

# Ceramic and cultural change in the Hebrides AD 500-1300



By  
Alan lane

CARDIFF STUDIES IN ARCHAEOLOGY



SPECIALIST REPORT NUMBER 29







# **Ceramic and cultural change in the Hebrides AD 500-1300**

Cardiff Studies in Archaeology Specialist Report 29

2007

Alan Lane

ISBN 0-9537793-9-4

Published by Cardiff School of History and Archaeology,  
Humanities Building,  
Colum Drive,  
Cardiff CF10 3EU,  
Wales, UK.

**Contents**

List of Figures	iv
Preface	1
Acknowledgements	1
Introduction	2
Hebridean pottery	2
The Udal sequence	4
New sites	6
Plain Style and Dun Cuier ware	6
Viking pottery	8
Dating the Viking pottery	11
Discussion	13
Conclusion	16
Bibliography	17

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1: Location map of the Outer Hebrides

Figure 2: Pre-Viking Plain Style pottery

Figure 3: Viking Style pottery

Figure 4: Hebridean ceramic zone

Figure 5: Map of key sites in the Outer Hebrides

Figure 6: Bornais Dun Cuier ware vessel

Figure 7: Distribution of probable and possible Plain Style pottery

Figure 8: Comparison of forms and construction method on Pre-Viking and Viking period pottery

Figure 9: Distribution of Viking period pottery

Plate I: Hebridean platter from Bornais

## **Preface**

This paper was originally presented at the 2006 Oslo conference on the Viking Age in the Irish Sea. Due to delays in publication of the conference volume this version of the paper has been published by the School of History and Archaeology at Cardiff University.

## **Acknowledgements**

I am grateful to the staff of Oslo University for inviting me to give a paper at the Irish Sea conference in November 2005. This work depends on the excavations of various archaeologists over the last 40 years. I would particularly like to thank Mr Iain Crawford for allowing me access to the pottery from the Udal excavations. My PhD work on the Hebridean material was funded by a grant for the Scottish Education Department and supervised by Dr (now Professor) James Graham Campbell of University College London. Information and access to excavated assemblages was provided by Mike Parker Pearson, Niall Sharples, Ian Armit, and Tim Neighbour. Information on pottery and other finds has been provided by Melanie Johnson and Amanda Forster. Drawings were prepared by Ian Dennis. Plate I is copy right of Professor Mike Parker Pearson. I would particularly like to thank Niall Sharples for giving me full access to the Bornais assemblages and encouraging me to update my work on the Hebridean pottery sequence. Dr Ewan Campbell has provided me with information on his own work and provided helpful discussions of the Hebridean pottery sequences over the last 20 years.

## Introduction

The Hebrides have long been considered an important area for consideration of the nature of Celtic–Norse relationships. Historical sources, saga literature, place-names, burials and hoards have all been used to suggest a significant and long-lasting Scandinavian impact which is historically documented well into the medieval period. However the Hebrides have lacked settlement evidence to match the reasonably good data known from Orkney and Shetland. The pre-Viking period in the Hebrides has likewise been poorly understood, though this has been a problem common to most of Scotland, including the Northern Isles. Recent work within the Hebrides has begun to address these problems both through targeted survey and excavation aimed at locating Viking sites, and excavations with an Iron Age focus which have serendipitously located immediately pre-Viking phases of occupation. Some of this advance in our knowledge is due to the recognition of distinctive ceramics within the northern Hebrides belonging to the Viking and pre-Viking periods. My doctoral research outlined a ceramic sequence for the period c AD 400-1100 based on the pottery from the Udal, North Uist, excavated by Iain Crawford in the 1960s and 1970s<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately delays in definitive publication of the site evidence in support of this sequence have limited its impact. The last two decades, however, have seen a whole series of new excavations which have refined and confirmed the suggested sequence, though as yet most of the site evidence is unpublished. This paper is intended to outline the evidence as currently known.

## Hebridean pottery

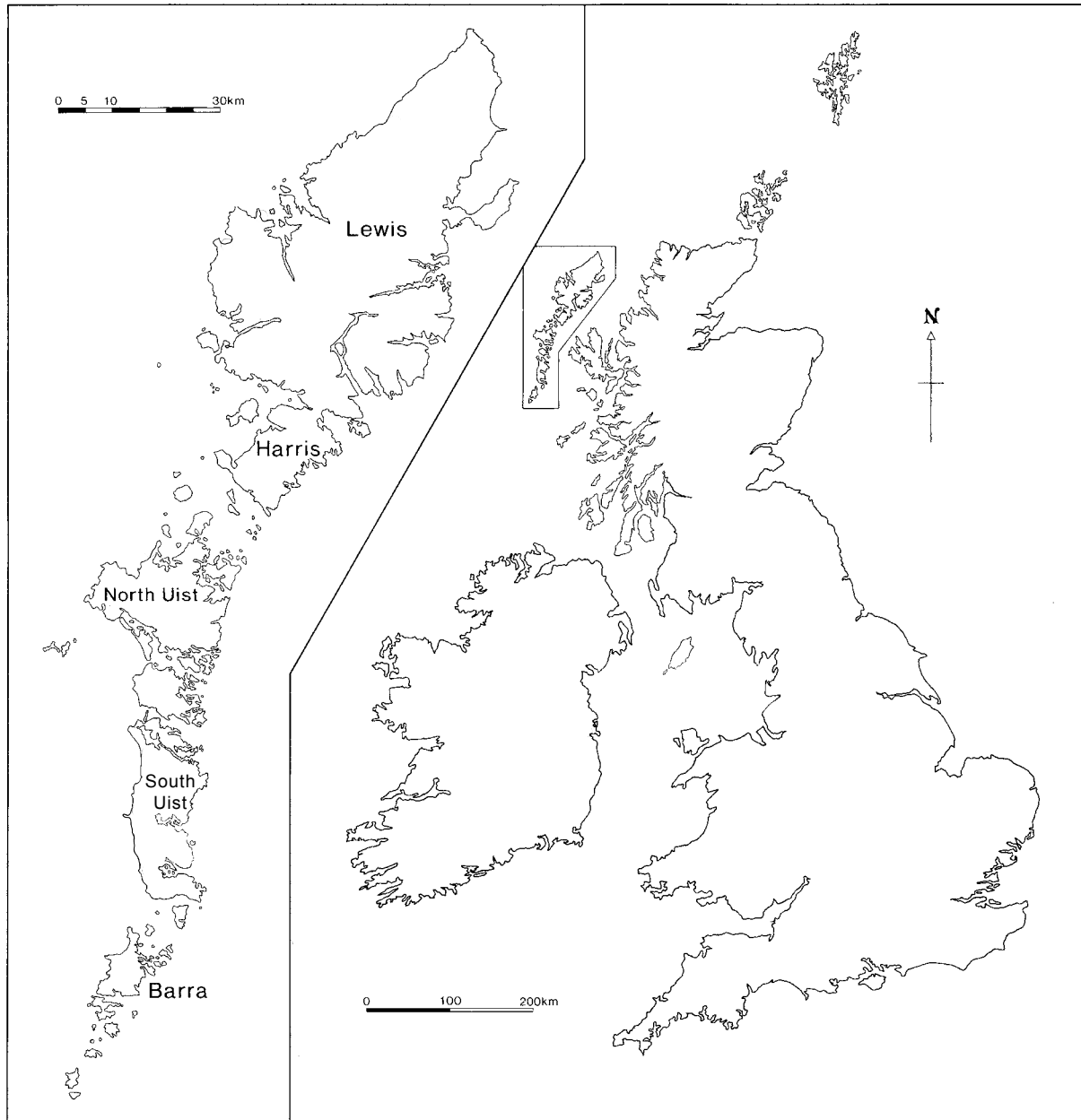
The Outer Hebrides (Figure 1) are unusual in Scottish terms in that excavations and surface collecting normally recover large quantities of locally-produced pottery, in contrast to the general sparsity, or complete absence, of such finds on most of the Scottish mainland from the Bronze Age to the Medieval period. This pottery comes principally from eroding settlement sites in the machair areas (grassy shell sand plains) on the western sides of the islands. Unfortunately the identification and dating of these sherd collections can be fraught with difficulty since the Hebridean sequence lacks some of the neat technological horizons (eg the wheel or kilns!) which subdivide pottery sequences elsewhere in Europe. The earlier prehistoric pottery of the Hebrides can be identified by comparison with pottery from elsewhere in Britain and by its occurrence in distinctive early monument associations such as Neolithic tombs. The later pottery seems to be much more distinctively Hebridean, although individual motifs may (controversially) be paralleled elsewhere. This later pottery sequence runs from at least the Iron Age (some time in the later 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC) until the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD without any major technological change. All the pottery is handmade and all appears to have been fired in simple clamp kilns or bonfires or on the domestic hearth. It has been apparent for some time that there might be at least 2,500 years of handmade pottery production, using similar clay resources and similar production techniques, in some parts of the Hebrides<sup>2</sup>.

Knowledge of this pottery has been gradually built up during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1961 Alison Young outlined her understanding of the sequence of Hebridean pottery at the Edinburgh Conference on *Problems of the Iron Age in Northern Britain* which was published in 1966<sup>3</sup>. At that time she could not recognise any Bronze Age material and was inclined to look for parallels between Neolithic incised decoration and that found on ‘wheelhouse pottery’, which she thought to be Iron Age or Roman period in date<sup>4</sup>. While her attempt to seek Neolithic origins for the Iron Age ceramics was misplaced her subsequent sequence has stood the test of time and seems basically to be correct<sup>5</sup>. This Iron Age sequence involves incised wares with inturned rims or slightly out-turned rims and simple cordons; the later addition of sharply everted rims with some finger channelled decoration; the decline in elaborate decoration in favour of simple cordons; and the eventual abandonment of decoration on crude plain pots which she thought might have lasted till the beginning of the Viking period<sup>6</sup>. The apparent chronological gap in Young’s sequence, from the Middle Bronze Age till the beginning of the decorated Iron Age sequence, has now been filled by Parker Pearson’s work at Cladh Hallan, South Uist, where a distinctive, albeit long-lived, Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age assemblage of thick-walled bucket shaped vessels has been firmly recognised and dated<sup>7</sup>. It is now clear that this area is unique within the British Isles in having continuous local handmade ceramic production from the Neolithic to the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>8</sup>.

This is not the place to discuss the development of the Hebridean early and middle Iron Age pottery sequence

- 
- 1 Lane 1983
  - 2 Lane 1990.
  - 3 Rivet 1966.
  - 4 Young 1966.
  - 5 cf Campbell 2002:140-2.
  - 6 Young 1966:50-56, fig 4, plate 3.
  - 7 Parker Pearson et al 2004a:53, 61; Parker Pearson et al 2004b:fig 5.
  - 8 Lane: forthcoming.





*Figure 1: Location map of the Outer Hebrides*

since the relevant pottery assemblages and dating evidence have not been published in sufficient detail. Instead I wish to focus on the evidence for the period from c 500 AD as my own work on the pre-Viking and Viking assemblages has now been supplemented by new data – some published and some made available to me prior to publication. The evidence for the pottery sequence after the Middle Iron Age<sup>9</sup> was the weakest part of Young's discussion. She did suggest a Late Iron Age sequence running till sometime late in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD<sup>10</sup> but seemed unaware of, or unable to comment on, the likelihood of any later continuation of pottery production. The possibility of Viking Age pottery or Medieval ceramics seems to have been largely ignored, though the existence of handmade 'craggans' in the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century period had suggested to earlier scholars that continuous production through the Viking period was a possibility<sup>11</sup>. Indeed an earlier generation of scholars were clear about the likelihood of continuous ceramic production. J.G. Callander, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland had argued in 1921 that 'handmade pottery continued to be made there [the Hebrides] until the middle of the nineteenth century', and restated

9 Foster 1990: 143; the term Middle Iron Age is used in Scotland to refer to the period from roughly 200BC to 350-400AD; the term Late Iron Age to refer to the period from c350/400AD to 800/900 or the advent of Viking settlement; Barrett & Foster 1991: 49-50.

10 Young 1966:54, 56.

11 Curwen 1938:280-82.

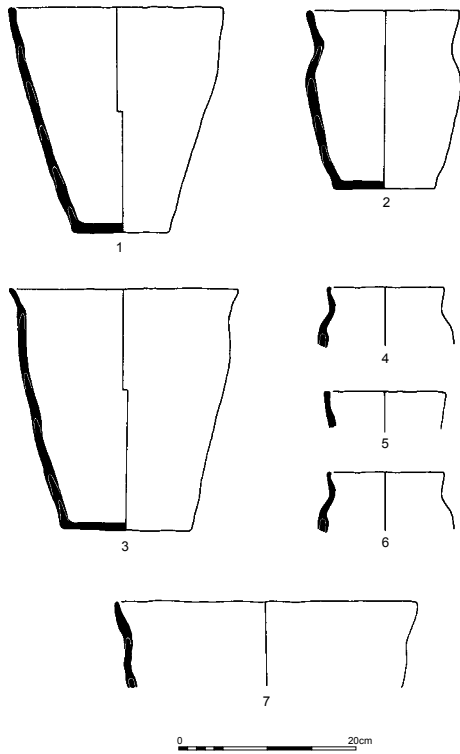


Figure 2: Pre-Viking Plain Style pottery

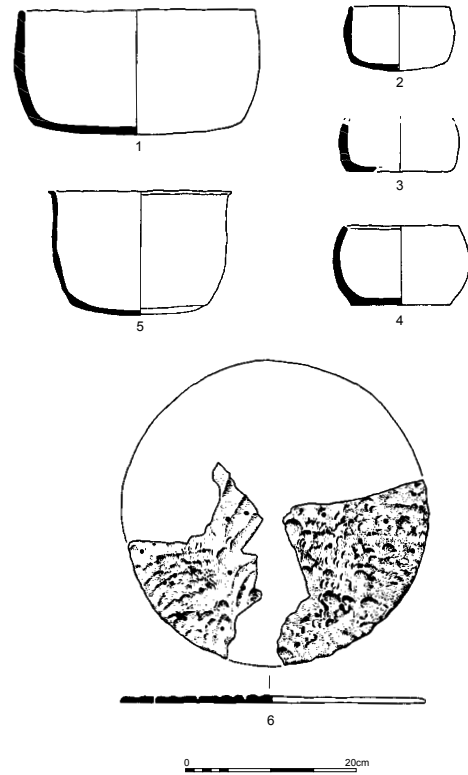


Figure 3: Viking style pottery.

this view in 1931<sup>12</sup>. This early modern tradition of pottery production, named after the Gaelic word used for these pots –*crogan* or *cragan* – was believed to be a prehistoric survival<sup>13</sup>. Martin Martin travelling in the Hebrides in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century had reported these vessels in use on Lewis and Tiree, and Mitchell described methods of production at Barvas, Lewis in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>14</sup>. The absence of stratified assemblages or excavated sites of Medieval or Late Medieval date prevented Young from identifying the later sequence though T C Lethbridge had, in the 1950s, reported handmade pottery decorated with the impressions of bird bones from an eroding site on Coll, which he believed could be dated by association with 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century glazed wheelmade imports. This pottery he suggested was ‘Hebrido-Norse’ and a sign of continuity through the Viking Age, though he was aware that Viking Age Norway was virtually aceramic<sup>15</sup>. However it was not until Iain Crawford excavated Viking Age and Medieval buildings, stratified with associated datable artefacts, at The Udal, North Uist, that it was possible to prove that the pottery sequence did indeed continue through the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennia AD up to the ‘craggan’ vessels of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>16</sup>.

## The Udal sequence

My work on the Udal pottery sequence<sup>17</sup> was confined to the material from the North Hill <sup>18</sup> deposits dated c 400 to c 1200 AD and unfortunately no detailed work was undertaken on the medieval and post-medieval assemblages. I used the Udal stratified sequence to define the wider Hebridean sequence and recognise material from other sites of similar date. Pottery is plentiful in the Udal Late Iron Age horizons with some 40,000 sherds in the best stratified deposits<sup>19</sup>, associated with cellular buildings in the native tradition. My work showed a phase of flat bottomed undecorated bucket and shouldered jar forms with long flaring rims. All of it is handmade, built up from slab coils which, when low fired, often leave clear ‘tongue and groove’ joining marks (Figure 2). This material, unimaginatively termed ‘Plain Style’(by me), dates to the major pre-Viking phases on the site which were thought to run from c 350AD to c

12 Callander 1921:129; Beveridge & Callander 1931:346;

13 Cheape 1993:109.

14 Mitchell 1880:25-32.

15 Lethbridge 1950:96; 1954:193

16 Crawford & Switsur 1977:130.

17 Lane 1983.

18 Crawford & Switsur 1977: fig. 2.

19 Lane 1990:117.

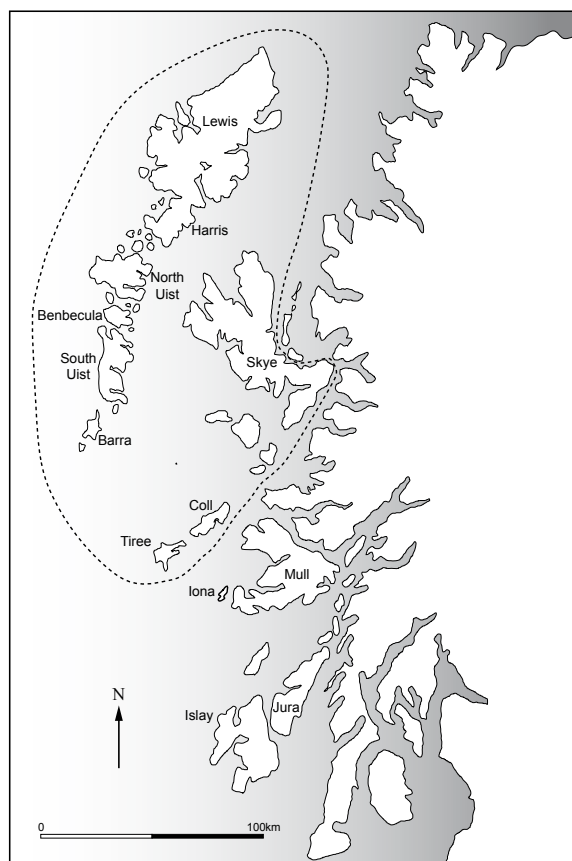


Figure 4: Pottery zone.

850AD<sup>20</sup>. The contexts above this contain the remains of rectangular structures which appear to represent the arrival of an incoming population of Viking/Scandinavian character<sup>21</sup>. These horizons also contain substantial quantities of coarse handmade pottery – 6,500 sherds in the initial Viking layer X<sup>22</sup>, and 12,000 sherds in the secondary Viking level IXc<sup>23</sup>. Some of the pottery in level X is in the preceding native Plain Style but both Viking levels produce new material – distinctive sagging and flat-based open bowls and cups as well as flat circular pottery discs or platters (Figure 3). These new vessel forms are coil built but are joined in a different, simpler way. The common occurrence of grass-marked bases (not grass-tempering) is likewise an indication of a new construction tradition though the fabrics are only sometimes partially distinguishable from the pre-Viking material.

My analysis of the Udal Viking and pre-Viking ceramics allowed me to identify similar material throughout the Outer Hebrides and to identify a zone of early medieval ceramic use running from the North of Lewis to the islands of Coll and Tiree in the Southern Hebrides (Figure 4). The Plain Style material had already been recognised by Alison Young at Dun Cuier on Barra<sup>24</sup>, though the presence of earlier cordon-decorated pottery there had confused the sequence. I suggested some 15 sites which seemed to have pottery of the Udal Plain Style though the difficulty in distinguishing simple undecorated bucket forms from pottery of other dates is considerable<sup>25</sup>. The Viking period style had not been recognised before, though a few grassmarked sherds from sites in the Sound of Harris had been wrongly identified as Irish Souterrain Ware<sup>26</sup>, but by 1981 I was able to locate some 29 sites with diagnostic Viking Age pottery throughout the Hebridean ceramic zone<sup>27</sup>. This evidence suggests long-lived patterns of cultural behaviour which divide the Outer Hebrides from the southern islands and Argyll with perhaps quite important implications for the varying nature of Viking impact.

The importance of the recognition of these two consecutive ceramic styles lay not only in their importance

---

20 Crawford & Switsur 1977:130.  
 21 Crawford & Switsur 1977:130-31.  
 22 Lane 1983:170.  
 23 Lane 1983:187.  
 24 Young 1956:304-15; 1966:54-6.  
 25 Lane 1983:253-94, esp. 287.  
 26 Thomas 1971:55; Crawford 1975:13.  
 27 Lane 1983:295-62, esp. 339; Lane 1990:fig. 7.7 & 7.8.

for the cultural history of the area eg the adoption of new cooking and eating behaviour<sup>28</sup>, but in their potential for the dating of old site assemblages and the recognition of new settlement sites which could be investigated with modern techniques<sup>29</sup>. Prior to the recognition of these two pottery styles the pre-Viking period in the Hebrides did have a small number of sites attributed to it but the Viking period was virtually unknown apart from burial evidence – only one settlement, Drimore on South Uist<sup>30</sup>, had seen partial excavation prior to Crawford's work at the Udal. Subsequent survey work by a Scottish Development Department team in Lewis and Harris in 1978 identified a number of sites with Viking pottery, and excavation on one site at Barvas, Lewis, confirmed the presence of diagnostic pottery associated with a rectangular structure<sup>31</sup>.

Although I was able to identify these two ceramic styles and define their chronological phasing it is important not to underestimate the difficulty in handling such Hebridean material. Where substantial stratified assemblages allow the recognition of vessel forms the pottery can be dated with some confidence. However fragmented surface sherd collections or material from old excavations are more difficult. As handmade pottery seems to have been in production in the Hebrides for at least 5,000 years undecorated body sherds can be virtually impossible to date. Some early prehistoric ceramics may be recognisable from temper and surface appearance but from the Middle Iron Age to the 19<sup>th</sup> century fabrics vary little and largely contain very similar Lewisian gneiss grit assemblages. Some decoration and rim forms may be distinctive but the recurrence of decoration in the late medieval assemblages causes additional problems<sup>32</sup>. The Plain Style is particularly difficult to identify since the undecorated vessel forms are simple and it cannot be confidently separated from earlier material except where substantial vessel profiles survive. The Viking style is likewise largely or totally undecorated though the use of grassmarking seems to be a more helpful local diagnostic feature within the Hebrides.

## New sites

Since the mid 1980s a fresh series of excavations has begun in the Hebrides with researchers from Edinburgh, Sheffield and Cardiff taking an active role in locating and investigating new sites (Figure 5). As noted already some of this work was aimed primarily at investigating conventional Iron Age sites, both wheelhouses and brochs, but it located significant Late Iron Age deposits on some sites. Beirgh (sometimes referred to as Loch na Berie), Lewis<sup>33</sup>, and Eilean Olabhat, North Uist<sup>34</sup> are the key sites in this category. Other sites were located through survey of eroding deposits dated by the surface finds of ceramics. Of these Bostadh, Lewis, and Bornais and Cille Pheadair, on South Uist, have all seen extensive excavation. Bornais is a complicated multi-period site with Late Iron Age to Medieval occupation including both a large single Norse-style longhouse and a substantial medieval settlement cluster<sup>35</sup>. Bostadh has important pre-Viking deposits and a short Viking phase<sup>36</sup> while Cille Pheadair seems to be a single Norse-style farmstead occupied in the 11<sup>th</sup>- early 13<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>37</sup>. These new sites have good stratified sequences and multiple radiocarbon dates and allow us to reconsider my sequence based on the Udal and refine its chronology.

## Plain Style and Dun Cuier ware

My 1983 study of the Udal pottery and related material in the Hebrides accepted AD 400-800 as the likely approximate date range for the Plain Style. This was based on Iain Crawford's suggested chronology for his pre-Viking levels, XIV-XI, on the Udal North Hill<sup>38</sup>. However, as I have argued before, the published radiocarbon dates for this phase have large standard deviations and the two earliest dates, at 2 sigma cal AD140-650 and 390-660, are taken from whale bone<sup>39</sup>. The marine reservoir effect means these are likely to be significantly younger in real age<sup>40</sup>. This means that the date of the Udal Late Iron Age levels is uncertain with the first possibly reliable date being AD

---

28 Lane 1983:379-80.

29 Sharples & Parker Pearson 1999:43.

30 Graham-Campbell & Batey 1998:175-7.

31 Graham-Campbell & Batey 1998:75.

32 Lane & Cowie 1997:496-502.

33 Harding & Gilmour 2000.

34 Armit 1996:173-9.

35 Sharples 2004.

36 Neighbour & Burgess 1997; Harding 2004:268-70.

37 Parker Pearson et al 2004b; radiocarbon dates pers comm.

38 Crawford & Switsur 1977:129-30, fig 2, table 1.

39 Crawford & Switsur 1977:table 1; Lane 1983:46-7; Lane 1990:117-20.

40 Barrett et al 2000; Ascough et al 2004.

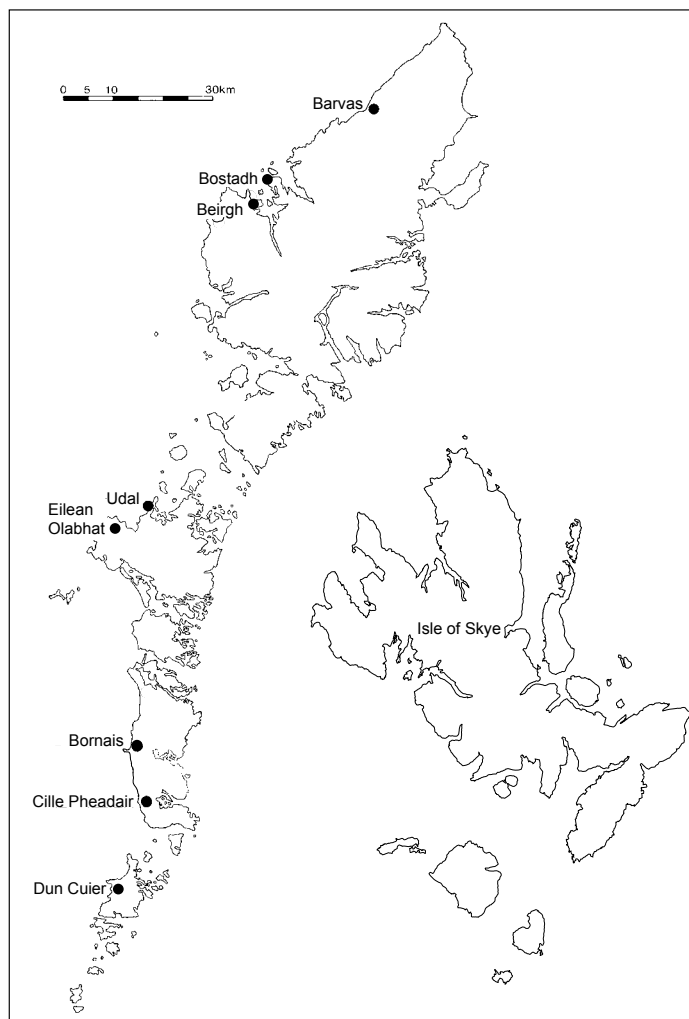


Figure 5: Map of key sites.

430-940 (at 2 sigma) from level XIII. Crawford originally believed his North Hill sequence was continuous from deposits with classic decorated Middle Iron Age ‘wheelhouse’ ceramics (level XV), dated to the ‘1<sup>st</sup> century AD’ by radiocarbon, through to the Late Iron Age deposits (XIV-XI) with their Plain Style ceramics. He described the apparent dramatic contrast in structures, ceramics and other artefact types between the two contexts as ‘one of the rare and total and precise watersheds in the archaeological record that are so complete as to compel an invasion interpretation’<sup>41</sup>. Subsequently Crawford refined his dating and reported late 3<sup>rd</sup> century Roman ceramics in a horizon postdating his Udal South wheelhouse complex and cited the level XV date as cal AD 60-250 for the classic wheelhouse material on the North Hill<sup>42</sup>. My analysis of the pottery disputed his view that the North Hill sequence was continuous and suggested a significant hiatus between the ‘classic’ decorated wheelhouse ceramics and the emergence of the Plain Style<sup>43</sup>.

So what date is the Udal Plain Style and what pottery precedes it? Young was fairly clear that a gradual sequence could be seen evolving from the incised, cordoned and finger channelled Middle Iron Age types found on brochs and wheelhouses to coarser flaring rimmed cordoned vessels found on the later occupation of such sites and with coarse undecorated pottery appearing in the latest levels<sup>44</sup>. This late cordoned ware was termed ‘Dun Cuier ware’ after its best excavated assemblage<sup>45</sup>. I have argued that the term Dun Cuier ware is confusing as the Dun Cuier site has pottery of the later Plain Style phase, as well as the earlier cordoned material, as Young herself recognised in her 1966 paper<sup>46</sup>. However as the term Dun Cuier ware has become established in the literature it seems appropriate to

---

41 Crawford & Switsur 1977:129; Crawford nd:12;  
42 Crawford 2002:120, table 15; Lane 1983:41-4; plate 1a.  
43 Lane 1983:41-50; Lane 1990:122.  
44 Young 1966:54-61.  
45 MacKie 1966:202-3; Young 1956.  
46 Lane 1990:122-23; Young 1966:54.

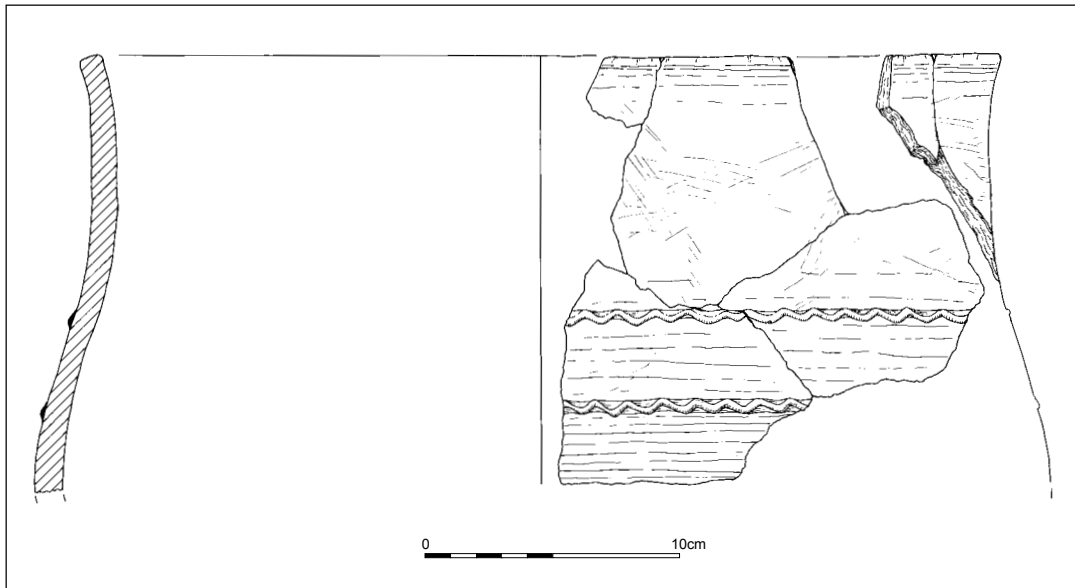


Figure 6: Bornais Dun Cuier ware.

use it for the decorated phase of that site rather than to invent a new clumsy descriptive term, such as ‘Late Iron Age flaring rimmed cordoned pottery’.

Two sites give us multiple radiocarbon dates for this cordoned Dun Cuier ware. Bornais Mound 1 has a robbed-out wheelhouse associated with double cordoned flaring rim vessels of classic Dun Cuier type (Figure 6). This has radiocarbon dates indicating a firm date c AD 450-550. At Eilean Olabhat a cellular structure inserted into an earlier house has similar cordoned vessels dated by Campbell to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century AD. These dates are very similar to the new Bornais dates and it is important to note that the current dates for both sites replace previous radiocarbon assays which dated this material rather earlier<sup>47</sup>. Closely similar material is known from late occupation from a number of wheelhouse and broch sites including the eponymous Dun Cuier, Barra, Dun Carloway and Beirgh, Lewis, as well as less certainly from a whole series of sites from North and South Uist<sup>48</sup>. Unfortunately the pottery from the Udal wheelhouses has not yet been studied and it is not clear if there is any Dun Cuier material on the Udal South Hill where the wheelhouses and earlier structures are located.

The date of inception of the Plain Style is uncertain and indeed it probably reflects a gradual abandonment of decoration over some decades. However AD 550-600 may be an appropriate estimate on present evidence. A significant Plain Style assemblage has now been reported from Beirgh, stratified with metalwork, metalworking debris and bone combs, for which 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century dates have been advanced<sup>49</sup>. Another major assemblage was excavated at Bostadh, Lewis associated with well-preserved cellular structures. This site has a very similar assemblage to the Udal and Beirgh Plain Style phases and is dated by multiple radiocarbon dates which centre on the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>50</sup>.

In 1990 I suggested 19 sites which might have Plain Style pottery. Of these only two, Dun Cuier and a<sup>?</sup> Cheardach Mhor, South Uist were stratified or had useful associations which helped confirm the date and pottery sequence, and at least eight of the possible sites might instead belong to the preceding Dun Cuier phase. As noted already the Plain Style is particularly difficult to recognise with confidence except where substantial vessel profiles survive. Differentiation from Dun Cuier ware is extremely difficult except with single phase sites, as even clearly stratified multi-period sites may have residual material in them, and it is the absence of decoration which is the key identifying factor (Figure 7). The terminal date of the Plain Style pottery is uncertain and has been difficult to evaluate given the scarcity of published early Viking contexts in the Hebrides.

## Viking pottery

As I have already indicated Young’s 1966 survey seemed unaware of the possibility of Viking period pottery. Only one Viking settlement had been recognised in the Hebrides prior to the 1970s – the single rectangular house at

47 Sharples forthcoming; Campbell et al 2004; Sharples 2000:24-6; Lane 1990:122-3.

48 Lane forthcoming

49 Harding & Gilmour 2000:64-66; Harding 2004:267.

50 Neighbour & Burgess 1997; Johnson in litt; Harding 2004:268-70; Ashmore 2002:150-1.

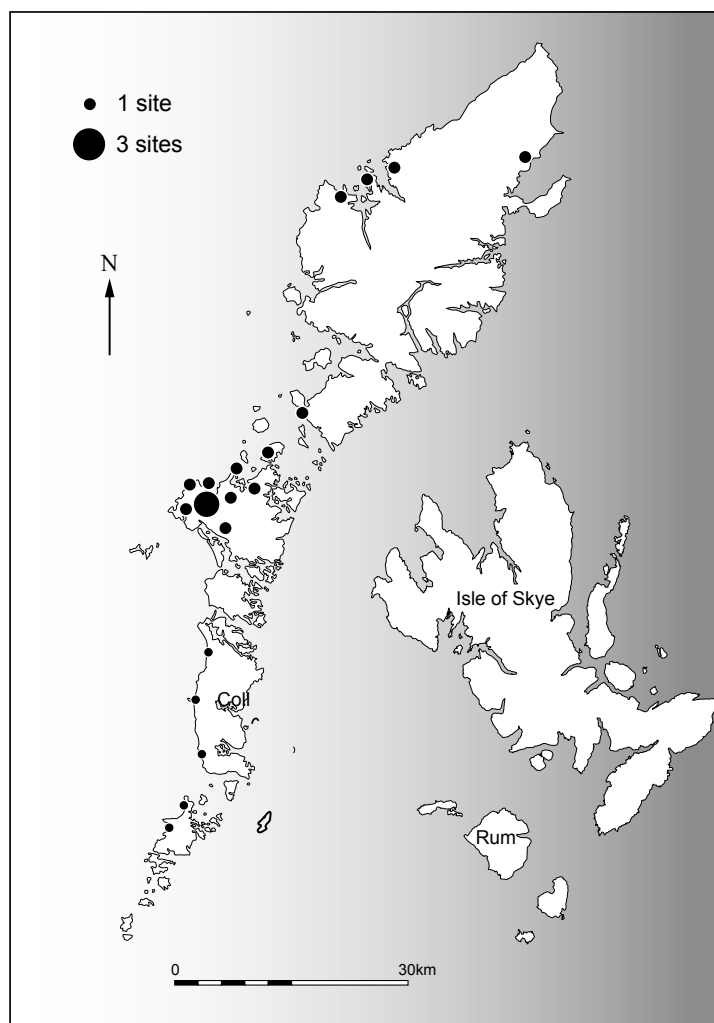


Figure 7: Distribution of probable and possible Plain Style pottery.

Drimore, South Uist, partially excavated in 1956 as part of the rescue work associated with the Benbecula rocket range and finally published in 1974. Only a small part of what is almost certainly a larger site was investigated, including the house which seems likely to be a multiphase structure, and no associated middens were located. The excavator recovered only five undiagnostic pottery sherds but significantly found both steatite vessel fragments and spindle whorls. An antler comb was diagnostic of a 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century date and with Scandinavian affinities. The small scale investigation of this site, due to limited time and the high water table, undermines its interpretation but nevertheless it has been accepted as a Norse settlement of the Viking period<sup>51</sup>.

The Udal was the first Viking site in the Hebrides to see substantial modern excavation. Here Crawford reported Viking rectangular buildings stratified between the Late Iron Age settlement with its characteristic cellular structures and well preserved Medieval and Late Medieval buildings. Two levels were attributed to the Scandinavian phase, X and IXc<sup>52</sup>. Both produced substantial quantities of pottery. Some of this was indistinguishable from the pre-Viking Plain style but there was also a different pottery style present.

The new style of pottery was still made from local clays though with some superficial differences in texture and colour. However vessel shape and manufacturing technique change quite radically. Rather than the tall buckets and jars of the previous style we have open bowls and small cups. Some of these have sagging slightly rounded bases in contrast to the previous exclusive use of flat bases which had been a characteristic of the Hebridean sequence since at least the Middle Bronze Age if not earlier. The characteristic pot building method with clear slabs joined in the 'tongue and groove' manner found in the Plain Style and Dun Cueur ware is replaced by smaller coils pressed together in angled, or flat, joins (Figure 8). The Viking period vessels are generally smaller. Particularly characteristic of the Viking levels is the occurrence of flat baking plates or platters (Plate 1). Much of the Viking assemblage including the platters is grassmarked, *ie* it shows the impressions of grass on the outer basal surfaces of the vessels. This is quite different from the use of grass- or chaff-temper which occurs at various times and places in northern Europe

51 MacLaren 1974; Graham-Campbell & Batey 1998:175-7.

52 Crawford & Switsur 1977:131.

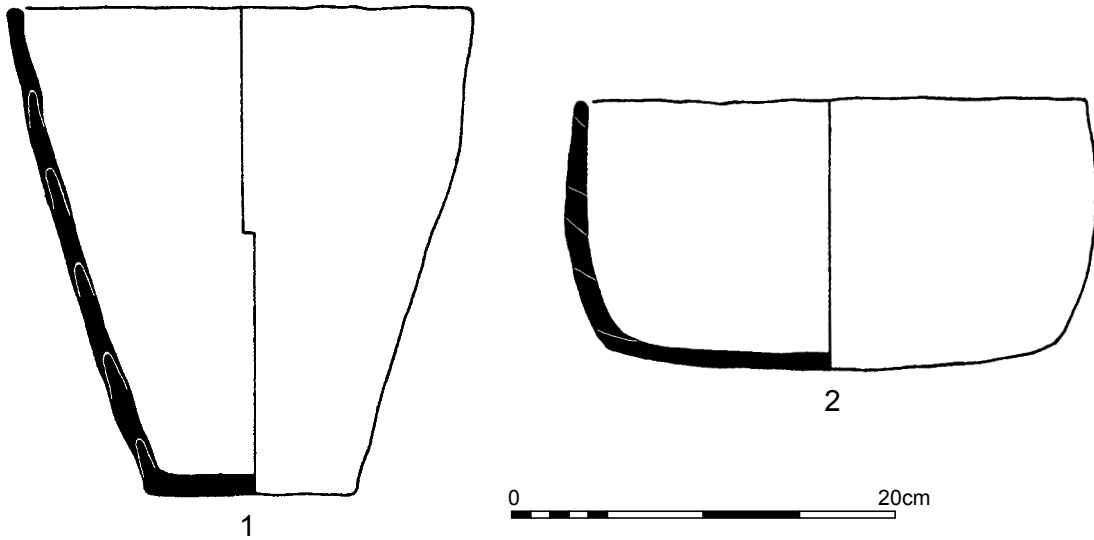


Figure 8: Comparison of forms and construction method on Pre-Viking and Viking period pottery.



Plate 1: Fragments of a Hebridean platter showing typical fingering and stab marks on its upper surface.

including in Late Norse/Medieval contexts in the Northern Isles and Caithness, as well as being a frequent occurrence on early Anglo-Saxon sites. In contrast regular grassmarking, as opposed to the occasional presence of random grass stalk-impressions, seems unrecognised elsewhere in Scotland and appears to be a diagnostic feature of the Viking/Late Norse pottery in the Hebrides<sup>53</sup>.

As noted already there are sherds of Plain Style pottery present in the Udal primary Viking layer X. In fact the majority of diagnostic sherds attributed to level X clearly belong to the pre-Viking Plain Style. The difficulty is in knowing whether this is residual material turning up in the later contexts, or stratigraphic error in the excavation, or the genuine continuation of the native tradition after the construction of rectangular buildings on the site. Definitive publication of the site with a finalised stratigraphy may make evaluation of those options possible but, for the present, uncertainty must remain. The presence of the new style material is perhaps more certain. This includes cups and

53 Lane 1983:237-9, 249-50; Lane 1990:123.



bowls with sagging and flattish bases and grassmarking. The adoption of the new pot building methods and the abandonment of the long-lived 'tongue and groove' technique are particularly important. Visually the pottery is slightly different – in some cases thinner and more micaceous – though still with Lewisian gneiss inclusions but it is not clear whether this indicates the adoption of a different clay source or a slightly different production process. A few sherds of the Viking disc platters are found in level X.

The second Viking level IXc confirms the features of the new Viking style. Open bowls and cups, sagging and flat bases, grassmarking and platters now dominate the recovered pottery attributed to this level by the excavator. Only a few sherds seem likely to be residual Plain Style pottery, re-deposited in the Viking contexts.

The chronology of these two 'Viking' levels depends on their position between the Late Iron Age and medieval deposits. The excavator suggested that they should be dated mid 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century and 10<sup>th</sup>-late 11<sup>th</sup> century respectively<sup>54</sup>. Level X has a radiocarbon date of 859±40ad calibrated to AD 880-1020 but unfortunately this is again from whale bone and therefore subject to the marine reservoir effect. Level IXc has two radiocarbon dates calibrated 780-1390 and 1040-1260<sup>55</sup>. Though a mid 11<sup>th</sup> century Norwegian coin may support the excavator's original 11<sup>th</sup> century dating his subsequent publication suggests this phase may last into the 12th century<sup>56</sup>. Again full publication of the rich bone and metal assemblages are required before any final confirmation of the dating will be possible.

The Viking levels are sealed by a destruction layer and then a series of buildings including one very well preserved compartmented long house thought to be 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century in date and with appropriate medieval artefacts including English coins<sup>57</sup>. Pottery continues to be plentiful until the late 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century abandonment of the site but unfortunately it was not possible for me to study this later material<sup>58</sup> and no further study of the medieval assemblage has been possible. Clearly this raised issues about how closely diagnostic the Viking assemblage was and whether its forms and methods continued in use in the medieval centuries. The excavator was of the view that the Viking platters were confined to this phase and so could be used as a chronological indicator but as we shall see below this confidence seems to have been misplaced. The emergence of decoration and changes in vessel form may be traceable in the medieval and later assemblage but yet again definitive publication is required<sup>59</sup>.

By 1981 I had identified 29 sites with Viking pottery from Lewis in the north to Tiree in the south. The Viking style material is easier to recognise from sherd collections than the earlier Plain Style. Grassmarking and sagging bases seem fairly diagnostic but it is the platter sherds which are an extremely useful assemblage indicator. These 'platters' are thin flat pottery discs with fingermarks and occasional stab marks on their upper surfaces and grass marking on their basal surfaces (Plate I). With a uniformly light colour they can be recognised from quite small fragments. Using this evidence field survey work on South Uist in the 1990s identified 21 sites with Viking/Late Norse pottery from eroding surface deposits<sup>60</sup> where previously on that island up to 1981 I had only located four. Two sites were selected from these for further exploration which led to the large scale excavation of two new Viking/Late Norse settlement sites at Cille Pheadair<sup>61</sup> and Bornais<sup>62</sup>. However the excavation of these two settlements has raised questions about the date of the Viking ceramics and in particular of the platter discs. Both sites show continued use of 'Viking pottery' into the medieval period. Some doubt had already been cast on the date of the platters as the Norwegian steatite baking plates, which it was thought the platters might be copying, are not known prior to their appearance at Oslo about 1100<sup>63</sup>. So how secure is the Hebridean dating?

## Dating the Viking pottery

Crawford originally believed that the platters were confined to his secondary Viking level IXc, which he believed was 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century in date<sup>64</sup>. My analysis showed small quantities of platter sherds (less than 1%) in the primary Viking layer X at the Udal whereas there was c12% in the secondary Viking layer IXc<sup>65</sup>. The presence of platter in the primary layer may indicate disturbance or some stratigraphic confusion, an issue which will only be resolved when the site is published. The pottery from the Udal medieval layers has not been studied in detail but

---

54 Crawford & Switsur 1977:131.

55 Lane 1990:119.

56 Crawford nd:13-14.

57 Crawford & Switsur 1977:132; Crawford nd:14; Selkirk & Selkirk 1996:86-7.

58 Lane 1983:125

59 Lane 1983:246, 249-50; Lane 1990:123; Lane & Cowie 1997:496-502; Parker Pearson et al 2004a:160-1.

60 Sharples & Parker Pearson 1999: 46 & fig 3.

61 Parker Pearson et al 2004b; radiocarbon dates pers comm.

62 Sharples 2004.

63 Weber 1999:138; Ballin Smith 1999:127.

64 Crawford & Switsur 1977:131.

65 Lane 1983:182, 204.

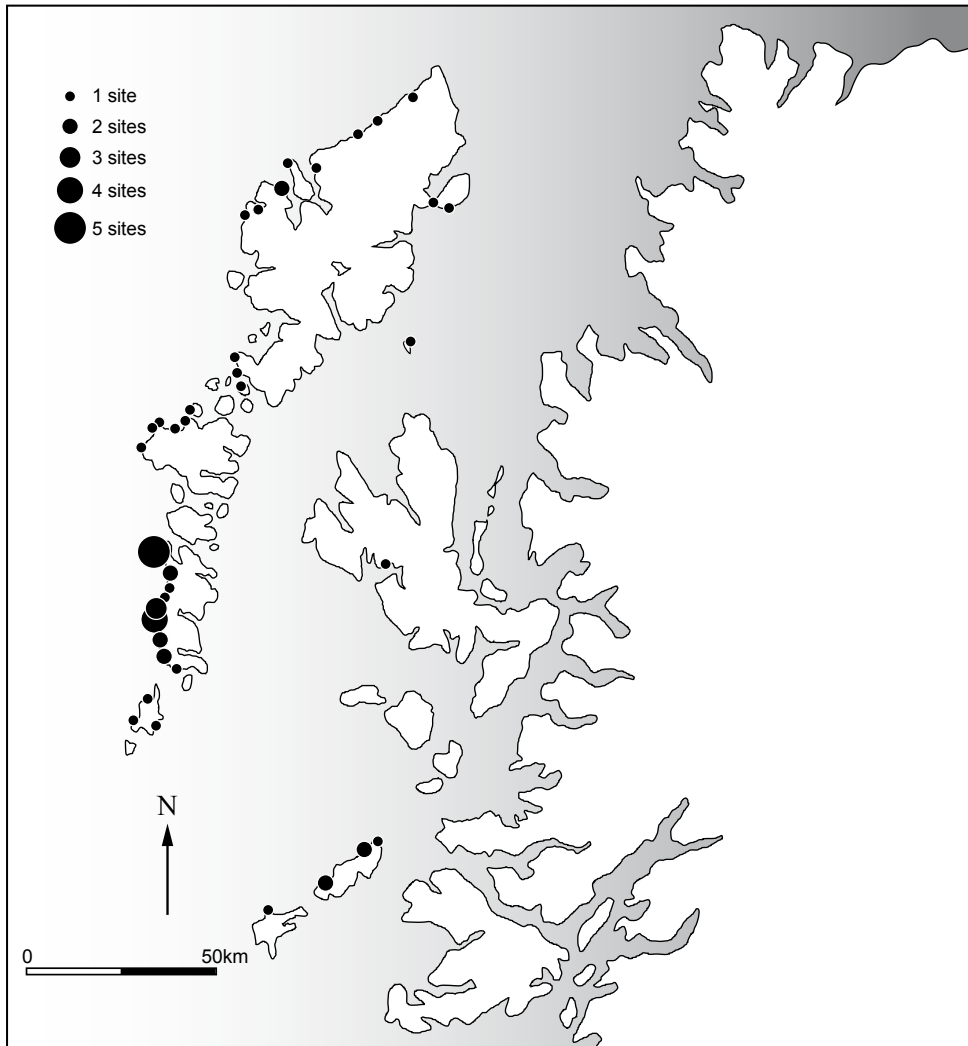


Figure 9: Distribution of Viking period pottery.

the view that platter did not continue in use after the later 12<sup>th</sup> century was restated by Graham-Campbell and Batey in 1998<sup>66</sup>. At Cille Pheadair the evidence apparently shows platters were used throughout the occupation which is radiocarbon dated c1020-1220. However at Bornais one part of the site which has been fully published seems to show that ceramic platters continued in use as late as the fourteenth century<sup>67</sup>. In addition they do not appear to be present in the earlier timber longhouse phase at Bornais which may be 10<sup>th</sup> century in date<sup>68</sup>, while another new site, Bostadh, Lewis apparently has early Viking pottery of possible ninth or tenth century date, again without platter<sup>69</sup>.

The date at which the ceramic platters emerged is consequently important. As I noted already possible affinities have been suggested for the Hebridean platters with the steatite bakestones known from sites in Orkney, Shetland and Norway. These were in use at the Biggings, Shetland, by 1100-1200 and continued in use as late as the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They are known from other Late Norse sites in Orkney and Shetland. At Oslo they first appear c1100 though associated baking implements are known earlier and certainly by the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>70</sup>. However Forster's study of steatite in the Norse North Atlantic settlements has suggested that crude locally-produced steatite baking plates may be an earlier feature in this zone than in Scandinavia<sup>71</sup>. They are present in the earliest Viking phases at Old Scatness, South Mainland Shetland, and in pre-1000 contexts at Norwick on Unst<sup>72</sup>. This means that the Oslo dates cannot be used to date the inception of the Hebridean baking plates.

Consequently the initial date for the use of platter in the Hebrides is currently uncertain. The suggested 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century dates at the Udal may be supported by Cille Pheadair (early 11<sup>th</sup>) and Bornais (perhaps later 10<sup>th</sup> and

66 Graham-Campbell & Batey 1988:202.

67 Lane 2005:194-5.

68 Sharples 2004:269.

69 M Johnson in litt; Neighbour & Burgess 1997; Ashmore2002:150-1.

70 Weber 1999:137-8.

71 Forster 2004: 182-98

72 Forster in litt.

fairly certainly 11<sup>th</sup>). Bornais and Bostadh suggest a pre-platter phase of Viking pottery use, as Crawford originally suggested at the Udal. However the evidence of continued platter use into the late Norse and Medieval periods, late 12<sup>th</sup>/early 13<sup>th</sup> century at Cille Pheadair and as late as the 14<sup>th</sup> century at Bornais, means that platter sherds cannot be used to identify specifically early Viking Age sites. They indicate the continuation of a Viking Age tradition of ceramic use over a longer period. As Sharples has demonstrated they may indicate sites which have early Viking occupation, and indeed significant native pre-Viking deposits, but that can only be demonstrated through excavation or the recovery of earlier distinctive material.

Cille Pheadair is not yet published but the excavator has given me access to the pottery report which demonstrates a classic Viking assemblage of sagging-based bowls, cups and platters. These seem to be in use throughout the occupation of the site, dated c1020-1220<sup>73</sup>. As we have seen already Bornais is a more complicated site with Late Iron Age and Viking/Late Norse deposits in occupation as late as the 14<sup>th</sup> or early 15<sup>th</sup> century. The published Bornais mound 3 has this late sequence which suggests some platter is as late as the 14<sup>th</sup> century and shows sagging based bowls continuing, but with the emergence of sharply everted rims in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. The absence of such rims from Cille Pheadair supports the view that this is a late feature<sup>74</sup>. Bornais mound 2 has not yet been studied in any detail. This site has the large stone longhouse of 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century date and an earlier as yet undated timber Viking phase<sup>75</sup>. The pottery associated with this early timber phase has not yet been studied in detail though it is thought that platter may be absent. Consequently there is still some uncertainty about the nature of early Viking ceramic use. Crawford may be correct that pottery is introduced in his first Viking phase and the platters only appear in the 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century. Publication of Bostadh and Bornais mound 2 may help to resolve this.

These Viking /Late Norse ceramic forms have now been found on some 50 sites varying from mere scatters of sherds to substantial eroding settlement and midden deposits. They are located throughout the Hebridean ceramic zone from Lewis to Tiree (Figure 9). Detailed fieldwork on the other islands in this zone, following the South Uist work initiated by Parker Pearson, would undoubtedly locate further sites. However uncertainty about dating means we cannot regard this as a Viking period distribution but rather a more loosely dated Viking to medieval indication of site occupation.

## **Discussion**

So we can now demonstrate the nature of the Hebridean ceramic sequence from c AD 500 to c1400 and use this to locate and date sites, but what do these changes and continuities mean? Are there significant parallels between the Hebridean finds and assemblages elsewhere which might help to give cultural and historical meaning to this long term development?

Young believed that her coarse final phase pottery (my Plain Style) might be attributable to ‘Scotic raiders’, ‘the intrusion of colonists pressed on by landhunger’, resulting from Irish contacts from AD 500 or a little earlier<sup>76</sup>. She pointed to parallels with coarse pottery from northern Ireland, a comparison which had been made from the Irish side earlier in the century<sup>77</sup>. This linkage was mentioned rather half heartedly by Ryan in his important summary of Souterrain Ware (as this pottery is now known) and perhaps more surprisingly by Gilmour writing in 2000<sup>78</sup>. In reality the Souterrain Ware vessel forms are very different in proportion, have pinched cordons, slashed and fingered rims and grassmarked bases. Though a general level of similarity can be found in all relatively coarse ceramics the apparent partial parallel with earlier Hebridean pottery such as Dun Cuier ware is not convincing and Plain Style bears no real similarity<sup>79</sup>.

I do not believe we can find any significant parallels between the Plain Style and ceramics outside of the Hebrides. It is clearly derived from Dun Cuier ware and is part of a continuous sequence of development of pottery from the Middle Iron Age. Nevertheless the contrast between the relatively fine decorated pottery found earlier and the later sparsely decorated, and then totally undecorated, wares is striking. The building sequence also shows significant change. The building of brochs and wheelhouses ceases and much smaller less monumental house structures dominate the settlement record. Crawford believed the Udal demonstrated this was a sudden and abrupt change

---

73 Parker Pearson et al 2004b:237-52, fig 7; radiocarbon dates pers comm.

74 Lane 2005:194-5

75 Sharples 2004.

76 Young 1966:54, 56.

77 Young 1956:301-3, 311-12.

78 Ryan 1973:629. Gilmour 2000:167, states that Souterrain Ware is ‘remarkably similar’ to Plain Style.

79 Lane 1990:fig 7.3, cf Ryan 1973:figs 1-3; Ryan 1973:629 note 78, reports that he examined the Dun Cuier pottery and could find no convincing diagnostic characteristics which could allow him to link it to the Irish tradition.

sometime AD 200-400<sup>80</sup>. However Bornais mound 1 apparently shows wheelhouse use as late as AD 500 and the pottery sequence does not support the idea of a sudden break at either time<sup>81</sup>. A number of researchers have suggested that the disappearance of the more monumental settlement structures from the West and North of Scotland should be associated in some way with the spread of Irish culture and people, as rather similar cellular/figure-of-eight buildings can be found in the Hebrides and Northern Isles<sup>82</sup>. These structural similarities are striking but the differences in the pottery assemblages between the different areas suggest local/regional continuities in material culture. The southern Hebrides and western mainland—the historic heartland of Scottish Dál Riata—do not have locally produced pottery on any scale but have access to the imported continental ceramics found elsewhere in the Irish Sea zone (E ware in particular)<sup>83</sup>. The northern Hebridean zone has the local ceramics of the Plain Style but also has other indicators of links to the mainland Pictish kingdom, in particular the presence of Pictish symbol stones. Orkney and Shetland have their own distinct pottery sequences and again the use of striking Pictish stone monument symbolism<sup>84</sup>. The buildings do not, on their own, allow us to demonstrate Irish migration and cultural dominance outside of the documented boundaries of Dál Riata.

The Viking arrival is more clearly marked though here there are major debates about the scale and nature of Scandinavian impact<sup>85</sup>. Some researchers see Viking arrival as abrupt, violent and overwhelming<sup>86</sup>. Others have seen it as gradual, peaceable and integrative<sup>87</sup>. However the idea, once advanced, that the Scottish islands had been virtually depopulated before the Viking Age is untenable. It was based on the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century observation that brochs and wheelhouses ceased and the failure to identify the succeeding structures. In both the Northern Isles and the Hebrides the recognition of continuous structural and artefact sequences make it quite clear that a vibrant local culture continued as indeed the historical evidence, sparse as it is, would suggest. Nevertheless, uncertainty about the relationship of Norse to native persists. Recent work in the Northern Isles has tended to emphasise continuity and potentially peaceful Scandinavian takeover<sup>88</sup>. This is of course part of a wider British archaeological phenomenon rejecting the invasion hypothesis and indeed giving every indication that peaceful settlement, elite replacement and language death could be expected as the default explanation of cultural change. Recent European experience of ethnic cleansing however does seem to have re-established violence as one of the acceptable potential explanations of change in the archaeological record, something some medieval historians had not entirely forgotten<sup>89</sup>.

How should the Hebridean settlement evidence be viewed? Crawford was of the view that the Udal evidence showed a sudden violent mid 9<sup>th</sup> century intrusion at the Udal<sup>90</sup>. O’Corrain has suggested that ‘the most plausible and economic interpretation of the historical record’ is that a substantial part of Scotland including the Western and Northern Isles and coastal mainland as far south as Argyll was conquered in the first quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and that some settlements may have been established pre-825<sup>91</sup>. As I have already said none of the published evidence for the Late Iron Age settlement or the primary Viking structures allows us to date them accurately so we cannot establish a date of Viking takeover. The building of rectangular structures directly on top of cellular buildings without any intervening blown sand implies direct chronological succession which may also be indicated by the successive enclosure lines Crawford reports<sup>92</sup>. The Udal apparently shows immediate changes in pins, combs, ironwork, moulds, and crucibles<sup>93</sup>. In 1975 Crawford acknowledged that the pottery evidence was different as his ‘tongue-and-grooved ware’ persisted into the primary Viking layer with very little change<sup>94</sup>. As we have seen above a significant percentage of the Udal level X material is in Late Iron Age Plain Style but the new Viking style also appears. How is this to be interpreted? It may indicate the survival of part of the native population continuing to build pots in their native style and manner. Alternatively this could be residual ceramics re-deposited in the Viking layer. It may be easier to agree on the importance of the new Viking style pottery. These small cups and open bowls mark a significant change and presumably indicate new eating and cooking habits. The new pottery construction technique could indicate new potters or perhaps an adaptation to the new forms which didn’t require the previous tongue and groove method. There

---

80 Crawford & Switsur 1977:129-30; Crawford nd:12;

81 Lane forthcoming; Sharples forthcoming.

82 Crawford 1975:9-11, 14; Crawford nd:12-13; Gilmour 2000:163-7.

83 Lane 1994; 1990:126-9.

84 Alcock 1984; E. Alcock 1989; J. Ritchie 2003; A. Ritchie 1985.

85 Barrett 2004.

86 Crawford 1981; Smith 2001; Smith 2003.

87 Ritchie 1975; Ritchie 1977; Morris 1991; Myhre 1993; Backlund . Sharples & Parker Pearson 1999:57.

88 Morris 1991.

89 Harke 1998; cf Dumville 1997.

90 Crawford & Switsur 1977:131.

91 O’Corrain 1998:1.

92 Crawford 1975:11; Crawford & Switsur 1977:131; Crawford 1981:266.

93 Crawford 1975:12; Crawford & Switsur 1977:131; Crawford 1981:267

94 Crawford 1975:11-12

are no obvious parallels for this new style on the Viking settlements of the Northern Isles or in the Scandinavian homelands. Steatite, iron cauldrons and wooden vessels appear to be the dominant domestic utensils there and indeed the simple pottery and cup forms in the Hebrides may be skeuomorphs of stone and wood originals. Steatite is common on the Viking settlements of the Northern Isles and pottery only reappears in this area in the Late Norse period. This grass tempered pottery is quite unlike the Hebridean forms<sup>95</sup>. It is striking that no steatite was recovered in the Udal excavations in contrast to its presence at Drimore, Bostadh, Cille Pheadair and Bornais, though Beveridge reported steatite finds from the site in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>96</sup>. It is difficult not to regard the continuing use of pottery in the Viking period Hebrides as a sign of continuity albeit heavily modified to make vessel forms which conform to new cultural norms. Crawford's view that the Viking impact was 'sudden and totally oblitative in terms of local material culture'<sup>97</sup> is not supported by the evidence of continuing pottery use but the new forms indicate something more complex than simple continuity.

The later Viking assemblage with platter appears to continue into the medieval period without significant change before the 13<sup>th</sup> century when everted rims appear. The date of other modifications of the style is uncertain as neither Bornais mound 3 nor Cille Pheadair has any decorated sherds. This is in contrast to the presence of some decorated rims and bodysherds in the Udal IXc contexts. This may indicate intrusive later medieval material<sup>98</sup>. Crawford has hinted that the end of Norse political control of the Hebrides may also have had archaeological manifestations - 'the Norse/Gaelic changeover was probably a process of wholesale takeover', 'artefactually there appears to be little, if anything, of persisting Norse influence'<sup>99</sup>. Graham-Campbell and Batey report Crawford's view that 'The late Norse phase at the Udal was terminated... "by clearance and redevelopment of the site on an unprecedented scale"... attributed to a takeover by the Gaelic lords' at a date around 1170<sup>100</sup>. However Sharples & Parker Pearson have argued for less abrupt change albeit with a recognisable reorientation in contacts towards the south<sup>101</sup>. Certainly where the ceramics have been studied in detail they do not show any significant change at this time.

Only two ceramic parallels have been traced for the Udal Viking style. Some of the Irish Souterrain ware assemblages have pottery closely similar to the Udal Viking style. Much of the pottery is grassmarked and forms include open bowls and cups with sagging bases. On the other hand there are no platters, and the flat bottomed cordoned pots are quite different in vessel proportions<sup>102</sup>. My review of Souterrain Ware museum collections in the late 1970s identified a substantial number of sites with material similar to Hebridean Viking pottery. Some 21 Irish sites, out of 91 listed by Ryan, have pottery comparable to the Hebridean material. A few sites have closely similar material<sup>103</sup>. Souterrain Ware is a common find on early medieval sites in north eastern Ireland principally occurring in Counties Antrim and Down, but with some finds in Armagh and Derry and occasionally elsewhere. It is normally said to date from perhaps as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately, though a development from plain Souterrain Ware to decorated forms has been posited, there is insufficient detailed published evidence to allow us to differentiate the date of different assemblages. Souterrain Ware may continue into the 13<sup>th</sup> century and evolve into everted rim ware, apparently visually very similar but influenced by Anglo-Norman cooking pot forms<sup>104</sup>. The sites with parallels to the Hebrides are overwhelmingly in Co Antrim – 18 out of 21, and the best parallels are from three sites Larrybane, Ballintoy and Murlough Bay on the north Antrim coast. Unfortunately none of these are closely dated<sup>105</sup>. The nature of the relationship if any between the Hebridean assemblages and Souterrain ware is currently unclear.

One other area has comparable pottery. Excavations in the Faeroe islands have recovered pottery from a number of sites though with some uncertainty about their dates. From Sandavagur comes a series of sagging based bowls which look very similar to the Hebridean finds<sup>106</sup>. I have not had an opportunity to study this material at first hand and at present it is difficult to establish how similar it is, however Arge has noted similarities between pottery from Leirvik, of 12-14th century date, and the bowls published by Parker Pearson from Cille Pheadair<sup>107</sup>.

---

95 Graham-Campbell & Batey 1998:223-5.

96 Forster 2004:285-92; Lane 1983:297; Beveridge 1911:238.

97 Crawford 1981:267

98 Lane 1983:246, 249-50; Lane 1990:123; Lane & Cowie 1997:496-502; Parker Pearson et al 2004a:160-1.

99 Selkirk & Selkirk 1996:87; Crawford 1975:13.

100 Graham-Campbell & Batey 1998:202.

101 Sharples & Parker Pearson 1999:58-9; Parker Pearson et al 2004:247, 253; Sharples et al 2004:42-3.

102 Lane 1983:352; Ryan 1973:especially fig 2; Mallory & McNeill 1991:fig 6.19.

103 Lane 1983:350-8.

104 Ryan 1973; Lane 1983:50-2; Mallory & McNeill 1991:201-2, 217-20; 233, 274, fig 6.19; Edwards 1990:73-5.

105 Lane 1983:357.

106 Lane 1983:348-9, fig 30.

107 Arge in litt; Arge 1997:32-4, fig 6; cf Parker Pearson et al 2004b: fig 7.

It seems likely that this material is closely related to the Hebridean sequence and it will be interesting to see how early it occurs.

## **Conclusion**

We have seen how it is possible to trace the development of pottery in the Hebrides from c AD 500 to 1300 or 1400. I have suggested that no significant break comes in the sequence between the Middle Iron Age and Late Iron Age forms and that attempts to claim Irish immigration from the ceramic evidence and the houses are mistaken. The arrival of the Vikings is however recognisable in the sequence and impacts upon the ceramic forms and technology. Whether pottery is in use in the earliest Hebridean Viking settlements and the speed with which the new Viking style emerges remains to be demonstrated. Likewise the relationship of the Viking style to Irish Souterrain ware and the Faroese finds has hardly been touched on yet. The Viking pottery allows us to identify settlements throughout the pottery zone from Lewis to Tiree. Clearly it would be important to establish if any other Viking artefact types or cultural features have similar restricted distributions. The initial work on this pottery sequence facilitated the recent breakthroughs in settlement identification but full publication of the relevant sites and the study of their ceramics, in conjunction with the other artefact types, has the potential to tell us a great deal more.

## Bibliography

- Alcock, E., 1989. Pictish Stones Class 1: where and how?, *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 15, 1-21.
- Alcock, L., 1984. A survey of Pictish settlement archaeology, in Friell, F.G.P. & Watson, W.G., (eds) *Pictish Studies*, 7-42, Oxford.
- Arge, S.V. 1997. Í Uppistovubeitinum. Site and settlement, *Fróðskaparrit* 45, 27-44.
- Armit, I., 1996. *The Archaeology of Skye and the Western Isles*, Edinburgh.
- Armit, I., (ed) 1990. *Beyond the brochs. Changing perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, Edinburgh.
- Ascough, P.L., Cook, G.T., Dugmore, A.J., Barber, J., Higney, E., & Marian Scott, E., 2004. Holocene variations in the Scottish Marine Radiocarbon Reservoir Effect, *Radiocarbon* 46, 611-20.
- Ashmore, P.J., 2002. A list of archaeological radiocarbon dates, *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 3 (new series), 142-53.
- Backlund, J., 2001. War or Peace? The relations between the Picts and the Norse in Orkney, *Northern Studies* 36, 33-48.
- Ballin Smith, B., 1999. Imported goods, in (eds) Crawford, B. E., & Ballin Smith, B., 127.
- Barrett, J.C. & Foster, S.M., 1991. Passing the time in Iron Age Scotland, in (eds)
- Hanson, W.S. & Slater, E.A., *Scottish Archaeology New Perceptions*, 44-56, Aberdeen.
- Barrett, J.H., 2000. Radiocarbon dating and marine reservoir correction of Viking Age burials from Orkney, *Antiquity* 74, 537-43.
2003. Culture contact in Viking Age Scotland, in (ed) Barrett, J.H., *Contact, continuity and collapse. The Norse Colonization of the North Atlantic*, 73-111, Turnhout.
2004. Beyond War or Peace: the study of culture contact in Viking-Age Scotland, in (eds) Hines et al, 207-18.
- Beveridge, E., 1911. *North Uist: its archaeology and topography, with notes upon the early history of the Outer Hebrides*, Edinburgh.
- Beveridge, E., & Callander, J.G., 1931. Excavation of an earth-house at Foshigarry and a fort, Dun Thomaidh, in North Uist, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* lxxv, 299-357.
- Callander, J.G., 1921. Report on the excavation of Dun Beag, a broch near Struan, Skye, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* lv, 110-31.
- Campbell, E., 2002. The Western Isles pottery sequence, in (eds) Smith, B.B. & Banks, I., *In the shadow of the brochs: the Iron Age in Scotland*, 139-44, Stroud.
- Campbell, E., Housley, R. A., & Taylor, M., 2004. Charred food residues from Hebridean Iron Age pottery: analysis and dating, in (eds) Housley, R. A. & Coles, G., 65-85.
- Cheape, H., 1993. Crogans and Barvas Ware: Handmade Pottery in the Hebrides, *Scottish Studies* 31, 109-28.
- Crawford, B. E., & Ballin Smith, B., 1999. *The Biggings, Papa Stour, Shetland. The history and excavation of a royal Norwegian farm*, Edinburgh.
- Crawford, I., 1975. Scot (?), Norseman and Gael, *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 6, 1-16.
1981. War or peace –Viking colonisation in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland reviewed, in (eds) Bekker-Nielsen, H., Foote, P., & Olsen, O., *Proceedings of the eighth Viking Congress*, 259-70, Odense.
- n.d. *The West Highlands & Islands. A view of 50 centuries*, Cambridge.
2002. The wheelhouse, in (eds) Smith, B.B. & Banks, I., *In the shadow of the brochs: the Iron Age in Scotland*, 111-28, Stroud.
- Crawford, I., & Switsur, R., 1977. Sandscaping and C14: the Udal, N. Uist, *Antiquity* li, 124-36.
- Curwen, E.C., 1938. The Hebrides: a cultural backwater, *Antiquity* xii, 261-89.
- Downes, J. & Ritchie, A., (eds) 2003. *Sea Change: Orkney and Northern Europe in the later Iron Age AD 300-800*, Balgavies.
- Dumville, D.N., 1997. *The Churches of North Britain in the First Viking-Age, Fifth Whithorn Lecture 14<sup>th</sup> September 1996*, Whithorn.
- Edwards, N., 1990. *The archaeology of early medieval Ireland*, London.
- Forster, A. K., 2004. *Shetland and the trade of steatite goods in the North Atlantic region during the Viking and early medieval period*, unpublished PhD, Bradford.
- Foster, S., 1990. Pins, Combs and the Chronology of Settlement, in (ed) Armit, I., 143-74.
- Graham-Campbell, J., 1975. A preliminary note on certain small-finds of Viking-Age date from the Udal excavations, North Uist, *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 6, 17-22.
- Graham-Campbell, J., 1980. *Viking Artefacts A select catalogue*, London.
- Graham-Campbell, J. & Batey, C. E., 1998. *Vikings in Scotland. An archaeological survey*, Edinburgh.
- Graham Ritchie, J.N., 2003. Pictish art in Orkney, in (ed) Downes, J. & Ritchie, A., *Sea Change: Orkney and Northern Europe in the later Iron Age AD 300-800*, 117-26, Balgavies.
- Harding, D. W., 2004. *The Iron Age in Northern Scotland*, London.
- Harding, D.W. & Gilmour, S.M.D., 2000 *The Iron Age settlement at Beirgh, Riof, Isle of Lewis. Excavations, 1985-95. Volume 1. The structures and stratigraphy*, Calanais Research Series 1, Edinburgh.

- Harke, H., 1998. Archaeologists and Migrations: a problem of attitude?, *Current Anthropology* 39, 19-45.
- Hines, J., Lane, A. & Redknap, M., (eds), 2004. *Land, Sea and Home, Proceedings of a Conference on Viking-period Settlement, at Cardiff, July 2001*, Leeds.
- Housley, R. A., & Coles, G., (eds), 2004. *Atlantic connections and Adaptations. Economies, environments and subsistence in lands bordering the North Atlantic*, Oxford,
- Johnson, M., 2005. The pottery from Bostadh Beach, Isle of Lewis, draft report.
- Lane, A., 1983. *Dark-age and Viking-age pottery in the Hebrides, with special reference to the Udal*. University College, London: Unpublished PhD thesis.
1990. Hebridean pottery; problems of definition, chronology, presence and absence, in (ed) Armit, I., 108-130.
1994. Trade, gifts, and Cultural Exchange in Dark-Age Western Scotland, in (ed) Crawford, B., *Scotland in Dark Age Europe*, 103-15, St Andrews.
2005. The pottery, in (ed) Sharples, N., passim.
- forthcoming. The pottery from Mound 1 at Bornais, South Uist.
- Lane, A. & Cowie, T., 1997. The pottery collections, 496-502 in Crawford, J. Archaeological collections from sandhill sites in the Isle of Coll, Argyll & Bute, *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 127, 467-511.
- Lethbridge, T.C., 1950. *Herdsman and hermits. Celtic seafarers in the northern seas*. Cambridge.
1954. *The Painted Men*. London.
- MacKie, E.W., 1966. Iron Age pottery from Gress Lodge Earth-house, Stornoway, Lewis, *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 98, 199-203.
- MacLaren, A., 1974. A Norse house on Drimore Machair, South Uist, *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 3, 9-18.
- Mallory, J.P., & McNeill, T.E., 1991. *The Archaeology of Ulster from Colonisation to Plantation*, Belfast.
- Mitchell, A., 1880. *The Past in the Present*, Edinburgh.
- Morris, C.D., 1991. Native and Norse in Orkney and Shetland, in (eds) Karkov, C., & Farrell, R., *Studies in Insular Art and Archaeology*, 61-80, .
- Myhre, B., 1993. The beginning of the Viking Age – some current archaeological problems, in Faulkes, A., & Perkins, R., (eds), *Viking Revaluations*, 182-204, London.
- Neighbour, T. & Burgess, C., 1997. Traigh Bostadh, (Uig Parish), *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland 1996*, 113-14.
- Ó Corrain, D., 1998. The Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in the Ninth Century, *Peritia* 12, 296-339.
- Parker Pearson, M., Sharples, N. & Symonds, J., 2004a. *South Uist. Archaeology and History of a Hebridean Island*, Stroud.
- Parker Pearson, M., Smith, H., Mulville, J. & Brennand, M., 2004b. Cille Pheadair: the life and times of a Norse-period farmstead c1000-1300 in (eds) Hines et al, 235-54.
- Parker-Pearson, M., forthcoming. *Cille Pheadair: a Norse period farmstead on South Uist*.
- Ritchie, A., 1977. Excavation of Pictish and Viking-age farmsteads at Buckquoy, Orkney, *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 108, 174-227.
1985. Orkney in the Pictish Kingdom, in (ed) Renfrew, A.C., (ed), *The prehistory of Orkney*, 183-204, Edinburgh.
- Rivet, A.L.F., (ed) 1966. *The Iron Age in Northern Britain*, Edinburgh.
- Ryan, M., 1973. Native pottery in Early Historic Ulster, *Proceedings Royal Irish Academy* 73, 619-45.
- Selkirk, A., & Selkirk, W., (eds), 1996. The Udal, *Current Archaeology* 13 (no 147), 84-94.
- Sharples, N., 2004. A find of Ringerike art from Bornais in the Outer Hebrides, in (eds) Hines et al, 255-72.
- (ed) 2005. *A Norse farmstead in the Outer Hebrides. Excavations at Mound 3, Bornais, South Uist*, Oxford.
2005. Life histories and the buildings of the Atlantic Iron Age, in (eds) Turner, V, Nicholson, R A, Dockrill, S J, Bond, J M, 106-19.
- forthcoming. *Mound 1 at Bornais, South Uist*.
- Sharples, N. & Parker Pearson, M., 1999. Norse Settlement in the Outer Hebrides, *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 32, 41-62.
- Sharples, N., Parker Pearson, M., & Symonds, J., 2004. The archaeological landscape of South Uist, in (eds) Housley, R. A., & Coles, G., 28-47.
- Smith, B., 2001. The Picts and the Martyrs or Did Vikings kill the native population of Orkney and Shetland?, *Northern Studies* 36, 7-32.
2003. Not welcome at all: Vikings and the native population in Orkney and Shetland, in (ed) Downes, J. & Ritchie, A., 145-50.
- Smith, B.B. & Banks, I., (eds) 2002. *In the shadow of the brochs: the Iron Age in Scotland*, Stroud.
- Stenberger, M., 1955. *Vallhagar: a Migration period settlement on Gotland, Sweden*. Copenhagen.
- Thomas, A.C., 1971. *Britain and Ireland in early Christian Times AD 400-80*, London.
- Weber, B., 1999. Bakestones, in (eds) Crawford, B E, & Ballin Smith, B, 134-9.
- Young, A., 1956. Excavations at Dun Cuier, Isle of Barra, Outer Hebrides, *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 89, 290-327.
1966. The sequence of Hebridean pottery in (ed) Rivet, A.L.F., 45-58.





