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ALBA

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Designations: Scheduled Monument (SM1971)

Taken into State care: 1969 (Ownership)

Last reviewed: 2018

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

DOONHILL



We continually revise our Statements of Significance, so they may vary in length, format and level of detail. While every effort is made to keep them up to date, they should not be considered a definitive or final assessment of our properties.



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DOONHILL

BRIEF DESCRIPTION¹

Excavation of the ploughed-down foundations of timber structures and associated features in the 1960s revealed the former presence of two successive timber halls (the larger 23m long) set within a wooden palisaded enclosure. A number of cremation burials, and an adjacent smaller almost-square timber structure were also identified within the enclosure and, just outside it and in the vicinity of the principal entrance, a tightly-grouped cemetery of long graves. The site was considered to date to the centuries just after 500 AD, and to represent key evidence for the Anglian (Anglo-Saxon) take-over of this previously British elite site, placed at a strategic location just south of the Lothian plain near Dunbar. The cremation burials may have started slightly earlier; activity at Doon Hill was considered to have ceased by c.700 AD.

As currently presented, key structural elements of the site are marked out on the ground in coloured concrete (grey for elements considered British or at least initially British; and pink for Anglian) and the solid concrete remains in good condition. The halls are marked out comprehensibly if a little schematically: for such minimal marking a good idea of their overall scale can nonetheless be obtained. The pink concrete of the Anglian hall (Hall B) includes the western annexe of the building, now considered to be debatable. The colours of the concrete reflect the 1960s understanding of the chronology of the site and do not fit with the emerging interpretation as illustrated below.

The remainder of the area within the stockaded enclosure is maintained in short grass, but the flatness of the site means that the elements that are displayed are rather visible piece-by-piece than readily appreciable as an entity. The small, square enclosure is meantime labelled as a 'burial enclosure' (although burials are not known to have been recovered within it). Neither the cremation burials within the stockaded enclosure nor the postulated inhumation cemetery immediately east of it are marked on the ground.

Reconsideration of the excavation archive and associated analytical work, including the obtaining of radiocarbon determinations, intimates a distinctly different pattern of occupation of this key site. This work is currently in progress, hence the following statements are necessarily provisional.

It now appears that the two major timber buildings and the enveloping palisade are to be attributed to the early Neolithic (c. 3800 BC), based on isotopic dates and study of the small finds. The first on-site activity may have been the digging of two pits, in the

¹ Historic Environment Scotland gratefully acknowledges the work of Ian Ralston, Abercomby Professor of Archaeology, University of Edinburgh in revising this Statement of Significance. A full publication will be forthcoming following the completion of his ongoing research.

area subsequently occupied by the halls. The initial building is considered on the basis of the original excavator's view to have been repaired more than once, and was perhaps a hundred years old when it burnt down. The second, stratigraphically overlying, structure is likely to have been architecturally less elaborate than formerly believed, in particular lacking a narrower projecting chamber at one gable-end (this annexe feature made the structure seem distinctively Anglian). Many of the lengths of its foundation trenches are however cut into the tops of post-hole features of the preceding building. The palisaded enclosure is considered probably to be broadly contemporary with the halls. Reassessment of the proposed external long graves suggests they are too irregular in form to have held inhumations; the hollows and depressions noted at that position are considered more likely to have been further, more informal, evidence for early settlement.

The set of unaccompanied token cremation deposits in the northern part of the enclosure can be attributed to the Middle Bronze Age. These cremations are broadly contemporary with a nearby short row of three posts. The latter were in turn overlain by the smaller square structure mentioned above, which remains formally undated.

There is now no significant evidence that there was recourse to the hall site after 1000 BC. In this model, if it is subsequently confirmed by further research, the key significance of Doon Hill lies in its presentation of important timber Neolithic buildings. Still rare, these are components of a burgeoning range of remarkable wooden architecture now known for the Neolithic period in eastern Scotland and which are of wider archaeological significance. The bulk of this architecture lies under the arable lands of lowland Scotland and is invisible in normal ground-perspective view and is not accessible to the public. Locationally unusual for significant Neolithic timber domestic architecture, most of which sits at lower altitude relatively near to a water-course, Doon Hill is unique in the repertory of HES sites in making this kind of major timber architecture publicly accessible through the on-site presentation of the ground-plans of the key structures.

CHARACTER OF THE MONUMENT

The following statements place these remains in the contexts and sequence to which they now appear to belong according to ongoing new research. They must be regarded meantime as provisional, and this statement will be fully updated in due course.

Historical overview

In the early fourth millennium BC, a Neolithic community established itself on Doon Hill and, probably having first dug at least two shallow pits, constructed the first timber hall, its wooden uprights set in post-holes and lengths of trench which defined its plan. Its

maximum length is c.23m, by c.11m in breadth – a very substantial structure, with the plan of its gable-ends forming a distinctive ‘open-book’ arrangement. It was most likely surrounded by the palisaded stockade, again with its upright posts chocked in place within a substantial trench enclosing an area of c. 60m by c. 40m.

Judging by the archaeological evidence which suggests that this hall was much-repaired before it burned down, it may have stood for a hundred years. After the conflagration it was replaced at the same position by a distinctly-slighter, but also early Neolithic, domestic structure, the remains of which the original excavator represented as a single-phase building. This may thus represent only a few decades of use.

Pottery and lithic material associable with the halls, the palisade and the site more generally belongs typologically for the most part in the Early Neolithic.

The irregular hollows immediately outwith the palisade line on the east of the site bear similarities to other, less formal, remains of Neolithic settlement in the lowlands of Scotland. Their use may have been contemporary with that of the structures just discussed, but need not have been. There is no evidence presently known which enables them to be dated directly. It is possible that, on abandonment, these pits and hollows were covered over with a carapace of cobble- and similar-sized stones.

For approximately two thousand years thereafter, there is no evidence of recourse to this location. After the passage of that time, it is unlikely there would have been any surviving trace of the former timber buildings in the local topography, but other more ephemeral e.g. vegetational differences (and the possible low stone cairn just mentioned) may still have marked it out as in some way ‘special’.

A set of three posts was set up, and cremated human remains of a small number of individuals were placed in some six small pits nearby. This activity occurred within the Middle Bronze Age: it is likely, but not formally demonstrable, that also during this phase a small square timber structure replaced the set of posts. The posts certainly preceded the wall-slot of the timber structure stratigraphically, but there is no dating evidence for the latter construction.

The site was then abandoned. One piece of iron slag recovered in fieldwork may be related to the use of the two later prehistoric forts, also known now primarily as cropmarks, which occupy the summit ridge of Doon Hill.

The major activity recognizable archaeologically after this period is the generally slow, if punctuated, degradation of the surviving remains by agricultural activities, notably ploughing.

1959: The site of the more substantial hall and of the palisade line was identified and photographed from the air by Dr JKS St Joseph (University of Cambridge).

1964-66: Dr Brian Hope-Taylor (University of Cambridge) directed research excavations on the site, with funding support from various bodies including his home university, Newcastle University, the Society of Antiquaries of London and the British Academy. The surviving remains were believed to demonstrate the presence of successive first millennium AD elite groups – British and then Anglian. The fieldwork received substantial logistical support from the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works.

1967-73: Before the end of the excavation, the decision was reached within MPBW to try to take the site into guardianship for public display. By 1969, the site had been purchased and taken into state care. Work started on laying out the site for display, using the Danish model established at, for example, Trelleborg, with different-coloured concretes set in the archaeological features and thus used to distinguish remains believed to represent different phases. This approach necessitated further small-scale excavations e.g. of sections of the palisade trench which were undertaken in 1972 by C. J. Tabraham of SDD (AM) immediately in advance of the concreting squad. In the absence of an archaeological report, advice on aspects of the laying out of the structures was obtained from Dr Hope-Taylor by letter.

By the late 1970s, public access to Doon Hill had been achieved; and signage from the A1 was in place to direct visitors to this site.

2001: death of Dr Hope-Taylor in Cambridge. His archive, including Doon Hill drawings, photographs, notes and artefacts, was recovered from his flat and outhouse by RCAHMS staff in agreement with his lawyers and brought to Edinburgh. Over subsequent years, as funding was made available, this material was conserved, catalogued and assessed.

2011: As part of this preliminary re-assessment, new signage was prepared for the site, indicating that the earlier Hall may be Neolithic in date.

2017: The current project was begun to study the surviving elements of the Doon Hill archive in order to publish a report on the archaeological fieldwork undertaken in the 1960s.

Archaeological overview

HES's only PIC site initially to have been first discovered through aerial survey (by Dr JKS St Joseph in the summer of 1959), the ploughed-down foundations of the palisaded enclosure and its contained structures, preserved in the subsoil, were excavated in

1964-66 by Dr Brian Hope-Taylor, then of the Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge. The site was thereafter purchased and taken into guardianship by 1970 and during the early 1970s it was made ready for public presentation.

Hope-Taylor died in 2011, having not produced a report on his excavations, despite repeated efforts to support this work by colleagues in the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments. Assessment of the archaeological content and significance of Doon Hill thus has to be based on brief published statements produced by Hope-Taylor (in 1966 and 1980), by an overview produced by one of his former students, subsequently an Inspector of Ancient Monuments (Nicholas Reynolds 1980), and by a consideration (still in course) of the surviving material culture and written and graphic records. **(This latter work is still underway, so that the following account must be considered as provisional.)**

Doon Hill's significance was originally based on the belief that it contained the foundations, within its polygonal stockaded enclosure, of two substantial timber halls (Hope-Taylor 1966a, b), successively built at exactly the same location and representative of the presence of elites respectively of the post-Roman British, and then Anglian (Anglo-Saxon), communities established in south-eastern Scotland in the third quarter of the first millennium AD. The below-ground traces of a further small square timber structure within the enclosure have been tentatively interpreted as a 'temple' or 'burial enclosure'; nearby to the east was a scatter of unaccompanied human cremations in pits. As they survive, these deposits are so fractional as to suggest they may originally only have been 'token' deposits. A small cemetery of long graves of a type widely found in south-east Scotland and attributed to the first millennium AD (Maldonado 2013) was also claimed; it lay just outside the palisade line on the east, to the north of a projecting wooden gateway which was proposed to have had a raised fighting-platform and to have been the Anglian-period entrance to the site.

The Anglian architectural style of the second hall (B), as recovered by excavation, indicated that its construction belonged in the second quarter of the seventh century AD on analogy with *comparanda* amongst the sequence of timber buildings at the Anglian palace site of Yeavinger, Northumberland, which Hope-Taylor (1977) had previously excavated and which was definitively published (as a *Department of the Environment Archaeological Report*) in the late 1970s. The earlier timber hall (A) at Doon Hill, which was considered to show much evidence for significant structural repairs, eventually burnt down when it was perhaps a hundred years old. This chronology would place its construction at a time well before historical testimony of the expansion of the Northumbrian kingdom of *Bernicia* into southern Scotland. It would thus have been erected for an elite British family. The architecture of Hall A and the palisade was significant to Hope-Taylor's hypothesis of a British component in the timber building styles evidenced by Anglian Yeavinger.

None of the 'temple', the nearby cremation burials, nor the supposed long graves at Doon Hill are known to have produced any material culture; their dating was assumed to be broadly contemporary with the existence of the halls, with the cremation deposits perhaps having begun to be made a little earlier. The site was considered likely to have gone out of use within the eighth century AD. Neither at the time of the excavation in the mid-1960s nor thereafter were radiocarbon dates sought; none could be obtained during Hope-Taylor's lifetime, although he retained charcoal suitable to achieve this. The dating of Doon Hill relied essentially on the architectural style for the successive halls and on hypotheses about the dates of some of the material culture recovered on site.

Doon Hill's prime importance thus was as a rare, visitable location with physical evidence for the former presence of major timber halls of the kind described in Anglo-Saxon poetry such as *Beowulf*, and which further provided evidence for one of the important cultural changes (British to Anglian) which are a key feature of the early history of Scotland.

If the decades since Doon Hill was excavated have further elucidated the story of Britons and Angles in the eastern part of the East Lothian plain, notably through rescue excavation projects within the modern town of Dunbar (especially Perry, 2000) the evidence for the date and cultural attribution of Doon Hill itself has not gone unchallenged. A first problem was raised when the remains of a further substantial timber hall, discovered from the air on Deeside, Aberdeenshire, and akin to, but not identical architecturally with, Doon Hill A, were examined. This structure, at Balbridie near Banchory, was excavated and demonstrated by radiocarbon dating, environmental evidence and the material culture it contained to have been constructed over four thousand years earlier than the date of Doon Hill Hall A, thus belonging within the early Neolithic period. It too had been destroyed by fire.

Over recent years, increasing numbers of archaeologists (e.g. Sheridan 2013; Millican 2016; Cummings 2017) have claimed that Doon Hill A is likely also to be Neolithic in date, primarily on the basis of the architectural similarity of its scale and of elements of its ground-plan to those of Balbridie, but also taking into account the artefacts recovered from Hope-Taylor's home in 2001; others however have continued to follow Hope-Taylor by maintaining its first millennium AD credentials (e.g. Harding 2017). The most recent generation of HES signage (2011) endorses the view that Hall A is Neolithic, while however leaving the distinctive Anglian architecture of Hall B as a feature of the first millennium AD. Ingenious, but not unproblematic, proposals have been advanced over the years (notably Smith 1991) to account for the fact that the co-location of these two buildings (A and B) is so precise that the English builders must have known exactly where the foundations of the earlier and long-decayed structure lay.

Dr Hope-Taylor died in 2001, having never drafted an extended report on the site; since that time, the graphic, photographic and documentary archive - and the small finds - recovered from his home in Cambridge and transferred to Edinburgh have been conserved and organized and are now being studied and analysed; and a very different, but equally important, perspective on the importance of Doon Hill is emerging. Research is ongoing, and the archive is incomplete, so that further evidence may well come to light which disrupts the provisional new view of the site offered here.

It now appears that the two major timber buildings and the enveloping palisade are to be attributed to the early Neolithic (c. 3800 BC), based on isotopic dates and study of the small finds. It seems likely that the second building was less elaborate than Hope-Taylor thought, but the earlier large Hall A, 23m long, may have had more internal features than Hope-Taylor initially attributed to this massive building. There is meantime no secure basis to challenge Hope-Taylor's view that the initial building was repaired more than once; and that this structure was perhaps a hundred years old when it burnt down. The second, stratigraphically overlying, structure is likely to have been architecturally less elaborate than formerly believed, in particular lacking a narrower projecting chamber at one gable-end (a feature which made the structure seem distinctively Anglian). The palisaded enclosure is likely to have been broadly contemporary with the halls. Hope-Taylor envisaged it as having been constructed of horizontal planking, held in position by offset D-shaped vertical posts, so that he reconstructed it as having a distinctly polygonal plan; this arrangement is not altogether borne out by the course of the trench into which the vertical posts and horizontal planking was set. The general form of the stockade is, however, still being re-assessed; a definitive view of the exact character of its timberwork may not be possible.

Reassessment of the proposed external long graves indicates they are too irregular in form to have held inhumations; the hollows and depressions noted are considered more likely to have been further, more informal, evidence for early settlement within the Neolithic period. Although set just outside the palisade line, the chronological relationship of these remains to the palisade itself and to the internal halls cannot meantime be fixed. There seems to be no surviving material culture definitely recovered from these features. It seems possible that after these latter features fell out of use, this area was locally covered with a carapace of stone cobbles. This stone-filled layer is also undated.

Although there are slight indications in both the ceramic and lithic material, itself dominantly of the early Neolithic, that there was some activity on site later in the Neolithic, this latter cannot meantime be linked categorically to any structural evidence. It is perhaps reasonable to argue that for approximately two millennia thereafter, there was no substantial recourse to the site.

The set of unaccompanied token cremation deposits in the northern part of the palisaded enclosure can be attributed to the Middle Bronze Age and are contemporary with a nearby short row of three posts. The latter were in turn overlain by the eastern construction trench of the smaller square structure mentioned above; there is no independent dating for this structure, nor directly-associated material culture accompanying it, but it seems reasonable to hypothesise that it also formed a, necessarily later, part of the Middle Bronze Age activity on site. Elsewhere in East Lothian, later use of important early sites for second and indeed first millennium BC burial is known (Lelong & MacGregor 2008), so that Doon Hill is not unique in this regard.

There is now no significant evidence that there was any recourse to the site after 1000 BC. There are several other enclosed sites, known primarily from aerial survey, in the vicinity, including two forts occupying parts of the ridge of Doon Hill itself. These, and other sites known on the skirts of Doon Hill, could have been in use during the first millennia BC and AD.

In this model, if it is subsequently confirmed by further research, the key significance of the Doon Hill PIC lies in its presentation of important timber Neolithic buildings. Still rare nationally, these are components of a burgeoning range of remarkable wooden architecture (e.g. Millican 2016) now known for the Neolithic period in eastern Scotland and which is of wider archaeological significance. The bulk of this structural record lies under the arable lands of lowland Scotland and is invisible in normal ground-perspective view; it is thus not at all accessible to the public. Locationally unusual for this period, Doon Hill is unique in the repertory of HES sites in making this kind of major timber architecture publicly accessible through the on-site presentation of the ground-plans.

Artistic / Architectural Overview

The site has no upstanding architectural element. The irregular mound in the field to the north of the hall site, normally considered as of natural origin, may merit reconsideration as of possible archaeological significance if the earlier prehistoric date for the main structural elements at Doon Hill is upheld in further research.

Social Overview

Not assessed

Spiritual overview

The Middle Bronze Age re-use of the site, including pits with token cremation deposits, and at least one minor timber structure (with accompanying deposit of contemporary

pottery), intimates that at that period the site had a spiritual significance. This is not directly demonstrable for the Neolithic remains as they are currently understood.

Aesthetic overview

The vicinity of the PIC is fenced and access is through a kissing gate; a small car park is provided just off-site to the north. The PIC itself is more lightly fenced.

The current site is laid out to a pattern that reflects earlier understandings. Site interpretation is proposed for review in light of the forthcoming research findings.

In terms of wider views, that broadly to the north-west, including to Dunbar, is blocked by the summit ridge of Doon Hill itself. This seems significant in that the lack of intervisibility with the important British / Anglian settlement landward of the Castle within Dunbar itself (Perry 2000) can be appreciated (thus perhaps making the hall site topographically less suitable for an important Early Historic settlement). For much of the remainder of the circuit there are distant views, generally over farmland, whether over the easternmost segment of the Lothian plain, the coast and to the North Sea, or over the mildly undulating eastward extension of the Lammermuirs – Pinkerton Hill, Blackcastle Hill, Spott Common etc. It is also apparent that Traprain Law, that iconic volcanic plug within East Lothian, was not a prominent feature of the ground-level perspective in its general direction.

What are the major gaps in understanding of the property?

These are currently being addressed by a programme of further research on the surviving archive, and potentially by on-site geophysics and possibly too by small-scale ground-breaking interventions. The latter would be designed to check whether there is any surviving field evidence which can independently corroborate or challenge the emerging hypotheses on this important site.

ASSESSMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Key points

Fragmentary though the evidence is, Doon Hill is undoubtedly of great archaeological importance. Its contemporary significance lies in the fact that it is the sole location at which elements of the complex early Neolithic timber architecture of Scotland, which has become known essentially since the more routine application of archaeological aerial survey began in 1976, is presented to the public.

The discovery and examination of elements of this architecture – often but not exclusively in rescue fieldwork projects in advance of development – is in itself also a feature of recent decades, as is the research that has burgeoned from this. Such

evidence, very different from the broadly-contemporary stone architecture of the megalithic chamber tombs of western and northern Scotland or of house sites of which the later Skara Brae remains the most widely known example, is key to understanding the scale and nature of the establishment of early farming communities in lowland Scotland. The range and scale of this Neolithic architectural evidence is important at the temperate European level, with regard to wider understanding of the establishment and relationships of the first farming communities.

As an aside, the fact that very little indeed of this Neolithic evidence was apparent to archaeologists in Britain in the mid-1960s, explains why the premise from which the Doon Hill investigation then started – that such architecture was uniquely a feature of the ‘Dark Ages’ – wholly dominated archaeological views of the time.

Keywords: timber hall, palisade, cremation burial, pits, Neolithic

FURTHER READING

This very selective list attempts to provide a framework for understanding the radically different perspectives on the Doon Hill evidence that have found favour over the years.

Alcock, L. 2003 *Kings and warriors, craftsmen and priests in northern Britain AD 550-850*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. ‘Dark Age’ Doon Hill intergrated into the main archaeological overview of the period.

Blackwell, A. 2010 ‘Anglo-Saxon Dunbar, East Lothian: a brief re-assessment of the archaeological evidence and some chronological implications’, *Medieval Archaeology* 54, 361-71. Reconsideration of the Anglo-Saxon evidence from Dunbar esp. Perry 2000; but no mention of Doon Hill. Metalwork provides the framework for the consideration of the wider context.

Crone, A, Hindmarch, E & Woolf, A. 2016 *Living and dying at Auldhame, East Lothian*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Anglian cemetery most recently excavated; and an overview of Anglian East Lothian, including Doon Hill.

Cummings, V. 2017 *The Neolithic of Britain and Ireland*. Abingdon: Routledge. Doon Hill integrated in ‘mainstream’ Neolithic settlement record evidence in a textbook.

Fairweather, A. & Ralston, I. 1993 ‘The Neolithic timber hall at Balbridie, Grampian Region, Scotland: the building, the date, the plant macrofossils’, *Antiquity* 67, 313-323. Radiocarbon-dating of site including short-lived samples in part to address Hope-Taylor’s (1980) concerns.

Frodsham, P. & O'Brien, C. eds 2005 *Yeavinger: people, power & place*. Stroud: Tempus. Collection of papers sanguinely reviewing the Yeavinger evidence.

Harding, D. W. 2017 *The Iron Age in northern Britain. Britons and Romans, natives and settlers*. Abingdon: Routledge. 2 edn. A textbook which continues to advocate the British-to-Anglian hypothesis for the site.

Hope-Taylor, B. K. 1966a 'Doon Hill', in Wilson, D. M & Hurst, D. G. 1966 'Medieval Britain in 1965', *Medieval Archaeology* 10, 175-6. The only published statement from the excavator contemporary with the excavation itself (written after the second field season).

Hope-Taylor, B. K. 1966b *The Investigators*. Norwich: Anglia Television. Programme 2 of *Who were the British?* (directed by Forbes Taylor, script and presentation by Hope-Taylor; elements recorded at Doon Hill 1965; broadcast June 1966). For the context of this project, see Taylor 2005, 203-4. Hope-Taylor presented aspects of the site to camera in the field.

Hope-Taylor, B. K. 1977 *Yeavinger. An Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria*. London: Dept Environment Archaeological Reports 7. Hope-Taylor's magisterial foray into the archaeology of a Bernician palace complex (and much else). A key site dug before his intervention at Doon Hill. Hall C4a is the favoured comparator for Doon Hill Hall B. See also papers in Frodsham & O'Brien, 2005 for re-assessment.

Hope-Taylor, B. K. 1980 'Balbridie ... and Doon Hill', *Current Archaeology* 72, 18-19. Hope-Taylor's response to the challenge provided by the dating of the substantial building similar to Hall A, discovered at Balbridie, Aberdeenshire, to the Neolithic as propounded by Selkirk in the same journal. Hope-Taylor's second and last published statement on Doon Hill.

Lelong, O. & MacGregor, G. 2008 *The lands of ancient Lothian. Interpreting the archaeology of the A1*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Rescue project preceding the upgrading of the main trunk road through East Lothian provided a long transect which furnished insights into major Neolithic timber post-hole and pit-based architecture, as well as of later recourse to some of these sites for funerary purposes. Doon Hill – seen as Neolithic and Anglo-Saxon - summarily integrated.

Lowe, C. 1999 *Angels, fools and tyrants. Britons and Anglo-Saxons in southern Scotland*. Edinburgh: Canongate Books (= The making of Scotland). A good introduction to the period and area in the first millennium AD, slightly overtaken by subsequent discoveries.

Maldonado, A. 2013 'Burial in early medieval Scotland: new questions', *Medieval Archaeology* 57, 1-34. Widescale modern overview on e.g. long-cist cemeteries (including Doon Hill); in which it was also speculated that the Doon Hill cremations might be Anglian.

Millican, K. 2016 *The timber monuments of Neolithic Scotland*. Oxford: Brit Archaeol Rep Brit Ser 623. Overview of the range of sites now apparent.

Perry, D.R. 2000 *Castle Park, Dunbar. Two thousand years on a fortified headland*. Edinburgh: Soc Antiq Scot Monogr 16. Phases 7-13, with timber and latterly stone architecture (and a palisade), represent the Anglian occupation here. See also Blackwell 2010 for a reconsideration of the site chronology.

RCAHMS 1924 *Eighth Report with Inventory ... County of East Lothian*. Edinburgh: HMSO. Description makes plain that the surviving upstanding fort on Doon Hill (no. 166, p. 108) was already badly damaged within agricultural land by the time it was recorded in 1913.

Ralston, I. and Reynolds, N. 1978 'Balbridie: early architectural site'. *The Times*, 27th May 1978. First announcement of the Neolithic dating for the Doon Hill A comparator.

Reynolds, N. 1980 'Dark Age timber halls and the background to excavation at Balbridie', *Scot Archaeol Forum* 10, 1978 (1980), 41-59. Reynolds, director of the Balbridie excavation, had been Hope-Taylor's student and site assistant at e.g. the Devil's Dyke and Bamburgh. He had access to Hope-Taylor's materials, enabling him to redraw and publish the first plans of the Doon Hill halls included here; and in this paper he also set out the 'Dark Age' context for these buildings. Between its verbal presentation in spring 1978 and its publication in 1980, the Neolithic date of Balbridie had emerged.

Selkirk, A. 1980 'Balbridie', *Current Archaeology* 70, 326-8. This account of the Neolithic date for Balbridie, and the speculations on its impact on the understanding of the evidence from Doon Hill Hall A, were based on information on Balbridie furnished by Reynolds and Ralston. Hope-Taylor's 1980 piece was the response; it challenged the hypothesis of a Neolithic Balbridie on the grounds of the unlikeliness of the sophistication of its architecture at that date; and the possibility that it had been dated from residual materials.

Sheridan, J. A. 2013 'Early Neolithic habitation structures in Britain and Ireland: a matter of circumstance and context', in eds Hofmann, D. & Smyth, J. *Tracking the Neolithic house in Europe*, 283-300. New York: Springer (= One World

Archaeology). Doon Hill A integrated tentatively into the emerging picture, one very changed by discoveries since 1980.

Smith, I. M. 1991 'Sprouston, Roxburghshire: an early Anglian centre of the eastern Tweed Basin', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 121, 261-94. For Doon Hill B, then still perceived as Anglian, Smith ingeniously suggested that its builders stripped the location prior to construction, in the process discovering the disturbed ground of Hall A such that they were thus able to take advantage of this in placing their own building. One 'open-book' gable-ended building at Sprouston was also presciently suggested as Neolithic; fieldwalking had produced overlying flints.

Taylor, F. 2005 'My friendship with Brian Hope-Taylor', in Frodsham & O'Brien, 202-7. Information from the TV director of Hope-Taylor 1966b.

Wilson, D. M & Hurst, D. G. 1966 'Medieval Britain in 1965', *Medieval Archaeology* 10, 175-6. See Hope-Taylor 1966a.