Medieval Landscapes and Lordship in South Uist

Vol. II

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APPENDIX SUMMARY OF FIELDWORK INTO LATE MEDIEVAL BAILTEAN

A.1 Introduction

The machair-based sites chosen for study were all highlighted by Parker Pearson's (forthcoming a) survey as having produced medieval material culture, or they had not previously been dated. In all sixteen settlement sites were targeted for investigation, fourteen were machair sites, consisting of four clusters of mounds at Aisgernis, Baghasdal, Machair Mheadhanach and Staoinebrig, and single mounds at Smercleit and West Cille Bhrigdhe; two focussed in the cnoc-and-lochan zone, Cille Pheadair and Frobout.

A.2 Research Aims:

i. To test the belief, held by SEARCH at the time, that settlement on the South Uist machair was abandoned at the end of the Norse period. This theory had developed due to the absence of medieval pottery sherds in rabbit scrapes on the majority of settlement mounds that had produced Norse period material, indicating a break in settlement. The possibility that this was not universal was highlighted at An Udail, where settlement continued till the at least the seventeenth century. To confirm or contradict the model presented an opportunity to investigate whether the shift had resulted from cultural or political changes, economic dislocation, environmental deterioration, or population reduction. Much of this aim has since been addressed by subsequent fieldwork and documentary research (see Chapter 11).

ii. To investigate the theory that bailtean had developed over the medieval period. As noted above, the adoption of the clustered settlement, or bailtean, has been seen to be the key to understanding social and economic development in the Isles. It was hoped that the extent of settlement some of the mounds that had previously produced Late Medieval or Post Medieval material could be tested, and thus shed light on when the process of nucleation began.
iii. To test whether the cnoc-and-lochan settlements were occupied consecutively to the abandonment of settlement upon the machair. This was to be achieved through the recovery of fifteenth and sixteenth-century material culture from the area adjacent to bailtean marked on Bald's 1805 map.

iv. To investigate the development of the tacksman class. It is not clear whether the position of tacksman in Hebridean society, seen in documents at the end of the seventeenth century, was a result of social and economic developments throughout the previous century or was a continuation of medieval social structures. The location of high-status (large, stone or physically separated) buildings, which may be interpreted as the houses of tacksmen, was hoped to shed light upon the growth of this social strata, role and relationships with the rest of the townships' occupants. This proved to be unworkable in practice.

A.3 Methodology

On the machair sites geophysical survey was carried out prior to excavation, in order to target trenches to maximise results and limit potential damage. Resistivity was undertaken at most sites, and magnetometry conducted where possible. Based on these results, areas that were thought to contain midden and/or walls then had trenches placed over them. The size and number of trenches varied according to the resources available at the time. On the cnoc-and-lochan sites, the thinness of the soils and the properties of the Lewisian Gneiss bedrock, negated the use of geophysics. Here trenches were placed over delves that were thought to be more likely to retain material after post-depositional movement of the top-soil. A summary will be presented here (the full results will be presented in reports deposited in the NMRS).

A.4 Results

- Aisgernis: Sites 48, 96, 97; NF7324 2382, NF7328 2402, NF7331 2410. These three mounds run in a line from south to north. A settlement was marked here on Bald's map.
William MacDonald (pers. comm.) notes that local tradition holds that the buildings were demolished to provide stone for the local estate house, and that the southernmost mound (48) was flattened in the early twentieth century. Earlier excavations by Parker Pearson (forthcoming b) produced Mid-Iron Age and Norse period pottery, together with a small number of Late Medieval sherds on the northern most mound (97), as well as very limited evidence for nineteenth and twentieth-century activity. Geophysical survey revealed anomalies that may be interpreted as representing a settlement conglomerate that was highly concentrated and repeated across the northern most two mounds (96 and 97). The results also indicated what look like individual rectilinear buildings, but the concentration of overlaid buildings and associated material obscured much of the detail. The space between the two mounds also contains anomalies resembling rig-and-furrow, which may be contemporary with the baile. If these interpretations are correct the resistivity survey results reveal a detailed picture of the morphology of later bailtean. The northern mound (97) had six trenches placed upon it, and the middle (96) five. Several areas of walling were uncovered and a number of probable floor layers, as were several areas of midden. Nearly all the datable pottery associated with the structures was Middle Iron Age in date. However, a small number of Late Medieval and seventeenth-century sherds were recovered from spreads of midden deposit.

The results of the geophysical survey at the southern mound (48) were again largely blurred, although one rectangular area of low readings was discernible. One trench was placed over this rectangle, and another six sited randomly over the rest of the mound. The rectangle proved to be a building, with walls constructed of turf built upon a stone footing. Within the wall a Cu-ally pin (94mm long with a perforated head) dating to between the twelfth and fourteenth century (C. Batey and D. Caldwell pers. comm.) was recovered, suggesting the building was built during or after the Late or early post Norse period. The remaining trenches produced a mix of layers and domestic waste, including clench nails, indicating Viking Age or later occupation, and Middle Iron Age pottery. The intermixed contexts and the lack of material relating to the settlement marked on
Bald’s map appears to confirm tradition that the mound was deliberately flattened, destroying the upper and later contexts.

Whilst the extent of the medieval settlement could not be confirmed, it seems likely that Middle Iron Age settlement was present on all three mounds. The only hard evidence for late Norse settlement came from the south mound (48), and was associated with structures. Although the later medieval pottery came from contexts that could not be directly related to buildings, all sherds came from the northernmost two mounds. It may be tentatively suggested that there was a continuity of settlement across all three mounds from the Middle Iron Age through to the later Middle Ages, although the settlement may have expanded and contracted throughout that period. It seems probable that this continuity lasted through to the nineteenth century, given the site’s inclusion on Bald’s map, but there was little archaeological evidence of settlement from around 1805, and none from the intervening period. It is possible that Late and Post Medieval contexts had been ploughed out during subsequent farming, which would account for the recovery of associated material culture from spreads of midden and the topsoil rather than structures. As ceramics would not have been destroyed by later agricultural practice, perhaps more evidence for later occupation should have been expected. However, the trenches were located around the upper parts of the mounds, and it is likely that much of the ploughed out material would have spread to the lower slopes and surrounding area.

- **Baghasdal: Sites 67, 68 and 191; NF7362 1752, NF7361 1747, NF 7365 1728.** Along the Baghasdal machair there is a cluster of four mounds, sited where Bald placed a linear planned settlement. One of these mounds is also surmounted by an eighteenth-century burial enclosure. Rabbit scrapes around this mound have produced seventeenth-century coins and ceramics, suggesting an earlier domestic use (Parker Pearson forthcoming a). The two northernmost mounds (67 and 68) are very low, and the geophysical survey revealed a highly mixed set of readings, indicating that any settlement remains have been demolished. No excavation of these mounds was possible.
as the land was under cultivation during the windows of fieldwork opportunity. Recent agricultural work has recovered a large pounding stone from the field (A. MacLeod pers. comm.).

The southernmost mound (191) shows signs of clearance as a large stone dyke, demarcating the edge of the croft crosses its summit. Geophysical survey noted eight areas of interest, each was targeted for excavation. Substantial middens and some structural evidence were uncovered. The associated pottery ranged from Middle Iron Age to Late (Pictish) Iron Age: some sherds may be Late Medieval in date, but they are of a style that have some parallels with Middle Iron Age styles and are difficult to distinguish. It is possible that settlement had originally been centred on the southern mound and spread to the other three mounds over time. As at Aisgernis recent agricultural activity appears to have destroyed evidence for Late and Post Medieval settlement, although ceramic evidence should be preserved and recoverable through test pitting in any future work.

Smeircleit: Site 74; NF7448 1597. By 1805 settlement at Smeircleit had spread throughout the south western edge of the cnoc-and-lochan and the machair, much of which has subsequently been lost to the sea. The footings of some of the structures marked by Bald are still visible, and it appears that the site investigated here was not occupied at the time. It is a large mound that has produced a Norse period comb whilst used as a potato clamp during the twentieth century (Parker Pearson forthcoming a). Geophysical survey (conducted by Andrew Chamberlain) revealed that the site had been inundated by areas of sand blow and was covered by spreads of metal working slag. However, five areas of differential readings were visible and these were investigated through excavation. The results show a highly complex sequence of structures, with low stone footings for walls probably mostly composed of turf, and little evidence for build up of waste or windblown sand between occupation layers. Directly under the topsoil were mid to late nineteenth-century buildings, dated by a Victorian penny on one of the floor layers. Seventeenth-century settlement was well provenanced: in one
trench by a deep midden containing many sherds of seventeenth-century ‘craggan’ ware and in another a ‘bawbee’ was recovered. The ‘bawbee’ was highly corroded, but Donal Bateson (pers. comm.) suggests that although possibly Charles II (1660 – 1685), it was more likely to have been William and Mary (1689 – 1702). Underneath these datable deposits were 1.5m of interleaved floor layers and walls. Although numerous sherds of pottery were recovered from all these layers, none were diagnostic. At the base of another trench the top of a wall, constructed from very large stones, was uncovered, this was associated with one sherd of Middle Iron Age pottery. It is possible to tentatively suggest that this may indicate the presence of a wheelhouse.

The depth of deposits and concentration on inter-layered contexts, with no evidence for the encroachment of wind blown sand, indicates that the mound had been the focus for continuous occupation from the Middle Iron Age through to the late 1600s or 1700s. Although no pottery diagnostically attributable the Norse period or later Middle Ages was recovered, it is apparent that the settlement was not abandoned until after the deposition of the bawbee. There may have been a break in continuity around the time of Bald’s survey, but the penny and other ceramic evidence reveals that occupation resumed later in the century.

- **West Cille Bhrighde: Site 98; NF 7534 1429.** West Cille Bhrigdhe is a large mound, which has been truncated by a road junction and a quarry. It is also heavily affected by rabbit burrowing. This damage meant that geophysical survey was not worthwhile. Four trenches were placed over the mound. One beyond the break of slope revealed undatable plough marks and drainage ditches. The remaining three trenches took advantage of the quarrying and in order to investigate the depth of deposits were placed to run down the slope. 2.5m of stratigraphic deposits were exposed but it was evident that deposits continued below the limits of excavation. The majority of the exposed material composed of a midden that was rich in Middle Iron pottery. In two of the trenches a shallow wall, composed of stone footings and turf was uncovered at the top of the midden, it is possible that this was the same feature, but this could not be
demonstrated. Whilst most of the pottery sherds associated with this feature were small, eroded and un-diagnostic, one sherd was interpreted by M. Parker Pearson (pers. comm.) as a local copy of a fourteenth-century style of pottery. This has been refuted by Ewan Campbell (pers. comm.), who suggests that this sherd was not incompatible with Middle Iron Age styles. This wall may reveal medieval occupation at the site, but the overwhelming weight of the ceramic evidence suggests that this settlement was predominantly Middle Iron Age in date.

- **Staoinebrig: Site 33; NF7368 3314.** This was one of three mounds upon the Staoinebrig machair (the other two being Sites 34 and 44), together they have produced evidence for settlement from the Middle Iron Age through to the Post-Medieval period. Permission could only be gained for excavation on Site 33. Although extensive middens were revealed, no diagnostic wares were recovered.

- **Cille Pheadair, NF7400 1970.** Bald marked an extensive settlement of twenty-two structures here and it remained a settlement into the twentieth century (Helen Smith pers. comm.), one of the main routes through the island also passed through the site. Nine test pits were sunk at random locations across the site. Only one trench produced evidence for walling, and the scant ceramic evidence was all late nineteenth- and twentieth-century in date.

- **Frobost, NF 7342 2560.** Work by Parker Pearson on the Frobost machair revealed that the mounds there were occupied throughout the Iron Age and into the Norse period, however, he found no evidence for later inhabitation (forthcoming b). Excavations by Helen Smith (pers. comm.) of the upstanding remains of a nineteenth-century settlement on the cnoc-and-lochan produced sherds of Late Medieval pottery directly under and immediately around the later buildings. It is possible that this illustrates the shift of settlement orientation from the machair at the Norse period (Parker Pearson forthcoming a). Thirteen test pits were placed around the land surrounding the buildings excavated by Smith. This was designed to investigate whether medieval buildings on the cnoc-and-
lochan were continuously built upon one spot from the medieval period through until the 1800s, like the settlement mounds on the machair. If there was no central focus it was possible that new phases of the bailtean were built on random locations throughout the township. No evidence for occupation was found, the few finds included nineteenth-century clay pipe stems and ceramics, as well as some flakes of Neolithic flint. This would seem to suggest that settlement was limited to one specific site.

- Machair Mheadhanach: Sites 128, 134, 137, 138, 144; NF7553 4438, NF7537 4458, NF7537 4454, NF7528 4478, NF7500 4454. With the exception of 144 these six mounds form part of huge complex of mounds and sand dunes in the centre of the machair between Geirinis and Iodchar. Parker Pearson has recovered material dating from the Beaker Period through to the seventeenth century from various mounds (forthcoming a). It seems likely that this cluster of mounds was once more extensive as at least one mound was recorded as being demolished in the late 1970s. It contained at least one sherd of Norse period platter ware (Godden & Godden 1980), and others are remembered as being excavated by the prior to demolition, possibly by army officers (Laurence Walker & William Cameron pers. comm.). Dean Munro stated that “the mane land of the mid cuntrey [was] callit Matherhanach” (Munro 1961, 76) and a settlement of that name is marked at this location on Blaeu’s map. However, none is marked here by Bald, suggesting it had been abandoned in the intervening period. A mid-eighteenth-century revision of rentals upon Clann Ragnaill estates recorded that the “Farm of Machriemeanach, consisting of 14 pennylands ... before it was overcome with sand drift” (GD201/5/1217/24), but no suggestion of when sand overcame the settlement was made.

Resistivity survey of Site 128 returned quiet readings. Three anomalous areas were investigated with excavation, only one trench contained substantial midden material, but apart from some amorphous ferric material and slag, no indicators of date were recovered.
At Site 134 geophysics highlighted eight rectilinear areas of interest. Three were within potato patches, so could not be studied further. The remaining five were each targeted for excavation. Traces of low walls, floors and midden were uncovered in all trenches, one possibly being interpretable as a byre, however, no diagnostic material was uncovered to shed light on the date of the buildings. The limited numbers of pottery sherds may point to a date later than the Middle Iron Age, and earlier than the nineteenth century, as Middle Iron Age sites tend to produce prolific numbers of identifiable sherds, and nineteenth-century sites are noted by the numbers of mass-produced glazed wares. Unfortunately, given the plain styles of ‘Pictish’, Norse and seventeenth-century wares it is impossible to be any more accurate than this.

Site 137 had previously produced ceramics dating from the Viking through to Late Medieval period (Parker Pearson forthcoming a), and geophysics suggested a highly complex pattern of occupation. Of eleven trenches opened over this mound, four failed to yield any material of interest, and three only contained thin lenses of shell and midden. In the remaining trenches small turf and stone walls were uncovered, erected in pits excavated into the machair with associated flooring. Most of the pottery recovered was un-diagnostic, although two sherds could be Late Medieval in date.

Site 138 produced the strongest evidence for Late Medieval settlement. Here an upstanding building had previously been partially quarried away and nearby metal detecting had uncovered sixteenth-century metalwork and a Mary Stuart coin (Craig Allaker pers. comm.). The geophysical survey indicated a number of features that were investigated by ten trenches (Fig. 155). One trench exposed the quarried face of the mound to reveal floor layers 1m below the truncated walling of the upstanding building. The rest of the mound produced layers of midden and walling. Amongst the midden from various trenches were an arrowhead and several sherds of Late Medieval pottery. Jessop’s arrowhead classifications (1996, 194, 196), based on English examples, would suggest that this was comparable to the MP1 hunting style belonging to the eleventh to fifteenth century. However, David Caldwell (pers. comm.) notes that similar styles may
have stayed in use in Scotland into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similar arrowheads were noted by Spenser (1890, 95) as being used by Highland soldiers in Ireland in 1595. Much of the material lay under a layer, up to 50cm deep, of windblown sand. This appears to confirm the records that the settlement was abandoned due to sand inundation, and suggesting that this took place around the end of the sixteen hundreds.

Recent ploughing across the middle of Site 144 skewed interpretation of the geophysical survey. Three trenches placed along one edge of the site revealed deep deposits ranging from Late Broze Age to Middle Iron Age date.

A.5 Summary

The fieldwork results did not serve to answer the stated objectives to the degree hoped for. Substantive evidence for medieval settlement was limited to Smeircleit (Site 74) and Site 138 at Machair Mheadhanach. Whereas the latter site uncovered metalwork and pottery that was diagnostically Late Medieval and associated with structures, at Smeircleit medieval occupation was inferred through an absence of evidence for abandonment between the Middle Iron Age and the seventeenth century and no material datable to the Middle Ages was uncovered. At Aisgernis (Sites 48, 96, 97), Baghasdal (Sites 67, 68, 191) and Sites 134 and 137 at Machair Mheadhanach evidence for medieval occupation was provided by the recovery of medieval pottery sherds, but they were very few in number and not tied to secure deposits. At these sites it is probable that later land-use has prevented the recovery of strong evidence for later occupation. At nearly all the machair-based sites Middle Iron Age material (pottery, midden and associated structures), thus these fieldwork results may reveal more about the extent of settlement during later prehistory, but this is outwith the topic under study here. The relevant results may be summarised as:

- The cartographic evidence for continuity of settlement from the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century has been confirmed on machair sites at Aisgernis,
Baghasdal and Smeircleit, and continuity to sometime in the seventeenth century is suggested at Machair Mheadhanach. Although not verified by this work, it appears that a similar pattern of Late Medieval or early Post Medieval abandonment of the machair also took place at Staoinebrig.

- At these sites the horizontal extent of structures identified by variant readings in the geophysical survey, and the distribution of medieval finds recovered through excavation, may suggest that medieval settlements may have consisted of large number of buildings that were occupied contemporaneously. If correct this interpretation would support theories about the process of nucleation and the creation of the bailtean between the end of the Norse period and the sixteenth century. However, excavation failed to reveal the stratigraphic relationships between the buildings suggested by the geophysical anomalies, and it is possible that medieval settlements were built and rebuilt at different locations over the mounds through time.

- In contrast to this continuity of machair-based settlement the test pitting at Frobost may confirm Parker Pearson’s theory that many settlements moved from core settlements on the machair (that had attracted repeated use from the Iron Age through to the end of the Norse period) to new core loci on the cnoc-and-lochan (that then became the focus for continual re-use up until the Clearances).

- One possible issue raised by the results is that metalwork, which provides the hardest dating evidence, belongs either to the Late Norse period or to the late sixteenth century. With the possible exception of the arrowhead, nothing of fifteenth or early sixteenth-century date was recovered. Ceramic assemblages from these sites, as well as Frobost, Gearraidh Bhaileteas and Airigh Mnhuilinn (Parker Pearson pers. comm.) may also confirm this gap in the settlement record.

Although the fieldwork results may hint at a model of continuous development of bailtean through the Middle Ages, albeit coupled with a shift of the settlement focus away from the machair to the cnoc-and-lochan in South Uist, it does not provide strong enough evidence to confirm this theory beyond doubt.
Figure 1: Location of the Outer Hebrides (from Barber 1981, 1).
Figure 2: Joannis Blaeu's map of the Uists and Barra (1654), based on originals by Timothy Pont.
Figure 3: Detail from Timothy Pont's Sketch map of the southern end of South Uist (n.d.a).
Figure 4: Detail from Timothy Pont's sketch map of the southern end of South Uist, prior to rectification (n.d.a).
Figure 5: Detail from William Bald’s survey of Baghasdal (1805b). Note coast, township boundary, buildings, yards, settlement layout and rig and furrow.
Figure 6: Soils map of the Uists and Barra (from Angus 1997, 203)
Figure 7: Plan and sections showing form and development of Uist machair plains (from Angus 1997, 109, 111).
Figure 8: Map of Uists showing relief above 150m, main sea lochs, fords and sounds (from Boyd & Boyd 1996b, 75).
Figure 9: Main pathways around island shown on Bald (1829a), noting connection of settlements, shown by dots (from Caird 1979, 508), duns and established routes into the hills.
Figure 10: Map of southern end of South Uist (Thomson & Johnson 1822) showing extent of inland lochs, prior to main phase of drainage, and illustrating possible route-ways up and down the island.
Figure 11: Map of northern end of South Uist (Thomson & Johnson 1822) showing extent of inland lochs, prior to main phase of drainage, and illustrating possible route-ways way up and down the island.
Figure 12: Phuirt Ruaidh. Above: detail from Bald (1929a) showing location and possible access to sea or inland loch system. Below: footings of structures, possibly related to use as a portage.
Figure 13: Summarised genealogy of the Clann Somhairle and Clann Ruairidh.
Figure 14: Traditionally accepted political structure along the western seaboard in the thirteenth century, with Garmoran being thought to be the MacRuari lordship, inherited from Somerled (from Duncan & Brown 1957, 206).
Figure 15: Summarised genealogy of the Clann Ragnaill, up to the early seventeenth century.
Figure 16: Contrast of lands granted to members of the Clann Ragnaill in 1498 (RMS: II, 247, 518). The Lordship of Gairbhtrian appears as a significant division of the Clann Raghnaill estates.
Figure 17: Map of townships in South Uist in 1805, showing limit of land with arable potential (from Caird 1979, 508), and highlighting other places mentioned in the text.
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<th>Denomination</th>
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<td>1625</td>
<td>13d of Borrow</td>
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<td>1498</td>
<td>Bendbogle</td>
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<td>12 merk</td>
<td>1652</td>
<td>13d of Borrow</td>
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<td>2d of Peninerein</td>
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Figure 18: Available valuations for the parishes of Benbecula and Sgire Hogh, and the townships within each.
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<td>Kilpettir, Askynis, Froybost, Garbaltos, Kildonan et duas Borwarne s</td>
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<td>23 mercatatarum</td>
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<td>Bornish Uachker 7 1/2 penny lands of old extent</td>
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Proposed second phase.
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1 After this date Finlarig, Balloch and random locations in Argyll and the Lowlands become the norm.
2 Last document signed in 1552.
3 Signed on the same day.
4 Possibly in castle, but location is not stated.
5 First document signed there in 1560.
6 First document signed in 1562, last in 1586.
7 Two documents signed on the same day.
8 Sept., Nov. and Dec. documents all signed in 1552.
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<td>Kisimul, Barra</td>
<td>5.7 x 4.9</td>
<td>12.8 x 5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caisteal Maol/Dunakin, Skye</td>
<td>10.25 x 5.4</td>
<td>11.4 x 5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loch Glashan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priory Island, Loch Tay</td>
<td>23.4 x 8.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skipness Castle</td>
<td>13.25 x 7.5</td>
<td>20 x 5.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 123: Sizes of medieval halls in and around castles, duns and crannogs.

![Hall Sizes Graph](image)

Figure 124: Graph comparing sizes of medieval halls, showing that those upon crannogs fit into the same range as those in castles. Outliers include large hall-houses and tower-houses.
Figure 125: Comparative plans of western-seaboard hall-houses and tower-houses (from Dunbar 1981, 67, 68).
Figure 126: Plan and reconstruction of Dun Ban, Loch Carabhat, North Uist (from RCAHMS 1928, 69).

Figure 127: Caisteal Mhorair, Lewis, view from cliff to the south.
Figure 128: Detail from Blaeu (1654), showing rectangle on Eilean Druidbeg, probably Dun Raoull.
Figure 129: Detail from Blaeu (1654), showing island dwellings around Ormacleit, and the area today with identified sites. A) misidentified crannog by Blundell (1913, 295), B) newly identified crannog with no structure visible upon it and boat noost, C) Crannag place-name on Bald's (1829a) map, no archaeological feature is visible there. 1, 2 and 3 show suggested correspondence of sites.
Key

- Area of piled stone
- Building walls
- Area of dun and loch shore
- Causeway

Figure 130: Structures on Loch Duchasaich: contours show loch edge and structural remains.
Figure 131: Loch an Eilean, Baghasdal: contours show loch edge and structural remains.
Eriskay
Sound of Stack
Eilean Dubha
Eilean a’ Gheoidh
Caolas an laruinn
Eilean Leathan
Stack Islands
A Caisteal a’ Bhreabhair
B Hut site
C Walling across path
Route to summit

Figure 132: Location of Caisteal a’ Bhreabhair, and view of the stack from the north, notice the path in the bottom left corner.
Figure 133: Caisteal a' Bhréabhain: (A) view from the east; (B) plan of tower.
Figure 134: Hut site near Caisteal a' Bhreabhair, view from the north west.

Figure 135: 'Sinclair's Castle', Barra, view from the north.
Figure 136: Plan, section and finds from later structure inserted into Dun Cuier, Barra (from Young1956, 295, 296, 308).
Figure 137: Viewsheds from Caisteal Bhuirgh and Caisteal Bheagram, laid over map of extent of arable and settlement locations in 1805 (from Caird 1989, 69).
Figure 139: Detail from Blaeu (1654), showing location of Caisteal Bhuirgh near a sea loch, and separation from Borg settlement.

Figure 140: Detail from Bald (1805c: Caird 1989, 67), showing the sea loch near Caisteal Bhuirgh had filled with wind-blown sand.
Figure 141: Viewshed from Kisimul Castle, Barra.
Figure 142: Possible route from Caisteal Bhuirgh to the Minch after the loss of the Sounds of Harris and Barra to its owners.
Figure 143: Distribution of medieval castles, duns and church sites, with place-names and tir unga boundary in Benbecula.
Figure 144: Dun Aonais, Loch Olabhat, Benbecula, view from west and plan.
Figure 145: Reconstruction drawing of Ormaclett Castle (from Addyman & Kay 2000).
Figure 146: (A) Cille Bhrighde House (from C.E.U.D. photographic archive; (B) Detail from Bald (1805b) showing location in bottom left corner, and walled-garden in top right.
North Uist:
1) Airigh Mhic Ruairidh
2) An Udall
3) Bagh an Akara
4) Druim nan Dearcag
5) Eilean Olabhat

South Uist:
1) Airigh Mhuilinn
2) Aisgerris
3) Baghasdal in 1805
4) Bornais
5) Cille Pheadair
6) Froboist
7) Gearraidh Bhafileas
8) Machair Mheadhanach
9) 'Old Town' Stoinebrig
10) Smerreilt
11) 'Tottenamaekan', Cille Donnain
12) West Cille Bhrighde

Figure 147: Location of excavated settlements mentioned in Chapter 11.
Figure 148: Approximate location of settlements located on Bleau’s map (1654).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name on Blaeu</th>
<th>Township on Bald</th>
<th>No. of Bailteen</th>
<th>No. of Buildings</th>
<th>Outliers</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Garraun</td>
<td>Baile Ghrorbaidh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12, 8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Settlements divided by topography.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aedmachrianach</td>
<td>Aird a’ Mhachair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilhainie</td>
<td>Cille Anhlaidh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7, 6</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lionacudaid</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3, 8, 4</td>
<td>2, 4, 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machribeanach</td>
<td>Machair Mheadhanach</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1, 1, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerynsh</td>
<td>Geirinis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilvanen</td>
<td>Cille Bhanain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4, 9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gher fleuch</td>
<td>Gearraidh Flicich</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5, 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irisforghen</td>
<td>Dromor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grogairdh</td>
<td>Grogearraidh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stylaigerr</td>
<td>Stadhearraidh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dremisdill</td>
<td>Dreumasdal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3, 3, 2, 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Moir</td>
<td>Tobha Mor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How beg</td>
<td>‘Tolair’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sniseabhal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 building is a farmstead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peighinn nan Aoireann</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Staoinebrg</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3, 10, 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ormakled</td>
<td>Ormacleit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4, 2</td>
<td>Centred on castle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bornane B. yerach</td>
<td>Bornais Lochnraiche</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8, 11</td>
<td>2, 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bornane B. Ocrach</td>
<td>Bornais Uachdraiche</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kildonnen</td>
<td>Cille Donnain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21, 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghervauiltos</td>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18, 4, 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Each is named: Milton, Mingearraidh and Gearraidh Bhalteas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Froborst</td>
<td>Froboist</td>
<td>24, 18, 6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>The first two are named North and South; the last is unnamed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gill</td>
<td>Aisgemis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1, 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gearraidh Sheildh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taleburg</td>
<td>Dalabrog</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilphedre</td>
<td>Cille Phreadair</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6, 22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bynsall</td>
<td>Baghsadal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South Baghsadal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gearraidh ma Monadh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smarcllet</td>
<td>Smeircleit</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4, 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilvrae</td>
<td>Cille Bhrighde</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Also Cille Bhrighde House, and Pol a Charra Inn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 149: Number of buildings in west coast bailtean, and outliers, on Bald (1829a).
Figure 150: An Udall; (A and C) Tigh Mor during excavation, C, bottom centre, shows phasing and transition from rectangular Norse period hall, top; (B) the Late Medieval baile (from Crawford 1967b, 11; Selkirk 1996, 85, 86).
Figure 151: Multi-phase settlement at Gearraidh Bhalteas, possibly fourteenth to nineteenth century in date (from Lund & Warren 1997, 33).
Figure 152: Detail from Blaeu (1654) and Bald (1829a) of Machair Mheadhanach.

Figure 153: Detail from Blaeu (1654) showing separate settlements within Cille Donnain township: at 'Totenamaekan' upon the machair, and Cille Donnain, upon the cnoc-and-lochan.
Machair Mheadhanach

Investigated Site

Undated site, where permission could not be obtained for investigation.

Site with evidence for medieval use, where permission could not be obtained for investigation.

Figure 154: Sites identified for study into medieval settlement in South Uist (site numbers appertain to Parker Pearson forthcoming a).
Figure 155: Pottery from medieval and later contexts in South Uist: (A) Aisgernis Site 96 (from Parker Pearson forthcoming a); (B) Machair Mheadhanach Site 137; (C) Machair Mheadhanach Site 138; (D) Smeircliet Site 74.
Figure 156: Results of resistivity survey at Aisigmis Sites 96 and 97 (97 is the mound to the north). The anomalies appear to show two multi-phase settlement mounds, with the clearest readings showing a Pre-Clearance baile, composed of rectangular buildings, with the area between the mounds used as rig-and-furrow.
Figure 157: Results of the resistivity survey and location of excavated trenches at Machair Mheadhanach Site 138.
Figure 158: Sixteenth-century metalwork discovered by Craig Allaker: (A) and (B) from near Site 129 or 138; (C) Site 138 (from Parker Pearson forthcoming a).

Figure 159: Medieval arrowhead from Site 138.
Figure 160: Examples of Norse period and Late Medieval pottery from An Udall, with everted-rims, flat-footed bases and decoration: at a scale of 1:4 (from Lane 1983, 625, 627).
Figure 162: Examples of Irish medieval everted-rim ware and later medieval crannog ware.
Figure 164: Examples of medieval hand-made ceramic from Breachacha Castle (from Turner & Dunbar, 183).

Figure 165: Examples of medieval Manx Granite Tempered Ware from Barton (1999, 224, 226).
Figure 165: Pottery recovered from medieval contexts in Gunna.
Figure 166 Medieval pottery from the Western Isles: (A) sixteenth-century assemblage from Druim nan Dearcag; (B) Eilean Olabhat; (C) Barra shileing sites; (D) sandhill sites in Coll; (E) Airigh Mhic Ruairidh and Bagh an Ackara (from Campbell 1997, 912; forthcoming a; forthcoming b; Crawford 1997, 473-74, 477, 479, 483-84, 486-87, 490-93; Dunwell 1998, 64).
Figure 167: Pottery from medieval layers at Guinnerso, Lewis.
Figure 168: Rim types from the Late Norse period phases of Freswick links (from Curle 1939, 105).
Figure 169: Late Medieval houses in North Uist: (A) Airigh Mhic Ruairidh; (B) Eilean Olabhat; (C) Bagh an Ackara; (D) primary and secondary phases at Druim nan Dearcag (from Dunwell 1998, 61, 62, 63; Armit 1996, 209; 1997, 906).
Figure 170: Medieval structure built into remains of Mid Iron Age wheelhouse in Griomasaigh (from Alasdair MacKenzie, unpublished).
Figure 171: Late medieval houses along the western seaboard: (A) and (B) early structures from Gunna; (C) Achnahaird Sands; (D) Guinnerso, Lewis (from James 1998, 22, 24; Stuart Farrell, unpublished; Burgess et al., 141).
Figure 172: The sixteenth-century baile at Finlaggan, with inset of structure B (from Caldwell et al. 2000, 63, 66).
Figure 173: Shieling sites from Barra: (A) Norse phase at Ben Gunnary; (B) and medieval re-use; (C) seventeenth century tent-like structure from Bretadale (from Branigan & Foster 2002, 106, 113, 120).
Figure 174: (A) Detail from Bartlett's late sixteenth-century map of Armagh, showing creaghts; (B) the ephemeral archaeological traces of a creaght at Movanagher (from O'Connor 1998, 95; Horning 2001, 386).
Figure 175: Late medieval Gaelic Irish houses: (A) Canalough, Co. Cork; (B) Bally na Callagh, Co. Cork; (C) Goodlands, Co. Antrim (from Sidebottom 1950, 47; Williams & Robinson 1983, 31; Breen 2003, 158, 181).
Figure 176: Location of settlements mentioned in Chapter 12.
Figure 177: Location of places in North Uist mentioned in Chapter 12.
Figure 179: Examples of shielings in South Uist (from Raven forthcoming).
Figure 180: Buail' Ormacleit from the south east.

Figure 181: The relationship between Ormacleit Castle and Buail' Ormacleit: covering administrative boundaries.
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Abbreviations

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CDRS *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, 5 Vols.* J. Bain at al. (eds.) (1881-1986) HMSO. Edinburgh.

CWP *Carmichael-Watson Papers.* Edinburgh University Library.

D.E.S. *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland.*

DJMMS *Donald John MacDonald Manuscript Collection.* School of Scottish Studies Library. University of Edinburgh.

E648 *Forfeited Estate Papers: Moydart.* Scottish Record Office.


GD201 *Clanranald Papers.* Scottish Record Office.

GD221 *Lord MacDonald Papers.* Scottish Record Office.


P.S.A.S. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland.*


RD2(Dal) *Register of Deeds.* Scottish Record Office.


RPS  *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, 8 Vols.* M. Livingstone et al. (eds.) (1908-1982)
HMRO. Edinburgh.

SA  *Sound Archive.* School of Scottish Studies Library. University of Edinburgh.

SAS  Society of Antiquaries for Scotland Library.

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