--- 1997b, "Recent Roman Iron Age Metalwork Finds from Fife and Tayside." *TAFAJ* 2: 113-125.

--- 2007, *Beyond the Edge of the Empire – Caledonians, Picts and Romans*. Rosemarkie, UK: Groam House Museum.

--- 2008a, "The oil shale artefacts and related material." In Lowe, C (ed.): 193-202.

--- 2008b, "The Roman tile fragment." In James, HF and Yeoman, P (eds.): 122-123.

Hutcheson, A 1903, "Notice of the Discovery of a Full-length Stone Cist containing Human Remains and a Penannular Brooch at Craigie, near Dundee." *PSAS* 37: 233-240.

--- 1909, "Notice of the Discovery of Two Stone Coffins at Pitkerro, with Notes on the Chronological Sequence of Stone Cists." *PSAS* 43: 317-24.

Hutchison, R 1866, "Notice of Stone Cists Discovered near the 'Catstane,' Kirkliston." *PSAS* 6: 184-194.

Innes, M 2000, "Introduction: using the past, interpreting the present, influencing the future". In Hen, Y and Innes, M (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-8.

Insoll, T (ed.) 2001a, *Archaeology and World Religion* London: Routledge.

--- 2001b, "Introduction: the Archaeology of World Religion " In Insoll, T (ed.): 1-32.

--- 2004, *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion* London: Routledge.

--- 2007, "Introduction: Configuring Identities in Archaeology". In Insoll, T (ed.), *The Archaeology of Identities: a Reader*. London: Routledge. 1-18.

INSTAR 2011, "Mapping Death Project." (Online database). Heritage Council/University College Dublin: http://www.mappingdeathdb.ie, accessed April 2011.

James, E 1989, "Burial and Status in the Early Medieval West." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Fifth Series)* 29: 23-40.

James, H 1992, "Early Medieval Cemeteries in Wales." In Edwards, N and Lane, A (eds.): 90-104.

James, HF 1999, "Excavations of a medieval cemetery at Skaill House, and a cist in the Bay of Skaill, Sandwick, Orkney." *PSAS* 129: 753-777.

James, HF and Yeoman, P 2008, *Excavations at St Ethernan's Monastery, Isle of May, Fife*. Perth: Tayside and Fife Archaeological Committee

James, S 1999, *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?* London: British Museum Press.

--- 2001, "Soldiers and Civilians: Identity and Interaction in Roman Britain " In James, S and Millett, M (eds.): 77-89.

James, S and Millett, M (eds.) 2001, *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda*. CBA Research Report. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Jervise, A 1857, "Notices Descriptive on the Localities of Certain Sculptured Monuments in Forfarshire &c., - Meigle, Essie, Glamis, Thornton, and Cossins. Part II." *PSAS* 2: 242-251.

--- 1862, "Account of the Excavation of the Round or 'Bee-hive' Shaped House, and Other Under-ground Chambers, at West Grange of Conan, Forfarshire." *PSAS* 4: 492-499.

Jobey, G 1978, "Burnswark Hill, Dumfriesshire." *TDGNHAS* 53: 57-104.

Jones, A 2003, "Technologies of Remembrance." In Williams, H (ed.): 65-88.

--- 2007, *Memory and Material Culture*. Topics in Contemporary Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, S 1997, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge.

Kaldellis, A 2009, "The Great Medieval Mythogenesis: Why Historians Should Look Again at medieval Heroic Tales". In Walde, C and Dill, U (eds.), *Antike Mythen: Medien, Transformationen und Konstruktionen*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 356-371.

Karl, R 2005, "Neighbourhood, Hospitality, Fosterage, and Contracts: Late Hallstatt and early La Tène complex social interaction north of the Alps." Defining Social Complexity Conference, Cambridge, UK: unpublished paper.

Kelly, D 1988, "Cross-Carved Slabs from Latteragh, County Tipperary." *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 118: 92-100.

Kilbride, W 2000, "Why I feel cheated by the term 'Christianisation'." *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 17(2): 1-17.

King, HA 1997, "Burials and High Crosses at Clonmacnoise (Ireland)". In De Boe, G and Verhaeghe, F (eds.), *Death and Burial in Medieval Europe: Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference*. 2. Zellik (Belgium): Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium. 127-131.

King, JM 2004, "Grave-goods as Gifts in Early Saxon Burials (ca. 450-600)." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4(2): 214-238.

Kinsella, J 2010, "A new Irish early medieval site type? Exploring the 'recent' archaeological evidence for non-circular enclosed settlement and burial sites." *PRIA* 110: 89-132.

Kirby, DP 1973, "Bede and the Pictish Church." *Innes Review* 24(1): 6-25.

--- 1993, *Bede's "Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum": Its Contemporary Setting*. Jarrow Lecture. Jarrow, Durham: St Paul's Church.

Kirby, M and Alexander, D 2009, "Excavations of a Monastic Settlement and Medieval Church Site at Killevin, Crarae Gardens, Mid Argyll." *SAJ* 31: 61-105.

Knapp, AB (ed.) 1994, *Archaeology, Annales and Ethnohistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Knapp, AB and Ashmore, W (eds.) 1999, *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives* Oxford: Blackwell.

Knight, JK 1999, *The End of Antiquity: Archaeology, Society and Religion AD 235-700*. Stroud: Tempus.

Laing, L 1998, "The Early Christian and Later Medieval Ecclesiastical Site at St Blane's, Kingarth, Bute." *PSAS* 128: 551-565.

Laing, L and Longley, D 2006, *The Mote of Mark: A Dark Age Hillfort in South-west Scotland*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Laing, S 1866, *Pre-historic remains of Caithness*. London: Williams & Norgate.

--- 1868, "On the Age of the Burgs or 'Brochs,' and some other Pre-historic Remains, of Orkney and Caithness." *PSAS* 7: 56-79.

Lamb, R 1973, "Coastal Settlements of the North." *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 5: 76-98.

--- 1974, "The Cathedral of Christchurch and the Monastery of Birsay." *PSAS* 105: 200-205.

--- 1998, "Pictland, Northumbria, and the Carolingian Empire." In Crawford, BE (ed.): 41-56.

Lamont, M and Molnár, V 2002, "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 167-195.

Lane, A and Campbell, E (eds.) 2000, *Dunadd: an Early Dalriadic Capital*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Lane, P 2001, "The Archaeology of Christianity in Global Perspective." In Insoll, T (ed.): 148-181.

Lelong, O 2003, "St Trolla's Chapel, Kintradwell, Sutherland: the Occupants of the Medieval Burial Ground and their Patron Saint." *SAJ* 25(2): 147-163.

--- (ed.) 2007, *Shetland Community Archaeology Project, Sandwick, Unst*. Glasgow: GUARD.

Lionard, P 1961, "Early Irish Grave-Slabs." *PRIA* 61: 95-169.

Lockhart, W 1886, "Churches Consecrated in Scotland in the Thirteenth Century; with Dates." *PSAS* 20: 190-200.

Longley, D 2002, "Orientation Within Early Medieval Cemeteries: Some Data from North-West Wales." *Antiquaries Journal* 82: 309-321.

--- 2009, "Early Medieval Burial in Wales." In Edwards, N (ed.): 105-134.

Longworth, I 1966, "A massive cist with multiple burials of Iron Age date at Lochend, Dunbar. Part I: The archaeological report." *PSAS* 98: 173-183.

Lorimer, DH 1994, "The Human Remains." In Ballin-Smith, B (ed.): 260-263.

Loveluck, CP 1998, "A high-status Anglo-Saxon settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire." *Antiquity* 72(275): 146-161.

Lowe, C 1998, *Coastal Erosion and the Archaeological Assessment of an Eroding Shoreline at St Boniface Church, Papa Westray, Orkney*. Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing/Historic Scotland.

--- 1999, *Angels, Fools and Tyrants: Britons and Anglo-Saxons in Southern Scotland*. The Making of Scotland. Edinburgh: Canongate/Historic Scotland.

--- 2002, "The *Papar* and Papa Stronsay: 8th century Reality or 12th century Myth?" In Crawford, BE (ed.): 83-95.

--- 2006, *Exacavations at Hoddom, Dumfriesshire*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

--- 2008, *Inchmarnock: An Early Historic Island Monastery and its Archaeological Landscape*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Lucy, S 1999, "Changing Burial Rites in Northumbria AD 500-750." In Hawkes, J and Mills, S (eds.): 12-43.

--- 2000, *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death: Burial Rites in Early England* Stroud, UK: Sutton.

--- 2002, "Burial Practice in Early Medieval Eastern England: Constructing Local Identities, Deconstructing Ethnicity." In Lucy, S and Reynolds, A (eds.): 72-87.

Lucy, S and Reynolds, A (eds.) 2002, *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology.

Lunt, D and Young, A 1978, "Report on the skeletal material." In Cowie, TG (ed.): 191-196.

--- 1989, "Excavations beside the Brough Road: human skeletal material." In Morris, CD (ed.): 273-277.

--- 1996, "Dental and anatomical reports." In Proudfoot, E (ed.): 424-431.

Lynn, C 1988, "Excavations at 46-48 Scotch Street, Armagh, 1979-80." *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 51: 69-84.

Mac Cana, P 1996, *Celtic Mythology*. Library of the world's myths and legends. London: Chancellor Press.

MacDonald, A 2002, "The *Papar* and Some Problems; a Brief Review." In Crawford, BE (ed.): 13-30.

MacGibbon, D and Ross, T 1897, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland, from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century*. Edinburgh: James Thin/The Mercat Press.

MacGregor, G 2003, "Excavation of an Iron Age burial mound, Loch Borralie, Durness, Sutherland." *SAIR* 9.

--- 2008, "Elemental bodies: the nature of transformative practices during the late third and second millennium BC in Scotland." *World Archaeology* 40(2): 268-280.

Macinnes, L 1984, "Brochs and the Roman Occupation of Lowland Scotland." *PSAS* 114: 235-249.

Mackay, W 1886, "Notice of Two Sculptured Stones in Glen Urquhart." *PSAS* 20: 358-360.

MacMullen, R 1982, "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire." *American Journal of Philology* 103: 233-246.

Macquarrie, A 1992, "Early Christian Religious Houses in Scotland: Foundation and Function." In Blair, J and Sharpe, R (eds.): 110-136.

--- 1997, *The Saints of Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald.

Maldonado, A 2011, "What Does Early Christianity Look Like? Mortuary archaeology and conversion in Late Iron Age Scotland." *SAJ* 32(1).

--- forthcoming, "Reuse of the Recent Past: Burial in Roman and Iron Age Monuments in Scotland". *Proceedings of the Roots of Nationhood conference, Glasgow 2009*.

Manning, C 2009, "A Suggested Typology for Pre-Romanesque Stone Churches in Ireland." In Edwards, N (ed.): 265-280.

Márkus, GOP 1999, "Iona: Monks, Pastors and Missionaries." In Broun, D and Clancy, TO (eds.): 115-138.

--- 2005, "Pelagianism and the 'Common Celtic Church'." *Innes Review* 56(2): 165-213.

Mathews, TF 1993, *The Clash of Gods: a Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*. Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press.

Mattingly, D 2004, "Being Roman: Expressing Identity in a Provincial Setting." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17: 5-25.

--- 2006, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC - AD 409*. London: Penguin.

Mawer, CF 1995, *Evidence for Christianity in Roman Britain: The Small Finds* BAR British Series 243. Oxford: Archaeopress.

McCarthy, M 2009, "Christianity in Northern Britain in the Late-Roman Period: a Critical Assessment." In Murray, J (ed.): 57-70.

McComish, JM and Petts, D 2008, "Excavations at Fey Field, Whithorn: Excavations by David Pollock and Amanda Clarke." *Archaeology of York Web Series*: http://www.iadb.co.uk/yat/publish.htm?PUB=58.

McCone, K 1990, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature*. Maynooth, Ireland: An Sagart.

McCord, N and Tait, J 1978, "Excavations at Kerse, East Polmont, Stirlingshire, July 1963." *PSAS* 109: 151-165.

McCormick, F 1993, "Excavations at Iona, 1988." *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 56: 78-108.

McCormick, F and Murray, E 2007, *Excavations at Knowth 3: Knowth and the Zooarchaeology of Early Christian Ireland*. Royal Irish Academy Monographs in Archaeology. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

McCullagh, R 1989, "Excavation at Newton, Islay." *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 15: 23-51.

McErlean, T and Crothers, N 2007, *Harnessing the Tides: The Early Medieval Tide Mills at Nendrum Monastery, Strangford Loch*. Norwich: Environment & Heritage Service/The Stationery Office.

McGarry, T 2009, "Irish late prehistoric burial ring-ditches". In Cooney, G, Becker, K, Coles, J, Ryan, M and Sievers, S (eds.), *Relics of Old Decency: Archaeological Studies in Later Prehistory: Festschrift for Barry Raftery*. Dublin: Wordwell. 413-423.

McRoberts, D 1963, "The ecclesiastical significance of the St Ninian's Isle treasure." *PSAS* 94: 301-314.

Meaney, AL 1964, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Meens, R 1998, "Magic and the Early Medieval World View". In Hill, J and Swan, M (eds.), *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*. International Medieval Research 4. Turnhout: Brepols. 285-295.

Meyer, K 2010, "Saints, Scrolls and Serpents: Theorising a Pictish Liturgy on the Tarbat Peninsula." In Driscoll, ST, Geddes, J and Hall, M (eds.): 169-200.

Miller, M 1979, "The Disputed Historical Horizon of the Pictish King Lists." *Scottish Historical Review* 58: 1-34.

Miller, P 1889, "Notices of the Standing Stones of Alloa and Clackmannan." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 23: 153-164.

Millett, M 1990, *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mills, K and Grafton, A (eds.) 2003, *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing*. Studies in Comparative History. Woodbridge, UK: University of Rochester Press.

Mitchell, H 1921, "The Picts in Athol." *Transactions of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club* 8: 27.

Montgomery, J, Evans, JA, Powlesland, D and Roberts, C 2005, "Continuity or Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England? Isotope Evidence for Mobility, Subsistence Practice, and Status at West Heslerton." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 126: 123-138.

Morris, CD 1989a, *The Birsay Bay Project: Vol.1, Coastal sites beside the Brough Road, Birsay, Orkney Excavations 1976-1982*. Durham: University of Durham Department of Archaeology.

--- 1989b, *Church and Monastery in the Far North: an Archaeological Evaluation*. Jarrow Lecture. Jarrow, Durham: St Paul's Church.

--- 1996a, *The Birsay Bay Project: Vol.2, Sites in Birsay village and on the Brough of Birsay, Orkney*. Durham: Alan Sutton.

--- 1996b, "From Birsay to Tintagel: A Personal View." In Crawford, BE (ed.): 37-78.

--- 2004, "From Birsay to Brattahlíð: Recent Perspectives on Norse Christianity in Orkney, Shetland, and the North Atlantic Region". In Adams, J and Holman, K (eds.), *Scandinavia and Europe, 800-1350: Contact, Conflict, and Coexistence*. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 177-195.

Morris, CD and Emery, N 1986, "The chapel and enclosure on the Brough of Deerness, Orkney: Survey and excavations, 1975–1977." *PSAS* 116: 301-374.

Morton, AD 1992, *Excavations at Hamwic. Vol.1, Excavations 1946-83, excluding Six Dials and Melbourne Street*. CBA Research Report 84. London: Council for British Archaeology.

Muldoon, J 1997, "Introduction: the Conversion of Europe". In Muldoon, J (ed.), *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*. Gainesville, FL, USA: University Press of Florida. 1-10.

Mulville, J, Parker Pearson, M, Sharples, N, Smith, H and Chamberlain, A 2003, "Quarters, Arcs, and Squares: Human and Animal Remains in the Hebridean Late Iron Age." In Downes, J and Ritchie, A (eds.): 21-34.

Murray, A 1992, "Missionaries and Magic in Dark-Age Europe." *Past and Present* 136: 186-205.

Murray, D 1991, "Square-ditched Barrows and Enclosures". In Murray, D (ed.), *Forays into Fife: Essays Presented to J Davidson on the Occasion of his Retiral*. [Unpublished]. 35-41.

Murray, D and Ralston, IBM 1997, "The Excavation of a Square-ditched Barrow and Other Cropmarks at Boysack Mills, Inverkeilor, Angus." *PSAS* 127: 359-386.

Murray, J (ed.) 2009, *St Ninian and the Earliest Christianity in Scotland*. BAR British Series. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Neighbour, T, Knott, C, Bruce, MF and Kerr, NW 2000, "Excavation of Two Burials at Galson, Isle of Lewis, 1993 and 1996." *PSAS* 130: 559-584.

Nelson, JL 2000, "Rituals of Power: By Way of Conclusion." In Theuws, F and Nelson, JL (eds.): 477-486.

Newman, C 1998, "Reflections on the Making of a 'Royal Site' in Early Ireland." *World Archaeology* 30(1): 127-141.

Ní Dhonnchada, M 1982, "The Guarantor List of *Cáin Adomnáin*, 697." *Peritia* 1: 178-215.

Nicolaisen, WFH 1997, "On Pictish Rivers and Their Confluences." In Henry, D (ed.): 113-118.

Nieke, MR 1993, "Penannular and Related Brooches: Secular Ornament or Symbol in Action?" In Spearman, RM and Higgitt, J (eds.): 128-134.

Noble, TFX (ed.) 2006a, *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms*. London: Routledge.

--- 2006b, "Introduction: Romans, barbarians, and the transformation of the Roman Empire." In Noble, TFX (ed.): 1-27.

Noble, TFX and Smith, JMH (eds.) 2008, *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600 - c. 1100*. Cambridge History of Christianity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nongbri, B 2008, "Dislodging "Embedded" Religion: A Brief Note on a Scholarly Trope." *Numen* 55: 440-460.

Nordeide, SW and Gulliksen, S 2007, "First Generation Christians, Second Generation Radiocarbon Dates: the Cemetery at St. Clement's in Oslo." *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 40(1): 1-25.

Nowakowski, JA and Thomas, C 1992, *Grave News From Tintagel: an Account of a Second Season of Archaeological Excavations at Tintagel Churchyard, Cornwall, 1991*. Truro: Cornwall Archaeological Unit, Cornwall City Council, University of Exeter.

O'Brien, E 1999, *Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: Burial Practices Reviewed*. BAR British Series 289. Oxford: Archaeopress.

--- 2003, "Burial Practices in Ireland: First to Seventh Centuries AD." In Downes, J and Ritchie, A (eds.): 62-72.

--- 2009, "Pagan or Christian? Burial in Ireland During the 5th to 8th Centuries AD." In Edwards, N (ed.): 135-154.

O'Grady, O 2008, *The Setting and Practice of Open-air Judicial Assemblies in Medieval Scotland: a Multidisciplinary Study*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

O'Kelly, MJ 1958, "Church Island near Valencia, Co. Kerry." *PRIA* 59: 57-136.

O'Sullivan, J 1994, "Excavation of an early church and a women's cemetery at St Ronan's medieval parish church, Iona." *PSAS* 124: 327-365.

--- 1999, "Iona: Archaeological Investigations 1875-1996." In Broun, D and Clancy, TO (eds.): 215-243.

O'Sullivan, J and Ó Carragáin, T 2008, *Inishmurray: Monks and Pilgrims in an Atlantic Landscape. Vol. 1, Archaeological Survey and Excavations 1997-2000*. Cork: Collins Press.

Ó Carragáin, T 2003a, "The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Relics in Early Medieval Ireland." *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 133: 130-176.

--- 2003b, "A Landscape Converted: Archaeology and Early Church Organisation on Iveragh and Dingle, Ireland." In Carver, M (ed.): 127-152.

--- 2005, "Habitual Masonry Styles and the Local Organisation of Church Building in Early Medieval Ireland." *PRIA* 105C(3): 99-149.

--- 2007, "Skeuomorphs and Spolia: the Presence of the Past in Irish Pre-Romanesque Architecture". In Moss, R (ed.), *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*. TRIARC Research Studies in Irish Art. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 95-109.

--- 2009a, "Cemetery Settlements and Local Churches in Pre-Viking Ireland in Light of Comparisons with England and Wales." In Graham-Campbell, J and Ryan, M (eds.): 329-366.

--- 2009b, "New Light on Early Insular Monasteries [book review]." *Antiquity* 83(322): 1182-1186.

--- 2009c, "The Saint and the Sacred Centre: The Early Medieval Pilgrimage Landscape of Inishmurray." In Edwards, N (ed.): 207-226.

--- 2010, *Churches in Early Medieval Ireland: Architecture, Ritual and Memory*. London: Yale University Press.

Ó Riain, P 1995, "Pagan Example and Christian Practice: a Reconsideration." In Edel, D (ed.): 144-156.

--- 2006, *Feastdays of the Saints: a History of Irish Martyrologies*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.

Ó Riain, P and Herbert, M (eds.) 1988, *Betha Adamnáin: The Irish Life of Adamnán*. London: Irish Texts Society.

O'Loughlin, T 2000, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings*. London: Continuum.

Okasha, E 1971, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oram, RD 2009, "A note on the dating of Barhobble Chapel bones and the historical context of their deposition." *TDGNHAS* 83: 51-53.

Ottaway, PJ 1996, "The Ironwork." In Hall, RA and Whyman, M (eds.): 99-114.

Owen, O and Lowe, C 1999, *Kebister: the Four-thousand-year-old Story of One Shetland Township*. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph Series. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Palmer, J 2007, "Defining paganism in the Carolingian world." *Early Medieval Europe* 15(4): 402-425.

Pantos, A and Semple, S (eds.) 2004, *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Parfitt, K and Brugmann, B 1997, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery on Mill Hill, Deal, Kent*. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series 14. Leeds: Maney.

Parker Pearson, M 1993, "The Powerful Dead: Archaeological Relationships between the Living and the Dead." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3(2): 203-229.

--- 1995, "Return of the living dead: mortuary analysis and the New Archaeology revisited." *Antiquity* 69: 1046-1048.

--- 2003, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* 2nd ed. Stroud: Sutton.

--- 2006, "The Origins of Old Norse Ritual and Religion in European Perspective". In Andrén, A, Jennbert, K and Raudvere, C (eds.), *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes and Interactions*. Lund, Sweden: Nordic Academic Press. 86-91.

Paxton, FS 1990, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*. London: Cornell University Press.

--- 2008, "Birth and Death." In Noble, TFX and Smith, JMH (eds.): 383-398.

Pearce, J 1997, "Death and Time: the Structure of Late Iron Age Mortuary Ritual." In Gwilt, A and Haselgrove, C (eds.): 174-180.

--- 2000, "Burial, Society and Context in the Provincial Roman World." In Pearce, J, Millett, M and Struck, M (eds.): 1-12.

Pearce, J, Millett, M and Struck, M (eds.) 2000, *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Pearce, SM 2003, "Processes of Conversion in North-west Roman Gaul." In Carver, M (ed.): 61-78.

Perry, DR 2000, *Castle Park, Dunbar: Two Thousand Years on a Fortified Headland* Soc Ant Scot Monograph Series 16. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Petrie, G 1890, "Notice of the Brochs or Large Round Towers of Orkney, with Plans, Sections, and Drawings, and Tables of Measurements of Orkney and Shetland Brochs." *Archaeologia Scotica* 5: 71-94.

Petts, D 2002, "Cemeteries and Boundaries in Western Britain." In Lucy, S and Reynolds, A (eds.): 24-46.

--- 2003, *Christianity in Roman Britain*. Stroud, UK: Tempus.

--- 2004, "Burial in West Britain AD 400-800: Late Antique or Early Medieval?" In Collins, R and Gerrard, J (eds.): 77-87.

Philpott, R 1991, *Burial Practices in Roman Britain*. BAR British Series 219. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Piggott, S 1948, "The excavations at Cairnpapple Hill, West Lothian, 1947-1948." *PSAS* 82: 68-123.

--- 1951, "Excavations in the broch and hill-fort of Torwood-Lee, Selkirkshire, 1950." *PSAS* 85: 92-117.

Pitts, LF and St Joseph, J 1985, *Inchtuthil: The Roman Legionary Fortress*. Britannia Monograph Series 6. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Pitts, M 2008, "Globalizing the local in Roman Britain: An anthropological approach to social change." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27(4): 493-506.

Pluskowski, A and Patrick, P 2003, "'How Do You Pray to God?' Fragmentation and Variety in Early Medieval Christianity." In Carver, M (ed.): 29-57.

Pohl, W 1997, "Ethnic Names and Identities in the British Isles: A Comparative Perspective". In Hines, J (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* Woodbridge, UK: Boydell. 7-32.

Pollard, T 1999, "The Drowned and the Saved: Archaeological Perspectives on the Sea as Grave." In Downes, J and Pollard, T (eds.): 30-51.

Poller, T (ed.) 2008, *Forteviot, Perthshire: Excavation of a barrow cemetery and unenclosed grave cemetery [unpub interim report]* Strathearn Environs and Royal Forteviot Project. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Ponting, MR 1989, "Two Iron-Age cists from Galson, Isle of Lewis." *PSAS* 119: 91-100.

Proudfoot, E 1996, "Excavations at the Long Cist Cemetery on the Hallow Hill, St Andrews, Fife, 1975-7." *PSAS* 126: 387-454.

Proudfoot, E and Aliaga-Kelly, C 1996, "Towards an Interpretation of Anomalous Finds and Place-names of Anglo-Saxon Origin in Scotland". In Griffiths, D (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*. 9. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology. 1-13.

Pryce, H (ed.) 1998, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Radford, CAR 1950, "Excavations at Whithorn, First Season, 1949." *TDGNHAS* 27: 85-126.

--- 1951, "Excavations at Chapel Finnian, Mochrum." *TDGNHAS* 28: 28-40.

--- 1957, "Excavations at Whithorn (Final Report)." *TDGNHAS* 34: 131-94.

--- 1959, *The Early Christian and Norse Settlements at Birsay*. Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

--- 1967, "The Early Church in Strathclyde and Galloway." *Medieval Archaeology* 11: 105-126.

--- 1971, "Christian Origins in Britain." *Medieval Archaeology* 15: 1-12.

Rae, V and Rae, A 1953, "Excavation of a bowl barrow at Pityoulish, Strathspey, in 1953." *PSAS* 87: 153-160.

Raftery, B 1994, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Rahtz, P 1973, "Monasteries as Settlements." *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 5: 125-135.

--- 1977, "Late Roman Cemeteries and Beyond". In Reece, R (ed.), *Burial in the Roman World*. CBA Research Reports 22. London: Council for British Archaeology. 53-64.

Rahtz, P, Hirst, S and Wright, SM 2000, *Cannington Cemetery: Excavations 1962-3 of Prehistoric, Roman, Post-Roman, and Later Features at Cannington Park Quarry, near Bridgwater, Somerset*. Britannia Monograph Series 17. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Rains, MJ and Hall, DW (eds.) 1997, *Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89*. Glenrothes: Tayside and Fife Archaeological Committee.

Randsborg, K 1991, *The First Millennium A. D. in Europe and the Mediterranean: An Archaeological Essay*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

RCAHMS 1982, *Argyll: An Inventory of the Monuments 4: Iona*. Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

--- 1988, *Argyll: An Inventory of the Monuments 6: Mid-Argyll and Cowal, Prehistoric and Early Historic Monuments*. Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

--- 1994, *South-East Perth*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

--- 1997, *Eastern Dumfriesshire: an Archaeological Landscape*. Edinburgh: Stationery Office.

--- 2003, *Eigg, the Archaeology of a Hebridean Landscape*. Broadsheet 12. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.

--- 2007, *In the Shadow of Bennachie: A Field Archaeology of Donside, Aberdeenshire*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

--- 2008, *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Rebillard, E 2003, "Conversion and Burial in the Late Roman Empire." In Mills, K and Grafton, A (eds.): 61-83.

Redknap, M 1977, "Excavation at Iona Abbey, 1976." *PSAS* 108: 228-253.

Reece, R 1981, *Excavations in Iona 1964 to 1974*. UCL Institute of Archaeology Occasional Publication. London: University College London.

Reed, D 1995, "The excavation of a cemetery and putative chapel site at Newhall Point, Balblair, Ross & Cromarty, 1985." *PSAS* 125: 779-791.

Rees, AR 2002, "A First Millennium AD Cemetery, Rectangular Bronze Age Structure and Late Prehistoric Settlement at Thornybank, Midlothian." *PSAS* 132: 313-355.

Rennie, EB 1984, "Excavations at Ardnadam, Cowal, Argyll, 1964-1982." *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 11: 13-39.

--- 1999, "Ardnadam, Cowal, Argyll, Further Thoughts on the Origins the Early Christian Chapel." *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 21: 29-43.

Reynolds, A 2002, "Burials, Boundaries and Charters." In Lucy, S and Reynolds, A (eds.): 171-194.

--- 2009, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Richards, JD 2004, "Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire." *Antiquaries Journal* 84: 23-116.

Richardson, JS 1925, "A Hoard of Bronze Objects from Wester Ord, Ross-shire, and an Early Iron Age Burial at Blackness Castle, Linlithgowshire." *PSAS* 59: 113-119.

Richter, M 1995, "Models of Conversion in the Early Middle Ages." In Edel, D (ed.): 116-128.

Ritchie, A (ed.) 1994, *Govan and its Early Medieval Sculpture*. Stroud, UK: Alan Sutton.

--- 1995, "Meigle and Lay Patronage in Tayside in the 9th and 10th Centuries AD." *TAFAJ* 1: 1-10.

--- 1999, *Govan and its Carved Stones*. Balgavies, Angus: Friends of Govan Old/Pinkfoot Press.

--- 2003, "Paganism Among the Picts and the Conversion of Orkney." In Downes, J and Ritchie, A (eds.): 3-10.

Ritchie, JG and Thornber, I 1988, "Cairn 3, Acharn, Morvern, Argyll." *PSAS* 118: 95-98.

Rives, JB 2007, *Religion in the Roman Empire*. Blackwell Ancient Religions. Oxford: Blackwell.

Robertson, A 1970, "Roman Finds from Non-Roman Sites in Scotland: More Roman 'Drift' in Caledonia." *Britannia* 1: 198-226.

Robertson, NM 1997, "The Early Medieval Carved Stones of Fortingall." In Henry, D (ed.): 133-148.

Rogers, JM 1997, "The Foundation of Parishes in Twelfth-century Perthshire." *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 27: 68-97.

Rogers, NSH 2008, "Chest and coffin fittings from the 1995–96 excavations." In McComish, JM and Petts, D (eds.): 9.4.

Rosehill, RHL 1873, "Note of the Opening of a Group of Cists near Lauder." *PSAS* 9: 223-227.

Ross, A 2006, "The Dabhach in Moray: a New Look at an Old Tub." In Woolf, A (ed.): 57-74.

Rubin, S 1974, *Medieval English Medicine*. Newton Abbot, UK: David and Charles, Ltd.

Russell, JC 1994, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Samson, R 1999, "The Church Lends a Hand." In Downes, J and Pollard, T (eds.): 120-144.

Sanmark, A and Semple, S 2008, "Places of Assembly: New Discoveries in Sweden and England." *Fornvännen* 103: 245-259.

Schülke, A 1999, "On Christianization and Grave-Finds." *European Journal of Archaeology* 2: 77-106.

Seaman, A 2006, "Conversion, Christianity, and the Late Roman Transition in South-east Wales." *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 155: 135-142.

Sellar, WDH 2001, "William Forbes Skene (1809–92): historian of Celtic Scotland." *PSAS* 131: 3-21.

Sellevold, BJ 1999, *Picts and Vikings at Westness: Anthropological Investigations of the Skeletal Material from the Cemetery at Westness, Rousay, Orkney Islands*. NIKU Scientific Report. Oslo: Norsk Institutt for Kulturminneforskning.

Semple, S 1998, "A fear of the past: the place of the prehistoric burial mound in the ideology of middle and later Anglo-Saxon England." *World Archaeology* 30(1): 109-126.

Sharpe, R 1990, "Saint Mauchteus, discipulus Patricii". In Bammesberger, A and Wollman, A (eds.), *Britain 400-600: Language and History*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. 85-93.

--- (ed.) 1995, *Adomnán of Iona: Life of St Columba*. London: Penguin.

--- 2002, "Martyrs and Local Saints in Late Antique Britain." In Thacker, A and Sharpe, R (eds.): 75-154.

Sharples, N 2003, "From Monuments to Artefacts: Changing Social Relationships in the Later Iron Age." In Downes, J and Ritchie, A (eds.): 151-165.

Sharples, N and Parker Pearson, M 1997, "Why Were Brochs Built? Recent Studies in the Iron Age of Atlantic Scotland." In Gwilt, A and Haselgrove, C (eds.): 254-265.

Shaw, R and Stewart, C 1994, "Introduction: problematizing syncretism". In Stewart, C and Shaw, R (eds.), *Syncretism/anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. London: Routledge. 1-24.

Sheehan, J 2009, "A Peacock's Tale: Excavations at Caherlehillan, Iveragh, Ireland." In Edwards, N (ed.): 191-206.

Sheridan, A, McSweeney, K and Rogers, P 2005, "An early historic steatite urn from Orkney: new information on an old find." *Archaeologia Aeliana* 34: 158–67.

Simpson, DDA and Scott-Elliott, J 1964, "Excavations at Camp Hill, Trohoughton, Dumfries." *TDGNHAS* 41: 125-134.

Simpson, WD 1935, *The Celtic Church in Scotland: a Study of its Penetration Lines and Art Relationships*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.

Sims-Williams, P 1998, "The Uses of Writing in Early Medieval Wales." In Pryce, H (ed.): 15-38.

Sinfield, LN 2002, "Human Bone and Teeth." In Rees, AR (ed.): 339-342.

Skene, WF 1876-1880, *Celtic Scotland: a History of Ancient Alban*. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

Small, A, Thomas, C and Wilson, DM 1973, *St. Ninian's Isle and its Treasure*. Aberdeen University Studies 152. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smart, IHM and Campbell-Wilson, M 2000, "Analysis of human skeletal remains following excavations in 1965-6." In Greig, C (ed.): 612-617.

Smith, B 2003, "Not Welcome at All: Vikings and the Native Population in Orkney and Shetland." In Downes, J and Ritchie, A (eds.): 145-150.

Smith, IM 1991, "Sprouston, Roxburghshire: an early Anglian centre of the eastern Tweed Basin." *PSAS* 121: 261-294.

Smith, JA 1857, "Notes on some Sepulchral Cists, and on the Latin Inscription upon one of the Standing Stones near Yarrow Kirk, Selkirkshire." *PSAS* 2: 484-489.

--- 1866, "Notice of a Long-shaped Cist, with Skeleton, found near Yarrow Kirk, Selkirkshire." *PSAS* 6: 62-70.

Smith, JMH 1990, "Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250." *Speculum* 65(2): 309-343.

--- 2000, "Did Women have a Transformation of the Roman World?" *Gender & History* 12(3): 552-571.

--- 2001, "Review article: Conversion Among the Germanic Peoples, by Carole M. Cusack." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52: 707.

--- 2003, "'Emending Evil Ways and Praising God's Omnipotence': Einhard and the Uses of Roman Martyrs." In Mills, K and Grafton, A (eds.): 189-223.

--- 2008, "Saints and their Cults." In Noble, TFX and Smith, JMH (eds.): 581-605.

Spall, CA 2009, "Reflections on the Monastic Arts: Recent Discoveries at Portmahomack, Tarbat, Easter Ross." In Edwards, N (ed.): 315-332.

Sparey-Green, C 2003, "Where are the Christians? Late Roman Cemeteries in Britain." In Carver, M (ed.): 93-107.

Stancliffe, C 1999, "The British Church and the Mission of Augustine". In Gameson, R (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*. Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing. 107-151.

--- 2003, *Bede, Wilfrid, and the Irish*. Jarrow Lecture. Jarrow: St Paul's Church.

--- 2005, "Christianity Amongst the Britons, Dalriadan Irish and Picts". In Fouracre, P (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History* 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 426-461.

--- 2007, *Bede and the Britons*. Whithorn Lecture. Stranraer, UK: Friends of the Whithorn Trust.

Stead, IM 1991, *Iron Age Cemeteries in East Yorkshire: Excavations at Burton Fleming, Rudston, Garton-on-the-Wolds, and Kirkburn*. London: English Heritage.

Stephens, G 1872, "Notice of the Runic Ring recently found in Cramond Churchyard." *PSAS* 9: 458.

Stevens, T, Melikian, M and Grieve, SJ 2005, "Excavations at an early medieval cemetery at Stromness, Orkney." *PSAS* 135: 371-393.

Stevenson, J 1984, "Garbeg and Whitebridge: Two Square-Barrow Cemeteries in Inverness-shire." In Friell, JGP and Watson, WG (eds.): 145-150.

Stevenson, RBK 1952, "Long Cist Burials, particularly those at Galson (Lewis) and Gairloch (Wester Ross)." *PSAS* 86: 106-115.

--- 1955, "Pictish art." In Wainright, FT (ed.): *The Problem of the Picts*. Edinburgh: Nelson. 97-128.

--- 1959, "The Inchyra stone and some other unpublished early Christian monuments." *PSAS* 92: 33-55.

--- 1967, "A Roman-period cache of charms in Aberdeenshire." *Antiquity* 41(162): 143-145.

--- 1983, "Further notes on the Hunterston and 'Tara' brooches, Monymusk reliquary, and Blackness bracelet." *PSAS* 113: 469-477.

Stocker, D 2000, "Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century." In Hadley, DM and Richards, JD (eds.): 179-212.

Stocking, R 2007, "Review article: Continuity, culture and the state in late antique and early medieval Iberia." *Early Medieval Europe* 15(3): 335-348.

Stoodley, N 1999, *The Spindle and the Spear: A Critical Enquiry into the Construction and Meaning of Gender in the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite*. BAR British Series 288. Oxford: Archaeopress.

--- 2000, "From the Cradle to the Grave: Age Organization and the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite " *World Archaeology* 31(3): 456-472.

Stout, G and Stout, M 2008, *Excavation of an Early Medieval Secular Cemetery at Knowth Site M, County Meath*. Dublin: Wordwell.

Stronach, S 2005, "The Anglian monastery and medieval priory of Coldingham: *Urbs Coludi* revisited." *PSAS* 135: 395-422.

Struck, M 2000, "High Status Burials in Roman Britain (First -Third Century AD) - Potential Interpretation." In Pearce, J, Millett, M and Struck, M (eds.): 85-96.

Stuart, J 1856-1867, *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Spalding Club.

--- 1866a, "Account of Graves recently discovered at Hartlaw, on the farm of Westruther Mains, with Drawings by Lady John Scott." *PSAS* 6: 55-61.

--- 1866b, "Account of the Recent Examination of a Cairn, called 'Cairngreg,' on the Estate of Linlathen." *PSAS* 6: 98-103.

Suddaby, I 2009, "Two prehistoric short-cists and an early medieval long-cist cemetery with dug graves on Kingston Common, North Berwick, East Lothian." *SAIR* 34.

Sweatt, JD 2010, *Mechanisms of Memory*. 2nd ed. ed. London: Academic.

Taylor, DB 1982, "Excavation of a promontory fort, broch and souterrain at Hurly Hawkin, Angus." *PSAS* 112: 215-253.

Taylor, S 1996, "Place-Names and the Early Church in Eastern Scotland." In Crawford, BE (ed.): 93-110.

--- 1998, "Place-names and the Early Church in Scotland." *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 28: 1-22.

--- 1999, "Seventh-century Iona Abbots in Scottish Place-names." In Broun, D and Clancy, TO (eds.): 35-70.

--- 2000, "Columba East of Drumalban: Some Aspects of the Cult of Columba in Eastern Scotland." *Innes Review* 51(2): 109-130.

--- 2001, "The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland". In Liszka, TR and Walker, LEM (eds.), *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages*. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 175–210.

Taylor, S and Márkus, GOP 2006, *The Place-Names of Fife: West Fife Between Leven and Forth*. Donington, UK: Shaun Tyas.

--- 2009, *The Place-Names of Fife: St Andrews and the East Neuk*. Donington, UK: Shaun Tyas.

Thacker, A 1989, "Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St Cuthbert". In Bonner, G, Rollason, D and Stancliffe, C (eds.), *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press. 103-122.

--- 2002, "*Loca Sanctorum*: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints." In Thacker, A and Sharpe, R (eds.): 1-43.

Thacker, A and Sharpe, R (eds.) 2002, *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Theuws, F 2000, "Introduction: Rituals in Transforming Societies." In Theuws, F and Nelson, JL (eds.): 1-13.

Theuws, F and Nelson, JL (eds.) 2000, *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*. The Transformation of the Roman World. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Thomas, C 1966, "Ardwall Isle: The excavation of an early Christian site of Irish type, 1964-5." *TDGNHAS* 43: 84-116.

--- 1967, "An Early Christian Cemetery and Chapel on Ardwall Isle, Kirkcudbright." *Medieval Archaeology* 11: 127-188.

--- 1971, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

--- 1981, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500*. London: BT Batsford.

--- 1992, *Whithorn's Christian Beginnings*. Whithorn Lecture Series. Whithorn, UK: Friends of the Whithorn Trust.

--- 1998a, "Courtenay Arthur Ralegh Radford 1900-1998." *Medieval Archaeology* 42: 104-106.

--- 1998b, "Early Medieval Munster: Thoughts upon its Primary Christian Phase." In Monk, MA and Sheehan, J (eds.): 9-16.

--- 1998c, "Form and Function." In Foster, S (ed.): 84-96.

Thompson, V 2002, "Constructing salvation: a homiletic and penitential context for late Anglo-Saxon burial practice." In Lucy, S and Reynolds, A (eds.): 229-240.

--- 2004, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*. Rochester, NY: Woodbridge.

Tipping, R 1997, "Pollen Analysis and the Impact of Rome on Native Agriculture around Hadrian's Wall." In Gwilt, A and Haselgrove, C (eds.): 239-247.

Toop, N-J 2005, *Dialogues of power: early Christian monumentality around the northern Irish Sea AD 400 - 1000* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York.

Trench-Jellicoe, R 1998, "The Skeith Stone, Upper Kilrenny, Fife, in its Context." *PSAS* 128: 495-513.

Tucker, F 2010, *The Treatment and Use of Human Remains in the Atlantic Scottish Iron Age*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bradford.

Tucker, F and Armit, I 2009, "Human Remains from Iron Age Scotland Dating Project: Results obtained during 2009." *DES* 10: 214-216.

Tucker, K 2008, "The osteological analysis of the human bones." In McComish, JM and Petts, D (eds.): 11.1-11.6.

Turner, S 2003, "Boundaries & religion: the demarcation of early Christian settlements in Britain." In Griffiths, D, Reynolds, A and Semple, S (eds.): 50-57.

--- 2004, "Coast and Countryside in "Late Antique" Southwest England c. AD 400-600 " In Collins, R and Gerrard, J (eds.): 25-32.

--- 2006, *Making a Christian Landscape: The Countryside in Early Medieval Cornwall, Devon and Wessex*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Turner, W 1866, "Notice of some Human and other Remains recently found at Kelso." *PSAS* 6: 245-249.

Van Dam, R 1993, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*. Chichester: Princeton University Press.

van Dommelen, P 1999, "Exploring everyday places and cosmologies." In Knapp, AB and Ashmore, W (eds.): 277-285.

Van Dyke, RM and Alcock, SE (eds.) 2003, *Archaeologies of Memory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Veitch, K 1997, "The Columban Church in Northern Britain, 664-717: a Reassessment." *PSAS* 127: 627-647.

Wait, GA 1985, *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain*. BAR British Series 149. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Walker, IC 1968, "Easterton of Roseisle: a forgotten site in Moray". In Coles, JM and Simpson, DDA (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Europe: Essays Presented to Stuart Piggott* Leicester: Leicester University Press. 95-115.

Wallace, C 2006, "Long-Lived Samian?" *Britannia* 37: 259-272.

Wallace, J 1968, "Long cists at Addinston, Berwickshire." *PSAS* 100: 119-22

Warner, R 2004, "Notes on the Inception and Early Development of the Royal Mound in Ireland." In Pantos, A and Semple, S (eds.): 27-43.

Watson, A 1995, *The Ochils: Placenames, History, Tradition*. Perth: Perth and Kinross District Libraries.

Watson, WJ 1926, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
    --- 1930, "Place-Names of Perthshire: The Lyon Basin." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 35: 277-296.

Watts, DJ 1989, "Infant Burials and Romano-British Christianity." *Archaeological Journal* 146: 372-383.

Webster, CJ and Brunning, RA 2004, "A Seventh-century AD Cemetery at Stoneage Barton Farm, Bishop's Lydeard, Somerset and Square-Ditched Burials in Post-Roman Britain." *Archaeological Journal* 161: 54-81.

Webster, J 1995, "Translation and Subjection: *Interpretatio* and the Celtic Gods." In Hill, JD and Cumberpatch, CG (eds.): 175-183.
    --- 1997, "Necessary Comparisons: a Post-colonial Approach to Religious Syncretism in the Roman Provinces " *World Archaeology* 28: 339-350.

Wedderburn, LM and Grime, D 1984, "The Cairn Cemetery at Garbeg, Drumnadrochit." In Friell, JGP and Watson, WG (eds.): 151-168.

Wells, PS 1999, *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe* Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press.

Whimster, R 1981, *Burial Practices in Iron Age Britain: a Discussion and Gazetteer of the Evidence c.700B.C.-A.D.43* BAR British Series. Oxford: Archaeopress.

White Marshall, J and Walsh, C 2005, *Illaunloughan Island: an Early Medieval Monastery in County Kerry*. Bray, Co. Wicklow: Wordwelll.

White, RH 1988, *Roman and Celtic Objects from Anglo-Saxon Graves: A Catalogue and an Interpretation of their Use*. BAR British Series 191. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Whitley, J 2002, "Too Many Ancestors." *Antiquity* 76: 119-26.

Wickham, C 2005, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Will, RS, Forsyth, K, Clancy, TO and Charles Edwards, G 2003, "An Eighth-century Inscribed Cross-slab in Dull, Perthshire." *SAJ* 25(1): 57-72.

Williams, H 1997, "Ancient Landscapes and the dead: the reuse of prehistoric and Roman monuments as early Anglo-Saxon burial sites." *Medieval Archaeology* 41: 1-31.
    --- 1998, "Monuments and the Past in Early Anglo-Saxon England." *World Archaeology* 30(1): 90-108.
    --- 1999, "Placing the Dead: Investigating the Location of Wealthy Barrow Burials in Seventh Century England". In Rundkvist, M (ed.), *Grave Matters: Eight Studies of First Millennium AD Burials in Crimea, England and Southern Scandinavia*. BAR International Series 781. Oxford: Archaeopress. 57-86.
    --- 2002a, "Cemeteries as Central Places: Landscape and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England". In Hårdh, B and Larsson, L (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.
    --- 2002b, "'Remains of Pagan Saxondom'? The Study of Anglo-Saxon Cremation Rites." In Lucy, S and Reynolds, A (eds.): 47-71.

--- (ed.) 2003a, *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies*. London: Kluwer Academic / Plenum.

--- 2003b, "Material Culture as Memory: Combs and Cremation in Early Medieval Britain." *Early Medieval Europe* 12(2): 89-128.

--- 2003c, "Remembering and Forgetting the Medieval Dead." In Williams, H (ed.): 227-254.

--- 2004a, "Artefacts in Early Medieval Graves: a New Perspective." In Collins, R and Gerrard, J (eds.): 89-101.

--- 2004b, "Assembling the Dead." In Pantos, A and Semple, S (eds.): 109-134.

--- 2005a, "Keeping the Dead at Arm's Length." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 5(2): 253-275.

--- 2005b, "Review article: Rethinking Early Medieval Mortuary Archaeology." *Early Medieval Europe* 13(2): 195-217.

--- 2006, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*. Cambridge Studies in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

--- 2007a, "Depicting the Dead: Commemoration through Cists, Cairns and Symbols in Early Medieval Britain." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17(2): 145-164.

--- 2007b, "The Emotive Force of Early Medieval Mortuary Practices." *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 22(1): 107-123.

--- 2007c, "Transforming Body and Soul: Toilet Implements in Early Anglo-Saxon Graves." In Semple, S and Williams, H (eds.): 66-91.

--- 2008, "Anglo-Saxonism and Victorian Archaeology: William Wylie's *Fairford Graves*." *Medieval Archaeology* 16(1): 49-88.

Williams, M 2003, "Growing Metaphors: The Agricultural Cycle as Metaphor in the Later Prehistoric Period of Britain and North-Western Europe." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3(2): 223-255.

Wilmott, T 2000, "The Late Roman Transition at Birdoswald and on Hadrian's Wall." In Wilmott, T and Wilson, P (eds.): 13-24.

Wilmott, T and Wilson, P (eds.) 2000, *The Late Roman Transition in the North*. BAR British Series 299. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Wilson, DM and Hurst, G 1966, "Medieval Britain in 1965." *Medieval Archaeology* 10: 168-219.

Winlow, S 2010, "A Review of Pictish Burial Practices in Tayside and Fife." In Driscoll, ST, Geddes, J and Hall, M (eds.): 335-350.

Winlow, S and Cook, G 2010, "Two new dates from two old investigations: a reconsideration of The Women's Knowe, Inchtuthil and Kingoodie long cist cemetery, Invergowrie." *TAFAJ* 16: 48-56.

Wolfram, H 1994, "Origo et Religio. Ethnic Traditions and Literature in Early Medieval Texts." *Early Medieval Europe* 3(1): 19-38.

Wood, I 1987, "The Fall of the Western Empire and the End of Roman Britain." *Britannia* 18: 251-262.

--- 1992, "Continuity or calamity: the constraints of literary models". In Drinkwater, J and Elton, H (eds.), 9-18.

--- 1994, "The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English " *Speculum* 69(1): 1-17.

--- 1997, "Report: The European Science Foundation's Programme on the Transformation of the Roman World and Emergence of Early Medieval Europe." *Early Medieval Europe* 6(2): 217-227.

--- 2001, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050* London: Longman.

--- 2004, "The Final Phase." In Todd, M (ed.): 428-442.

--- 2008a, "Monasteries and the Geography Of Power in the Age of Bede." *Northern History* 45(1): 11-25.

--- 2008b, "The Northern Frontier: Christianity Face to Face with Paganism." In Noble, TFX and Smith, JMH (eds.): 230-246.

Woolf, A 2000, "The 'Moray Question' and the Kingship of Alba in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries." *Scottish Historical Review* 79(2): 145-164.

--- 2003, "The Britons: from Romans to Barbarians." In Goetz, H-W, Jarnut, J and Pohl, W (eds.): 345-380.

--- (ed.) 2006, *Landscape and Environment in Dark Age Scotland*. St John's House Papers. St Andrews: Committee for Dark Age Studies.

--- 2007, "The Cult of Moluag, the See of Mortlach and Church Organisation in Northern Scotland in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries". In Arbuthnot, S and Hollo, K (eds.), *Fil suil nglais - A Grey Eye Looks Back: A Festschrift for Colm O' Baoill*. Ceann Drochaid, UK: Clann Tuirc. 311-322.

Woolf, G 1997, "Beyond Romans and Natives." *World Archaeology* 28(3): 339-350.

--- 1998, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wooliscroft, DJ and Hoffmann, B 2006, *Rome's First Frontier: The Flavian Occupation of Northern Scotland*. Stroud, UK: Tempus.

Wordsworth, J and Clark, PR 1997, "Kirkhill". In Rains, MJ and Hall, DW (eds.), *Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89*. Glenrothes: Tayside and Fife Archaeological Committee. 7-18.

Yeoman, P 1998, "Pilgrims to St Ethernan: the Archaeology of an Early Saint of the Picts and Scots." In Crawford, BE (ed.): 75-91.

--- 1999, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*. London: BT Batsford/Historic Scotland.

--- 2009, "Investigations on the May Island, And Other Early Medieval Churches and Monasteries in Scotland." In Edwards, N (ed.): 227-224.

Yorke, B 2006, *The Conversion of Britain: Religion, Politics and Society, c. 600-800*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.