

SMALL FINDS IN THE ATLANTIC PROVINCE: PROBLEMS OF APPROACH¹

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In a now classic paper, Radcliffe-Brown, discussing the systematic investigation of the nature of human society and of social life, distinguished three basic sets of problems: (1) the problems of morphology, (2) the problems of physiology, and (3) the problems of development (Radcliffe-Brown, 1965, 180). Although archaeologists are faced only with evidence of material culture, this evidence can be viewed in terms of these problems. First, morphology - what kind of social structures can be interpreted from the material evidence. Second, physiology - the interpretation of the material evidence as an explanation of the means by which these social structures functioned. Third, development - the interpretation and explanation of the growth of new social structures as evidenced in the material culture. The use of the term 'social structures' in these adaptations is justified in view of the reliance of much of our classification on an underlying assumption of social structure to give it its acceptability and credibility within the wider aims of the subject. Since any meaningful interpretation of the role of an individual is impossible, the evidence must be interpreted in terms of the interdependence of individuals within a social structure. Essentially, the problems of morphology are the problems of culture definition and delineation; the problems of physiology are those of the technological and economic potential utilised in enabling the culture to function; and the problems of development are the problems of chronology, and more particularly the interpretation of defined chronological horizons. The interdependence and interrelation of these groups of problems does not need to be stressed, but rather the willingness with which problems of function have been ignored. In many cases only the most perfunctory of models have been advanced to explain the functioning of individual cultures. Obviously such models cannot be advanced in the absence of a culture definition or chronological framework, but the position is seldom this clear-cut, for it is now exceptional rather than general to be without either some form of culture definition or chronological framework. It is more often a question of degree: at what point does the definition of culture and chronology become sufficient for a model of function to be advanced? It is noteworthy that even after considerable work has been undertaken on culture and chronology, subsequent research is almost invariably conducted in terms of the redefinition of culture and chronology rather than of models of function.

In the Atlantic Province of Scotland all three sets of problems are formid-

able. Culture definition is difficult, if not impossible, at present, because of the lack of good excavation providing stratigraphically defined groups. The interpretation of the functioning of the cultures is difficult in the absence of satisfactory culture definition, and indeed no models have been formulated on the basis of existing definitions. And, finally, the chronology has relied on parallels with the apparently substantive chronologies in southern Britain. Attempts to establish a cultural and chronological framework have had as an underlying assumption the willing acceptance of invasion as the cause of culture change and the creator of chronological horizons. The problems of invasion as a satisfactory explanation of these phenomena have always been most acute in the Highland Zone. It has not been difficult to postulate invasions, but the evidence has only been sufficient to support invasions by numerically small and materially impoverished groups. The consequent problems of explaining, in terms of culture change, the mechanics of the operation in terrain as difficult as the Atlantic Province have therefore been great.

In recent years the assault on the use of an 'invasion hypothesis' has been gaining momentum (e.g. Clark, 1966), and in its stead has come a 'continuity hypothesis' (e.g. Hodson, 1964, 102-9). While the growth of the latter will not necessarily invalidate the use of the former approach, the possibilities of the new approach for Iron Age studies in the Atlantic Province have not yet been very seriously explored. The need for cultural and chronological definition has been too closely tied to the areas farther south for the hurried abandonment of the idea of migratory movements from those areas. Despite repeated attempts there are no clear horizons, chronologically and materially defined, and it could be suggested that the evidence such as it is points strongly to their being non-existent. The definition of such horizons in the Atlantic Province rests primarily on finds of exotic small objects² which also occur in southern England, and disbelief in the existence of these horizons may merely be a reflection of the difficulties of obtaining good cultural and chronological definitions in the South. Attitudes to the interpretation of these exotic objects have tended to be pragmatic rather than consistent (e.g. MacKie, 1970, 16 and 26). The inconsistency, however, has gone deeper than differing approaches to similar problems in separate areas. Even in the same area differing approaches have been adopted to cope with the same problem.

The distribution of Roman pottery in the Atlantic Province, mainly samian ware, is in outline comparable to the distribution of all exotic objects in the Province (Fig. 1). It does, of course, represent, like all other distribution maps, the archaeological activity in the area mapped and not necessarily

SITES IN THE
ATLANTIC PROVINCE
PRODUCING ROMAN SHERDS
(AFTER CURLE & ROBERTSON)



0 50 100 miles

A horizontal scale bar with three segments. The first segment is labeled '0', the second '50', and the third '100 miles'.

Figure 1. Numbered as in Appendix I.

the true distribution of the objects. And yet, although it conforms to the pattern expected for exotic objects, the map and the occurrence of such pottery is never considered useful for culture definition. Furthermore, the use of this pottery as a chronological indicator on the sites on which it occurs is regarded as so beset with problems that it is rarely, except in desperation, attempted. The addition of other Roman objects (Curle, 1932; Robertson, 1970) to the map would complement and emphasise the pottery distribution, and would provide a discrete group similar in range, distribution and quantity to groups often used in culture definitions for the Iron Age of this area. Unwillingness to use this particular group surely stems from a much better knowledge not only of the possible means by which these objects arrived at their find-spots (for conflicting opinions see Robertson, 1970, 200-12 and MacKie, 1965b, 138) but also of the chronological range the map must represent. The caution which the evidence of this group should have given to our interpretations of similar but wholly prehistoric groups has not been particularly evident.

The importance of such caution is underlined when some of the problems associated with specific types of object are considered. Two types have been chosen as good indicators of the problems involved in using exotic objects. These types - spiral rings, and projecting ring-headed pins - have been used as evidence in recent interpretations of the Iron Age in the Atlantic Province. The peculiar problems which they illustrate are variations on the theme of the inadequacy of exotic objects for cultural and chronological definition in the Atlantic Province, given the present state of our evidence. The use of two examples can further show that there is no single set of attributes which give validity to the use of a particular group or groups of objects in this context.

Joep prefaced his discussion of spiral rings (1957, 79-81) by saying that they 'are simple things used at many periods for many different purposes'. For this reason alone it is worthwhile to consider whether the prominent role assigned to these rings in some interpretations can be justified (Piggott, 1950, 131-34; MacKie, 1969b). Most of Joep's comments were concerned with rings which could be dated to the later first century BC and the first century AD, since these provided the background to the find he was discussing, and it was only those rings which could be so dated that he mapped. As well as these chronological limits, he deliberately biased his map by giving a more prominent symbol to the simplest of the four styles he recognised as current at that period. This is no criticism of Joep, who clearly stated the limitations and emphasis he was placing upon his approach, but it does mean that considerable caution must be exercised in using his evidence.

The effect of his map was two-fold; it showed the absence of finds in a broad area stretching from the North Midlands to the Scottish border, and it showed a concentration in Wessex and Somerset of rings of the same simple style as those from Scotland which he thought it legitimate to put on the map. Despite Jope's own reservations about the dating of many of the Scottish rings it is hardly surprising that his presentation has encouraged some to see the Scottish rings as a direct import from southern England.

It is not, however, the mechanics of such an operation, which are themselves difficult enough to explain, that are important in this context, but whether southern England can provide sufficient evidence to make such a statement meaningful. The most common style of ring in southern England was that made by twisting a length of metal into a spiral; not surprisingly this is the simplest of Jope's four forms. Despite the undoubted popularity of this style during the first centuries BC and AD, it does not necessarily follow that all rings of this style belong to this period. Three examples of the style can illustrate the difficulties (Fig. 2). Their similarities are self-evident but one comes from the Middle Bronze Age 'Ornament Horizon' hoard from Barton Bendish, Norfolk (Inv. Arch. GB 7), one from the crannog at Hyndford where it is presumably to be linked with the first century AD material, and the last from a grave at Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire dated to the late fourth or early fifth centuries AD (Kirk and Leeds, 1953, 68, fig. 9, 14). The first and last are not isolated examples at the very extreme of the chronological scale. Such rings occur in other Middle Bronze Age hoards, e.g. Stump Bottom, Sussex (Smith, 1959, 153, fig. 4), Hollingbury Hill, Sussex (Kemble, 1863, Pl. XXV, 4; Mantell, 1848, 325) and one is associated with a Deverel-Rimbury urn (Akerman and Stone, 1857, 368), and, at the other end of the scale, they are found in Anglo-Saxon graves, e.g. Snell's Corner, Hampshire (Knocker, 1956, fig. 10, 2), and Faversham, Kent (British Museum, 1923, 45, fig. 45). There is, as yet, no real evidence to suggest that the situation is one of continuity from the Middle Bronze Age to Anglo-Saxon times. It appears more likely that spiral rings enjoyed several periods of popularity without any one period providing any major impulse to another. All this means that unassociated rings cannot be assigned any meaningful date, and that, if indeed Scottish rings came from southern England, they could potentially have come at three distinct periods.

Of course, the corpus of Scottish rings does not consist solely of unassociated examples, but the lack of dateable finds means that the useful associations are generally Roman material. This has, in turn, supported those who wish to invoke Jope's map in evidence. However, even with the close restrictions

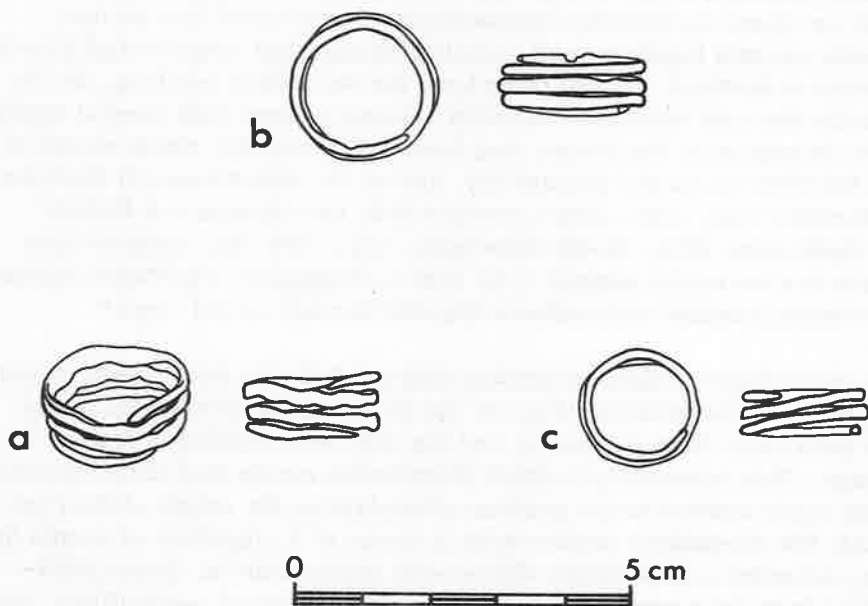


Figure 2. Bronze spiral rings from (a) Barton Bendish, Norfolk (after *Inv. Arch.*), (b) Hyndford Crannog, Lanarkshire (NMAS : HTA 5), and (c) Dorchester, Oxon (after Kirk and Leeds).

he placed on his map there is no doubt that he has mapped rings from at least two distinct cultural groups, either of which could have introduced the rings into Scotland. Furthermore, he has mapped rings from Early Roman contexts. Such rings take on a special significance when the distribution of Scottish rings (Fig. 3) is taken into account. The considerable number from southern Scotland, often associated with Roman material, and the find of such a ring at Newstead raise the very distinct possibility that if there had to be an introductory agent, it was the Roman Army and not a migrating prehistoric cultural group.³ The situation is only further confused by an appeal to stylistic considerations. Jope noted four styles, apparently current together, and a similar though less complicated situation is possible in Scotland. On the other hand the decorative notching, which is virtually the only decorative element, seems to have been used at several periods. It occurs on the bronze ring from Dun Fheurain, which seems to date to the first or second century AD, and on the silver rings in the hoard from Norrie's Law, Fife, which contains both Late Roman and Pictish silver (Anderson, 1881, 34-42; Stevenson, 1955, 228-29). Amid all this confusion can we really pretend to be able to distinguish significant cultural links between Scotland and southern England through spiral rings?

Unlike spiral finger-rings, projecting ring-headed pins have a distribution almost exclusive to Scotland (Fig. 4): the most southerly example is one said to have come from Anglesey, and the only other outlier is from Corbridge. This essentially Scottish distribution means that there has been no ready-made answer to the problem of explaining the origin of the type. Obviously the explanation could not be in terms of a migration of people but nothing prevented a less rigidly diffusionist interpretation. Three interpretations have been proposed, and, taken as a series of possibilities, they are that this type of pin is derived from either the Late Bronze Age sunflower pins or the southern English involuted pins, or that their derivation is less tightly linked to specific forms and they are best viewed as a Scottish variant of the ring-headed pin tradition. The latter view has not been explicitly stated but the inclusion of this type of pin into the ring-headed pin complex, which some writers have seen as a part of a larger package-deal originating in Yorkshire, makes it deserving of consideration.

Derivation from Late Bronze Age sunflower pins has, until now, seemed unlikely on chronological grounds, in view of Coles' work on Scottish sunflower pins (Coles, 1959). However, recent radio-carbon dates from Dun Mor Vaul have been regarded by MacKie as supporting this derivation, whilst recognising that the type must have lasted unaltered into the first century AD, and probably beyond (MacKie, 1969a, 22). The two dates

SPIRAL RINGS

- bronze
- gold
- silver

0 50 100 miles

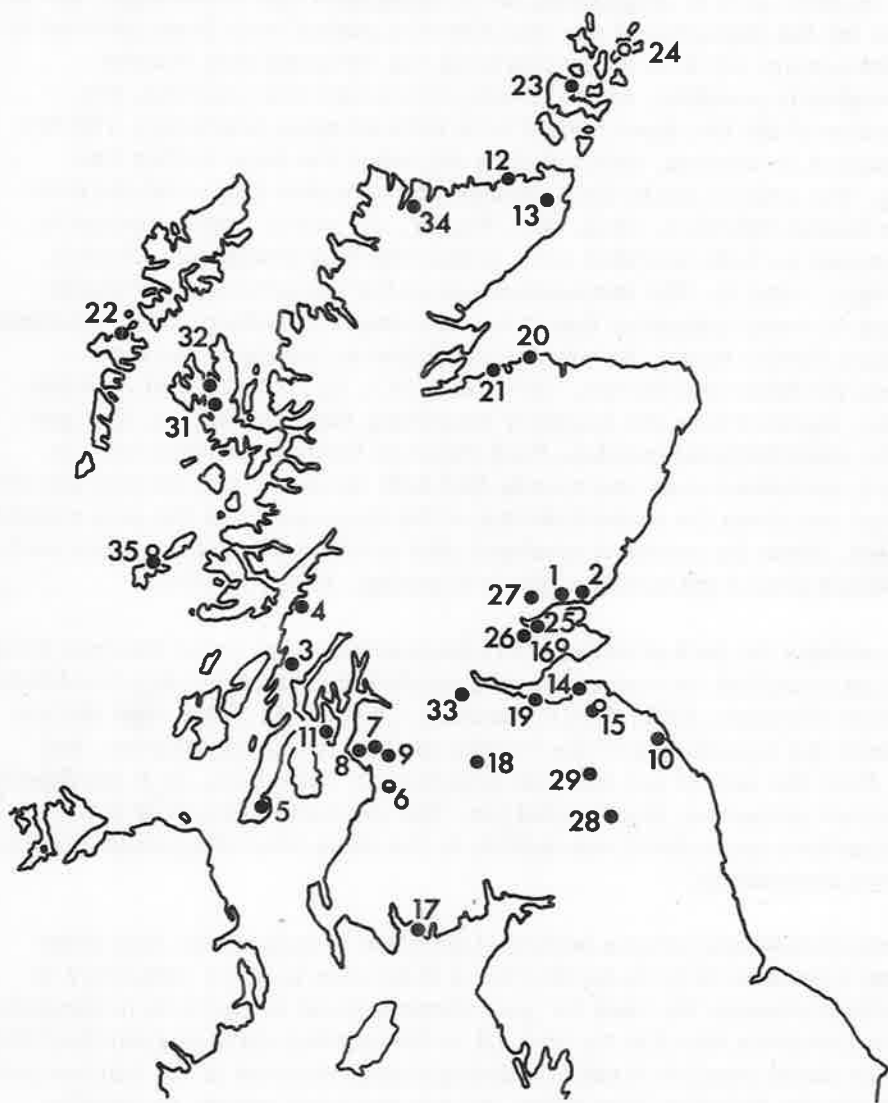


Figure 3. Numbered as in Appendix II.

centre on 515 and 470 BC, and applying the necessary two standard errors have a range from 695 to 250 BC. The application of this date-range to the Dun Mor Vault find must introduce a strong element of doubt concerning the support that this find gives to a derivation from sunflower pins.

Chronology was equally important in leading Mrs Fowler to support a derivation from the southern English involuted pins (Fowler, 1960, 163). Her work played no little part in lengthening the Scottish Iron Age chronology, and as the date for the beginning of the Iron Age was pushed back from the first to the third century BC so a derivation from the involuted pins became chronologically possible. Although then chronologically possible, the distribution of the two types should have induced some hesitancy. The two distributions do overlap, although they did not at the time Fowler was writing. The crucial pin in the argument was a broken iron example from Maiden Castle (Wheeler, 1943, 268, fig. 87, 2), which Fowler seems to have mapped as both involuted and projecting ring-headed pin (Fowler, 1960, figs. 2 and 8). The damaged nature of the pin precludes certainty but there is every indication that it was a normal, if rather crude, involuted pin. Since Fowler wrote, Savory has published an involuted pin from Dinorben (Gardner and Savory, 1964, 132, 141, fig. 19, 1), and it is this example, together with the Anglesey projecting ring-headed pin, that provides the distributional overlap. Such value as this overlap may have is seriously weakened when one recalls that both examples are several hundred miles not just from the concentrations of the types but from the next closest examples. When the rarity of involuted pins is also taken into account such a derivation seems extremely unlikely (Dunning, 1934, 279-80).

It was perhaps the lack of satisfactory explanations that led to the type being viewed as a Scottish variant of the ring-headed pin tradition introduced from Yorkshire (Thomas, 1961, 16-18; MacKie, 1965b, 131). This view did not stem from any questioning of the validity of the concept of diffusion, but rather from the lack of any suitable prototype in Yorkshire, be it sunflower, involuted or projecting ring-headed pin. The imprecise nature of this derivation does not make it susceptible to the same kind of appraisal as the other two derivations.

All three derivations raise a perennial problem in such cases: how close does one type have to be to another for a derivation to seem probable? In these circumstances the need for good chronological evidence is paramount, and it is precisely this that we lack. It is the ensuing chronological flexibility which has made possible three conflicting interpretations in the last ten years, and despite the Dun Mor Vault dates, we are not much nearer to deciding

PROJECTING RING-HEADED PINS

- pin
- pin-stamped sherds
- mould

0 50 100 miles



Figure 4. Numbered as in Appendix III.

which of them could be accepted as approximate to the truth. Indeed, the evidence is so tenuous that one could be forgiven for believing that none of them provides even an approximation to the truth.

It is my contention that the same, or similar, problems experienced in interpreting these objects will be met with in interpreting other exotic objects from the Atlantic Province. They cannot in present circumstances provide any basis for a meaningful cultural or chronological synthesis. Earlier it was noted that the inadequacies of such objects, although recognised in theory, were not much observed in practice. Ignoring these inadequacies can and does lead to unreasonably biased presentation. A phrase such as 'widespread throughout the area', without the necessary quantification and documentation, effectively hides the fact that exotic objects form a minute percentage of the total assemblages from the sites of the Atlantic Province. This close focussing on a small number of objects will, of course, have different levels of validity depending on the interpretations they are supporting, and in some cases such an approach will be justified. Our over-emphasis on exotic objects has, however, led us into a situation closely analogous to that described by the Narolls (1963) as existing in social anthropology. Their work recognised an over-emphasis on those aspects of the society studied which differed from the investigator's own cultural background. Areas of close correspondence in both societies were not in some instances even recorded. Similarly, in Iron Age studies in the Atlantic Province, the mass of material has been treated as a constant, unworthy of detailed analysis, and emphasis has been given to the exotic elements. Our predetermined view of society at that time in that area requires us to define cultural groups by the abnormal rather than the normal; by the very opposite in fact of the criteria laid down by Childe for the definition of cultural groups. This view of that society has become the archaeologists' equivalent of the social anthropologists' own cultural background.

In recognising that we are unable to define cultures by Childe's criteria, which require a recurrent association of object with object within a structural framework, we must also recognise that his basic tenet was that objects are the material expression of culture (Childe, 1929, p. v-vi; 1956, 16). Necessarily then, the presence of objects requires a belief in the existence of a culture or cultures, even though it is not always possible to define their existence through valid approaches. Such a belief does not mean that archaeologists working on the problems of the Iron Age in the Atlantic Province must join the ever-swelling ranks of the unemployed nor need they sit, arms folded, waiting for the day when such definitions become possible,

nor even rush off to excavate so that we may have a sufficient body of evidence to produce convincing definitions. There already exists a large body of material evidence which can produce no less valuable information than that required for cultural and chronological definition.

Chang has drawn together the multi-dimensional attributes of an object under four headings: ecological, technological, societal, and stylistic (1967, 114). Obviously the relative importance of these dimensions in any one object, or type, will vary considerably, but it would be difficult to deny that, in those objects which have until now been important in interpretations of Atlantic Province material, the stylistic dimension has been pre-eminent. It is for this reason that our models of function have been so limited. The recognition of four major dimensional attributes carries with it the recognition of a relative scale of values within a finite value for any object or group of objects. Within a methodological framework which attributes the same potential value to each object,⁴ it is possible, although unlikely, to have an object, the attributes of which have the same value relative to one another, but it is impossible to have an object whose attributes all have a relatively higher value than the corresponding attributes of another object. Consequently our concern with those objects whose stylistic dimension is pre-eminent has caused us to ignore those objects whose ecological and/or technological elements are of high value.

It is to those objects with high ecological or technological dimensional values that we must look as a basis for models of function. Such an approach is particularly appropriate to the Iron Age finds of the Atlantic Province. The area is rich in the material remains of a culture or cultures which we cannot as yet adequately define, and equally important, many of the objects which survive would have been rendered in perishable materials in other areas. The scarcity of timber and the abundance of whales has given us a large series of obviously functional objects from the Atlantic Province almost without parallel in the rest of Britain. That they may represent a specialised adaptation to the environment of the area seems to have discouraged interest in favour of a fruitless attempt to relate the cultures they indicate to the mainstream of the British Iron Age. This lack of interest ignores the tremendous potential of the material; a potential which if realised will undoubtedly condition, control and strengthen cultural definitions as they begin to emerge.

The realisation of this potential must lie in large part with the work of the ethnographers and ethnologists. The evidence available is considerable, and has been used in some studies, notably the works of Grahame Clark. His

works, however, are of a general and thematic nature (e.g. 1947; 1948; 1952) and, although providing much valuable source material, cannot serve as a substitute for the more comprehensive analysis needed in Atlantic Province studies. A more profitable source is the writings of late nineteenth century Scottish archaeologists, many of whom were involved in the excavation of this material. Many of these archaeologists were acutely aware of the value of contemporary practices in the areas in which they were working for the interpretations of their excavated material. The most prominent exponent of this type of approach was, of course, Sir Arthur Mitchell, the title of whose book, The Past in the Present, is a succinct summary of their whole approach. My example is not taken, however, from Mitchell's book, but from the work of John Trail in Orkney. The possible byre-tether, or 'swivel', from Howmae, Orkney (Trail, 1890, 457), shown here (Fig. 5) with a modern example from Shetland, is recognised and described as such in his catalogue of finds. Indeed, it is an interesting example of the importance of this approach at that time in that no description, other than its resemblance to modern examples, was thought to be required. The obvious development of this approach is to look outside Scotland for explanations of objects for which documented objects and practices within Scotland can provide no parallel. The fishnet line-feeder from Point St George, California (Gould, 1966, 70, Pl. 15, c) provides a parallel for a previously unidentified object from Vallay, North Uist (Fig. 6), but emphasises the problems of credibility involved when both variables in the time-space equation are markedly different.

The use of the Point St George - Valley parallel highlights an important consideration: the fact that if one ranges far enough it is likely that a parallel will be found. This particular parallel has, I think, some validity, but its validity cannot be based solely on physical resemblance. In this case there is good reason to expect that coastal settlements in North Uist were involved in considerable exploitation of the sea, and fundamental to this exploitation was the construction of nets. That the parallel comes from a community equally involved in similar exploitation strengthens, but does not prove, the parallel. Even when all the factors involved would seem to support a particular parallel, some caution must be used, for isolated parallels necessarily draw some support from a predetermined and unproven model of function. Ideally we should be looking for a range of possibilities from which the most probable explanation can be selected in conjunction with the evidence of other types from the same site. A group of large whale-bone objects from a wheelhouse at Foshigarry, North Uist provides a good example of the dangers and difficulties of isolated interpretations of objects (Fig. 7). Clark, in his article on whales in prehistoric Europe, compared

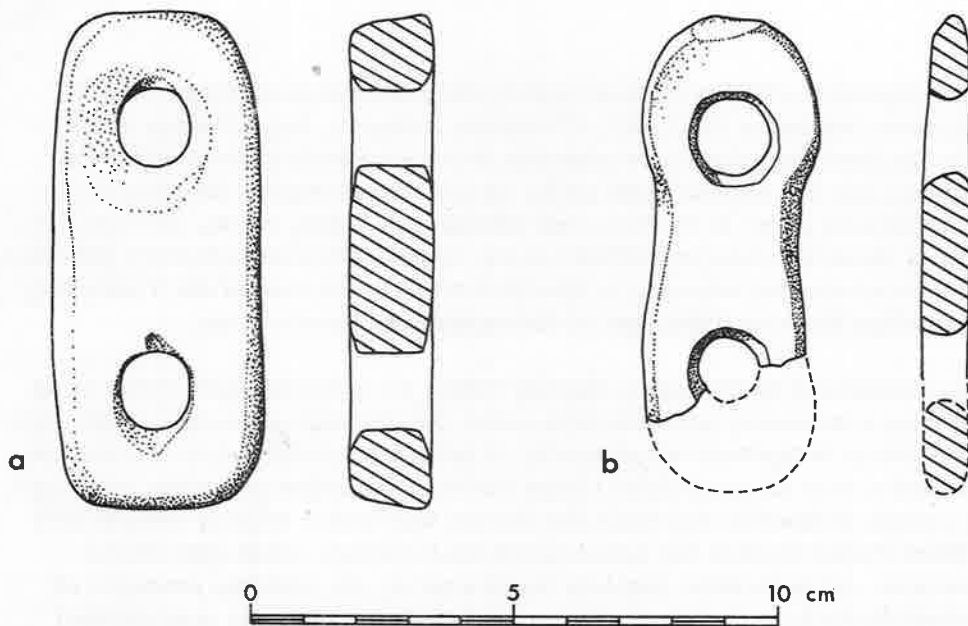


Figure 5. Byre-tethers or 'swivels' from (a) Shetland (NMAAS : unreg.) in wood, and (b) from Howmae, Orkney (NMAAS : GO 184) in cetacean bone.

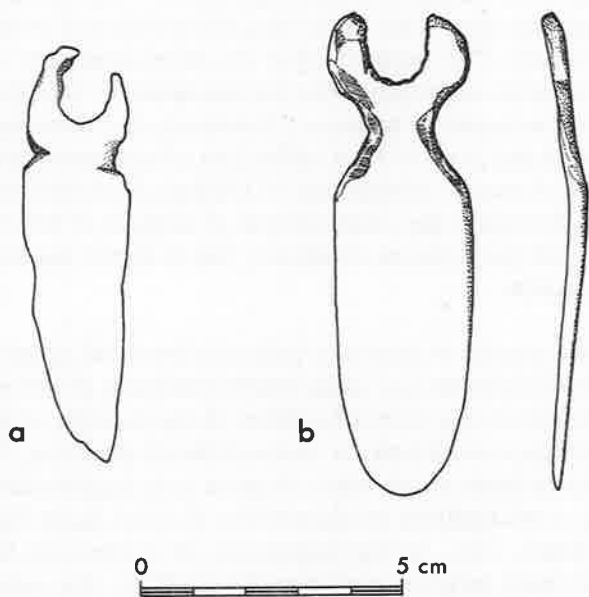


Figure 6. (a) Fishnet-line feeder from Point St George, California (after Gould) and (b) object with unknown function from Vallay, North Uist (NMAAS : GT 284).

these objects to similar objects used by the Eskimos of northern Canada as blubber mattocks (1947, 97). Crawford, however, in publishing a new example from Berneray drew attention to its similarity to the Foshigarry examples but interpreted them as the blades of peat-spades because of the asymmetrical shear of the supposed cutting edge (1967, 88-9). The implications of these two interpretations for any model of function are very different, and without similar attempts to interpret much of the rest of the Foshigarry assemblage there is little hope of distinguishing between them.

The detailed interpretation of objects, either as individual specimens or as types, is a necessary pre-requisite to the development of models of function and needs to be approached primarily at settlement level⁵. It is models constructed at this level which will form the basis of larger and more meaningful models of function and while the former will have a validity independent of these larger models the latter cannot exist without settlement-based examples. An immediate problem is, of course, the possible presence of several distinct, but unrecognised, settlements on the same geographical site. The use of a 'continuity hypothesis' in this context can seriously minimise the problems created by the existence of several settlements. The presence of different structural types, which are the most obvious, if sometimes misleading, manifestations of different settlements, can be explained as responses to situations which did not necessarily impinge on other aspects of culture. Indeed the development of a new structural type, for example the brochs, may well have been the maximum response of which the culture was capable. The proposal that the development of new structural types may be historically significant but not necessarily valuable for culture definition will not be acceptable to some. However, the development of new structural types does not have to be a reflection of culture-change any more than the acquisition of exotic objects has to betoken a migratory movement. Its acceptance will facilitate the construction of models of function for the Atlantic Province with the present evidence, but it is not fundamental to the creation of such models.

Whatever opinion we arrive at over the role of structural types in culture definition it will not invalidate the basic interpretations of the objects although it may require fundamental revision of the models of function created from those interpretations. A more difficult problem, however, is the multiplicity of functions which some objects may legitimately have, or, equally important, a multiplicity of objectively defined types having the same function. Gifford (1940, 155), in his discussion of Californian bone artifacts, quotes an instance which fully exemplifies the problem. He noted that the north-western Yurok and Hupa, while seeming to be culturally identical,

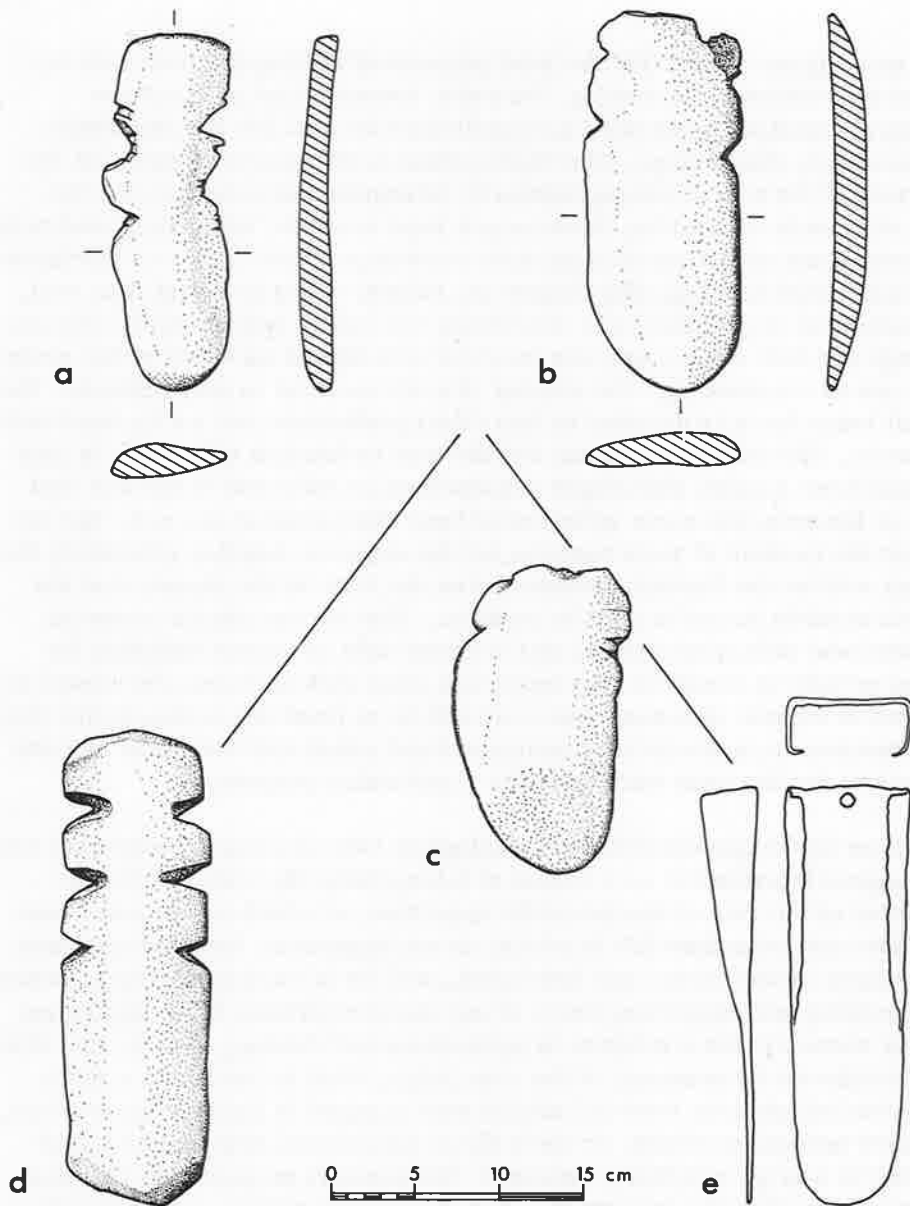


Figure 7. To show Clark and Crawford's alternate interpretations of objects from Foshigarry, N. Uist (a, b - NMAS : GNA 216, 207), (c) from Berneray, Harris, (after Crawford, 1967, Pl. I, 1), (d) a blubber mattock from Northern Canada (after Boas, 1907, 416, fig. 214), and (e) an iron blade of a digging spade from Glenuig, Inverness-shire (NMAS : PA 31).

used seven types of awls for the joint purpose of slitting lamprey eels and perforating buckskin for sewing. He wryly remarks that many of our objectively isolated types have no significance in real life but represent only academic distinctions. The implications of this example strike at the very root of the idea of ethnographically interpreted objects forming the basis of models of function. If we cannot hope to obtain reasonably restricted interpretations of the use of objects we certainly cannot expect to formulate valid models of function. The danger is, I think, more apparent than real. The bone awls that Gifford was describing are easily manufactured objects, although just how much work was involved will depend on which of his seven types one is considering. The amount of work involved is not, however, the crucial issue for it is dictated by individual preference and not by functional efficiency. The only requirement for the type to function efficiently is that it should have a point; this single requirement is reflected in the fact that some of the awls are mere splinters of bone sharpened at one end. But the greater the number of requirements for the object to function efficiently the greater will be the limitations imposed on the form of the object, and the number of tasks it can be used to perform. That we are unable to decide whether bone awls were used to slit lamprey eels or pierce buckskin for sewing or both is rendered less important when these actions are viewed as one part of a chain of actions: there should be at least one action in the chain that requires more specialised equipment and which will therefore indicate whether or not the awls were used for a particular purpose.

The above has emphasised the archaeological side of using ethnographic and ethnological information as a means of interpreting the material to the detriment of the role of the scientific expertise, of which we all make use. This does not mean that this expertise is not important. Detailed analyses, particularly of the animal and fish bones, will be of fundamental importance in controlling and supporting many of our interpretations. It is easy to say that the economy was a mixture of agriculture and fishing, that is, that it was very similar to the economy of the area today. What is needed is a much more detailed picture: were all settlements engaged in fishing, agriculture, and other necessary crafts, or were there specialised settlements bound together in a large symbiotic network? The answers to questions like this will be of considerable importance, not just in themselves, but in deciding the degree of uniformity or diversity to be allowed for in our cultural definitions. We are fortunate to have the material which can potentially provide us with the answers, and we would be better employed, at present, in attempting to interpret it within functional models rather than indulging in sterile disputes over highly problematical cultural definitions.

Acknowledgements

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Footnotes

1. The lecture is printed substantially as given. Some minor emendations have, however, been made, and footnotes added to deal with some of the points raised in discussion.
2. I use the term 'exotic object' to mean those objects which have, in the past, been generally accepted as direct imports from, or indigenous interpretations of ideas derived from, areas outside Scotland. I have not intended to deny these objects any value, but to question whether or not the present value attributed to them is inflated. The answer is less important, at this stage, than the need for the question to receive more careful consideration than it has in the past.
3. This is not intended to imply that the Roman Army represents a more likely introductory agent, but rather to emphasise the multiplicity of interpretations which can be made on the basis of the existing evidence.
4. Inevitably, some objects will have higher values than others for specific interpretative techniques but this cannot be predetermined. It should be a product of, and not a factor in, artifact analysis.
5. For a full and cogent discussion of the value of the settlement as a basic unit in archaeological classification see Chang, 1967, 38-56. It cannot be over-emphasised that the basic interpretation of objects within the complementing and limiting framework of settlement assemblages will be a long but essential process.

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PSAS, LXXXIX, 290-328.
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 Uist', PSAS, XCIII, 135-73.

Appendix I: Atlantic Province Sites which have produced Roman Sherds

For further details see Curle (1932); Robertson (1970).

Catalogue numbers correspond with those on the distribution map, Fig. 1.

ARGYLL

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Ardifuar | 5. Keil Cave |
| 2. Dunadd | 6. Kildonan |
| 3. Dun Fheurain, Gallanach | 7. Port Sonachan |
| 4. Dun Fhinn | |

BUTE

8. Little Dunagoil

CAITHNESS

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 9. Crosskirk Broch | 12. Nybster Broch |
| 10. Everley Broch | 13. Road Broch |
| 11. Keiss Broch | |

INVERNESS-SHIRE

14. Dun Telve

LEWIS

15. Berie

NORTH UIST

16. Bac Mhic Connain

ORKNEY

17. East Broch of Burray
18. Broch of Gurness

19. Midhowe Broch
20. Oxtro Broch

SKYE

21. Dun Ardtreck

TIREE

22. Dun Mor Vaul

Appendix II: Spiral Rings from Scotland

Catalogue numbers correspond with those on the distribution map, Fig. 3

ANGUS

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Hurly Hawkin | NO 332328 |
| Bronze | NMAS |
| 2. Laws of Monifieth | NO 493349 |
| Bronze | NMAS : GN 33 |
| Neish, 1860, 445 | |
| <u>PSAS</u> , XVII (1882-83), 302, | |
| fig. 4 | |

ARGYLL

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| 3. Dunadd | NM 836936 |
| Bronze | NMAS : HPO 269 |
| Craw, 1930, 116, fig. 3, 11 | |
| 4. Dun Fheurain, Gallanach | NM 824266 |
| Bronze | NMAS : HD 410 |
| Anderson, 1895: for site | |
| 5. Kildalloig | NR 745190 |
| Bronze | Private possession |

AYRSHIRE

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 6. Buston Crannog | NS 415435 |
| 2 Gold | NMAS : HV 91-92 |
| Munro, 1882, 228-29, figs. 244-5 | |

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------------------------------|
| 7. | Cleaves Cove, Dalry
2 Bronze
Smith, 1889, 13, Pl. II, fig. 1d;
1895, 65, 63, fig. 143 | NS 317474
NMAS : HM 50; other lost |
| 8. | Gourock Burn, Glenhead
Bronze
<u>DES (1968)</u> , 13 | NS 215454 |
| 9. | Lochlee Crannog, Tarbolton
Bronze
Munro, 1882, 132, fig. 146 | NS 457302
Kilmarnock Museum |

BERWICKSHIRE

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------------|
| 10. | Lamberton Moor
2 Bronze
Anderson, 1905, 374, fig. 4 | NT 9659
NMAS : FT 63-64 |
|-----|---|----------------------------|

BUTE

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 11. | Dunagoil
Bronze
Scott, 1966, 58 | NS 085530
Rothesay Museum |
|-----|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|

CAITHNESS

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|
| 12. | Crosskirk Broch
3 Bronze
<u>DES (1967)</u> , 20; <u>(1970)</u> , 20 | ND 025701 |
| 13. | Watten
Bronze
<u>PSAS</u> , XXVIII (1893-94), 239 | NMAS : DO 35 |

EAST LOTHIAN

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------------|
| 14. | Black Rocks, Gullane
Bronze
Ewart & Curle, 1908, 334,
fig. 2 | c. NT 485845
NMAS : EQ 337 |
| 15. | Traprain Law
7 Bronze; 1 Silver
Burley, 1956, 173 | NT 581746
NMAS : GVM 140-47 |

FIFE

16. Norrie's Law NO 409072
2 Silver: 1 complete, 1 frags. NMAS : FC 35
Anderson, 1884, 246, fig. 12

KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE

17. Castlehaven NX 593482
2 Bronze
Barbour, 1907, 78-79, fig. 9

LANARKSHIRE

18. Hyndford Crannog NF 906418
3 Bronze NMAS : HTA 4-5; other lost
Munro, 1899, 382, 383, fig. 10

MIDLOTHIAN

19. Granton
Bronze Lost
Wilson, 1851, 327

MORAY

20. Sculptor's Cave, Covesea NJ 183709
Bronze NMAS : HM 93
Benton, 1931, 191, 192, fig.
13, 7
21. Culbin Sands
Bronze
Black, 1891, 506-7, fig. 32

NORTH UIST

22. Coileagan an Udail NF 826784
Bronze frag.
Crawford, 1970, 9

ORKNEY

23. Broch of Gurness, Aikerness HY 382268
3 Bronze
Richardson, 1948, 1

24. Broch of Howe, Sanday
Silver
PSAS, LXXII (1937-38), 9
- HY 660392
NMAS : GA 1174

PERTSHIRE

25. Carpow
Bronze
Birley, 1963, 206-7, fig. 11,
10
26. Castle Law, Abernethy
Bronze
Christison & Anderson, 1899,
31, fig. 16
27. Dunsinnane Hill
Bronze
Brown, 1872, 378-79
Anderson, 1883, 282
Christison, 1900, 91
- NO 208179
NMAS : FRC 109
- NO 184154
NMAS : GP 29
- NO 213317
Lost

ROXBURGHSHIRE

28. Edgerston
'Several' Bronze
RCAMS, 1956, 228
29. Newstead
Bronze
- NT 680124
Private possession
- NT 570344
NMAS : FRA 741

SHETLAND

30. Clickhimin
3 Bronze; 1 Silver
Hamilton, 1968, 90, Pl.
XXXIa.1; 116, 119, fig. 50, 3;
137; 143, 137, fig. 61, 3
- HU 464408

SKYE

31. Dun Ardtreck
Bronze
MacKie, 1965c, 8
32. Dun Suledale, Lyndale
Bronze
RCAMS, 1928, 194-6: for site
- NG 335357
Hunterian Museum
- NG 374526
British Museum : 1948, 5-4.1

STIRLINGSHIRE

33. Cowden Hill, Bonnybridge NS 826802
Bronze Falkirk Museum
DES (1960), 38

SUTHERLAND

34. Eriboll ? NC 447579
2 Bronze ? Lost
Joass, 1890, 109, Pl.XVI, u.
& v.
RCAMS, 1911, 55 notes a ring from a souterrain at Eriboll, then in
Dunrobin Castle Museum. Mitchell, the excavator of the souterrain,
says, however, that no relics were found (1866, 249). Possibly the
ring noted by RCAMS was one of the two from the broch site. It is
not now in Dunrobin.

TIREE

35. Dun Mor Vaul NM 042492
1 Bronze; 1 Silver Hunterian Museum
MacKie, 1965a, 272-73

? WEST OF SCOTLAND

36. No locality NMAS : FH 18-19
2 Bronze
PSAS, XIX (1884-85), 9

Appendix III: Projecting Ring-Headed Pins

Catalogue numbers correspond with those on the distribution map, Fig. 4

ANGUS

1. Hurly Hawkin NO 332328
2 Bronze pins NMAS
DES (1961), 5; (1963), 1
2. Laws of Monifieth NO 493349
Iron pin NMAS : GN 30
Neish, 1864, 322

ARGYLL

3. Dunadd
Bronze pin
Christison, Anderson & Ross,
1905, 318, 317, fig. 49
NM 836936
NMAS : GP 264
4. Dun Fheurain, Gallanach
Bronze pin
Anderson, 1895, 281-82, fig. 5
NM 824266
Private possession

BARRA

5. Dun Cuier
Pin-stamped sherd
Young, 1956, 312, 310, fig. 12,
109
NF 664034
NMAS : GU 254
6. Tigh Talambhanta, Allasdale
Pin-stamped sherds
Young, 1953, Pl. VIII, & fig.
7, 61, 62, 65 & 67
NF 677022
NMAS : GU 70

BERNERAY

7. South midden, Maol Bhan
Iron pin
PSAS, XLIX (1914-15), 11
RCAMS, 1928, 45
c. NF 909830
NMAS : HR 607
[There is no apparent evidence for RCAMS claim that the north midden produced a bronze pin of this type (1928, 45)]

CAITHNESS

8. Crosskirk Broch
2 Bronze pins
DES (1970), 20
ND 025701
9. Ness Broch
Bronze pin
Anderson, 1901, 143
Smith, 1905, 347, fig. 3
British Museum, 1925, 100, fig.
110
ND 381666
NMAS : GA 747
10. Reay
Mould
PSAS, LXI (1926-27), 109-10
NMAS : HR 816

EAST LOTHIAN

11. Traprain Law NT 581746
2 Bronze pins; 2 Iron pins NMAS : GVM 98-101
Burley, 1956, 167-68
2 Moulds NMAS : GVM 547a; 548
Curle, 1915, 192, fig. 39, 2;
Curle & Cree, 1916, 125, fig.
37, 4

FIFE

Tentsmuir. Childe claims a projecting ring-headed pin from this area (1935, 234). It is, in fact, of the later 'beaded' type.

HEBRIDES

12. No locality (not on map)
Bronze pin Hunterian Museum

MIDLOTHIAN

13. Moredun, Gilmerton NT 286695
Iron pin NMAS : EQ 275
Coles, 1904, 433-34, fig. 5
Curle, 1932, 396

MORAY

14. Culbin Sands
2 Bronze pins NMAS : unreg.

NORTH UIST

15. Cnoc a Chomdhalach c. NF 768741
Pin-stamped sherd NMAS : GT 284
Young, 1953, Pl. IX, 1
Beveridge, 1911, 200-206: for
site
16. Illeray ? NF 787629
2 Bronze pins NMAS : GT 939-40
PSAS, XXI (1886-87), 289

ORKNEY

17. Broch of Ayre, St Mary's Holm HY 470013
Pin-stamped sherd NMAS : L 1948.69
Graeme, 1914, 46, fig. 13
Young, 1953, Pl.IX, 3
18. Birsay
Bronze pin NMAS : FC 196
PSAS, XLIII (1908-9), 9
19. Broch of Gurness, West Main-
land HY 382268
Bronze pin
1 mould for 2 pins
Richardson, 1948: for site
20. Broch of Lingro, Scapa HY 434088
Pin-stamped sherds NMAS : GE 54; 56; 99; 100; 104
Young, 1953, Pl.IX, 2 and 3
Anderson, 1883, 242-45: for
site
21. Broch of Midhowe, Rousay HY 371307
3 Bronze pins NMAS : GAM 1150-52
Callander & Grant, 1934, 500,
fig. 44, 1-3

PERTHSHIRE

22. Coupar Angus
Bronze pin Private possession
Childe, 1935, 234

ROSS

23. Dun Lagaidh, Loch Broom NH 143914
Bronze pin Hunterian Museum
MacKie, 1968, 6

SHETLAND

24. Clickhimin HU 464408
2 Bronze pins
Hamilton, 1968, 116, 119, fig.
50, 2; 120, 119, fig. 50, 1
25. Jarlshof HU 397096
Bronze pin NMAS : HSA 4163

Hamilton, 1956, 64, fig. 34

SKYE

26. Dun Ardtreck
Bronze pin
MacKie, 1965c, 8
Pin-stamped sherd
MacKie, 1965c, 9 & fig. 3, 7
- NG 335357
Hunterian Museum

SOUTH UIST

27. A Cheardach Mhor
Pin-stamped sherd
Young & Richardson, 1960, 144,
fig. 5, 17
28. Bruthach a Sithean, Kilphedir
Iron pin
Lethbridge, 1952, 183-84, fig.
4, 2
29. Bruthach an Tigh Tallan,
Daliburgh
Bronze pin
Lethbridge, 1952, 184
30. Sithean a Phiobaire
Iron pin
Lethbridge, 1952, 184, fig. 5,
6
Pin-stamped sherd
Lethbridge, 1952, 188, fig. 8,
3
- NF 756412
NMAS
- NF 733202
NMAS : GS 85
- NF 734207
NMAS : GS 192
- NF 734214

TIREE

31. Balevullin
Bronze pin
32. Dun Beg Vault
Bronze pin
Beveridge, 1903, 105-7: for
site
33. Dun Mor Vault
Bronze pin
MacKie, 1965a, 270
- NL 9546
Hunterian Museum
- NM 046492
Hunterian Museum
- NM 042493
Hunterian Museum

Pin-stamped sherd
MacKie, 1965a, 270, 269, fig.
1, 19

? WEST OF SCOTLAND

34. No locality
Bronze pin

Glasgow Art Gallery & Museum

ENGLAND

35. Corbridge, Northumberland
Bronze pin
Forster & Knowles, 1911, 188,
189, fig. 34

NY 983648

WALES

36. Probably Anglesey
Bronze pin
Smith, 1905, 347, 346, fig. 2
British Museum, 1925, 99, fig.
109

British Museum