Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Atlas of Scottish History to 1707

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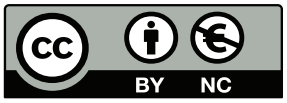

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Events to about 850

Introduction

From its initial conceptualising and planning stages this atlas was intended to supersede its predecessor, not simply supplement it. In this section therefore the topics covered extend the content of the previous atlas in terms of both chronology and subject matter, with the inclusion of an extensive Roman contribution and also settlement, burial and artefact distributions at various periods. The integration of maps with texts in this atlas is essential to the explanation and interpretation of much of the content of the section and users are urged to make reference to both. I am indebted to all contributors for their forbearance and generous assistance over what has been the very lengthy period of development and production of the atlas. It is only fair to point out that contributions were first prepared in 1985 and so largely reflect the state of knowledge and understanding of the subjects at that time. With the delivery of proofs during the course of this year (1996) it has been possible to extensively revise the contents of some of the maps and texts where deemed essential due to major changes and developments in the last ten years. There will always be advancement of knowledge in all subjects but perhaps the changes are particularly rapid in the case of archaeological material. Indeed one contributor, Gordon Maxwell, observes that 'in certain areas of archaeological research the recent contributions of aerial survey have been on such a scale that with the existing resource base it has been difficult if not impossible to assimilate the new data. Where it has appeared likely that such enhancement will appreciably alter our understanding of a specific period or category of structures, an attempt has been made to indicate the character and extent of the actual impact.' In other cases however, where the increase in data has not significantly altered the distribution pattern and conclusions to be drawn, then no updating has been undertaken.

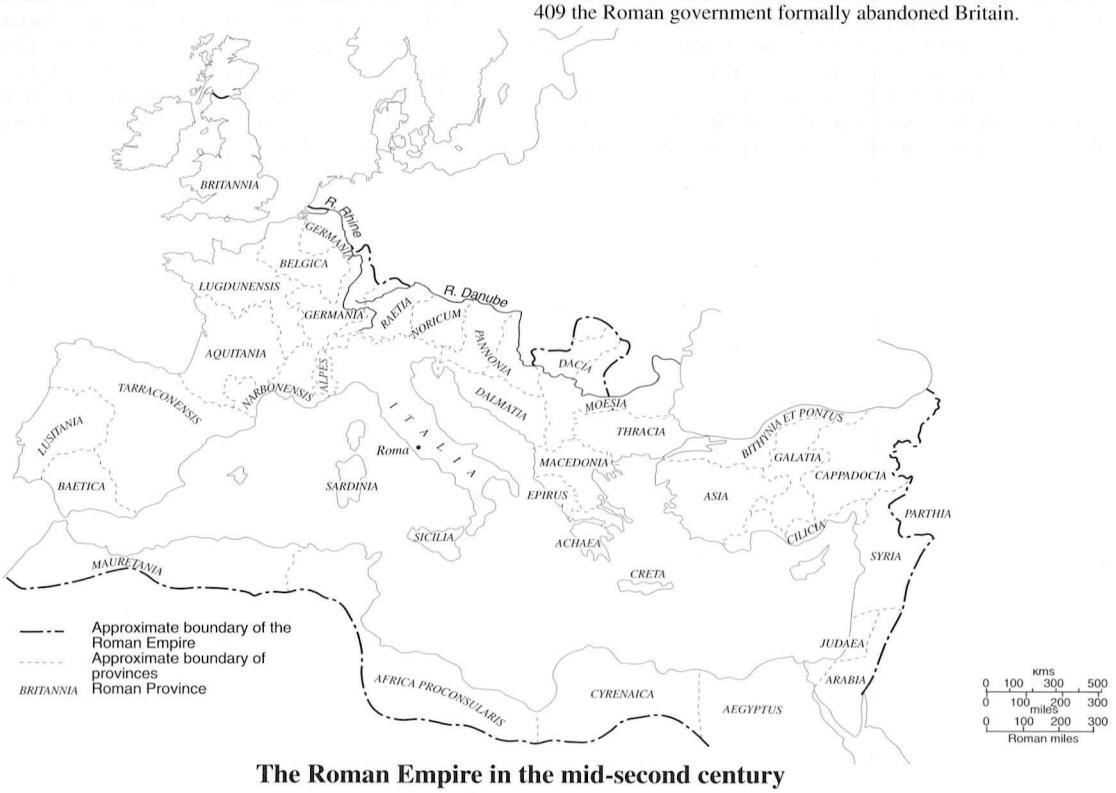
LMT

The Roman Empire and Roman Britain

The Roman empire, which by the mid-second century AD covered an area of about four million square kilometres (1.5 million square miles), was divided into provinces: the more peaceful were governed by proconsuls appointed by the Roman senate and the less developed provinces, where the bulk of the army had permanent bases, by legates directly responsible to the emperor.

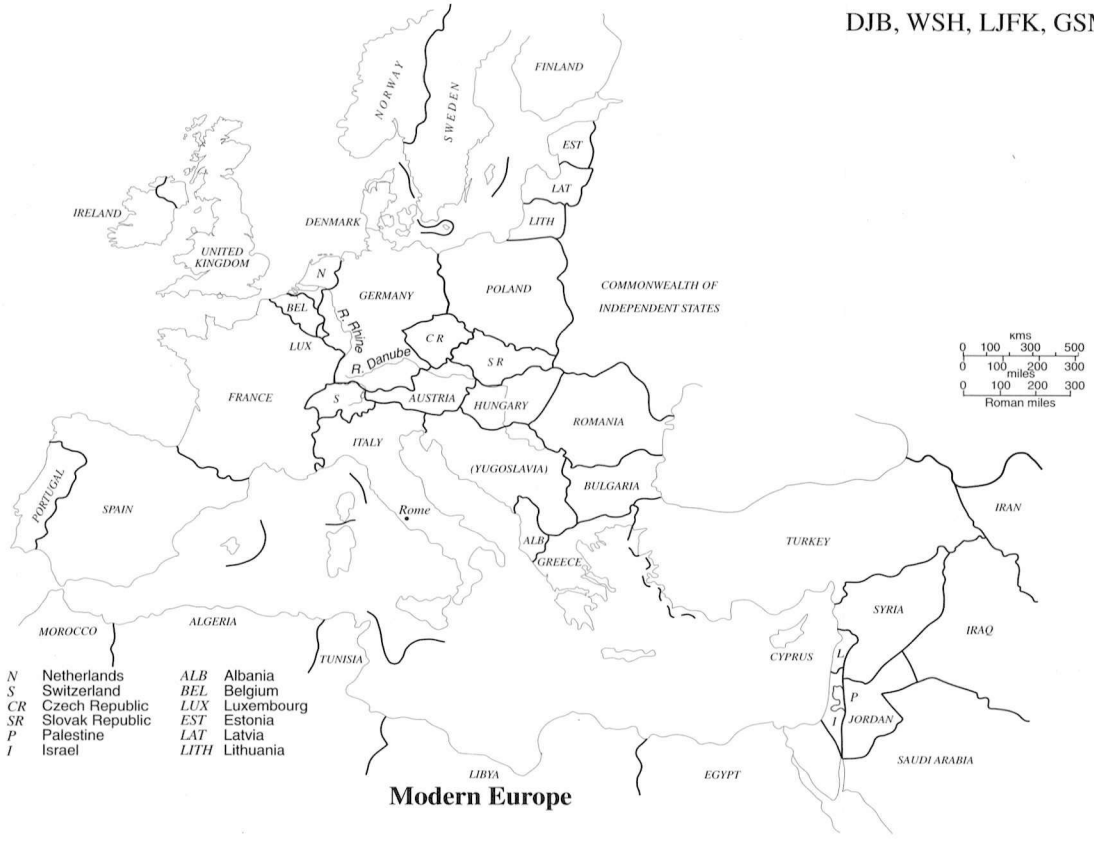
Britain was a late addition to this empire. The island was invaded in AD 43 on the orders of the emperor Claudius. South-eastern Britain was quickly conquered, but the new province (named Britannia) was almost lost to Rome in 60-61 during a serious rebellion led by queen Boudica. However, from 71 onwards there was a new impetus under the Flavian emperors to complete the conquest. This was not achieved and the subsequent military operations in Scotland may be seen as series of episodes in a search for the best frontier line between that part of the island which was to be Roman and the tribes beyond.

Most of the garrison of Roman Britain was deployed in the north and Wales. From the later first century onwards the three legions forming the backbone of the army in Britain lay at Caerleon, Chester and York, bases carefully chosen to control all the areas likely to be troublesome. Behind the frontier, towns sprang up, and in the countryside villas were built in the Roman manner. By 200 the province had reached a high level of prosperity, which remained relatively intact throughout the third century. After about 300 the province was increasingly buffeted by external attacks, from the Picts in the north, and raiders from Ireland and northern Germany. In 409 the Roman government formally abandoned Britain.



The Roman Empire in the mid-second century

DJB, WSH, LJFK, GSM



Modern Europe

Roman Britain: first and second centuries

DJB,WSH, LJFK, GSM

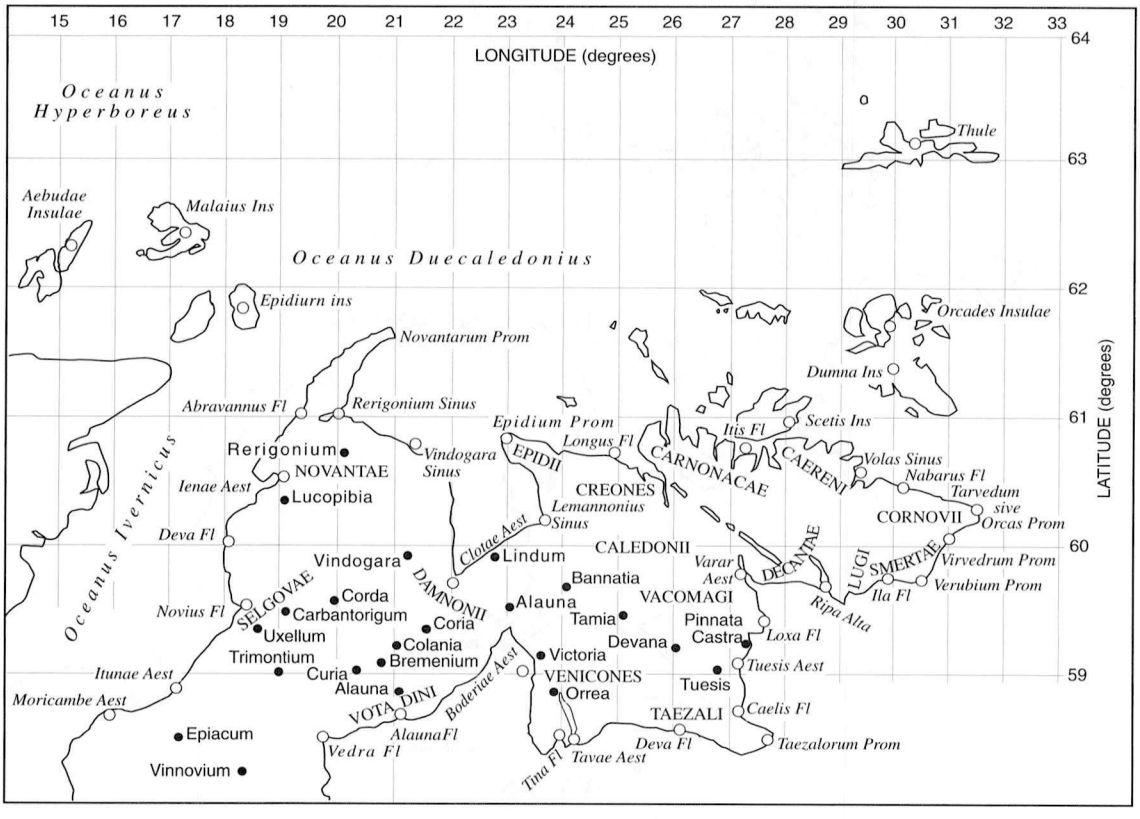
Northern Britain according to Ptolemy

This version of Ptolemy's Scotland is derived from the coordinates given in Ptolemy's Geography, Book II.

Claudius Ptolemaeus, who worked in Alexandria before AD 150, and possibly used data collected by Marinus of Tyre subsequent to Agricola's campaigns in Scotland from about AD 78 to 83. The map provides a picture of north Britain which is instantly recognisable, but which has been turned through a right angle towards the East and which also keeps Scotland below 63° N, beyond which the Greeks believed habitation was impossible. Two classes of information are presented: coastal details, including headlands, river mouths and estuaries; and inland data, comprising *poleis* (literally, 'cities') and tribal names; the tribes are crudely located relative to each other and to the cities within some of their territories. Boundaries between tribal areas cannot be precisely delineated on Ptolemy's highly distorted map.

However, Ptolemy's data, which, from its substantive character must have been derived from reliable maps of Roman military origin, has the prospect to be related directly to the actual map of Scotland and its later history as well as to the Flavian period that it portrays.

Tacitus furnished the only account of the campaigns of Agricola in Scotland; however, from this record we have some difficulty in interpreting either the actual year or the operating zone of each campaign. Explicit archaeological evidence is still lacking to allow us to clarify this situation as well as to identify reliably many of Ptolemy's cities in Scotland.



BRIGANTES	Tribes
Trimontium	Places
Orcades Insulae	Physical features

Northern Britain according to Ptolemy AStr

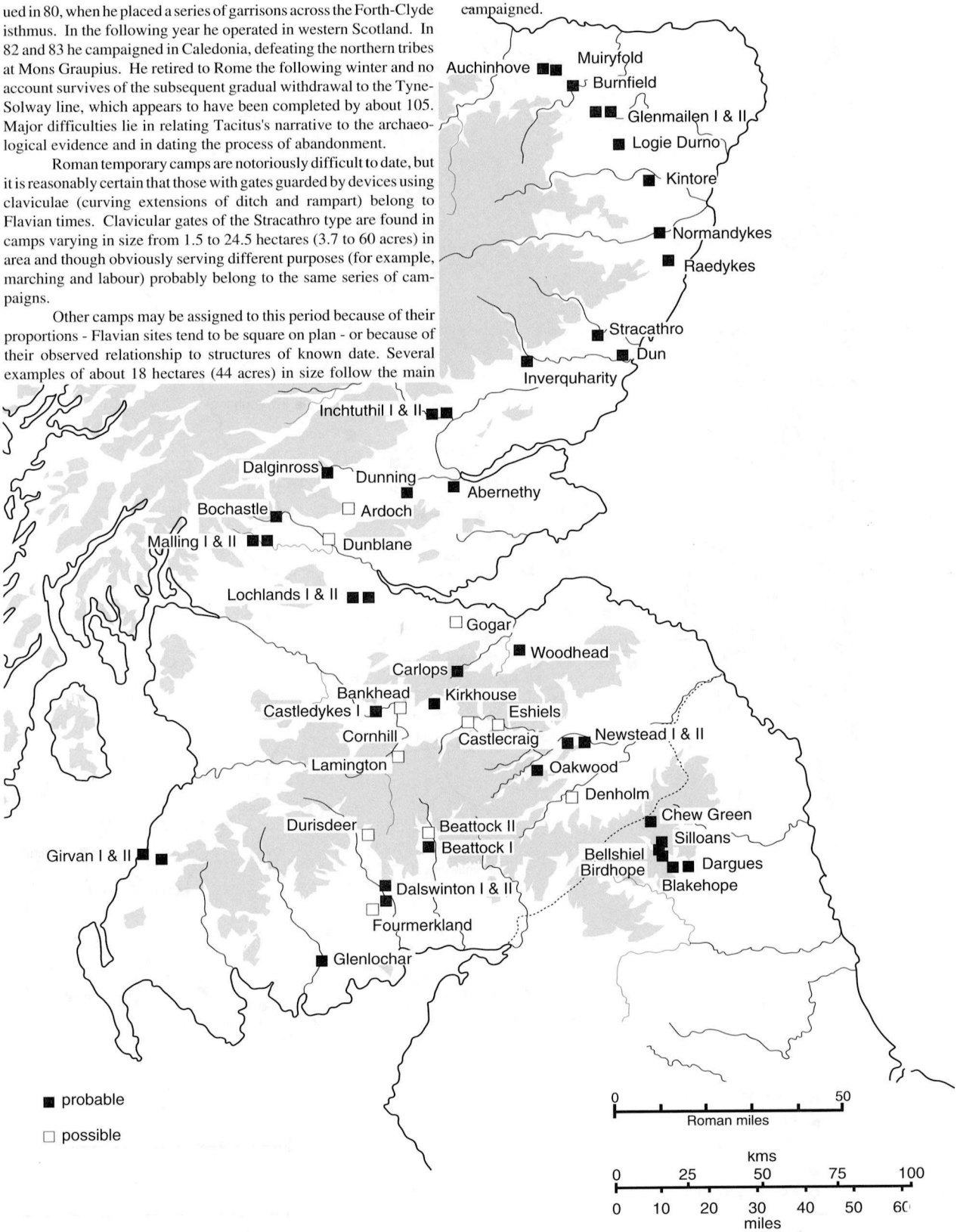
Roman Scotland in the first century (Flavian period)

The following eight maps indicate the present state of knowledge about both temporary and permanent military sites during the three periods of Roman conquest and occupation of Scotland - Flavian, Antonine and Severan. On each map, the picture is almost certainly incomplete, for new discoveries continue to be made as a result of aerial reconnaissance.

A description of the conquest of Scotland is given by Tacitus in his account of the governorship of his father-in-law Iulius Agricola (77-83). By 79 Agricola had reached the Tay and in the same season he built forts in the area overrun. Consolidation continued in 80, when he placed a series of garrisons across the Forth-Clyde isthmus. In the following year he operated in western Scotland. In 82 and 83 he campaigned in Caledonia, defeating the northern tribes at Mons Graupius. He retired to Rome the following winter and no account survives of the subsequent gradual withdrawal to the Tyne-Solway line, which appears to have been completed by about 105. Major difficulties lie in relating Tacitus's narrative to the archaeological evidence and in dating the process of abandonment.

Roman temporary camps are notoriously difficult to date, but it is reasonably certain that those with gates guarded by devices using claviculae (curving extensions of ditch and rampart) belong to Flavian times. Clavicular gates of the Stracathro type are found in camps varying in size from 1.5 to 24.5 hectares (3.7 to 60 acres) in area and though obviously serving different purposes (for example, marching and labour) probably belong to the same series of campaigns.

Other camps may be assigned to this period because of their proportions - Flavian sites tend to be square on plan - or because of their observed relationship to structures of known date. Several examples of about 18 hectares (44 acres) in size follow the main routes in Scotland from the south: they may indicate the progress of the two portions of the Agricolan army. The much larger camps of Dunning and Abernethy, each about 45 hectares (110 acres) may represent the amalgamation of those forces. A series of five camps of similar size to the north have also been claimed as Agricolan, although previously accepted as Severan. Together with the larger site at Logie Durno (58 hectares, 144 acres), these may represent the bivouacs of Agricola's army as it advanced towards Mons Graupius. In general, the marching camps indicate the lines of penetration followed by Roman armies and the extensive area over which they campaigned.

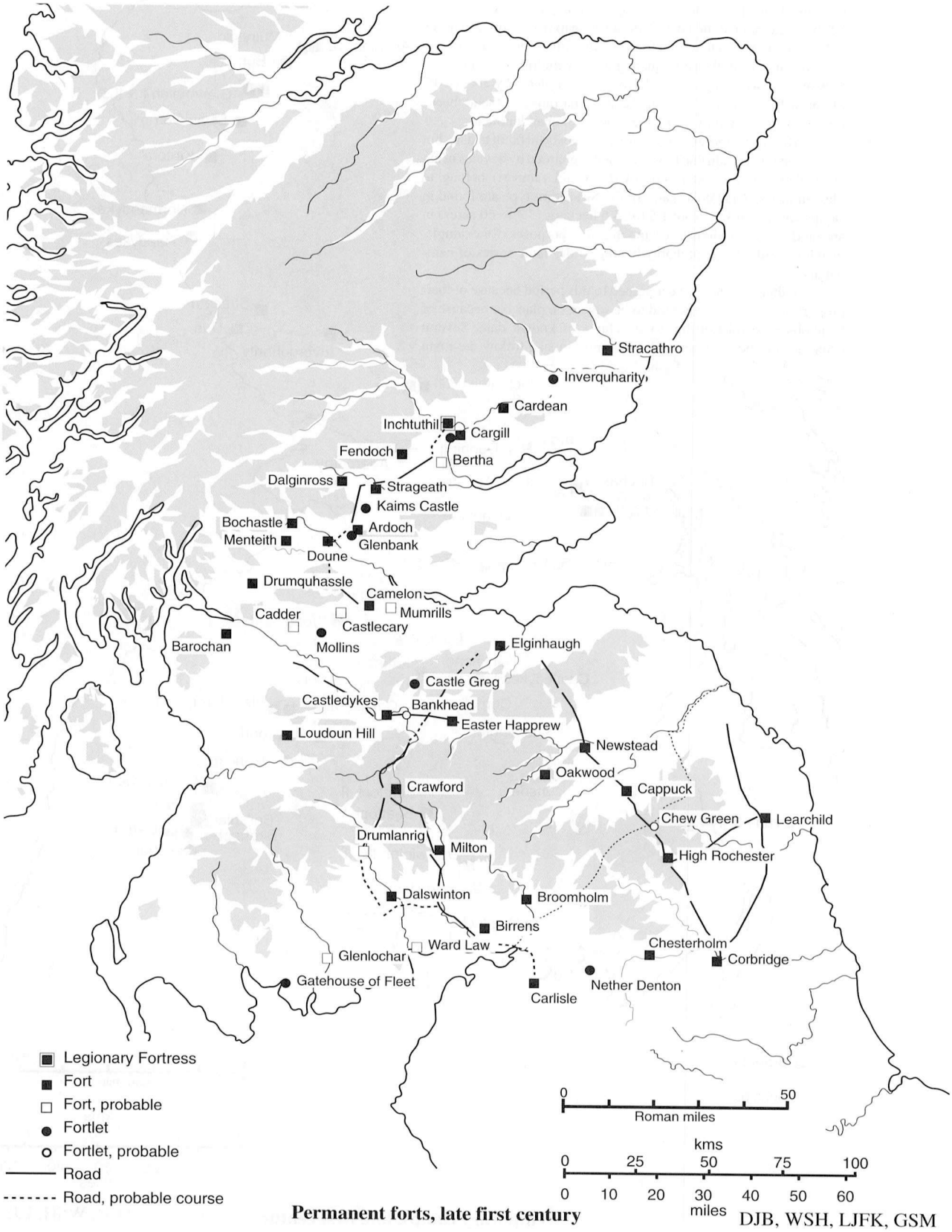


Temporary camps, late first century

DJB, WSH, LJFK, GSM

Roman Scotland in the first century (Flavian period)

Certain broad strategic patterns are clear: the distribution of forts along lines of communication in the Lowlands; the use of fortlets and smaller forts to make best use of the available manpower; the location of forts at the mouths of the glens along the south-eastern fringe of the Highlands. The concentration of sites in south-eastern Perthshire may imply different phases of occupation.

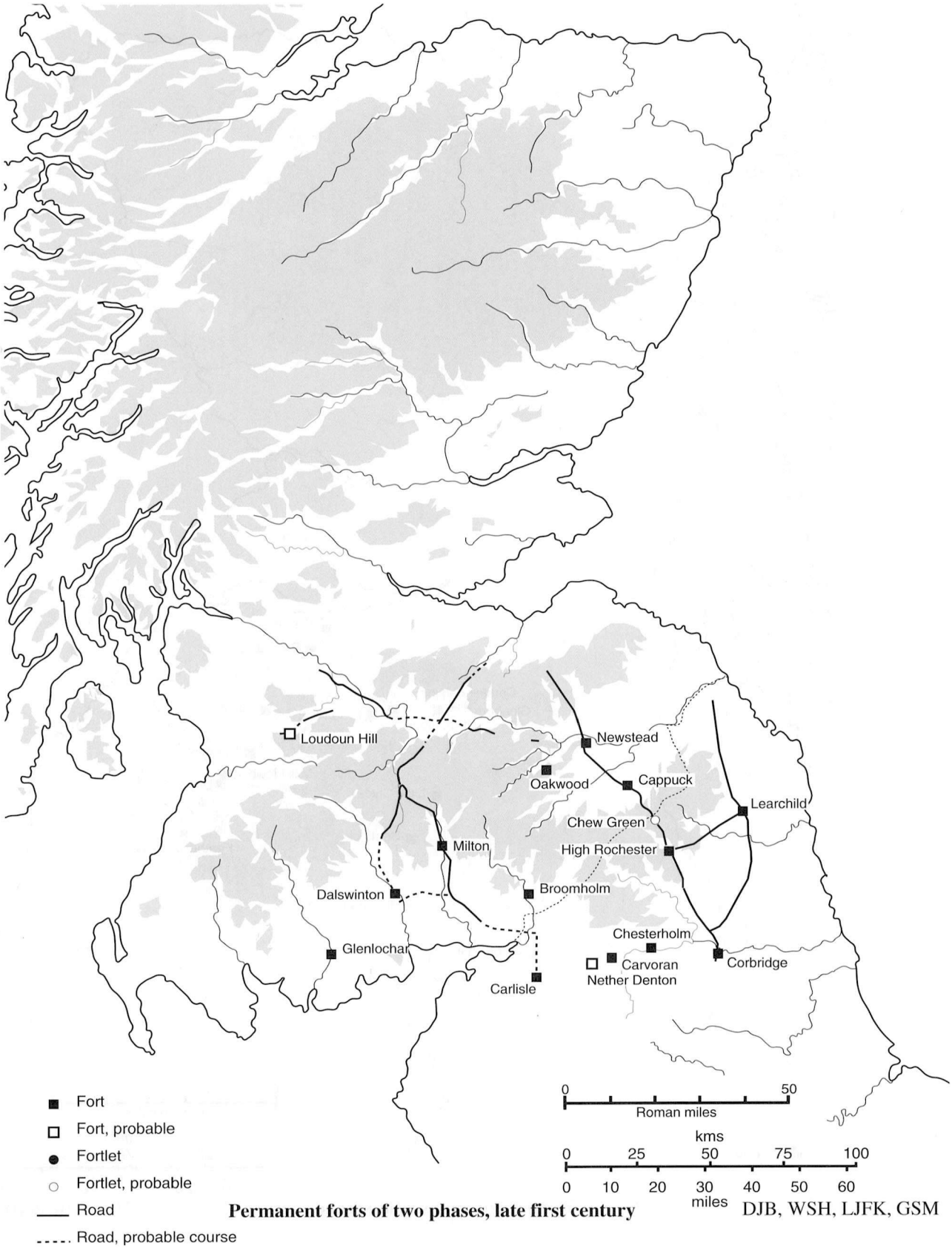


Permanent forts, late first century

DJB, WSH, LJFK, GSM

Roman Scotland in the first century (Flavian period)

All these sites have afforded evidence of two structural phases in the late first century, or provided artefactual evidence of occupation after about AD 90. Comparison with previous map gives some indication of the process of Roman withdrawal from Scotland.



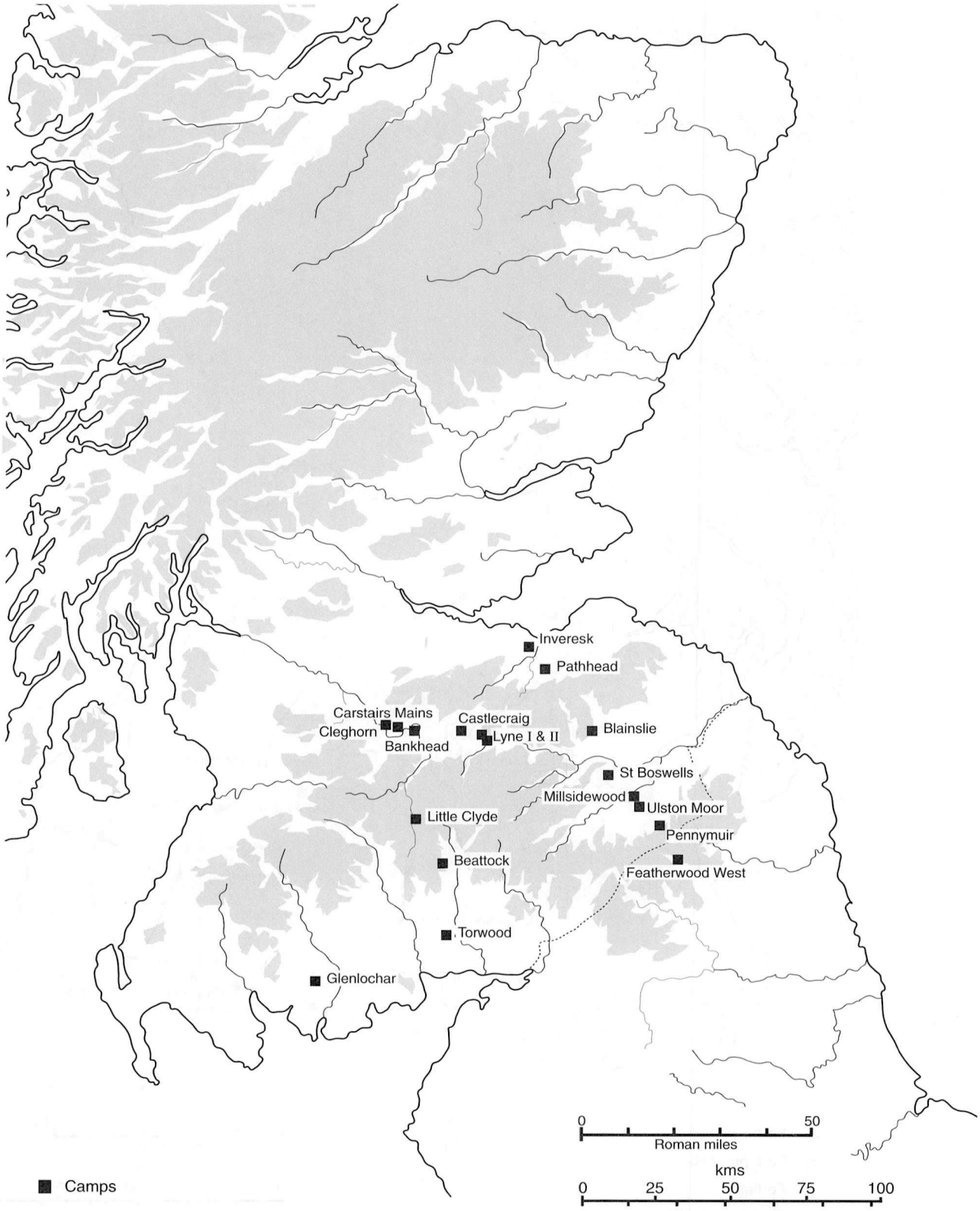
Permanent forts of two phases, late first century

DJB, WSH, LJFK, GSM

Roman Scotland in the mid-second century (Antonine period)

There are fewer examples of Roman temporary camps that can be confidently dated to the mid second century. Indeed the sites with the best credentials are the relatively small works thought to have held the legionary workforce engaged in building the Antonine Wall (not marked on the map).

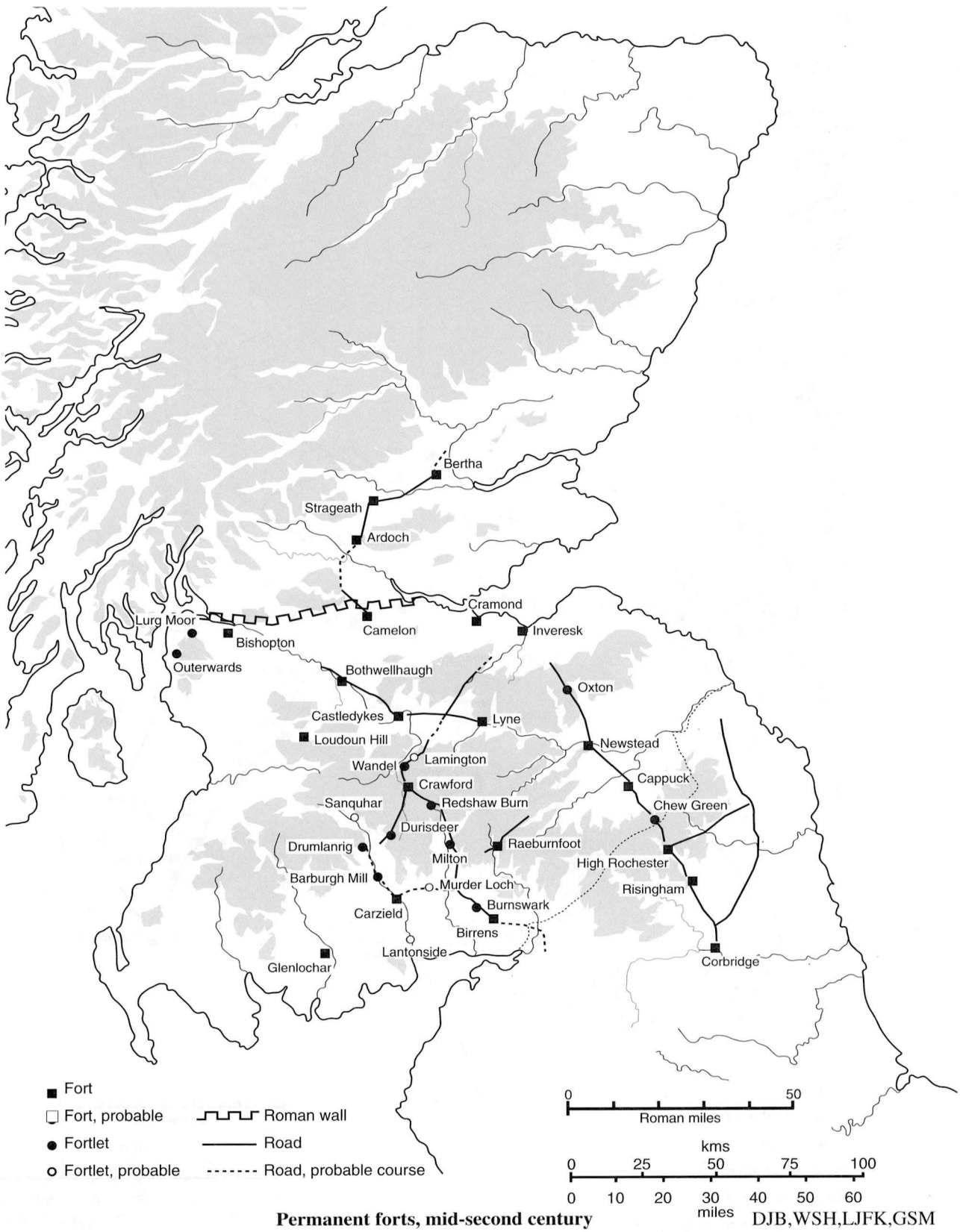
Among the larger sites, those which are of tertiate plan (ie whose long sides are half as big again as their short), are more likely than not to be of second century or later date; in several cases where these are situated beside a Roman road, the longer side has been aligned parallel with the road. Two very loosely grouped classes of marching camps have thus been tentatively identified - one averaging 20 hectares in area, the other only 10 hectares; all are to be found in southern Scotland, apparently indicating passage by battle groups one or two legions strong through the major river valleys. Recent excavation has suggested that some first-century camps may have been re-used in the Antonine period.



Temporary camps, mid-second century DJB,WSH,LJFK,GSM

Roman Scotland in the mid-second century (Antonine period)

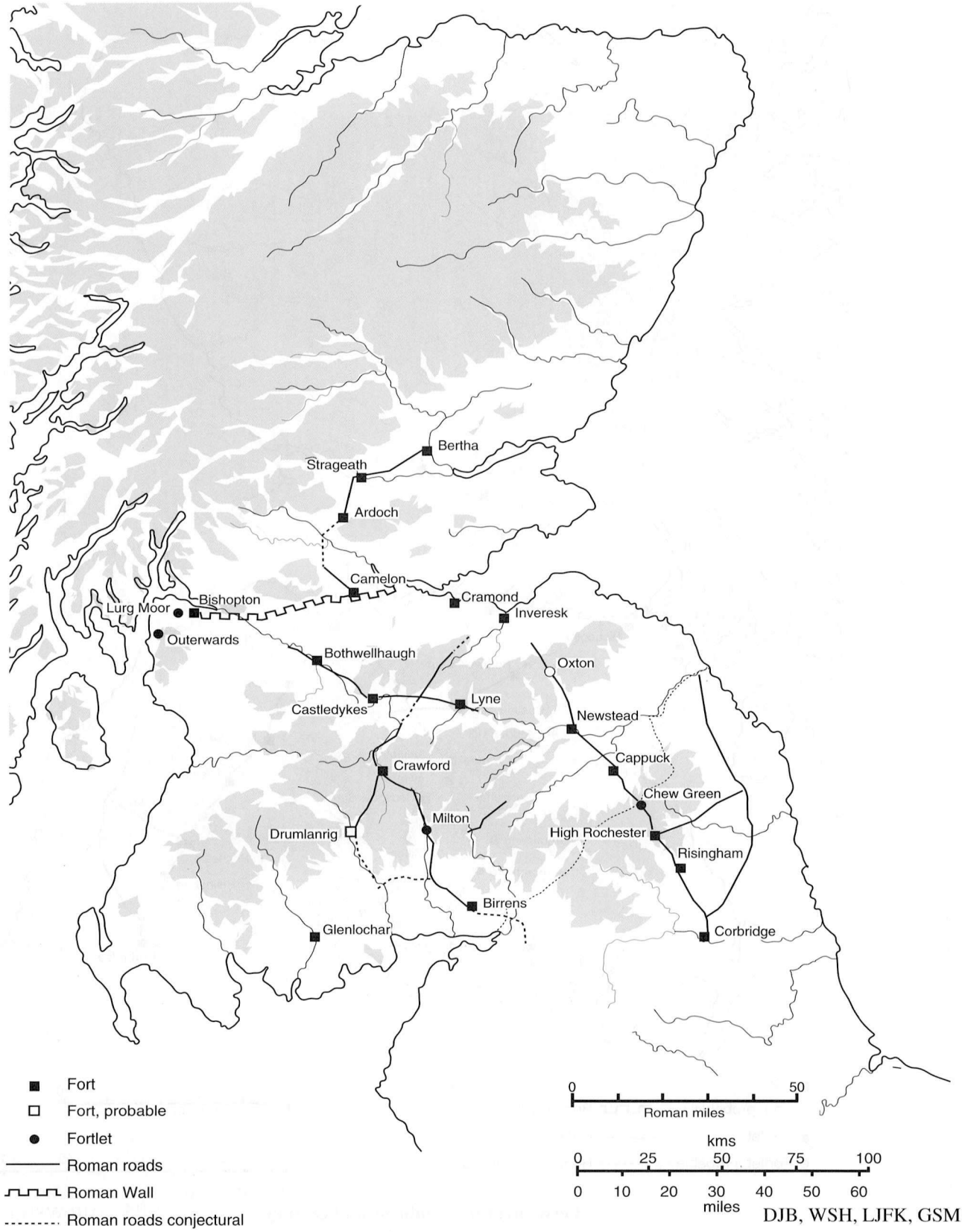
The disposition of forts in Lowland Scotland is, in general, similar to that of the late first century, but there is a greater use of fortlets, particularly in the south-west, suggesting not only the best use of available manpower but a concern for more localized control.



Permanent forts, mid-second century DJB,WSH,LJFK,GSM

Roman Scotland in the mid-second century (Antonine period)

All these sites have afforded evidence of two structural phases within the Antonine period. Comparison with the previous map indicates a reduction in the overall garrison and particularly in the tight control of the south-west Lowlands.



Permanent forts of two phases, mid-second century

Roman Scotland in the late second to fourth centuries

Between 208 and 211 the Emperor Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla conducted two campaigns in Scotland against the Caledonians and the Maeatae. The contemporary historian Cassius Dio records that Severus nearly reached the end of the island. After his father's death at York in February 211 Caracalla gave up the Roman conquests, abandoning forts.

For these campaigns it is argued three great series of marching camps were constructed, c. 65 hectares (160 acres), 55 hectares (140 acres), 25 hectares (62 acres) in area respectively, which indicate the line of march followed by Severan armies. They are concentrated in the east, with one unexplained outlier in Dumfriesshire.

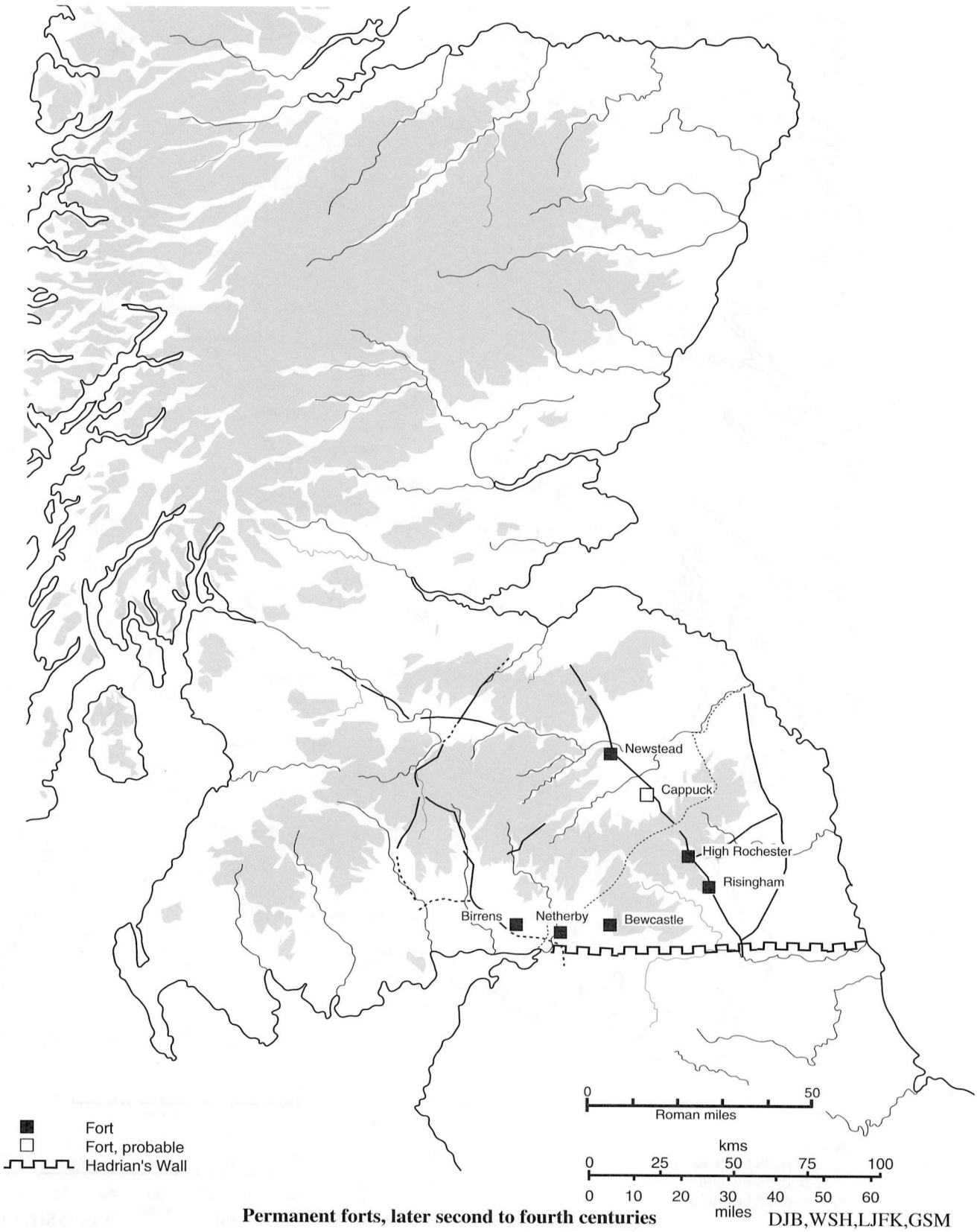
Excavation has demonstrated that the 55 hectare camp at Ardoch is later than the 25 hectare camp. Thus it is suggested that the series of 25 hectare camps dates to the first campaign and the 55 hectare series to the second.

During the campaigns a depot seems to have been established at Cramond on the Forth, while a legionary base was constructed at Carpow on the Tay. Both appear to have been abandoned shortly after 211.

Camps and forts in Scotland in the Severan period DJB, WSH, LJFK, GSM

Roman Scotland in the late second to fourth centuries

After the abandonment of the Antonine Wall, its outposts and most of its hinterland forts, a number of bases continued to be maintained north of Hadrian's Wall. Birrens, Newstead and presumably Cappuck seem to have been abandoned in the 180s. Newstead was possibly re-occupied briefly in some form during the Severan campaigns; and about the same time there may have been a presence near Cappuck. The remaining four forts north of Hadrian's Wall survived into the early fourth century. Until the 'barbarian conspiracy' of 367, the Romans maintained a network of scouts beyond Hadrian's Wall, but the locations of their bases are not known.



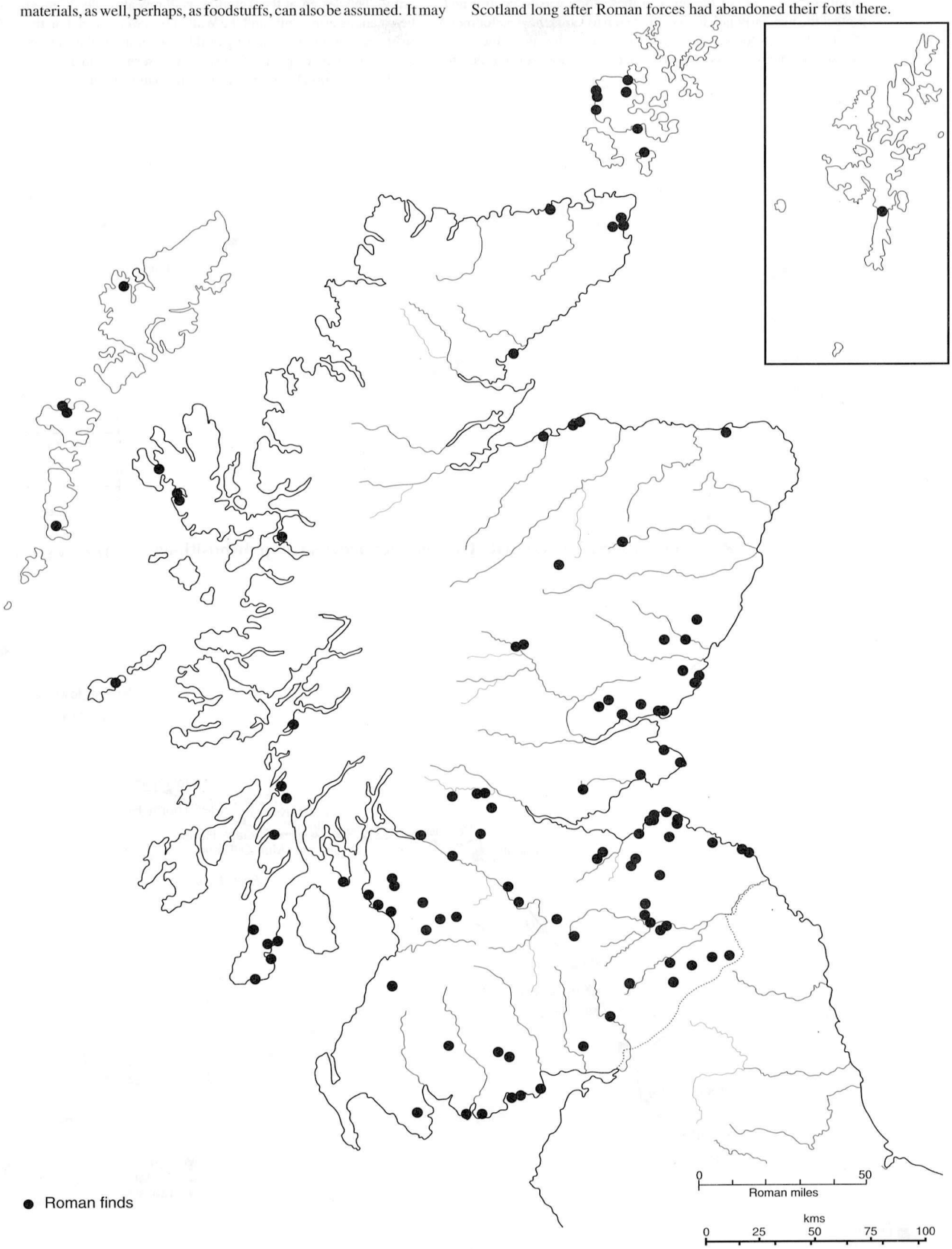
Permanent forts, later second to fourth centuries DJB,WSH,LJFK,GSM

Roman Scotland in the late second to fourth centuries

Roman manufactured goods are found not only on and near Roman military installations in Scotland but on settlement sites of the contemporary native population, not merely within the boundaries of empire, but also well beyond its frontiers.

This material includes coins, samian ware (imported from southern and central France), amphorae (from Spain), and jewellery in silver, bronze or gold. Other goods in wood, leather and perishable materials, as well, perhaps, as foodstuffs, can also be assumed. It may have arrived in the hands of the native population in a variety of ways: barter, trade, diplomatic gifts, loot from abandoned Roman sites, or locally recruited Roman soldiers returning home. Much of it is of high quality - an indication, perhaps, of the owner's status in native society.

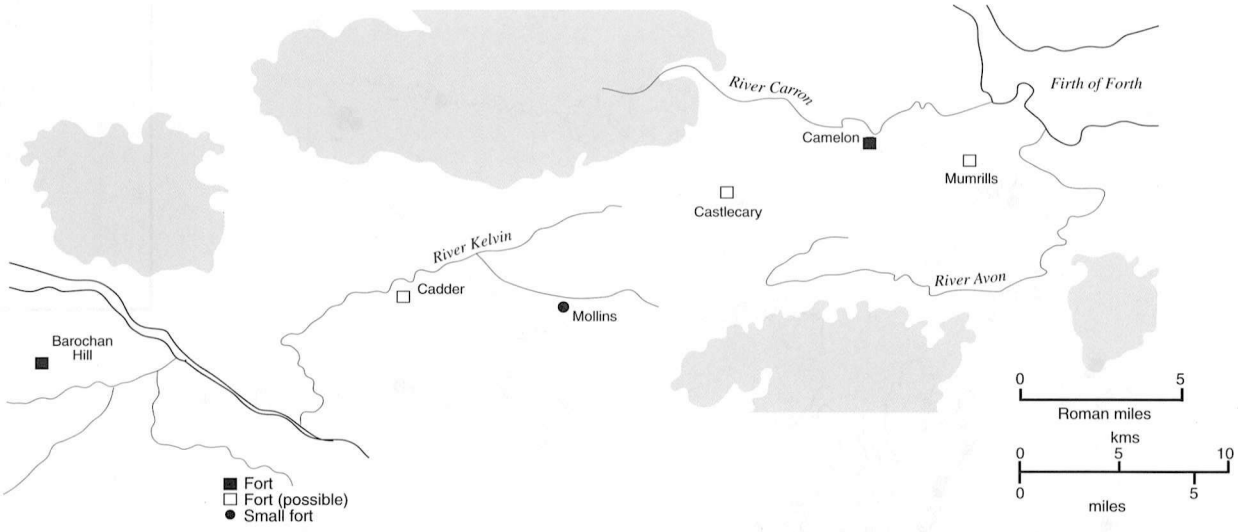
The artefacts range in date from the first to the fourth centuries: evidently Roman material was still reaching native sites in Scotland long after Roman forces had abandoned their forts there.



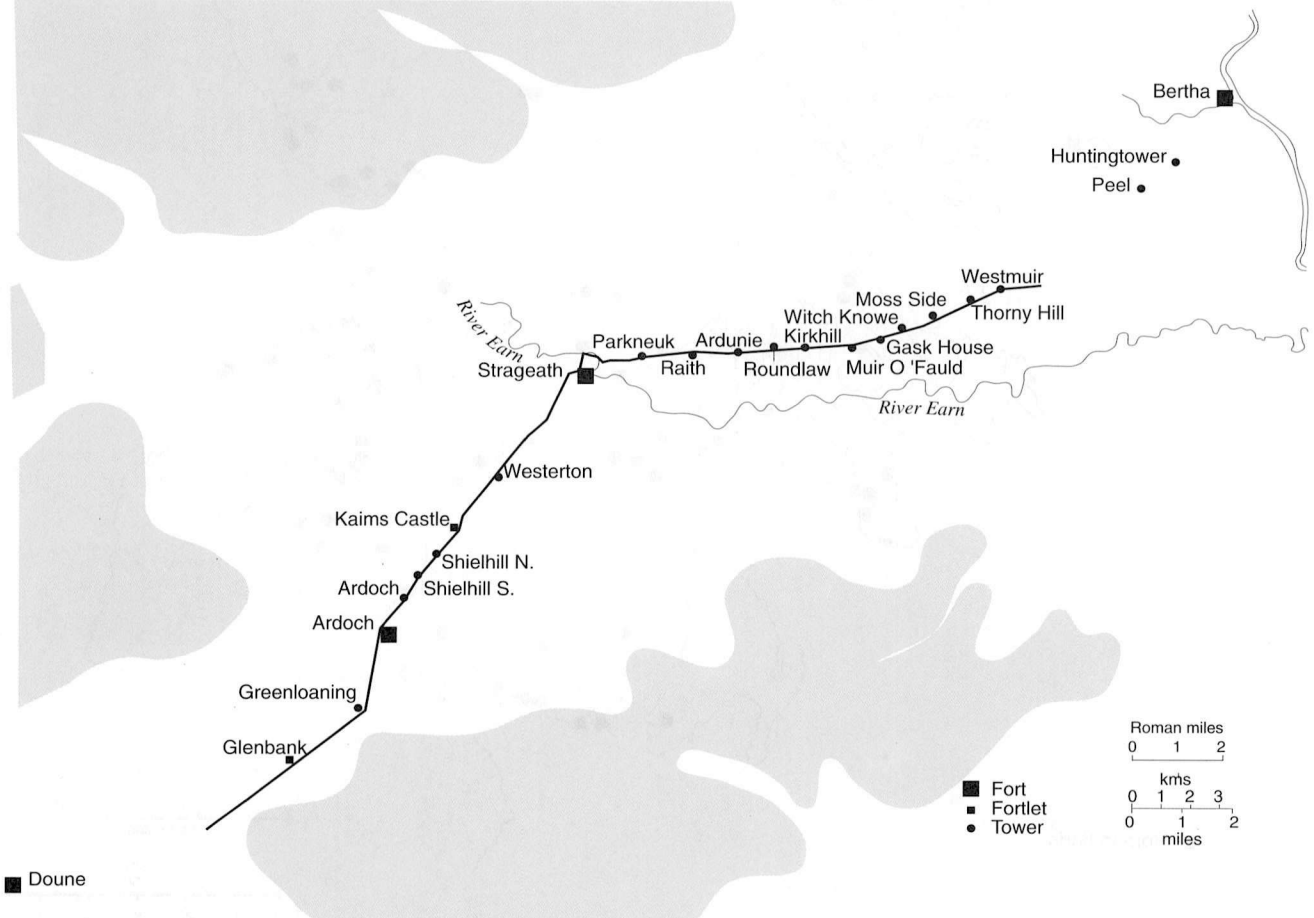
Roman finds from native sites from first to fourth centuries DJB, CH, WSH, LJFK, GSM

Roman frontiers

The halt to the expansion of the Roman empire in the first century led to the development of frontier controls. The first map reveals the limitations of our knowledge concerning Agricola's troop disposition across the Forth Clyde isthmus. The next 2 maps illustrate the development of Roman frontiers in this north-western province of the empire over a period of 60 years. The normal spacing of forts within the military zone might be about a day's march (fourteen or so miles). The role of the units in these forts was to control and protect the new provincials. The first step towards the development of a frontier was the addition of intermediate sites along the outer strand of the network, reducing the spacing to about seven miles, to which was added an extra element - the timber watchtower - to increase the army's control of movement across the frontier. Under Hadrian a new feature appeared, the linear barrier to further hinder low intensity threats, ie Hadrian's Wall; it was, however, not until later in his reign that major military forces were deployed along the barrier itself, operating in most instances from forts placed astride the Wall and in the event of attack combining to form a mobile field army. The design of the Antonine Wall reveals a closer integration between the army units and the Wall. Forts were placed on the Wall from the beginning but during building operations their number increased from an original six to at least 17 resulting in a closer spacing between forts than on any other Roman frontier.

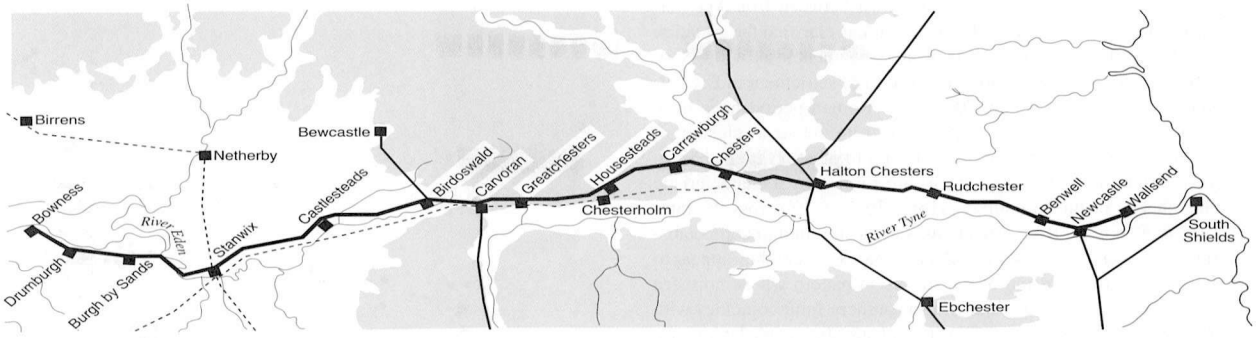


Roman frontiers, Forth-Clyde Isthmus: Agricola's troop dispositions DJB, WSH, LJFK, GSM



Roman frontiers: Gask Ridge sites DJB, WSH, LJFK, GSM

Roman frontiers

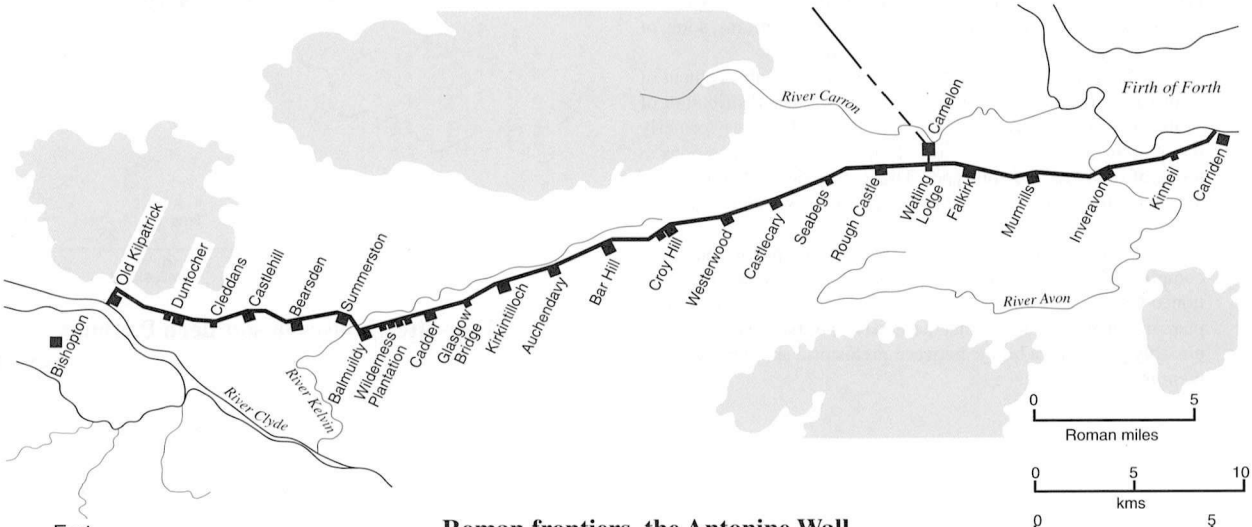


Hadrian's Wall
Forts
Roman roads
Roman roads, probable course

0 5 10 kms
0 5 miles
0 5 Roman miles

Roman frontiers, Hadrian's Wall

DJB, WSH, LJFK, GSM

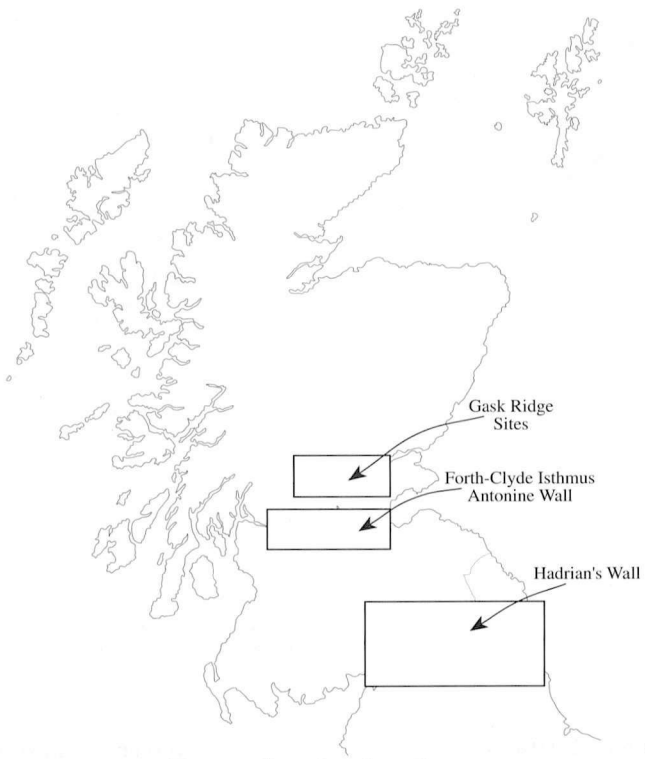


Fort
Fort(possible)
Fortlet

0 5 Roman miles
0 5 10 kms
0 5 miles

Roman frontiers, the Antonine Wall

DJB, WSH, LJFK, GSM



Roman frontiers location map

DJB, WSH, LJFK, GSM

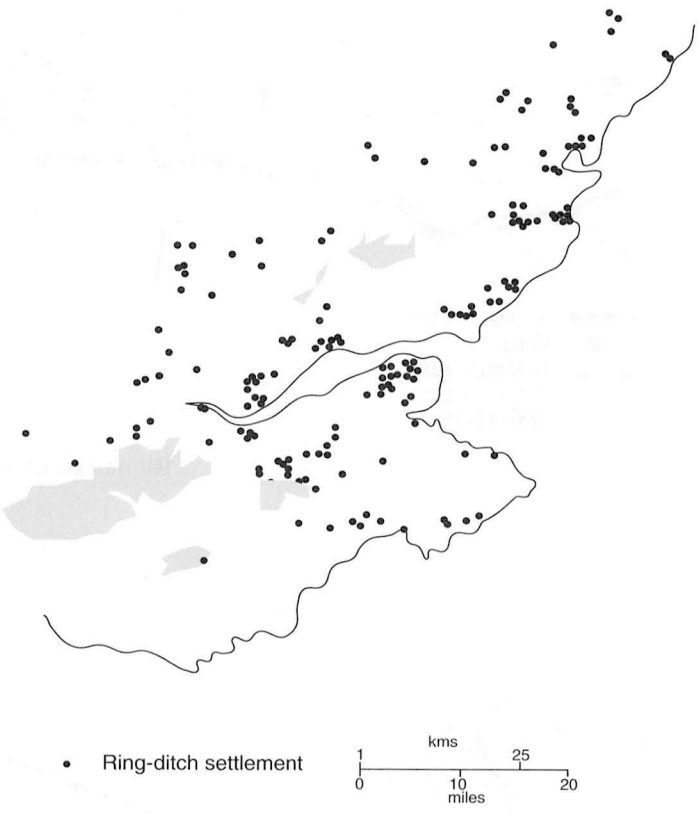
Pictish and earlier archaeological sites

Aerial survey has intensified the contrast between Iron Age patterns north and south of the Forth, and it has clarified the situation in Fife and Tayside. In the past decade the unenclosed villages of round timber houses that are typical of rural settlement in E. Scotland from the sixth century BC to the Roman period have been identified in great numbers, appearing from the air as clusters of circular or annular cropmarkings; a handful of excavations has revealed that these distinctive traces are formed by a characteristic ring-shaped or lunate hollow, 6-15m (20-50 feet) across the interior of the house. Ring-ditch houses are also found in appreciable numbers in Grampian and Highland Regions, where they appear to form a natural extension of a distribution pattern whose northern limits are not yet known, but whose southern limit coincides with that of square-barrow cemeteries (which are shown in a later map).

Of even greater interest, perhaps, has been the discovery that unenclosed settlements of the later Iron Age in those parts were frequently associated with souterrains and that these could also be identified from the air. The potential impact of this on Iron Age archaeology may be gauged from a comparison of the total number of souterrains identified in southern Pictland by a century of antiquarian endeavour, (fifty-five), with the 100-odd sites recorded by the aerial surveyor in only the past decade. Even more impressive is the quality of information thus acquired, for it is now possible to see that many settlements incorporate several souterrains, some of them of considerable size and structural complexity.

At present the implications of this sudden enhancement of information have not been fully appreciated. The distribution of souterrains now appears to be much denser than was formerly thought, the newly recorded sites occupying favoured positions in terms of drainage and soil type. The distribution is beginning to approximate to that observed for square barrows and ring-ditch houses.

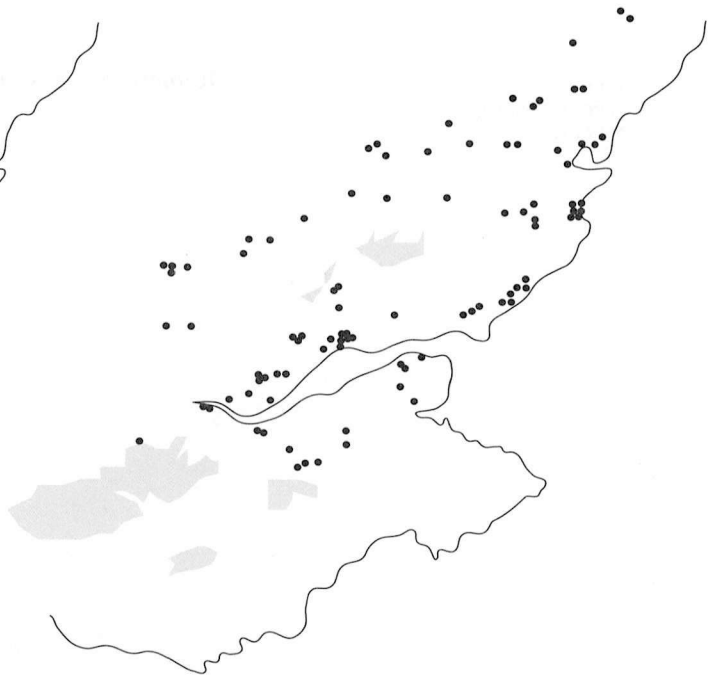
(Note: Since the above was written, the picture has been complicated by the discovery that some of the settlements mentioned here include groups of sunken-floored houses of rectilinear plan; initial indications are that these may be of Early Historic date, possibly providing a bridge between prehistoric and Pictish settlement in this area.)



Ring-ditch houses in southern Pictland

GSM, PA

Souterrains in southern Pictland: on the ground GSM, PA



Souterrains in southern Pictland: from the air GSM, PA

Pictish and earlier archaeological sites

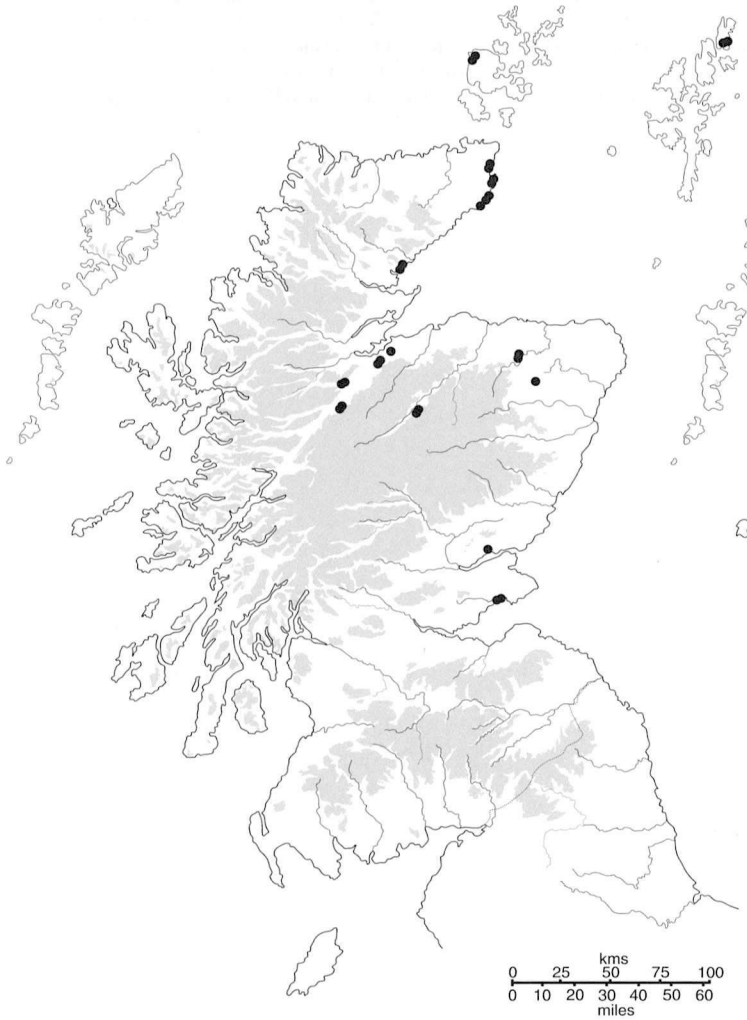
One of the most exciting and surprising discoveries of archaeological air survey in the past twenty years has been the identification of cemeteries including square barrows. Over much the same period scrutiny of old reports, ground surveys and excavations has revealed cemeteries of low, flat topped mounds dating between the third and eleventh centuries AD.

Air photography has revealed at least thirty cropmark square barrow cemeteries. In many of the cemeteries there are also round barrows. The vast majority lie between the Forth and the N. Esk, but there are a few in Dumfries and Galloway, Aberdeenshire, Moray and Highland. Although none of the cemeteries so far discovered is very large, the cropmarks of their shallow enclosing ditches are very tenuous, and repeated annual survey occasionally reveals new barrows and new details.

The nearest and best structural parallels for most of these cropmark burial monuments are in east Yorkshire, where some cemeteries date to the early Iron Age and others to the Roman period. However, some of the cemeteries in Scotland include square barrows with ditches interrupted at the corners which seem highly comparable to some of the broadly Pictish mounds described below. More enigmatic are the few much larger enclosures with interrupted corners which have been discovered in recent air photography of eastern Scotland.

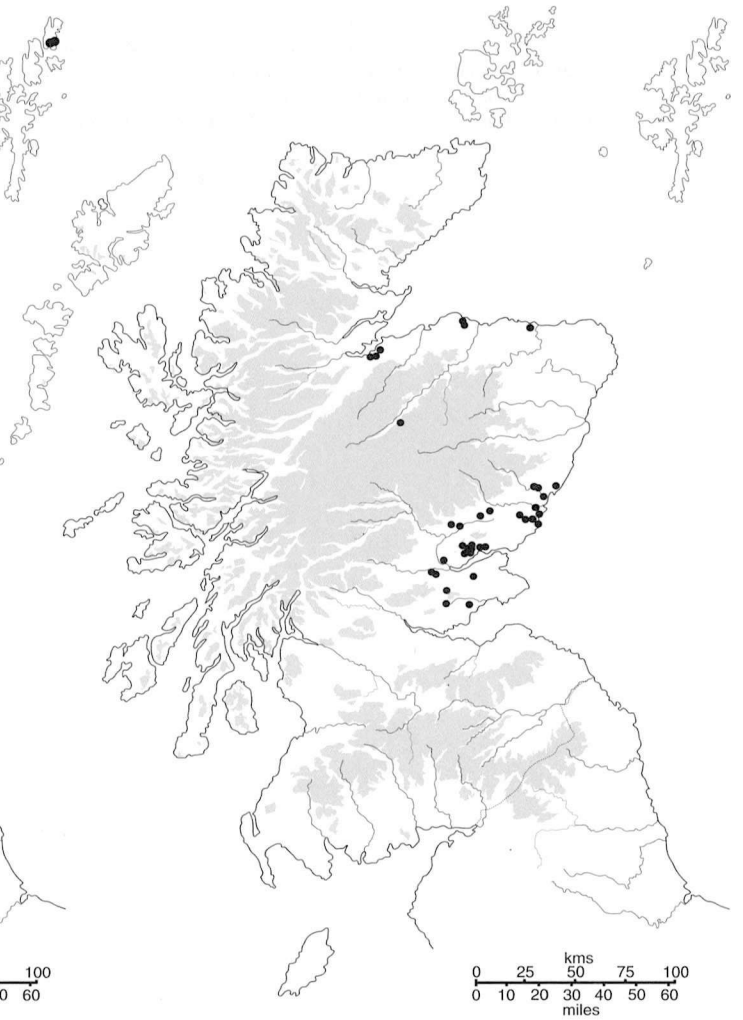
The broadly Pictish barrows and cairns occur from Shetland to Fife. They range in diameter from under 3m (10 ft.) to (exceptionally) over 12m (40ft). They have flat tops, and include two or more of the following attributes: a built or vertical slab kerb, lightly flexed inhumation in a grave sealed by a layer of redeposited subsoil or sand, and corner features, such as stones or small pillars or a square-plan ditch with causeways at the corners. These cemeteries often include round, oblong and trapezoidal mounds, some of which may be joined together, long cist burials without covering mounds, and quite often a Pictish symbol stone or a fragment of one. Radiocarbon dates suggest the burials took place between the third and eleventh centuries AD. Some of the cemeteries include one or more taller round mounds, which may be compared to burial mounds such as that overlying the counterscarp bank around Inchtuthil Roman fort. There is an overlap in the distributions of square barrows and long cist cemeteries in Fife, but their distributions are largely mutually exclusive.

The proportionately large number of associations of the upstanding cemeteries with Pictish symbol stones suggests a cultural relationship. The square barrows with interrupted ditch corners probably have similar affinities. Although their distribution stretches farther north than that of *pit-* placenames, recent discoveries of cropmark sites have reinforced the similarities between the distributions. The core of the distribution of the simple square barrows is in the southern Pictish heartlands. Although there is undoubtedly a relationship between the simple square barrows and those with interrupted ditch corners, the nature of that relationship will remain unclear until more sites have been excavated.



• Cairns

Pictish cairns PA,GSM



• Single square barrow or group of square barrows

Square barrows PA,GSM

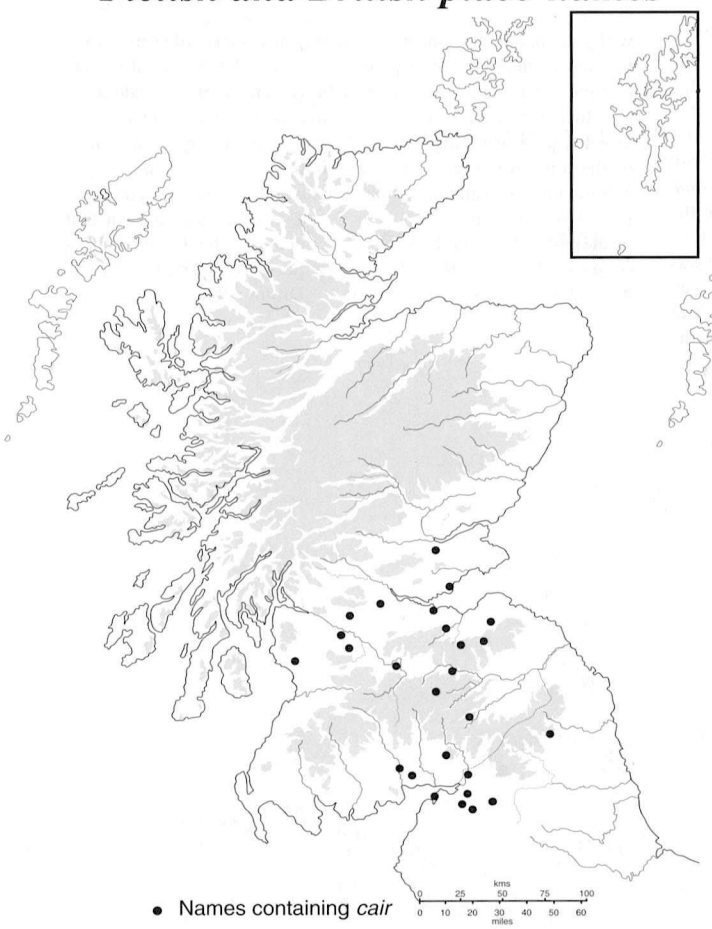
Pictish and British place-names

Of all linguistic evidence, place-names provide the most mappable. Their known locations can be precisely pinpointed through map coordinates, and potential distribution patterns are easily discernible. Such patterns can be most directly interpreted in spatial terms but also have historical implications. Though most place names do not offer evidence for absolute dating, many of them can be placed in relative chronological sequences allowing the establishment of linguistic strata concerning both the relationship of different languages to each other and the postulation of strata within the same linguistic stratum. Naturally, the chronological dimension of spatial patterns has to be treated very carefully, bearing in mind that they usually say more about the end of the productivity of a certain name element or type than about its beginning. Place-names become the more valuable as raw material the further back we go in history, and an important approach to their study and interpretation can be termed "linguistic (or onomastic) archaeology".

The earliest Celtic settlers in Scotland did not speak Gaelic but languages more akin to Gaulish, Cornish, Breton and particularly Welsh. The two main Scottish branches were Pictish and Cumbric (British) although evidently there were also Picts whose language was not Celtic. That relationship of these languages among each other, to the other p-Celtic languages and to Gaelic was complex is demonstrated by the four maps showing the distribution of place-name generics that can be ascribed to them.

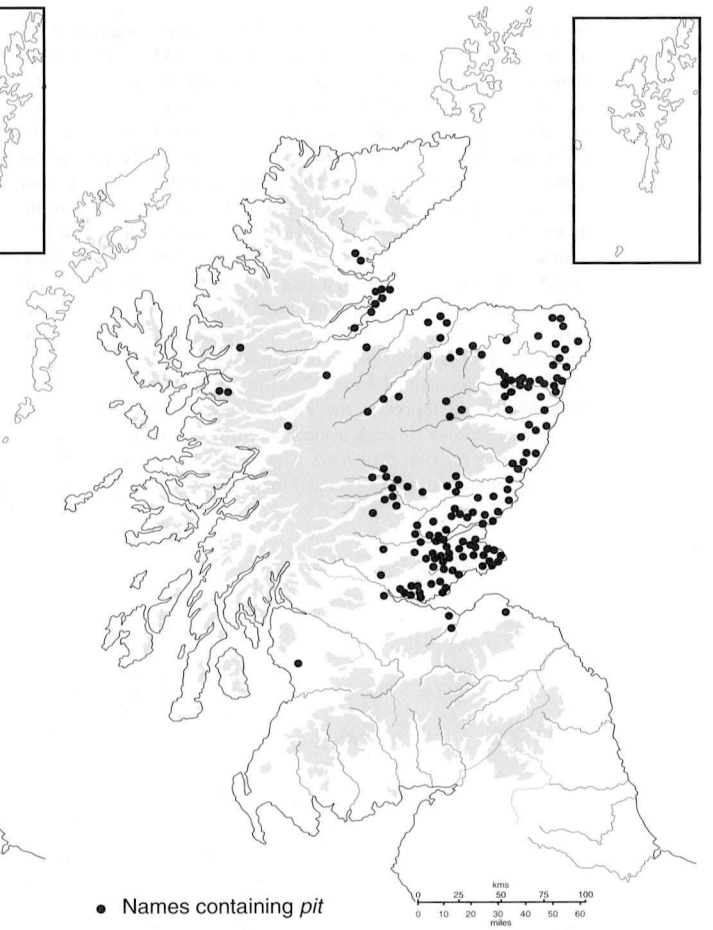
The maps display the kind of toponymic evidence that would argue for Cumbric and Pictish as separate, though related, languages. The generic *cair* 'fort, manor house, stockaded farm', as in Cramond (Midlothian), Caerlanrig (Roxburghshire), and Carfrae (Berwickshire and East Lothian), occurs almost exclusively south of the Forth Clyde line, apparently limiting Cumbric to that region in Scotland, while linking it with a small cluster of names in northwest England, i.e. the former kingdom of Rheged (Carlisle), and also with Wales (Cardiff, Caernarvon, Cardigan). In contrast, names containing the element *pett* 'portion, share', like Pitlochry (Perthshire), Pittenweem (Fife), Pitcaple (Aberdeenshire), and more than 300 others, are found, with a few exceptions, to the north and east of the *cair*-area, and their distribution is usually interpreted as delineating the settlement area of the Celtic-speaking Picts. This assumption is probably correct, despite the fact that many *Pit*-names have Gaelic specifics, like Pitcarmick (Perthshire), Pitcox (East Lothian). Pitmedden (several). Some of these names may be part-translations; most of them are likely to have been coined during a Pictish - Gaelic bilingual period in the ninth and tenth centuries, or perhaps even later.

Maps 3c and 3d provide evidence that modifies this impression of separate linguistic entities. Names containing such elements as *lanerc* 'clear space' (Lanrick, Perthshire, Lanark, Lanarkshire), *pert* 'wood, copse' (Perth, Perthshire; Pappert Law, Selkirkshire), *pevr* 'radiant, beautiful' (Innerpeffray, Perthshire; Peffer Burn, East Lothian), *pren* 'tree' (Primrose, Fife; Primside, Roxburghshire) are found in both 'Pictish' and 'Cumbric' territory, and *aber* 'river-mouth' (Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire; Aberlady, East Lothian) in addition has especially strong links with Wales (Abergavenny, Aberythwyth, etc.). The generic *tref* 'dwelling, village' is also common in Wales (Tredegar, Tregaron) and Cornwall (Trefecca, Tregoyd), respectively, but its distribution (map d) in Scotland adds a different wrinkle to the complexity of the linguistic situation. While its distribution approximates that of *cair* when it is the first element in a compound name (Tranent, East Lothian; Tralorg, Ayrshire; Terregles, Kirkcudbrightshire), it is like *lanerc*, *pert* and *pren*, evident in both 'Cumbric' and 'Pictish' territory when it is preceded by the specific, but whereas south of the Antonine Wall this specific is always Cumbric (Niddrie, Midlothian; Ochiltree, Wigtownshire; Trostrie, Kirkcudbrightshire), in the majority of names north of the wall (Clentry, Fife; Fintry, several; Fortry, Banffshire) it is Gaelic, not unlike the hybrid Pictish-Gaelic composition of many *Pit*-names.



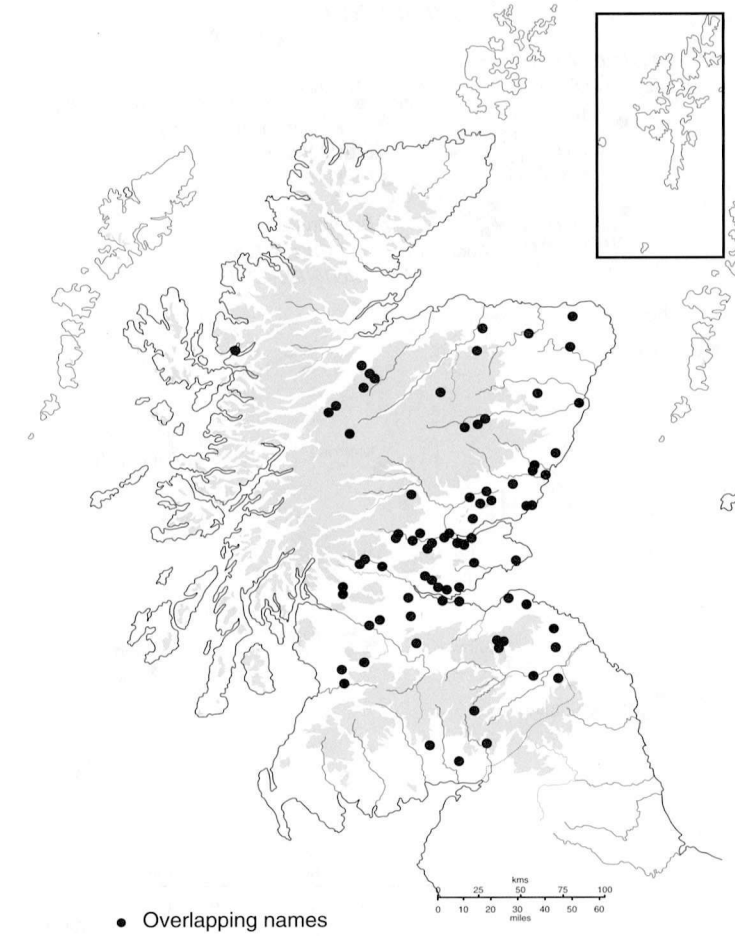
• Names containing *cair*

Cumbric place-names WFHN



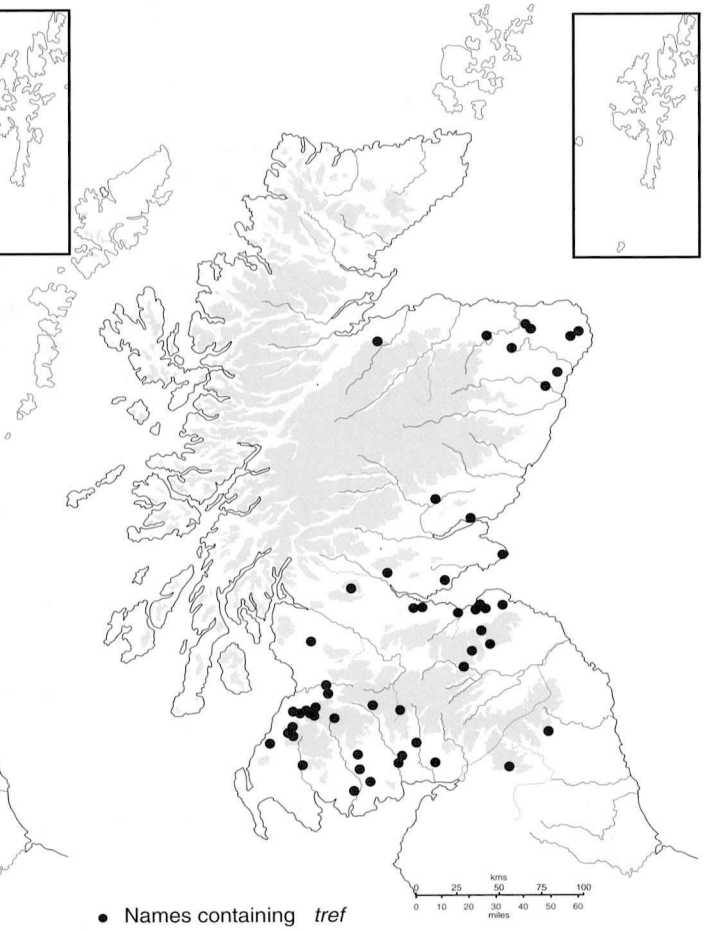
• Names containing *pit*

Pictish place-names WFHN



• Overlapping names

Overlapping place-names WFHN

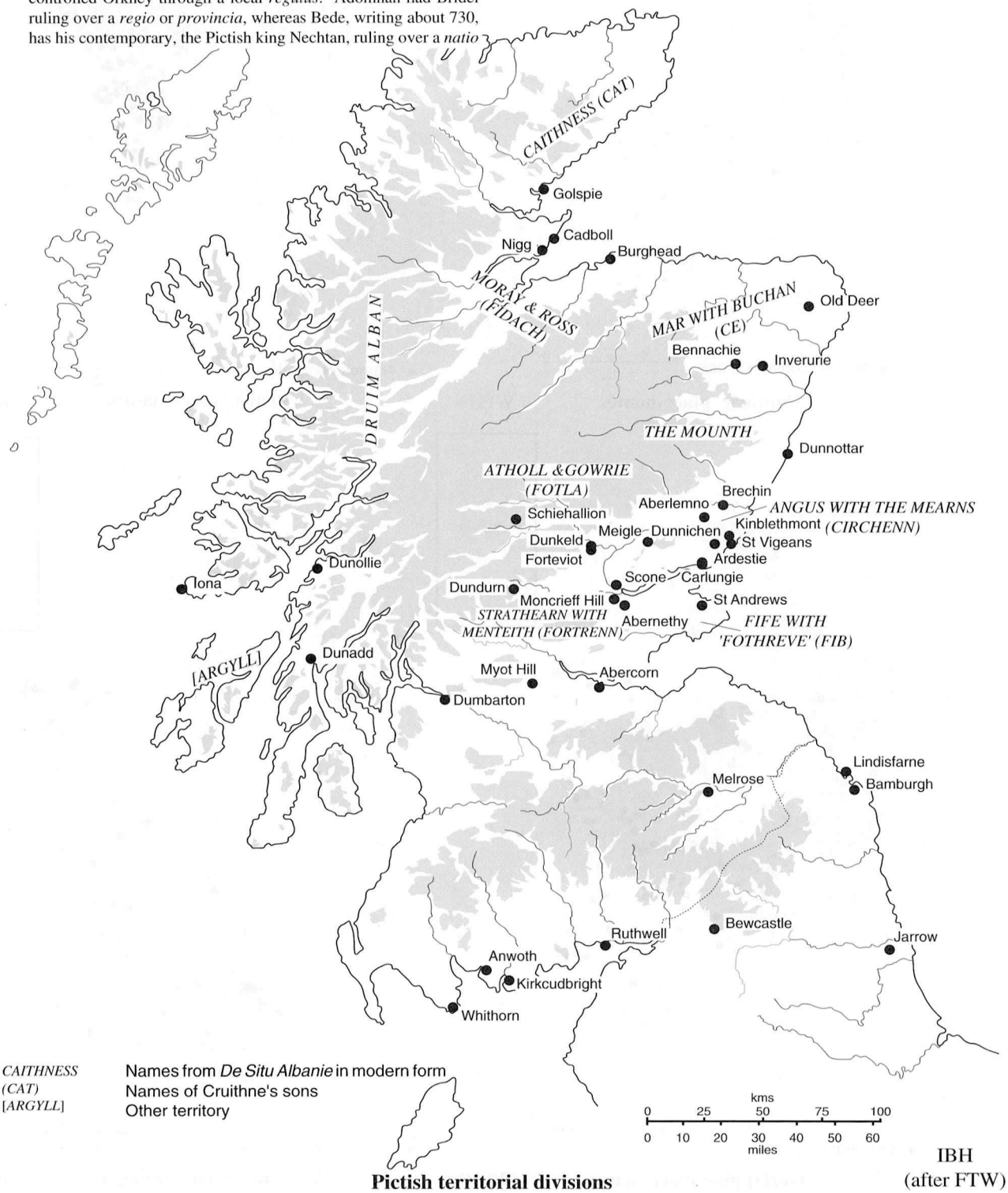


• Names containing *tref*

Place-names containing *tref* WFHN

Pictish territorial divisions

The most authentic version of the list of Pictish kings begins with the names of the seven sons of Cruithne (the Irish for Pict). Three of the sons appear as names of districts in entries relating to events of the seventh and eighth centuries in contemporary Irish annals: so it is reasonable to assume that all seven are eponyms referring to names of regions in the Pictish part of north Britain. In the manuscript containing the king list, there is also a tract known as *De Situ Albanie* - a collection of topographical surveys of Scotland written in the twelfth century. One survey refers to the ancient division of the land into seven regions by seven brothers, and adds that each region was divided into two parts ruled by a king and a sub-king. Another survey defines the geographical boundaries of the seven regions not all of which are consistent with the pairs of districts attributed to the ancient sevenfold division. The administrative pairs may be reflected in Adomnán of Iona's description, written about 700, of Columba's contemporary, the Pictish king Bridei as a *rex* who controlled Orkney through a local *regulus*. Adomnán had Bridei ruling over a *regio* or *provincia*, whereas Bede, writing about 730, has his contemporary, the Pictish king Nechtan, ruling over a *natio* with *provinciae*. It is uncertain whether this change of terminology implies a centralisation of power. Bede and late classical writers thought of the Picts as having once been divided into confederacies on either side of the Mounth. The single lineage represented by the king list, and the homogeneity of Pictish sculpture suggest that most of the time from the sixth to the ninth century the Picts enjoyed cultural unity and attempted to maintain political unity. References in Adomnán's *Life of Columba* make it clear that by the end of the seventh century the boundary between the Picts and the Scots of Dalriada was the mountain range of Druim Alban.

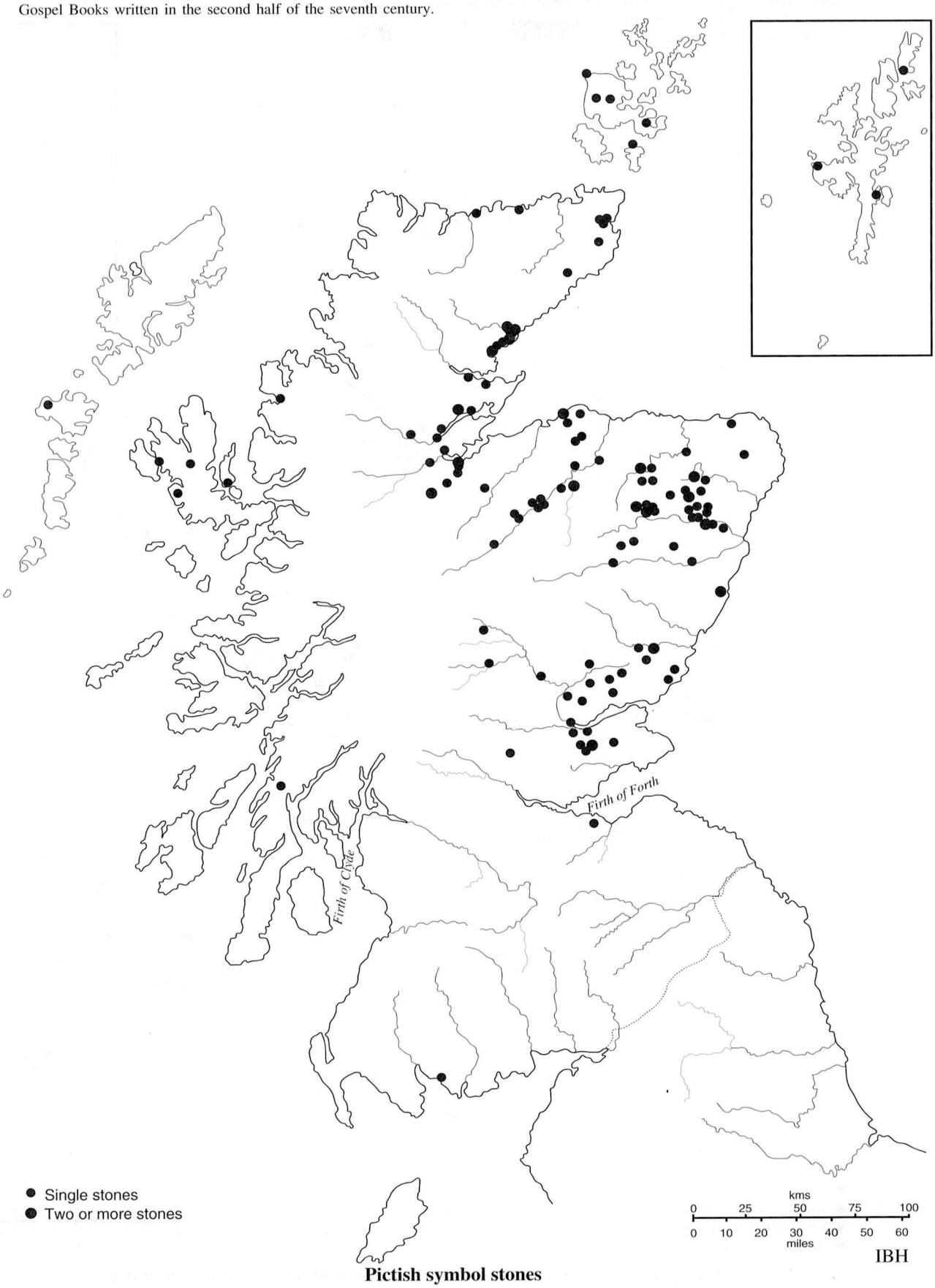


Pictish territorial divisions

IBH (after FTW)

Pictish monuments

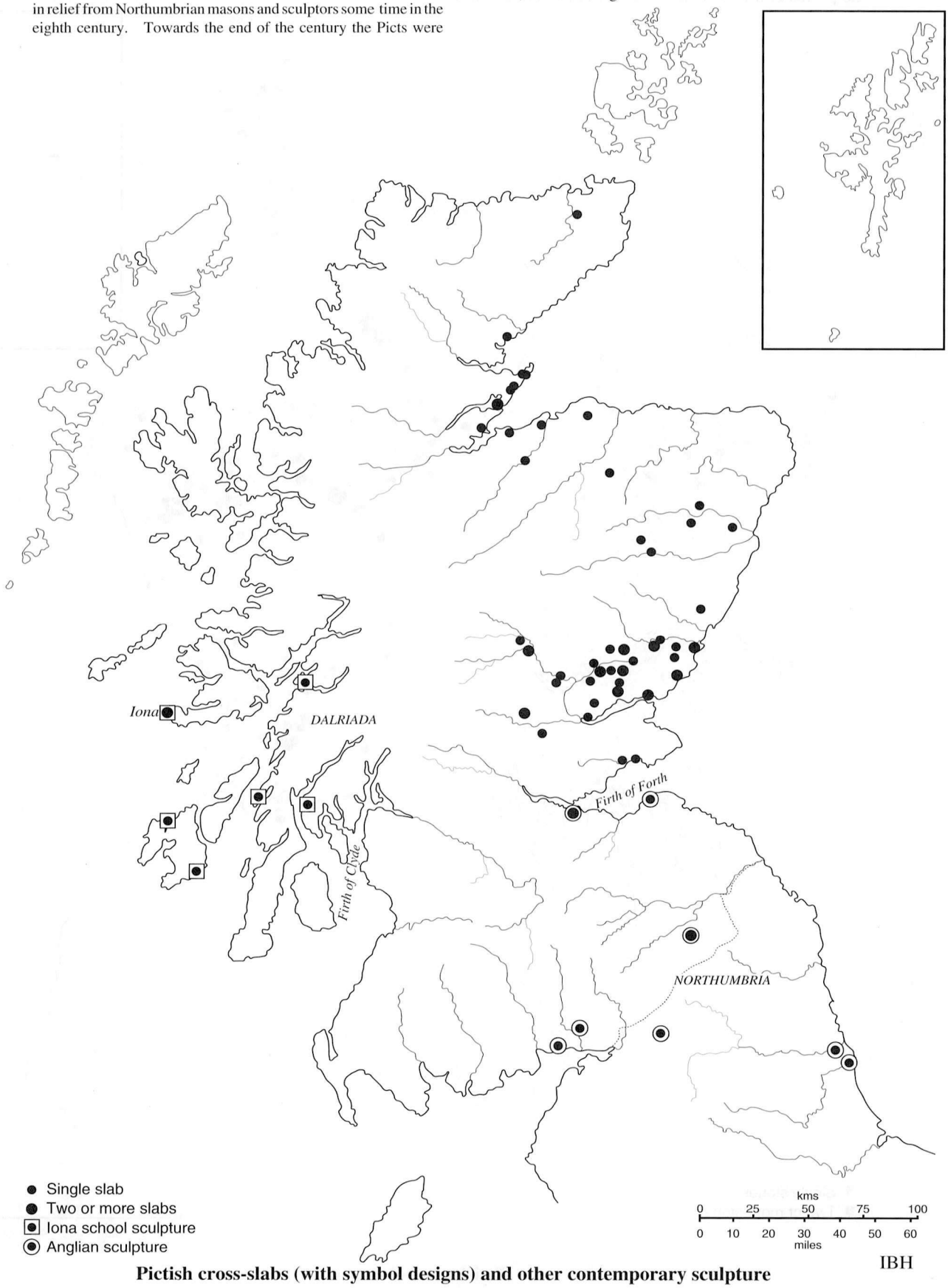
The map shows the find spots of boulder stones incised with the unique Pictish symbol designs. It will be seen that symbol stones are found north of the Forth-Clyde line in the districts which Bede, writing in the eighth century, knew to be populated by Picts. Symbol stones are not found in the regions where the Scots settled in the early sixth century. The designs for some of the animal symbols are related to the designs used for three of the Evangelist Symbols in illuminated Gospel Books written in the second half of the seventh century. Whether the Pictish animal symbols come before or after the manuscript creatures is a matter of controversy; but it can be said with confidence that symbol stones were being put up in the seventh century. The meaning of the Pictish symbols and the function of the stones is not known. Some of the symbol designs are engraved on silver neck chains and some are incised on the walls of caves. Recently a number of stones incised with a range of symbols have been shown to be directly associated with burials.



Pictish symbol stones

Pictish monuments

The map shows the find spots of dressed slabs carved in relief bearing on one side a full-length decorated cross and on the other Pictish symbols. Animal ornament surrounds the cross. The symbols accompany figurative scenes many of which depict hunting on horseback. The best known scene is the unique three-tier battle scene on the back of the cross slab in Aberlemno churchyard in Angus. Because of technical and decorative connections it is agreed that the Picts learned to cut and carve stone in relief from Northumbrian masons and sculptors some time in the eighth century. Towards the end of the century the Picts were carving ambitious monuments in high relief. The finest of these closely resemble the free-standing crosses of the Iona school of sculptors, and both sets of monuments have links with the art of the Book of Kells. This phase of Pictish sculpture provides evidence for widespread patronage by Christian Picts and for artistic contacts with Iona, Ireland, and England, north and south of the Humber. The map shows the distribution of some of the sculpture in north Britain, demonstrating these links.

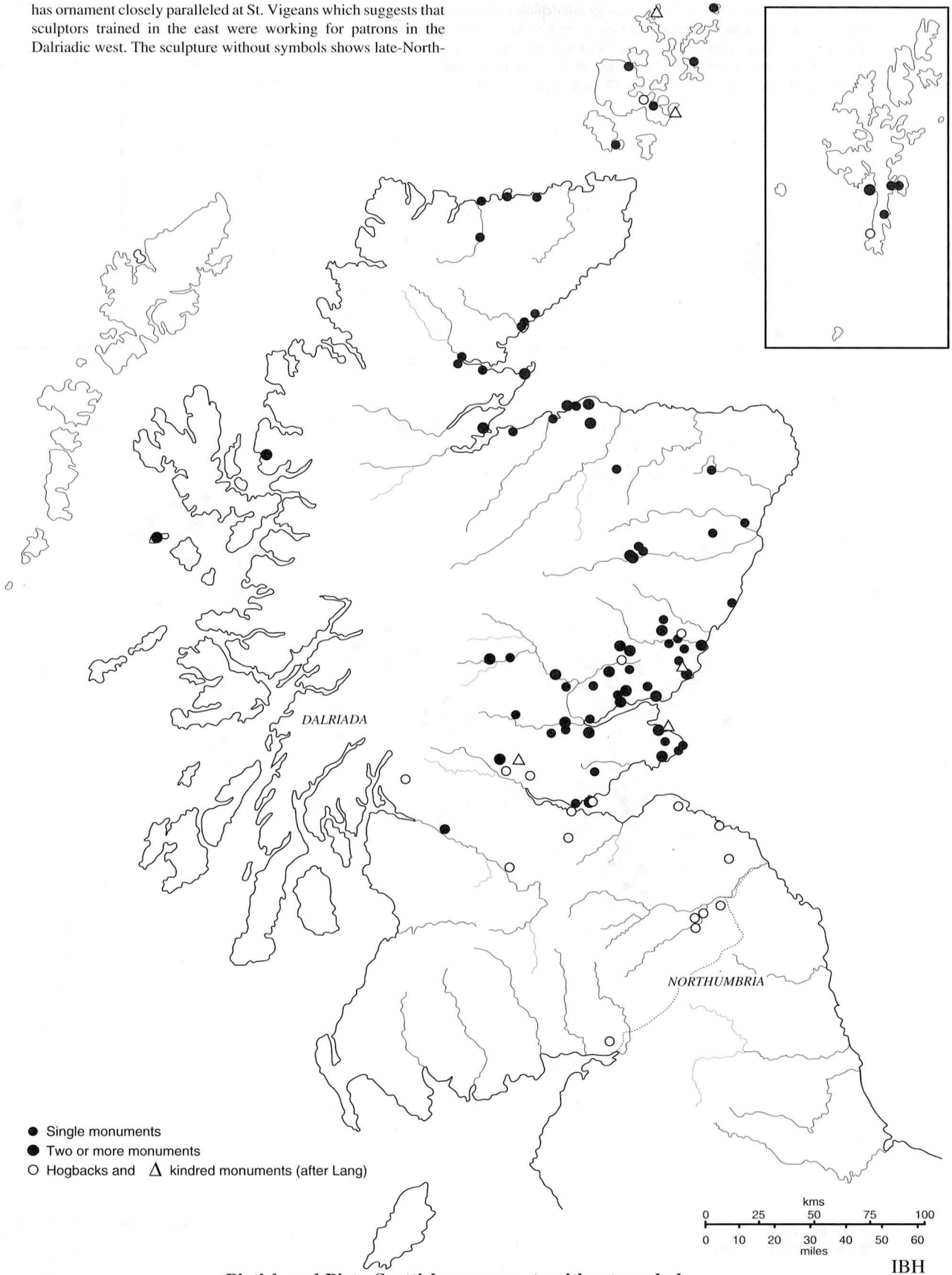


Pictish cross-slabs (with symbol designs) and other contemporary sculpture

Pictish monuments

Some of this sculpture belongs with mainstream Pictish art, for example, the carved sarcophagus in the Cathedral Museum at St. Andrews, and the massive recumbent grave covers in the Pictish sculpture museum at Meigle, Perthshire. Other sculpture reflects the presence of the Scots of Dalriada in eastern Pictland after the takeover by Kenneth mac Alpin in the mid-ninth century, for example, the freestanding cross at Dupplin. On the other hand a large fragment of a cross-slab recently discovered at Applecross has ornament closely paralleled at St. Vigeans which suggests that sculptors trained in the east were working for patrons in the Dalriadic west. The sculpture without symbols shows late-Northumbrian traits such as the spreading of vine-scroll over the cross-head. This hybrid sculpture is less accomplished than the sculpture of earlier periods, but its value as evidence for strains of influence in the religious life of Scotland in the ninth and tenth centuries is considerable.

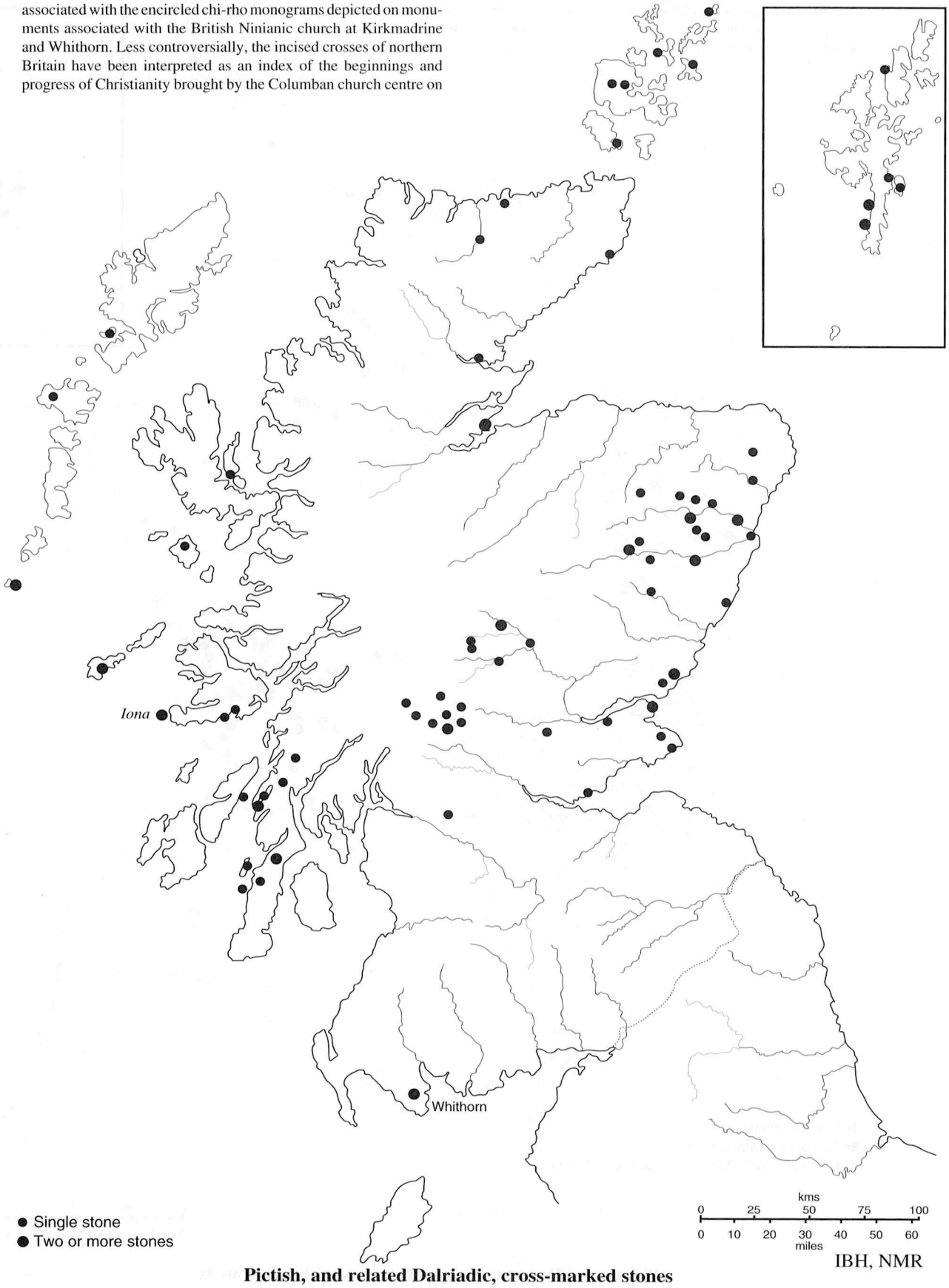
Two slightly later schools of sculpture are characterised by a collection of sculpture in the parish church of Govan Strathclyde, and the hogback (and kindred) monuments.



Pictish and Picto-Scottish monuments without symbols

Pictish monuments

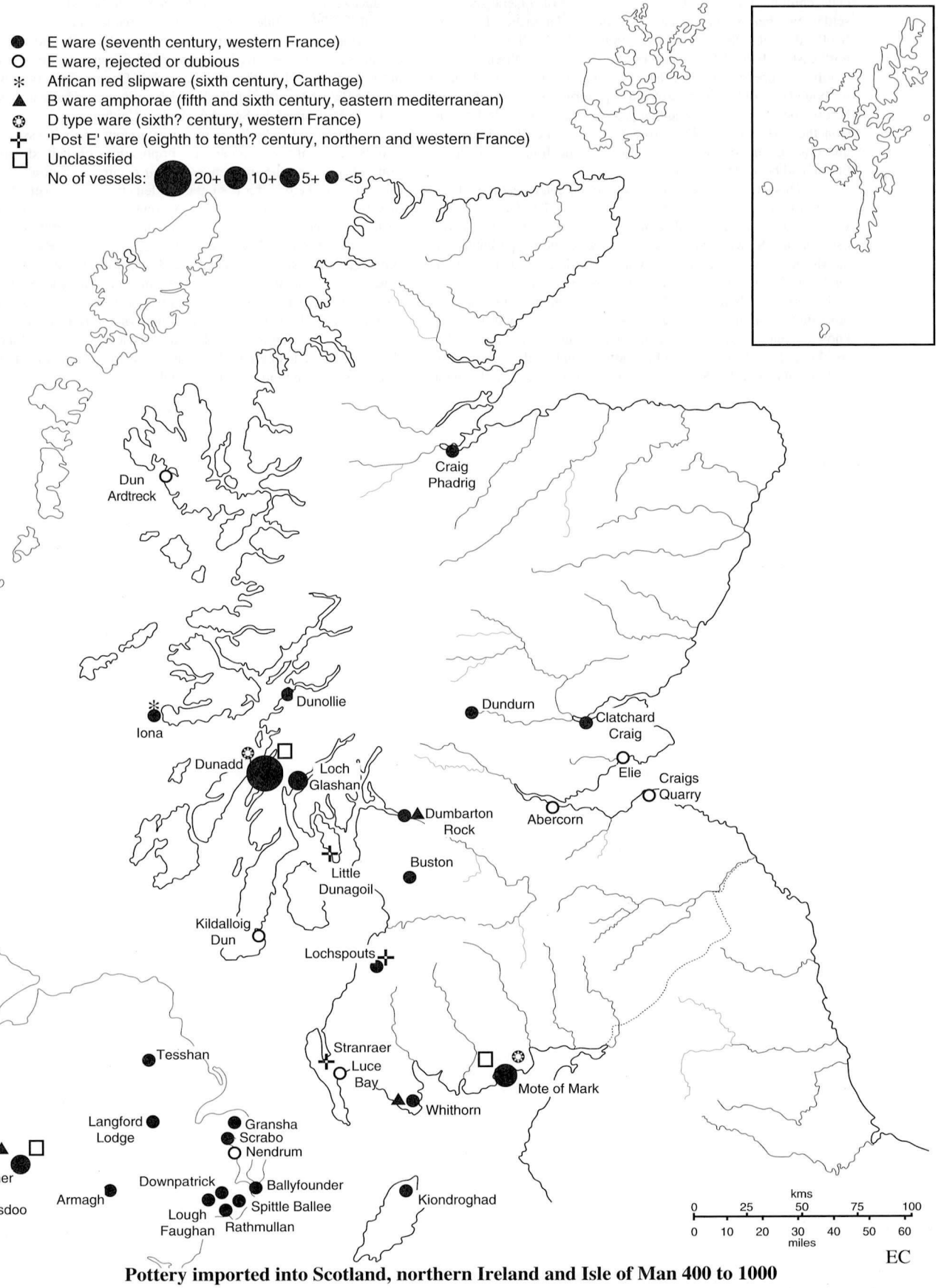
Scotland's first Christian stone monuments were probably in the form of boulder stones incised with crosses used to mark graves and sanctified places. Simple monuments of this type are of uncertain date but some of the cross-types can be compared with those found on similar more datable monuments in Ireland and Wales and on this basis the Scottish stones with incised crosses can be treated as a class of potentially early medieval monumental sculpture. The incised, encircled, equal-armed crosses of eastern Pictland have been directly associated with the encircled chi-rho monograms depicted on monuments associated with the British Ninianic church at Kirkmadrine and Whithorn. Less controversially, the incised crosses of northern Britain have been interpreted as an index of the beginnings and progress of Christianity brought by the Columban church centre on Iona. In form and technique the incised cross-bearing stones relate to the Pictish symbol stones (in the first of these Pictish maps) but the cross symbol links them to the Pictish cross-slabs (in the second map). The map is based on a preliminary list compiled in 1985 from published sources. It shows, in addition, cross-marked stones recorded by the Royal Commission in the *Argyll* inventories, and a considerable number of stones recorded by N M Robertson of Perth, as a result of field work, mainly in Highland Perthshire.



Pictish, and related Dalriadic, cross-marked stones

Imported pottery 400 to 1000

The distribution of E ware vessels shows concentrations at a few centres of importation, with probable redistribution from these centres to surrounding sites. The variety of forms of E ware, and of other continental imports (including glassware) found on these major sites confirms the special status of such sites. It seems likely that these major secular sites controlled the exchange of goods, and that surpluses were available for exchange. None of the undoubtedly early sixth century Mediterranean wares, which are found in the south-west of Britain, are present in Scotland. This perhaps indicates that importation did not begin until the later sixth century in Scotland. The small amounts of E ware on the major Pictish sites perhaps reflect political contacts with Dalriada.



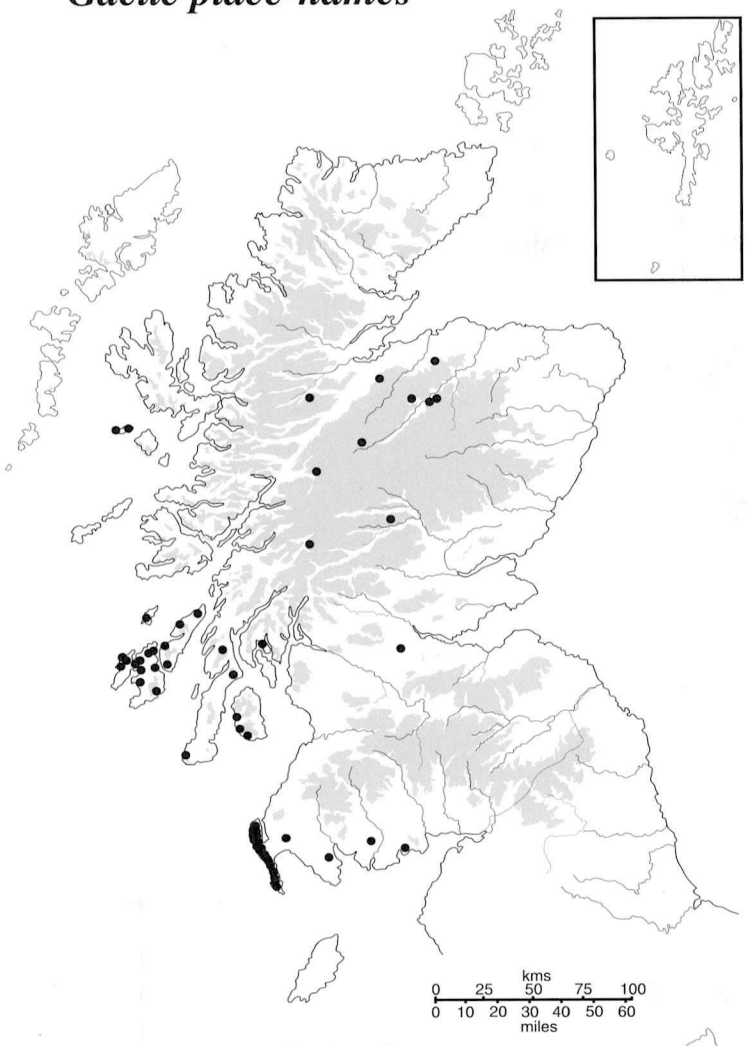
Pottery imported into Scotland, northern Ireland and Isle of Man 400 to 1000

Gaelic place-names

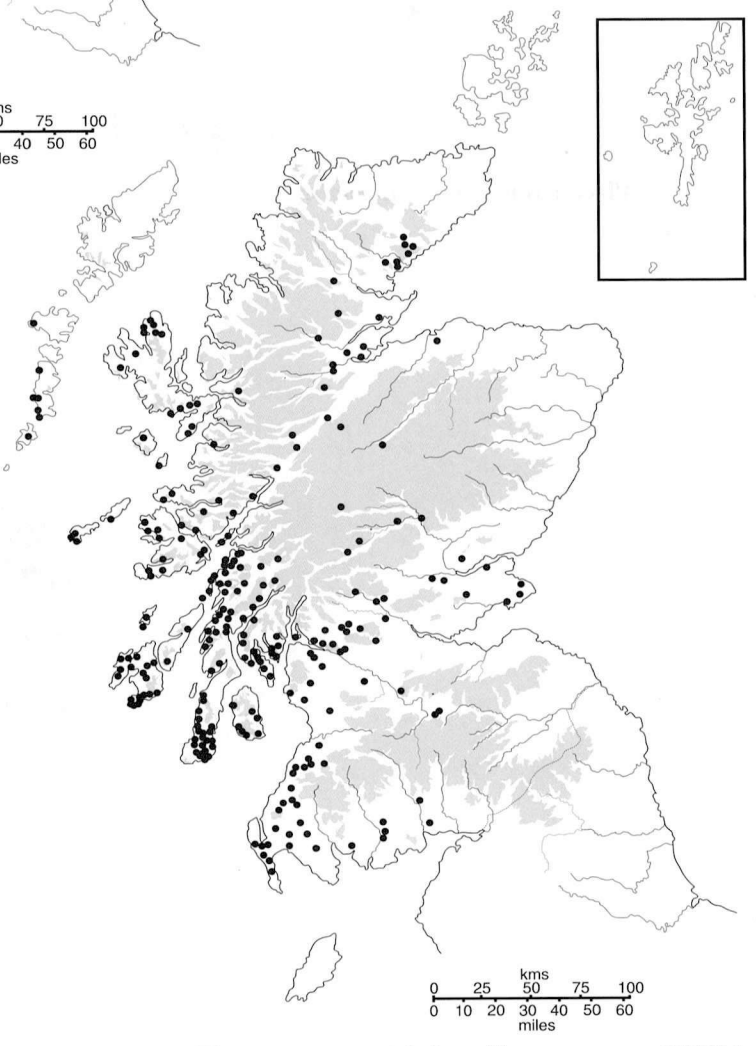
The selective interpretation of maps showing the distribution of Gaelic place-names affords us an opportunity to discern historical strata within a stratum. Not only do the maps depicting the geographical scatter of names containing Gaelic *baile* "settlement" and *achadh* "field" reflect the largest extent to which Gaelic was once spoken in Scotland in the Middle Ages but the maps indicating the distribution of *sliabh* "hill" and *cill* "hermit's cell, church" throw light on earlier phases of Gaelic-speaking settlement before Gaelic had become the language of most of Scotland, with the notable exception of the Northern Isles, the northeastern half of Caithness and the Scottish south-east. It is worth remembering, though, that not every name represented within the boundaries of a certain distribution pattern was necessarily given before the settlement behind that pattern reached its fullest expansion the opposite is probably true in all cases, i.e. the element in question remained productive well after the limits of its distribution had been established.

This is particularly applicable to the interpretation of the location of names containing early elements like *sliabh*, and it would therefore be misleading to expect all *sliabh* names (Slewdonan, Slewfad, Slewcairn, Slogarie [Galloway], Sliabh Mor, na Moine, Fada, Meadhonach, Gaoil, nan Dearc, a'Chuir [Highlands and Islands] to have been coined before, let us say, the seventh century. Their limited extent of toponymic productivity nevertheless points to them as being closely associated with the known area of the original Dalriadic settlement of Gaelic-speaking "Scots" from Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries AD and an equally early "Scots" colony in Galloway, especially in the Rinns. The distribution of place-names containing *cill* (Kilbride, Kilpatrick [Ayrshire], Kildonan, Killantringan, Kilmichael [Galloway], Kilblain [Dumfriesshire], East Kilbride [Lanarkshire], Kilbucho [Peeblesshire], Kilmacolm [Renfrewshire], Killeonan, Kilchenzie, Kilbarr, Kilchieran, Kilmaluag, Kilchintorn, Kilbrandon, Kilchalman, Kilmachalmaig, Kilpheder [Highlands and Islands]) indicates that this generic appears to have remained productive in Gaelic-speaking settlement areas beyond those typical of *sliabh*. While many of these names characteristically commemorate saints known to have lived in the sixth and seventh centuries, their productivity seems to have come to an end not until the ninth and tenth centuries when Gaelic speakers moved into the Pictish territory of the Scottish north-east in large numbers and also confronted the Scandinavians in Caithness.

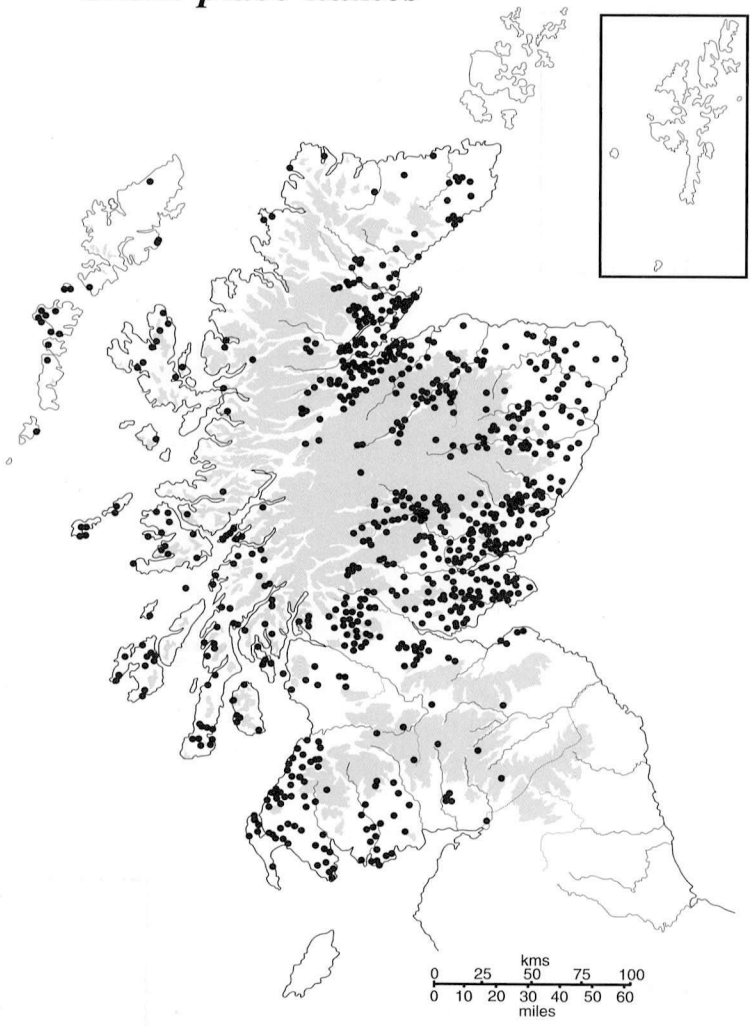
Baile and *achadh* are important toponymic witnesses not only because of the chronological implications of their distribution patterns and the frequency of their occurrence but also because they directly refer to human settlement. Their patterns of distribution, though not completely congruous, largely confirm each other and point to the same conclusions. Examples from south of the Forth - Clyde line are Balbeg, Baldoon, Balmaghie, Ballaggan, Balbackie, Ballencrieff, Balerno, Balmuir, Balgreen, Auchenbrain, Auchleach, Auchenfad, Auchencairn, Auchentibber, Auchendinny, Auchinhard, Auchneagh; north of that line we find Ballindean, Baldragon, Balhagarty, Baldornoch, Balbeg, Balblair, Balgownie, Balintore, Baleloch, Balemartine, Achnaba, Auchenreoch, Auchmithie, Auchmacoy, Auchenreath, Auchintoul, Achluachrach, Achintraid, Achrimsdale.



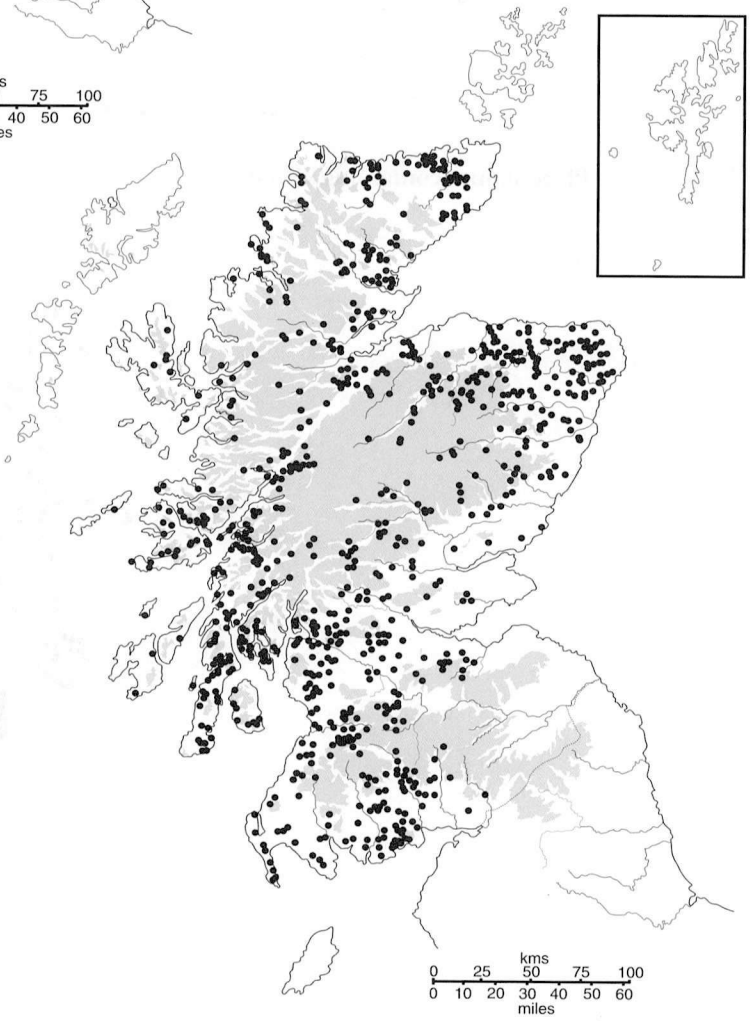
Place-names containing *sliabh*



Place-names containing *cill* WFHN



Place-names containing *baile*

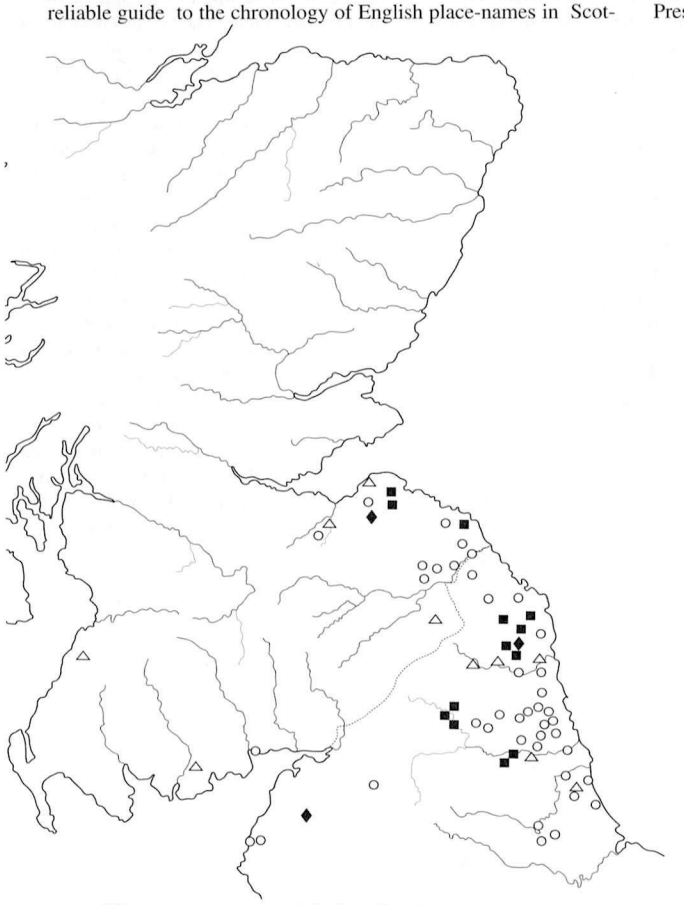


Place-names containing *achadh*

WFHN

Anglian place-names

The earliest English (Anglian) place-names in Scotland cannot be dated before the second quarter of the seventh century AD. Among these are names ending in Old English (OE) *-ingham*, like Coldingham (Berwickshire), Whittinghame and Tynninghame (East Lothian) and Penninghame (Wigtownshire). Equally early, but remaining productive longer, are names containing OE *ham* "village, homestead", as, for example, Ednam, Midlem, Oxnam, Smailholm, Yetholm (Roxburghshire), Birgham, Edrom, Kimmerghame, Leitholm (Berwickshire), Morham, Oldham(stocks) (East Lothian), and Smallholm (Dumfriesshire). Unlike ham which ceased to be creative in the formation of place-names before the Middle Ages, OE *tun* "enclosure, enclosed place" continued to be productive for many centuries. While it is therefore itself not a reliable guide to the chronology of English place-names in Scotland, it occurs in early names, perhaps till the end of the seventh century or a little later, when combined with *-ing-*, as in Edrington, Edington, Mersington, Renton, Thirlington, Upsettlington (Berwickshire) and some others. Generics like OE *worth* "enclosure", as in Polwarth (Berwickshire), Cessford and Judburgh (Roxburghshire), *bothl*, *botl* "dwelling", as in Bolton, Eldbotle (East Lothian), Newbatte (Midlothian), Morebattle (Roxburghshire) and Buittle (Kirkcudbrightshire), and *wic*, (minor) settlement", as in Berwick (now Northumberland), North Berwick (East Lothian), Borthwick (several), Darnick, Fenwick, Hawick (Roxburghshire), Dawick (Peeblesshire), Fishwick (Berwickshire), and Hedderwick (East Lothian, Berwickshire) also occur in this early Anglian stratum. Remarkable and not fully explained is the occurrence of names like Prestwick, Previck and Fenwick in Ayrshire.



Place-names containing *ingtun*, *ingham*, *botl*, and *botl tun* WFHN

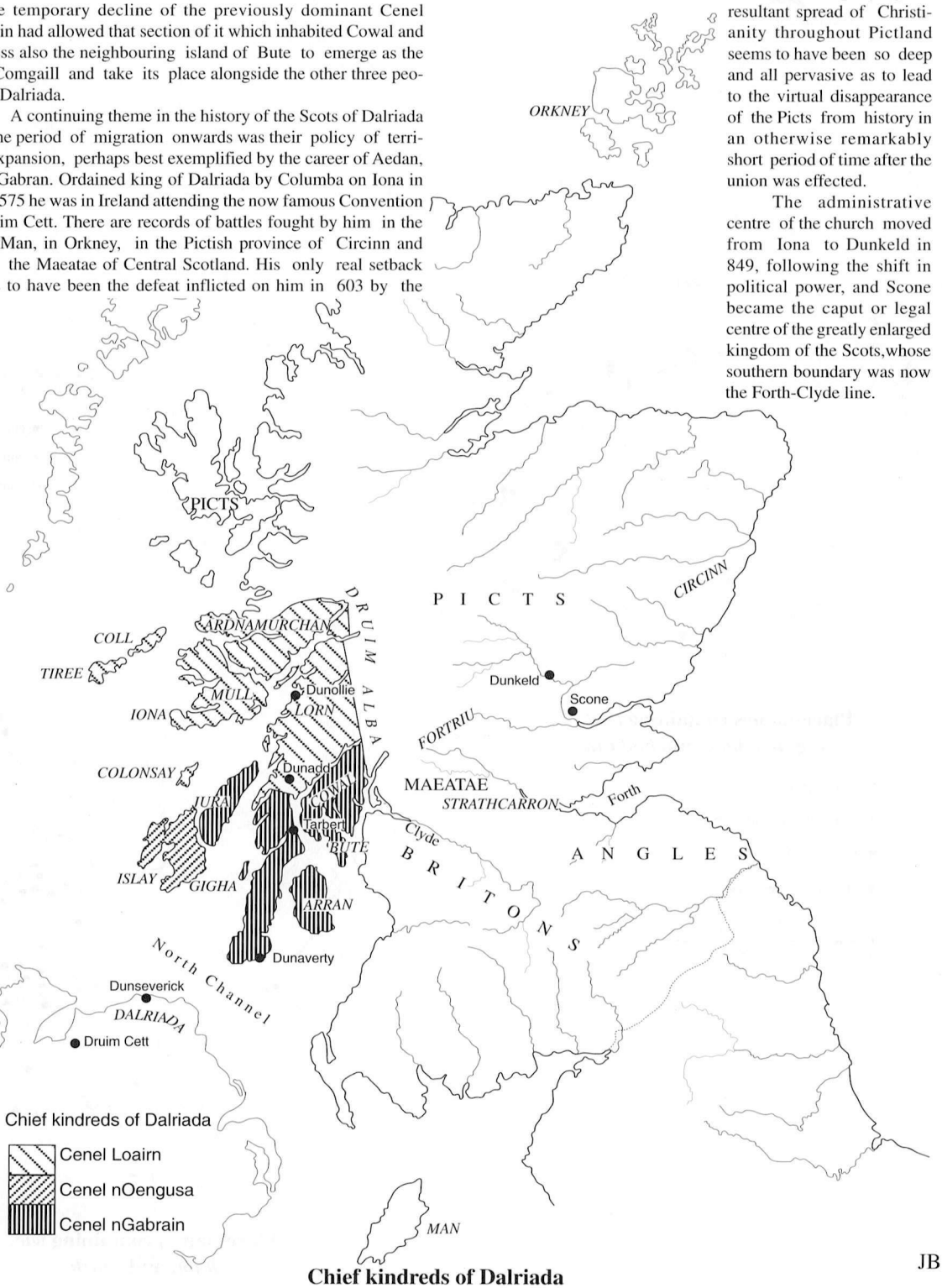
Place-names containing *wic*, *ham*, and *worth* WFHN

The Scots of Dalriada

Dalriada, the embryonic kingdom of the Scots, was founded about 500 AD when its royal family in the person of Fergus Mor, son of Erc, forsook Dunseverick, capital of Dalriada in Ireland, and took up permanent residence across the North Channel in Scotland. The northern limits of the Scottish Dalriada are depicted as they probably were in the second half of the sixth century. To the east the ridge of mountains known in Gaelic as Druim Alban separated Scot from Pict at this time. The extent of the territories occupied by the three chief peoples of Dalriada, the Cenel nGabrain, Cenel nOengusa and Cenel Loairn, is delimited according to mid seventh century evidence, although the boundary between the Cenel Loairn and the Cenel nGabrain on the mainland was drawn to take account of the fact that early in the following century Dunadd and Tarbert were their respective strongholds in the area. Dunollie was another important and contemporary Cenel Loairn stronghold, while Dunaverty belonged to the Cenel nGabrain. Finally, by the year 700 the temporary decline of the previously dominant Cenel nGabrain had allowed that section of it which inhabited Cowal and doubtless also the neighbouring island of Bute to emerge as the Cenel Comgaill and take its place alongside the other three peoples of Dalriada.

A continuing theme in the history of the Scots of Dalriada from the period of migration onwards was their policy of territorial expansion, perhaps best exemplified by the career of Aedan, son of Gabran. Ordained king of Dalriada by Columba on Iona in 574, in 575 he was in Ireland attending the now famous Convention of Druim Cett. There are records of battles fought by him in the Isle of Man, in Orkney, in the Pictish province of Circinn and against the Maeatae of Central Scotland. His only real setback appears to have been the defeat inflicted on him in 603 by the Angles at the unidentified Degsastan somewhere in Northumbria. His grandson, Domhnall Brecc, equally ambitious, is also on record in Ireland and he was killed fighting the Britons at Strathcarron about 642. The first that is heard of Aed Find, king of Dalriada, is a battle fought by him in 768 in Fortriu, a Pictish province neighbouring Dalriada. Four of the next six kings of Dalriada are named kings of Fortriu implying that the process of establishing Scottish rule in Pictland was well underway. It was brought to its conclusion when Kenneth, mac Alpin, as king of Scots engineered the political union of Scots and Picts. However, it may be said that the church had long since prepared the way. Shortly after the advent of Columba in 563, perhaps even before he founded his monastery on Iona, he went on a mission to Pictland, winning the friendship of, and probably converting to Christianity Brude, son of Maelchu, overking of all the Picts.. The Gaelic cultural penetration accompanying the resultant spread of Christianity throughout Pictland seems to have been so deep and all pervasive as to lead to the virtual disappearance of the Picts from history in an otherwise remarkably short period of time after the union was effected.

The administrative centre of the church moved from Iona to Dunkeld in 849, following the shift in political power, and Scone became the caput or legal centre of the greatly enlarged kingdom of the Scots,whose southern boundary was now the Forth-Clyde line.



Chief kindreds of Dalriada

JB

Place-names according to Bede

The names of northern Britain which appear on this map come from Bede's *History*. Bede was born probably in 673 and he died in 735; the *History* was completed in 731. He was a monk for most of his life at Jarrow situated in the English kingdom of Northumbria. Most of the names mentioned by Bede are in the English kingdoms - particularly, Northumbria which had authority over what later became south-east Scotland up to the Forth; hence the inclusion of the ecclesiastical foundations of Abercorn, Coldingham Melrose and Whithorn. Similarly, there is an un-named reference to 'Nechtanesmere' where Egfrith, the king of Northumbria, was killed and Northumbrian power in Pictland was removed. That and other unnamed but recognisable references are shown in parenthesis. Some less certain places are also shown.

Place-names from Bede *Ecclesiastical History* in Scotland, northern England and northern Ireland

kms 0 25 50 75 100
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles

PGBM

Scandinavian place-names and settlements

Though the maps of place-names of Scandinavian origin indicate the distribution and density of settlement, they are inevitably incomplete. Many farms with Scandinavian names have long since disappeared or have been renamed. Nor do distribution maps reveal the chronology of settlement, relationships with pre-existing populations or different types of settlement established contemporaneously. Most of the Scandinavian names in Scotland were coined in the ninth to thirteenth centuries, the majority in the first half of that period and three different regions of Scandinavian settlement can be identified: the Northern Isles and north-east Scotland where the majority of names are Norse; the Western Isles and western seaboard of mainland Scotland where Norse names compete with Gaelic names; and the south-east of Scotland where Norse, Gaelic and Anglian names are all represented.

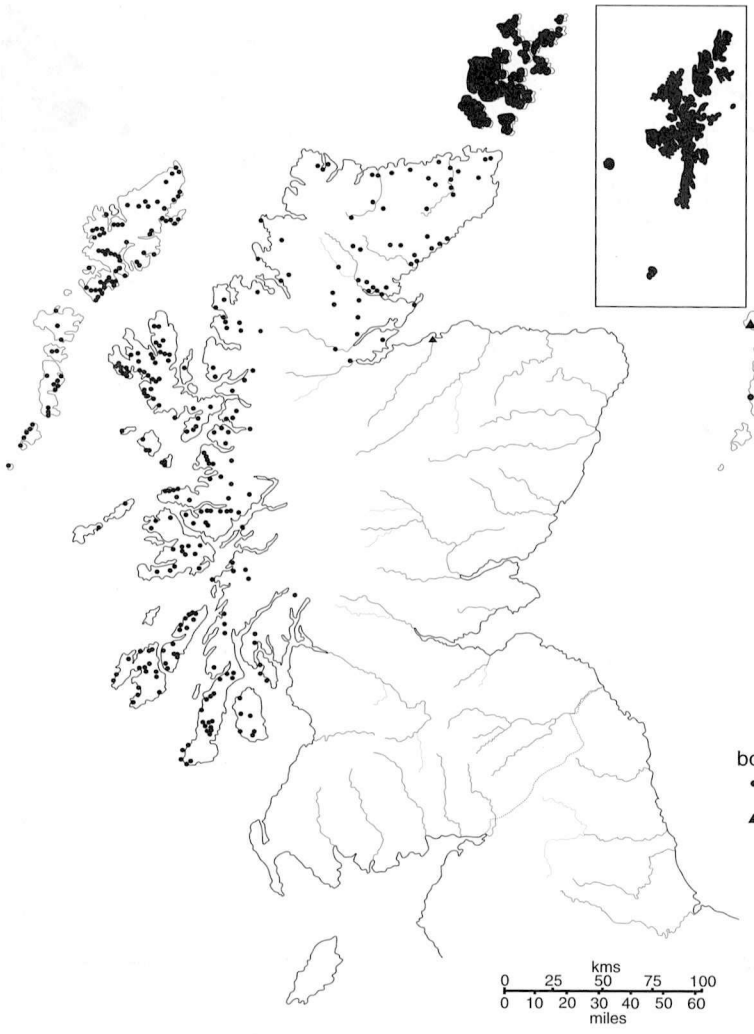
There are two categories of place-name to consider. The first is topographical names such as ON *dalr* (dale), *nes* (ness), *vagr* (voe) and *vik* (bay). Many central, primary farms bear names either in simplex form (Wick, Dale, Voe) or in compounds (Sandness, Lerwick, Snizort). There are in addition a vast number of topographical names associated with marginal farms which could have been coined at any time when the Norse language was current. The second group of names contain habitative generics such as *bolstaðr*, *staðir* and *setr*, *saetr*. The first two generics are generally rendered simply as "farm" though they probably had implications beyond that for their names. *Bolstaðr* names, for example, tend to be attached to large, fertile farms found in clusters of two, three or more and were probably given to farms resulting from division of an earlier, larger unit, indicated by the frequency with which they are compounded with locational specifics such as *norðr* (north) and *suðr* (south) in the Northern Isles. *Bolstaðr* takes various forms in Northern and Western Scotland - Urabister, (Shetland); Kirbist, (Orkney); Scrabster, (Caithness); Habost, (Lewis), Carbost, (Skye); Cornabus, (Islay); Eriboll, Skibo, (Sutherland); Ullapool, (W Ross); Crossapoll, (Tiree).

Staðir farms are also large but unlike the *bolstaðr* farms they tend to be independent units rather than divisions. Examples are: Oddsta, (Shetland); Costa, Tenston, (Orkney); Tolsta, (Lewis); Scarasta, (Harris); Connista, (Skye); Hosta, (N Uist); Olistadh, (Islay).

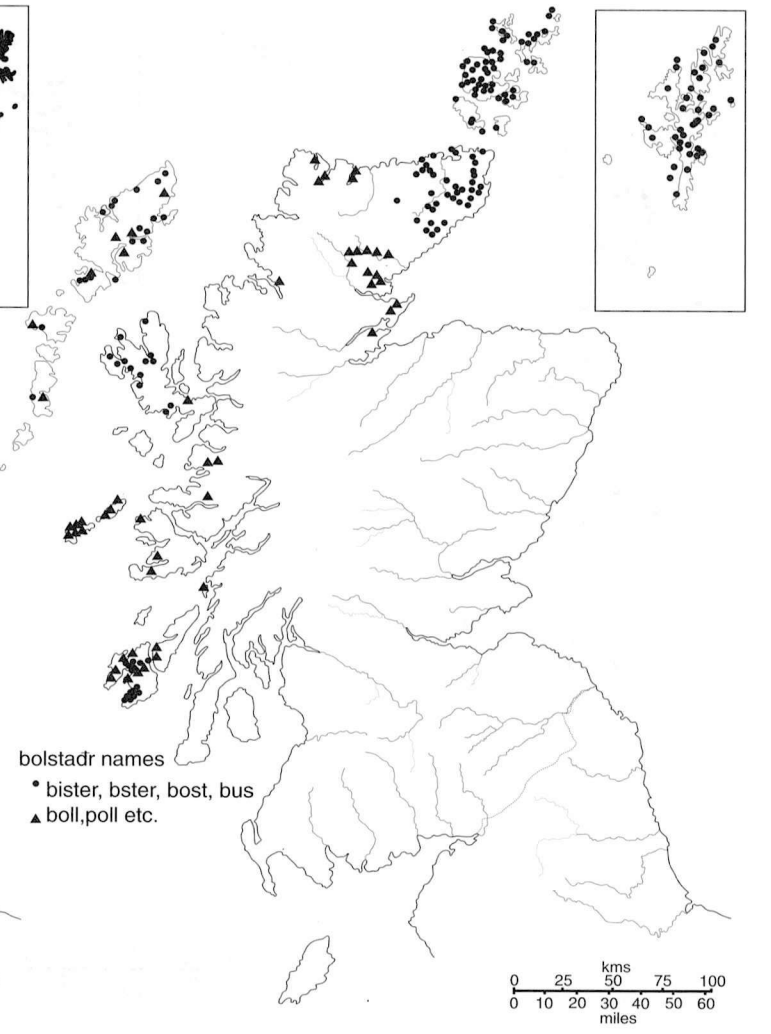
The third element, *setr/saetr*, was applied to more marginal farms established on pasture land, some of which may have originated as shielings. Examples include: Setter, Russetter, (Shetland); Inkster, (Orkney); Wester, Brackside, (Caithness); Grimshader, (Lewis); Drineshader, (Harris); Uigshader, (Skye); Earshader, (North Uist); Ellister, (Islay); Linside, (Sutherland).

In south-west Scotland the Scandinavian elements *bekkr* (stream); *byr* (farmstead, village); and *þveit* (clearing, meadow, paddock); and *fell* or *fjall* (hill, mountain) indicate that Scandinavian settlement in this area should be considered along with that of north-west England where these elements are common. Examples include: Allerbeck, Denbie, Cowthat, Crowthwaite and Borgue Fell.

The Old Norse *kirkja* (church) appears in a number of names, for example, Kirkbryde and Kirkgunzeon. These so-called inversion compounds imitate Gaelic words order rather than Scandinavian. Some, like Kirkcudbright and Kirkoswald, demonstrate an Anglian ambience (St Cuthbert, St Oswald).



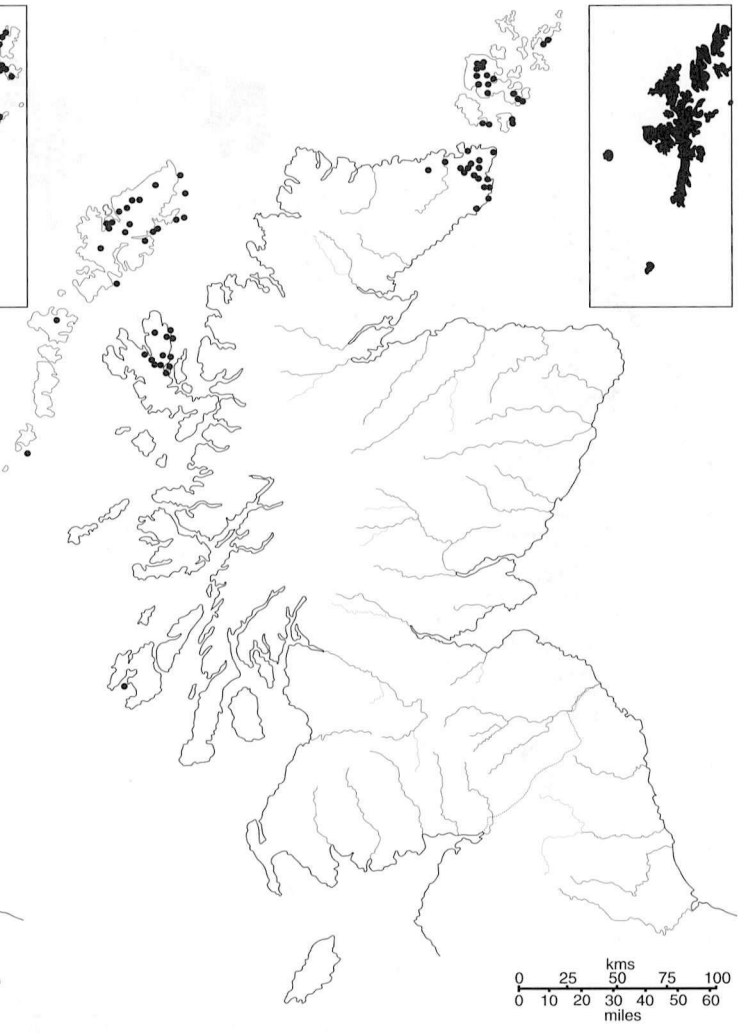
Place-names containing *dalr*



Place-names containing *bolstadr*

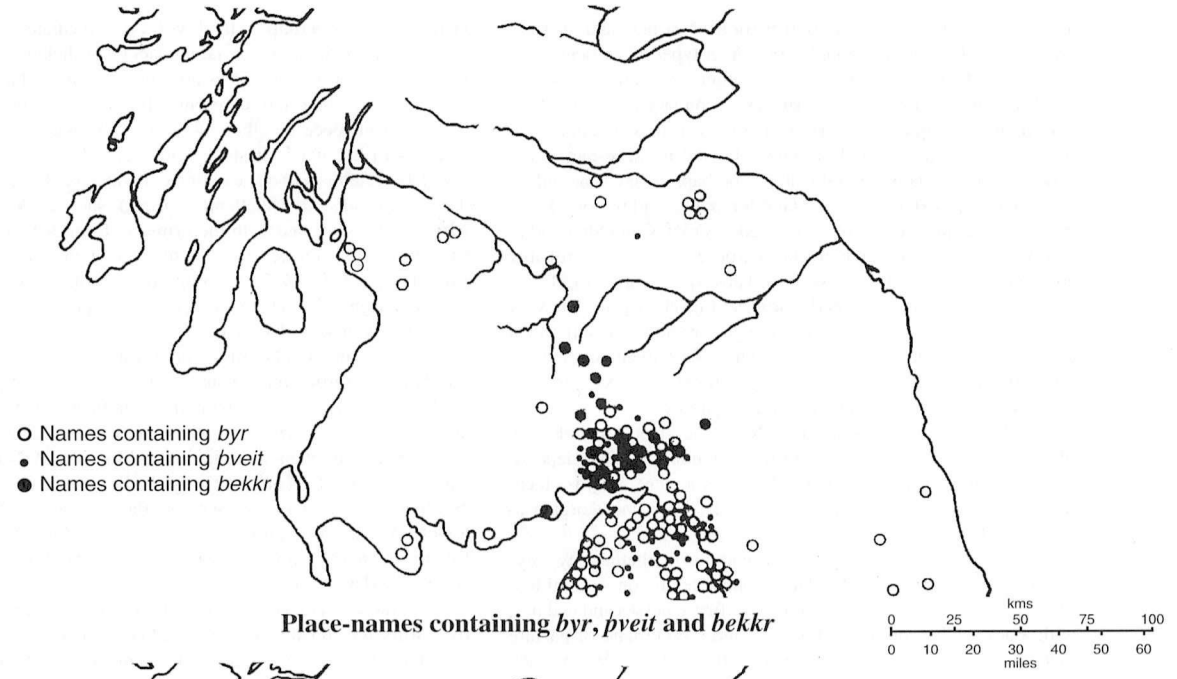
WFHN, LJM, ASm

Place-names containing *stadr*

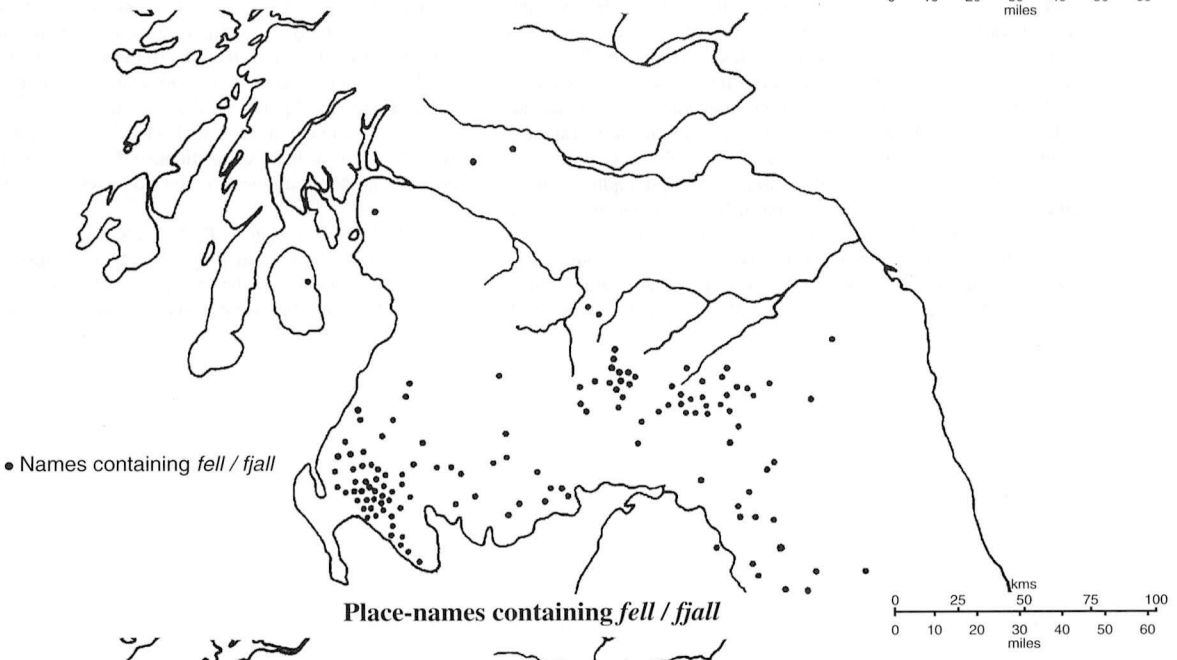


Place-names containing *setr*

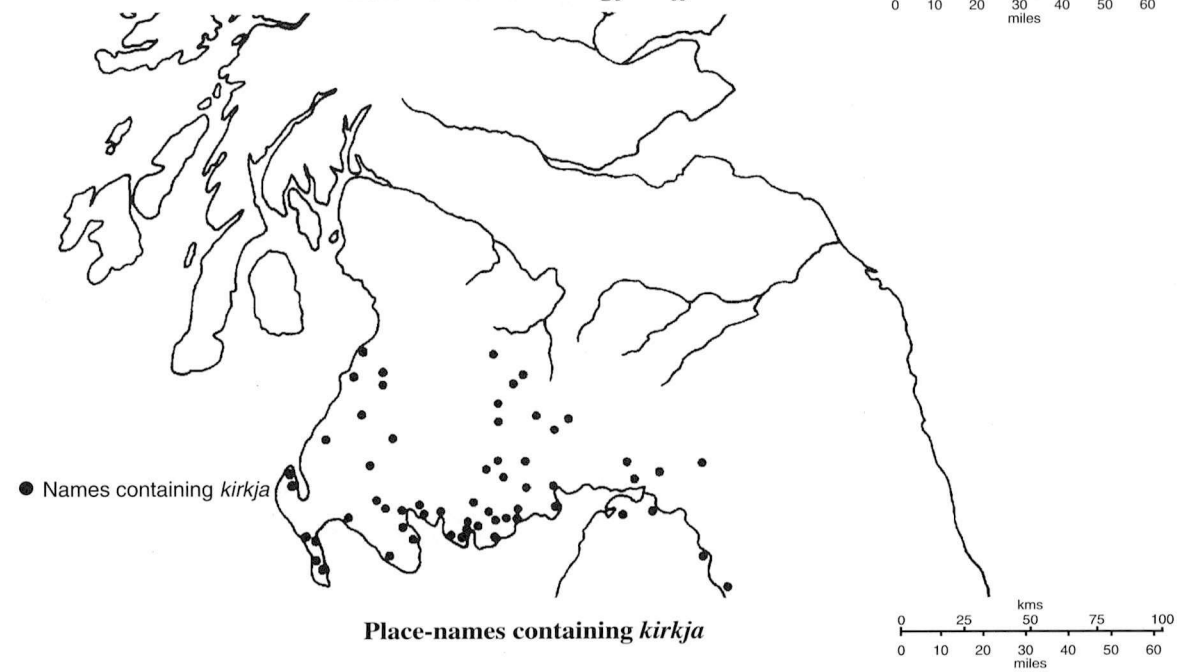
WFHN, LJM, ASm



Place-names containing *byr*, *þveit* and *bekkr*



Place-names containing *fell / fjall*



Place-names containing *kirkja*

WFHN,LJM,ASm

Scandinavian place-names and settlements

Though there are few written sources for the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland prior to about 1200, other types of evidence can contribute to the reconstruction of settlement patterns. Settlement may be distinguished as primary, secondary or marginal according to geographical factors. Primary farms in Shetland tend to be coastal with a sheltered harbour reflected in place-names descriptive of the major coastal feature - perhaps a bay, voe (inlet), ness or sound, extensive fertile land for arable and pastoral farming, a high land assessment, calculated in Orkney and Shetland in pennylands and ouncelands for tax purposes (a system probably adopted and adapted for the Western Isles by the earls of Orkney) and merklands for rent; a nearby proprietorial chapel site and very often a broch or fort site, indicating continuity of settlement districts from at least the Iron Age. These settlement districts are represented in Shetland by scattalds, each with the necessary features of a mixed pastoral and maritime economy.

The territorial divisions of Norse Scotland (scattalds in Shetland) provide a useful key for understanding the interdependency of all those features which make up settlement patterns - location, nomenclature, secondary expansion, land use, social organisation and administration.

There are about two hundred scattalds in Shetland, twenty-four on the northern island of Unst. Most centre on coastal features favourable for settlement, on bays, firths, nesses and in dales, with arable and meadow land around and a hinterland of pasture making up the essential components of the districts. Within each scattald there can generally be identified a focus of settlement, usually at a prime coastal site, such as Wick, Burrafirth or Sandwick on Unst, around which have developed townships with secondary settlement at some distance along the coast or inland on the hill-grazing land. Primary farms often have simplex topographical names such as Wick (ON *vik,* bay); Skaw (ON *skagi,* low ness, *cape*); Sound (ON *sund,* sound); or compound topographical names like Sandwick (ON *sandr-vik,* sand-bay); Burrafirth (ON *borg-fjorðr,* fort-firth); and Norwick (ON *norðr-vik,* north-bay).

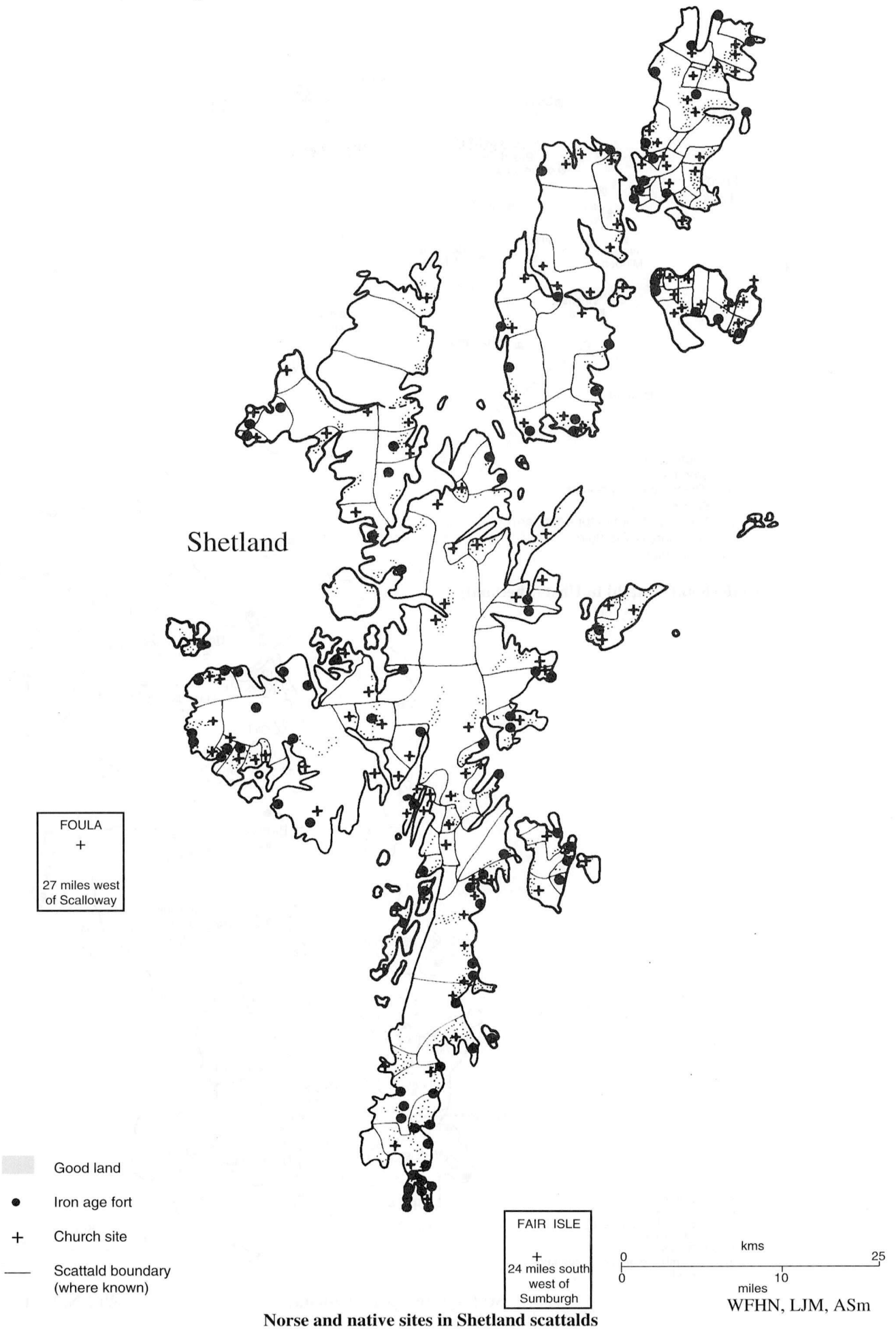
Settlement expansion from the primary sites could take various forms. The best secondary sites had good arable land and extensive grazing though without all the favourable factors of primary sites - perhaps inland with no immediate access to a beach, like Ungirsta, or coastal but lacking a sheltered natural harbour, like Clivocast. Farms established at some distance from the primary farm are often represented by the *staðr* element (Shetland, *-sta*) and occasionally they become the focus of scattalds in their own right, like Baliasta, Ungirsta and Hoversta. Other farms could be established on existing cultivated lands, represented by the generic *bolstaðr* (Shetland, - *bister*), such as Wadbister (ON *vatn,* loch), associated with the primary farm of Snarravoe, and Crossbister (ON *kross,* cross), associated with Underhoull. Like *staðr*-farms, *bolstaðr*-farms could also become scattald farms in their own right. Both types of farms are represented amongst the most highly assessed on Unst.

More marginal farms could be established on or beyond the hill-dyke, the former represented by the element *gardr/gerdi* (Shetland *garth, gert, gord*), including Hundigarth (ON *hund,* dog) and Grisgarth (ON *gris,* pig); the latter represented by *setr/saetr*-farms (Shetland *setter, ster*), including Murrister (ON *myrr,* moor) and Collaster (ON *kollr*, hill-top, Kollr, man's name). Houses esablished in the close vicinity of the primary farm, creating townships, most often took the generics *hus* (house), *skali* (hall) (Shetland, *skaill*), *stofa* (timber house) (Shetland, *stove*), and topt (*ruin*) (Shetland, *toft, taft*).

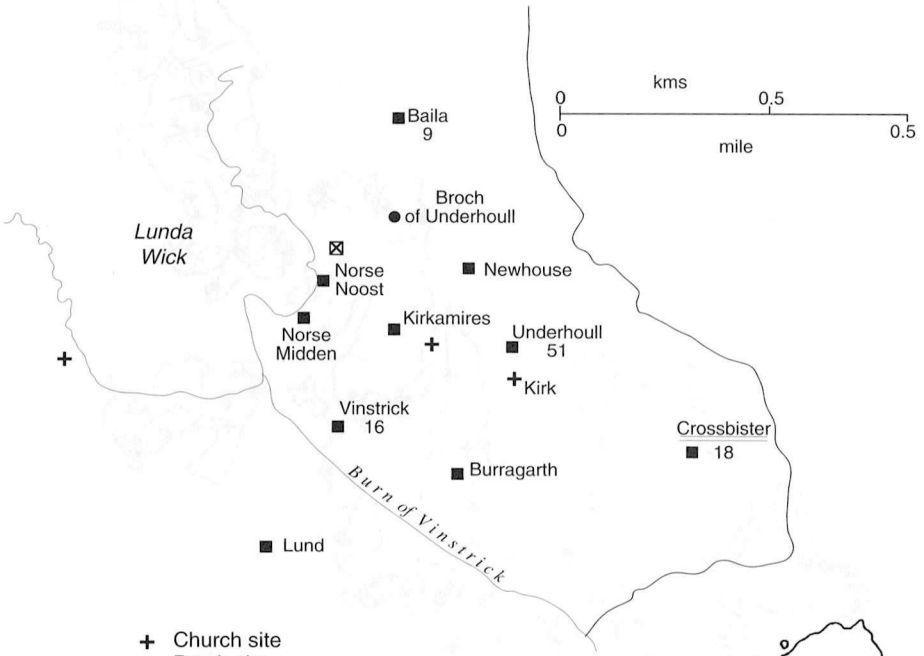
Another indication of status is land assessment. There were two forms of land valuation in Norse Shetland - tax (*scat*), assessed in urislands and pennylands; and rent, assessed in merks. In Underhoull scattald, Unst there were four tax-paying farms - Underhoull (51 merks); Vinstrick (16 merks); Baila (9 merks) and Crossbister (18 merks), 94 merks in total. The whole scattald was 1 1/6 urislands or 21 penny lands, 4 1/2 merks per pennyland

Within many of the scattalds is a broch or fort which provided the focus of Iron Age settlement. For the Iron Age population had similar requirements to the Norse settlers. On Unst there are ten fort-sites.

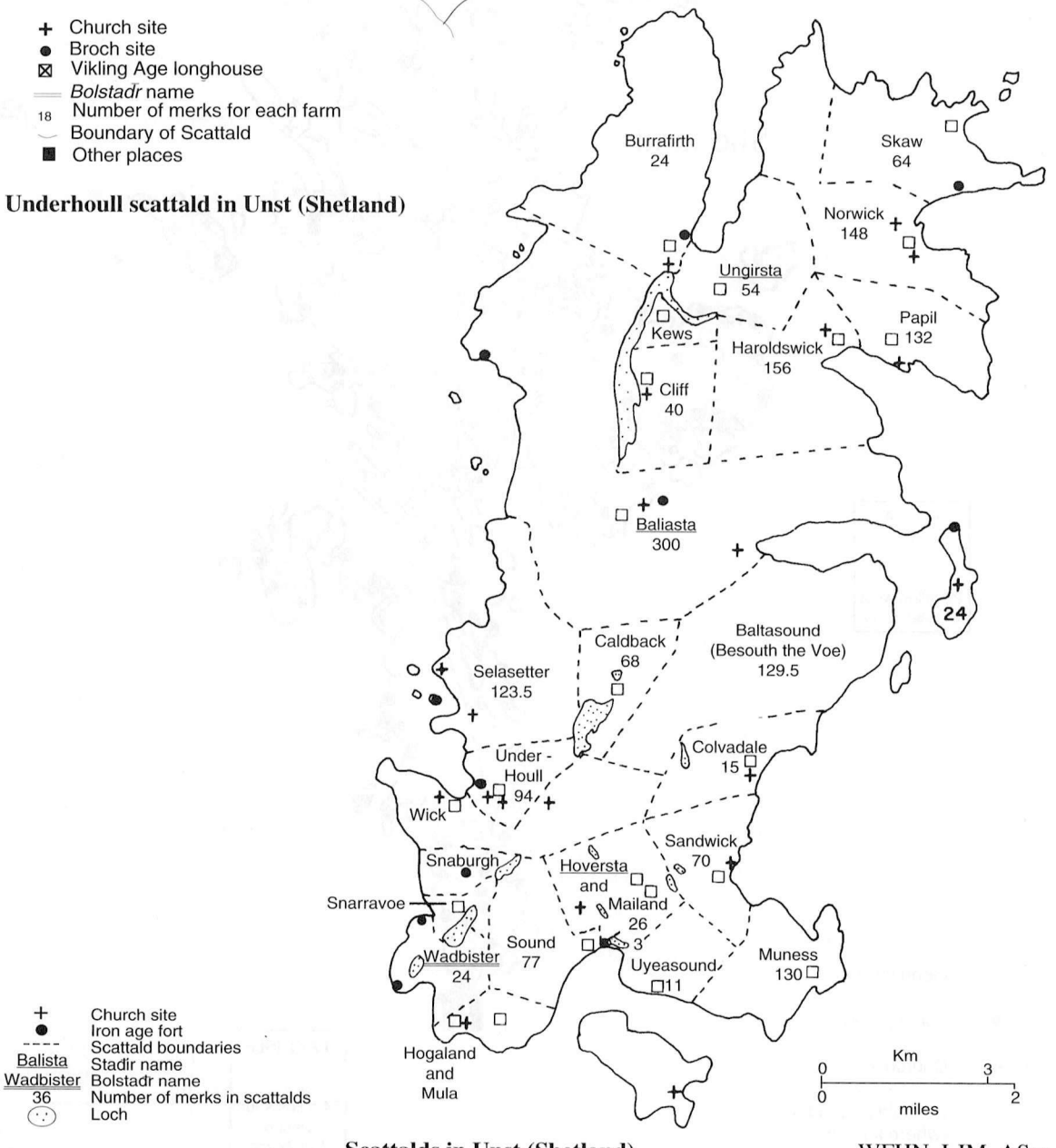
The final indicator of primary sites is a church-site. As churches were proprietorial, they were often established at the primary farm, belonging to the most powerful family in the scattald. On Unst fifteen of the twenty-four scattalds have church-sites.



Norse and native sites in Shetland scattalds



Underhoull scattald in Unst (Shetland)

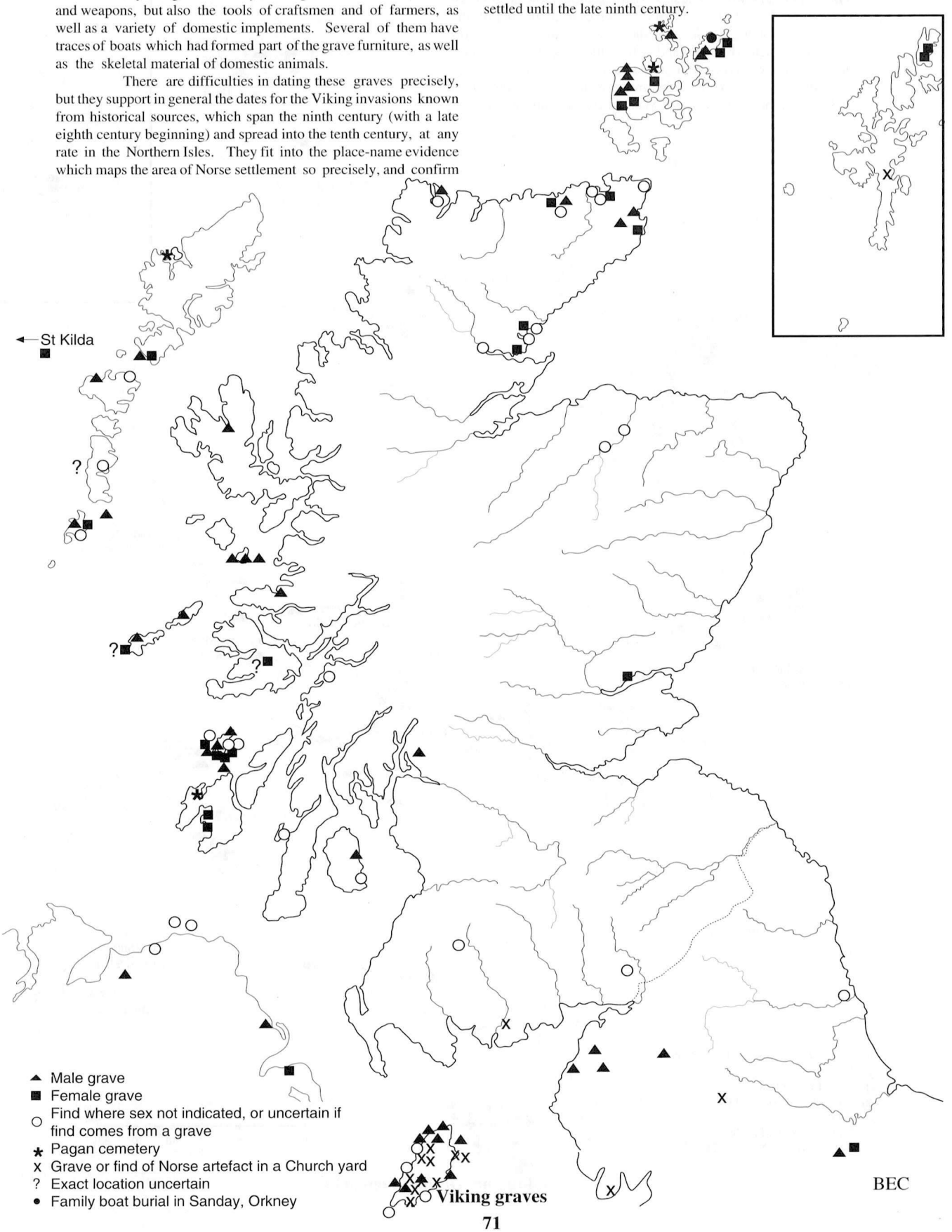


Scattalds in Unst (Shetland) WFHN, LJM, ASm

Viking graves

The graves of the pagan Norsemen and women are a most important body of archaeological evidence from the early medieval period of Scottish history. They are evidence for the settlement of peoples of Norse culture with direct links with Western Norway and evidence for their adoption of some elements of local Celtic culture, and possibly for their intermingling with the local Celtic population. They are also rare evidence of early medieval society in a world where Christianised populations had long foregone the custom of burying goods with the dead, and the archaeological record is otherwise very meagre. Not only do the graves include ornaments and weapons, but also the tools of craftsmen and of farmers, as well as a variety of domestic implements. Several of them have traces of boats which had formed part of the grave furniture, as well as the skeletal material of domestic animals.

There are difficulties in dating these graves precisely, but they support in general the dates for the Viking invasions known from historical sources, which span the ninth century (with a late eighth century beginning) and spread into the tenth century, at any rate in the Northern Isles. They fit into the place-name evidence which maps the area of Norse settlement so precisely, and confirm the maritime nature of this settlement, in the Western Isles and Man, Orkney, Caithness and the Dornoch area of Sutherland. Strangely, very few graves have ever been found in Shetland. The eventual decline of the practice can be linked to conversion to Christianity which took place formally in Orkney in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. But influence from native practice probably also played a part in changing custom and perhaps accounts for the rather small number of graves found in total - something like nearly one hundred individual graves, whereas over three hundred have been found in Iceland, which was moreover not settled until the late ninth century.

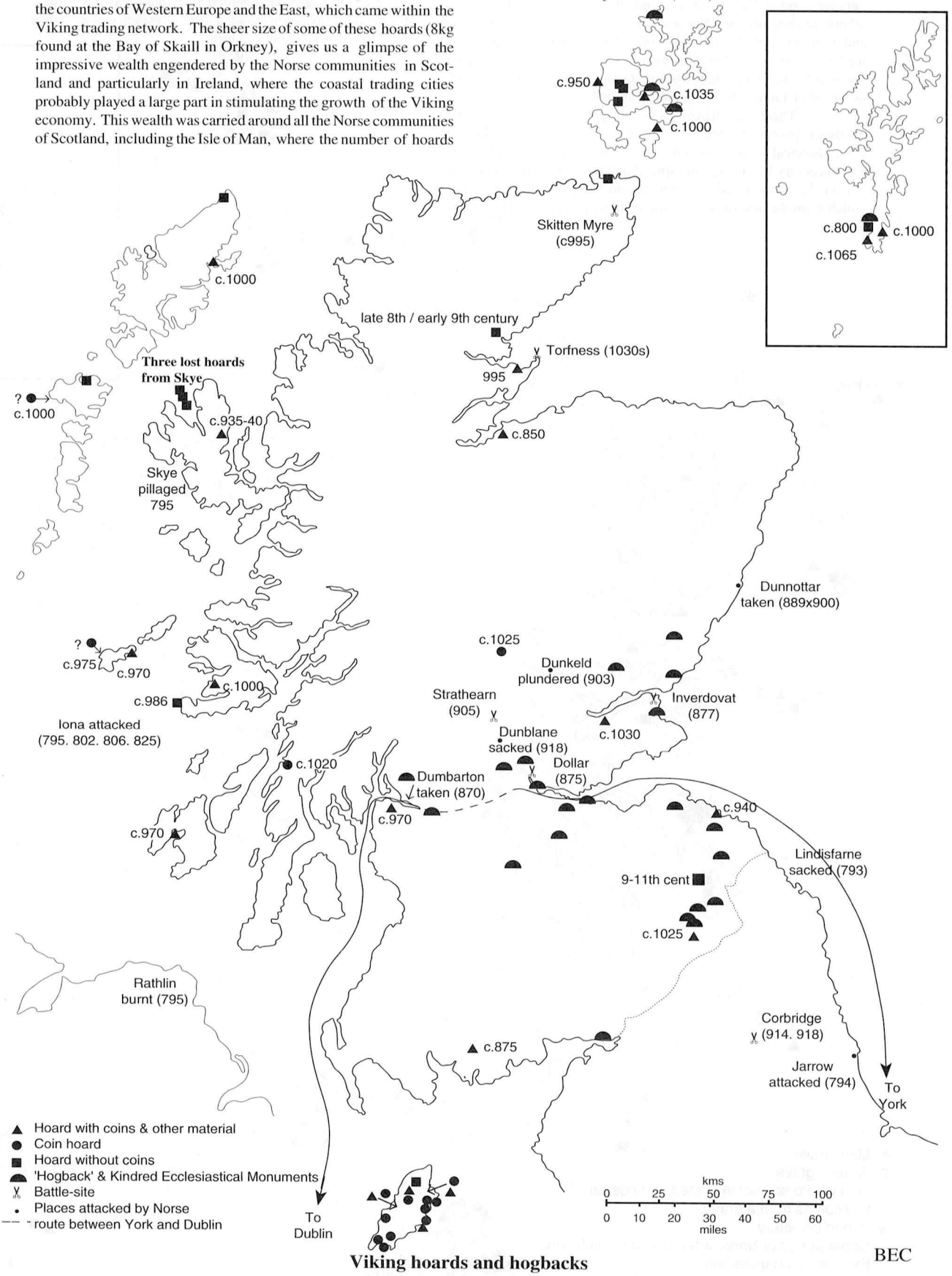


Viking graves

BEC

The Norse in Scotland

The silver hoards of the Vikings are a class of archaeological material which opens up a completely different aspect of our knowledge of the Norse in Scotland. They tell us about the trading/raiding side of these sea-borne colonisers and give an indication of the breadth of their trading activities. Viking hoards are recognisable from the variety of silver objects included:- arm-rings, brooches, necklets, ingots, and 'hack-silver' (cut-up pieces of objects which were used as bullion according to weight), as well as a variety of coins from the countries of Western Europe and the East, which came within the Viking trading network. The sheer size of some of these hoards (8kg found at the Bay of Skaill in Orkney), gives us a glimpse of the impressive wealth engendered by the Norse communities in Scotland and particularly in Ireland, where the coastal trading cities probably played a large part in stimulating the growth of the Viking economy. This wealth was carried around all the Norse communities of Scotland, including the Isle of Man, where the number of hoards (c.20) dating from the late 10th and 11th centuries shows what an important centre of Viking activity the island had then become. How did these personal fortunes come to be buried in the ground? In times of uncertainty it was the only way of protecting one's valuables and if the owner did not survive to retrieve his hidden treasure then we can assume that times were uncertain indeed. Evidence for hoards is based on J.G-Campbell, *The Viking-Age Gold and Silver Hoards of Scotland (1995).*



Viking hoards and hogbacks

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