Medieval Rural Settlement:
A Study of Mid-Argyll, Scotland

Two Volumes
Volume 1

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Abstract

This thesis describes an approach to the study of medieval rural settlement in Mid-Argyll which involved a combination of archaeological survey and historic geography. The techniques used included archaeological fieldwork, excavation, geophysical survey, and the consultation of historic maps, documentary evidence and aerial photographs. The area covered in this thesis includes the parishes of Kilmartin, Kilmichael Glassary and North Knapdale in Mid-Argyll, Scotland.

Initial wide ranging fieldwork and consideration of the historical context was followed by more detailed investigations which are presented as four case studies, at Bàrr Mór, Glennan, Carnasserie and North Knapdale. This work has provided a greater understanding of the chronology, architecture, social organisation, economy and material culture of medieval rural settlement in Mid-Argyll.

The thesis concludes that the current scarcity of the physical remains of medieval settlement may be a result of a combination of the use of perishable materials, subsequent cultivation of settlement sites, deliberate demolition and re-use of structures and the lack of dating material. Despite this, there is a potential for understanding how people utilised and moved through the landscape, through further examination of the physical remains of shielings, pre-Improvement farmsteads, castles as well as utilising other disciplines such as palynology and Gaelic literary sources.

Contents

Volume 1

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction and methodology

Summary

Previous studies of medieval rural settlement have utilised a variety of techniques and approaches. Two approaches which were deemed to have been the most successful in identifying and interpreting rural settlement, namely traditional archaeological survey coupled with historic geography, were adopted in this research. Other techniques, including archaeological excavation, geophysical survey and aerial photographs, were used to varying degrees to explore particular case studies in more detail. Mid-Argyll was chosen as a research area because of its rich prehistoric and early-medieval archaeological record which it was hoped could be matched by an equally rich medieval rural settlement record.

From the historical records it can be proposed that the people of Argyll between the 12th and the 17th century had been Gaelic speaking for centuries and maintained strong cultural ties with Ireland, although acknowledged the Scottish crown as their overlord. The effect of Gaelic and Norse intermarriage had left a mixed race of *Gall-Gaedhil* and slight traces of Norse place-names along the Argyll coast. Mid-Argyll formed the heartland of the rising Campbell clan whose expansionist policies, in the name of the Scottish crown, earned them huge estates, overlordship of other clan lands and the enmity of their rivals. This eventually led to an attempt to destroy the Campbell clan, militarily and economically in the 17th century. The social changes seen during the medieval period included the increased militarisation of the middle ranking lords and the breakdown of the traditional clan system, which relied on a mutually beneficial relationship between clan chief and clan member, to that of commercial landlord and tenant.

The current visible medieval landscape of Mid-Argyll is dominated by a small number of early castles of enclosure, which are associated with local Gaelic chiefs rather than Anglo-Norman incomers. The occupation of crannogs, duns and fortified islands by middle ranking clan chiefs is thought probable. Prior to this research there were no known medieval rural settlement sites of lesser status in Mid-Argyll.

The preliminary fieldwork confirmed that the landscape is dominated by 19th century deserted remains, the result of landlord investment during the Improvement, which was swiftly followed by the Clearances. Despite the historic maps and documents revealing a high degree of continuity of farm names back to the late 16th century (and in some cases back to the 13[th]century) very few sites showed any evidence for being multi-period. The potentially pre-19th-century remains consisted of low stone wall foundations for rectangular structures, which could have been medieval or Post-medieval in date.

Four case studies were chosen for more detailed study because of their high potential for medieval remains. The excavations at Bàrr Mór proved it to be a rare survival of a late-medieval farmstead, which represents late-medieval colonisation of moorland. The use of drystone for gable height walls (which has aided its survival) was previously not thought to have been introduced until the 18th century. Charters record the existence of a farm at Glennan in the 13th century and a laird's house by the 17th century, but despite excavation and geophysical surveys, no structures of such dates were uncovered, although potential sites still remain to be examined. The hill ground surrounding Glennan is filled with shielings and areas of cultivation which may represent medieval, or Post-medieval, short-distance transhumance.

The relationship between a medieval castle, two settlements and shieling grounds were examined at Carnasserie. There was evidence of a possible earlier hall-house ditch and bank and a possible small dun in the vicinity of the 16th century tower house, which would attest to continuity of high status use at this site. Carnasserie Mor, which was farmed separately from the castle since the 16th century, had a relatively stable location in the landscape, while Carnasserie Beg shifted in the landscape in the vicinity of the castle. The shielings and cultivation in the hills, as at Glennan, may contain remnants of medieval short-distance transhumance. The medieval landscape of North Knapdale was dominated by Castle Sween, although there is tangible evidence for possible continued use of fortified islands. The continuity of place-names from the 16th to the 19th centuries was again notable, as was the evidence for the use of turf walls in buildings into the 19th century.

The numerous 19th century settlements were relatively self-sufficient joint-tenancy farms which were occupied by a number of families when the population was at its

peak. There is no visible evidence that these are multi-period sites and the process of settlement shift may have been continuous throughout the medieval period. The historic maps indicate that some new settlements were created in the Post-medieval period, with the colonisation of shieling sites with permanent farms, and this process was also seen in the late-medieval period as at Bàrr Mór. Many other new settlements were the result of settlement splitting, possibly prompted by population pressure. Evidence for settlement splitting was generally found in the 16th century, although there is one reference dating to the mid 14th century, the period when the population was thought to be falling.

Based on a combined analysis of the historical records (extrapolating back from the late-16th century) with the results of archaeological fieldwork it is possible to suggest that the pattern of medieval rural settlement consisted of a sparse population living in small farmsteads, with on average four households. These mixed farms were located near available arable ground and had access to summer pasture for pasturing stock. The nature of the landscape meant short-distance transhumance was practiced. Pre-Improvement farming practices were adapted to the environment and were non-intensive, and would have been sensitive to periods of famine. The clan system, involving mutual support between clan chiefs and members would have ameliorated this situation. Despite studies which suggest that there were significant changes to climate and population numbers in the medieval period, the evidence so far would suggest continuity rather than dramatic change was the dominant process.

The following thesis will present in detail the combined results of archaeological fieldwork and the historical review which has explored the medieval rural settlement of Mid-Argyll.

Introduction

Little is known about medieval rural settlement in Scotland which has led to such statements as 'archaeology of the medieval farming communities is one of the greatest mysteries of our past' (Yeoman 1995). One reason for this is that while numerous prehistoric sites are known and many have been excavated (Ritchie 1997), very few sites of the medieval period relating to the rural society have been found. This has, until

quite recently, been true for the whole of Scotland and not just for Argyll. The aim of my research is to examine the medieval settlement of Mid-Argyll (specifically the parishes of Kilmartin, North Knapdale and Kilmichael Glassary. See Figure 1.1) in order to see what evidence exists, or can be discovered, which will indicate the location and nature of this settlement. This research utilises a wide range of analytical techniques including archaeological fieldwork, geophysical survey, examination of historical maps and aerial photographs. Mid-Argyll lies in the west of Scotland between the true 'Highlands' and the Scottish islands (see Figure 1.2).

For the purposes of this research the chronological span of the medieval period is broadly defined as the 12th to the 17th centuries. The early 12th century has been taken by several as a starting point of the medieval period as this saw a transformation of the Scottish church and government during the reign of David I (Fawcett 1994, 22; Boardman & Oram 2003, 15; Oram 2005, 1; Harris & MacDonald 2007). MacQuarrie (2004) presents an extremely wide overview of Scottish medieval history starting with the Roman invasion, and sees the 'High Medieval Period' starting towards the end of the 11th century. From an archaeological viewpoint Yeoman saw medieval Scotland commencing with the reign of Malcolm Canmore in the later 11th century (Yeoman 1995, 11). A brief consideration of the previous centuries (the 5th - 11th centuries) is included here in order to understand the historical and ethnic background to the medieval period.

Likewise, the transition from the medieval to early modern period is also not clear cut and researchers have chosen different dates which relate to their particular area of study. MacQuarrie (2004) ended his study of 'Kingship and Nation' in medieval Scotland with the reign of James II in 1460. Yeoman took the Reformation of 1560 as his end point as he saw this as the beginning of significant developments in the urban areas of Scotland rather than reflecting any changes in the rural archaeology (Yeoman 1995, 11). Boardman & Ross's book on *Medieval Power* (2003) deals specifically with the period from 1200 until 1500 while Oram & Stell's book on the *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* covers a period until 1660 (Oram & Stell 2005, 293). One could argue that while changes could be seen in lordly architecture and urban life as a result of the Renaissance and the Reformation, their effect on the rural landscape was less profound (Dawson 2007, 326). As Breen has pointed out 'settlement

patterns, landscape usage and material culture do not change overnight (Breen 2005, 22). It is not until the commercialisation of the rural economy between the 16th and 17th centuries followed by the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in 1747 that significant changes in the rural economy can be seen (Macinnes 1996, ix & 46). This thesis therefore continues its consideration of medieval rural settlement into what some have considered to be the Post-medieval period, after 1660 (Breen 2005, 13) and into what has been described as the early modern period, which ends with the Improvements in the early 18th century (Harris & MacDonald 2007). A brief consideration of the 18th and 19th centuries, which included the agricultural Improvements, suppression of the clans and the Clearances (Dodgshon 1998, 3-4), has also been considered necessary in order to understand the surviving archaeological remains in the landscape and to appreciate the biased contemporary view of the late-medieval economic situation.

Interest in rural settlement was boosted in the 1990s with the coining of the term 'Medieval or Later Rural Settlement' (MoLRS) covering pre-Improvement /pre-Clearance settlement in Scotland and also the medieval and post-Clearance settlements (Hingley 1993). An initial Historic Scotland sponsored seminar included useful 'where we are now' type reviews (especially Corser 1993, Dixon 1993 discussed below). There was some discussion of the 'way forward' which consisted of the creation of an advisory group the main priorities of which were the preservation and management of the known resource. However, research into the unknown, ie enhancing the archaeological record, was considered secondary. This was followed by the publication of 'Townships to Farmsteads' (Atkinson et al 2000) which opened out the discussion to rural settlement in Scotland, England and Wales. While there was still an emphasis on the management and protection of sites, some valuable survey and excavation work was being undertaken and was reported especially at Easter Raitts (Lelong & Wood 2000), on Islay (Caldwell, McWee & Ruckley 2000), Bragar (Banks & Atkinson 2000) and a pilot season at Ben Lawers (Atkinson 2000). There were also papers on the historical archaeology of Milton South Uist (Symonds 2000) and the historical geography of highland field systems (Dodgson 2000), lowland settlement Whyte (2000) and highland settlement of Assynt (Bangor-Jones 2000), some of which will be referred to later. In 2003 a Conference entitled 'Medieval or Later Rural Settlement in Scotland 10 Years on' (Govan 2003) picked up on developments since the earlier seminar (Hingley 1993). Many of the themes of the earlier seminar were expanded on with papers on finding

medieval settlement in the Highlands and Islands (Lelong 2003), further survey work at Ben Lawers, Perthshire (Boyle 2003), experiments in vernacular architecture (Noble 2003) and medieval lowland settlement (Dixon 2003). These are also discussed further below. Although still used by some, the term MoLRS has proved unpopular, not just because of its association with dentistry, but because the issues of management and preservation of the numerous deserted settlements of the 18th and 19th centuries have received far more attention than the issues associated with the less visible medieval settlements, which soon seemed to be forgotten. The term 'MoLRS' is now being replaced with 'Historic Rural Settlement' (National Trust Research Seminar held in March 2007) which reflects an attempt to widen the scope of the studies.

A variety of approaches have been applied in recent years to the study of medieval/Post-medieval, pre-Improvement/post-Improvement settlement and their associated field systems. Rural settlement studies has greatly benefited from the survey work undertaken recently by the Royal Commission. These have not only added greatly to the total number of probable pre-Improvement sites, but have also highlighted what can be achieved through an approach which combines historical research, environmental history and field survey (RCAHMS 1990; 1994; 1997a; 2001; 2008). The last publication in particular has developed this 'evolutionary landscape history' approach (Dalglish 2009, 234) by drawing on, in much greater detail than before, available historical data and the palynological evidence, although the meshing of the various strands of data has not been without its challenges.

Another technique has looked for medieval settlement through geophysical survey and soil analysis (Banks & Atkinson 2000). A semi-automated classification of field systems utilising computerised image recognition techniques, has also been coupled with examination of soil signatures within identified functional areas, and followed by radiocarbon dating of features to identify and characterise relict field systems associated with settlement (Chrystall & McCullagh 2000). Another study examined historical documents, place names and compared surviving remains of settlement and house types on Islay (Caldwell *et al* 2000). Another undertook topographic survey and excavation of a site at Easter Raitts, Badenoch (Lelong & Wood 2000; Lelong (forthcoming)). In addition, the Royal Commission has also used aerial photographs to identify and quickly map shieling sites and areas of cultivation (RCAHMS 2001, 14).

Other disciplines have also contributed to this area of study with the examination of the medieval economy by historians and historical geographers (Dodgson 2000; Campbell 2000, 2002, 2004; Boardman 2006; Whyte 1981, 1995, 1998, 2000) and palynologists (Davies & Watson 2007). A study of medieval rural settlement in Ireland (part of the Discovery Programme) has highlighted this need for historical research among the available manorial records, archaeological fieldwork, instrument survey, geophysical survey, pollen analysis and animal bones (O'Conor 1998, 16, 135, 138 & 140). Annalistic and literary sources which relate to Gaelic society have been have been identified as a useful source of information (O'Conor 1998, 135). A study of the Gaelic Lordship of the O'Sullivan Beare, is a strongly empirical archaeological survey of the later medieval landscape which also considers the latest theoretical approaches to landscape studies (Breen 2005). This landscape approach sought to incorporate the human experience of the landscape, which include the ideological background to the period as well as the day to day rural practices. These approaches are reviewed in Chapter 2 and they informed the choice of methodology chosen for this research.

One of the main problems with medieval settlement is the ephemeral nature of the evidence and the difficulty in detecting structures. While stone is used as a building material for castles, churches, manor houses, shielings and beehive huts, the majority of structures occupied by the Scottish population in the medieval and into the Post-medieval period may have been predominantly of organic materials such as timber, turf, soil, branches and peat (Walker *et al* 1996). The lack of visibility in the landscape, compared to the stone built castles and hall-houses, has resulted in a lack of attention, exacerbated by the enigmatic nature of the remains, even after excavation. One example of this is in the excavations at Meldalloch Island (Rennie & Newall 2001). This site on excavation produced evidence for a round house, radiocarbon dated to the Iron Age, and two probably 18th-century 'long houses' with stone foundations, while the only evidence for a medieval presence was a single sherd of Scottish Redware pottery dated to the 13th - 15th centuries. These excavations were clearly not complete, but it does illustrate a common feature, which is that structures belonging to the medieval period are less often identified than Iron Age or Post-medieval structures. Some sites may not have been occupied during the medieval period and, if this is the case, then one could ask what were these special conditions which prevented occupation of sites which were seen as suitable in other periods?

This research addresses several questions relating to medieval rural settlement.

- What is known about medieval settlement in Argyll?
- What do we know about the nature of the medieval population in terms of history and economy and how could this be reflected in the settlement type and pattern?
- Are there potential medieval sites in the landscape which have not yet been recognised and recorded?
- What evidence is there for medieval origins for the deserted 18th and 19th-century townships?
- Are the remains of medieval settlement dispersed in the landscape, and if so what form could they take and how could they be detected by the archaeological techniques that are now available?
- Is there any continuity of use at prehistoric fort and dun sites?

Methodology

Techniques utilised

The lack of known upstanding remains of medieval settlement has meant that such sites are unlikely to be identified and recorded through archaeological survey methods directly. Previous studies have attempted to find these sites through a variety of techniques with varying success (see above and also Chapter 2). Bearing these previous studies in mind I have chosen to combine some of the more successful techniques which are familiar in the discipline of archaeology, namely archaeological fieldwork, excavation, topographic survey, geophysical survey and the analysis of aerial photographs, with an historical geography approach which looks at historic maps and documents, and the study of place-names. It was hoped that this particular combination of techniques chosen and drawn together for this research would be able to tease out the surviving strands of information on settlement and provide the most compatible data.

The research area was chosen because it was known to have significant archaeology in the prehistoric period (RCAHMS 1988; Butter 1999) and in the early-medieval period (Abernethy 2002b; Lane & Campbell 2000) but where the medieval remains, apart from

the high status sites (RCAHMS 1992) were little known. The survey work by the Royal Commission was undertaken here before they had extended their remit to cover medieval rural settlement in as much detail as they did later for Aberdeenshire (RCAHMS 2008). Therefore very little published survey work had been done here since the 1960s (Campbell & Sandeman 1962). This was therefore seen as an area with potential for the discovery of medieval rural settlement.

Initially a database of all existing archaeological sites in the Sites and Monuments Register (SMR) for the research area was obtained from the West of Scotland Archaeology Service (WoSAS). This information included all the current entries in the National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS). Digital versions of the first edition OS maps and 1:10,000 OS maps of the area were also obtained from WoSAS and this data was loaded into a Geographical Information System (ArcGIS) so that the location of the sites could be viewed in relation to the maps. This enabled the known medieval and potentially medieval sites to be identified, located and a review of the known medieval sites to be undertaken (see Section 2.6). This highlighted the gaps in knowledge especially in regard to medieval rural settlement and assisted locating sites on the ground.

Archaeological fieldwork was undertaken with three main aims. Firstly to visit the known medieval sites such as castles, churches, and chapels, in order to record their landscape setting and to briefly review their architectural development. Secondly, to visit known deserted settlements within the landscape to see whether these had been the focus for medieval settlement that might still be recognisable as low mounds in the vicinity of the later structures. And thirdly to find and record new sites, such as shielings and low settlement remains which survive in the landscape. The fieldwork methodology included 'prospective fieldwork' which involved walking over large areas of the landscape with specific attention to areas where there was the greatest potential for the discovery of new sites (RCAHMS 1997, 9). These areas included south facing slopes, river valleys, stream sides, plateaus and hill tops. The areas examined was thought to be a representative sample of the various landscape types of Mid-Argyll, including open hill ground, forestry and cultivated fields. During this process, newly discovered sites, such as shielings, or low foundations for structures and occasionally standing buildings were recorded (see Figure 1.3). At the request of the Forestry

Commission, known sites, within the Ormaig and North Knapdale Forests, that had been identified by foresters, were also visited, assessed and recorded. This provided a contrast with the open areas of pasture.

Recording of deserted settlements included a handheld GPS reading of their location, photography, written record on pro-forma sheets (see Figures 1.4 & 1.5) and sketch drawings with internal measurements. Individual structures within the deserted settlements were identified on a sketch plan with letters and any distinct architectural features were described and photographed. In an attempt to identify morphological types of structures and to assess their function and place them in a chronological framework, any surviving architectural features were recorded and characterised. These architectural features included rectangular or curved corners, the quality of the stonework, the size of stones used, whether the walls were drystone or lime-mortared, the height of gable ends, protruding stones in gables for roof attachments, doorways, windows, triangular ventilation holes, inserted or original fireplaces, cruck slots and drains. Secondary features such as inserted fireplaces and lambing (or twinning) pens were also noted. From a reading of published sources (Grant 1995, Fenton 1997, Dalglish 2003, RCAHMS 1997; 2001, 2008) it was anticipated that the rural townships and farmsteads would include structures with functions that included dwellings, byres, barns, sheds, kilns, stock enclosures and kale yards. It was thought that developing a familiarity with the visible remains would assist an understanding of the development of structural remains.

The layout of the existing deserted settlements was compared with what was recorded on the 1st edition OS maps of the mid 19th century. This comparison enabled many of the standing remains (and low, turf-covered foundations) to be identified as roofed (and therefore probably in use) or unroofed (and ruinous) at the time of the survey in the mid 19th century. Those low-lying remains not depicted on the 1st edition OS map were therefore potentially earlier, perhaps medieval in date. Therefore, by a comparison of the layout with the 1st edition map the beginnings of a chronological framework for the settlements could be established.

Newly discovered structures, shielings and enclosures were recorded with sketch plans and photographs and were located with GPS. Each site was given a unique number

which is referred to in the text and a gazetteer of sites was built up (see Appendix 1). Collection of this data was seen as an essential first step in order to redress the lack of data on medieval rural settlement in Mid-Argyll observed at the start of this research and the second step was to select case studies from this initial wide review for the application of appropriate detailed analysis.

Topographic surveys, utilising Sokkia Electronic Distance Measuring (EDM) equipment, were carried out on specific sites that were chosen as case studies in order to illustrate the size and morphology of structures and their relationship to each other and to the landscape. These included Glennan, Bàrr Mór and Carnasserie shielings, which had been identified during the initial walkover survey.

Geophysical surveys were carried out at two sites, Glennan and Caol Chaorann, Torran. These two sites lay within cultivated ground and were targeted as it was hoped that sub-surface features, which had become masked by the effect of ploughing, might be detected and would indicate the presence of medieval settlement. Glennan was the location of known 18th and 19th century settlement and historical records indicated that a farm was in existence by the 13th century, although its location was unknown. The area around a possible ruined medieval tower house at Caol Chaorann, was also targeted to see if there was evidence for settlement, either medieval or Post-medieval in date, clustered around its base as has been found at some other medieval sites such as at Threave Castle, Castle Douglas (Tabraham 1997). Two techniques, resistivity and gradiometry, were used. The resistivity survey was conducted using a Geoscan Research Ltd RM15 Basic Resistivity Meter, with a mobile probe separation of 0.5m providing readings to the depth of 0.5m below the surface. Resistivity readings were taken every 1m by 0.5m. The gradiometry survey was conducted using a Geoscan Research Ltd FM36 Fluxgate Gradiometer and readings were taken every 0.5m by 0.5m. All the geophysical results were processed using GeoPlot v.3.00 and presented visually using a grey-scale palette. All geophysical anomalies and areas of interest were identified by letters.

The examination of vertical aerial photographs was carried out in the National Monuments Register of Scotland in Edinburgh for an area of North Knapdale, the fourth case study. This was undertaken to see whether the use of aerial photographs could

speed up the process of identification of potential medieval sites in the landscape, so that the fieldwork could be more targeted and yet retain a broad overview. These consisted of the 1:10,000 verticals taken in 1947 (CPE/SCOT/UK/249 August 47) and the 1:24,000 colour photographs taken in 1988 (51388 224), see Appendix 5. Some sites identified by aerial photographs were followed up by field visits in order to verify their character.

The available historic maps for the research area were examined for evidence for medieval place names, in particular their spelling and location. The most useful included Timothy Pont's manuscript maps of the late 16th century, the 17th-century Blaeu Atlas of Scotland, William Roy's Military maps of the mid-18th century and the 1st edition 6 inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps of the mid-19th century. These are all available on line from the National Map Library (http://www nls.uk/maps/) and the 1st edition OS maps were available from the University of Glasgow Library and latterly also on line from the National Library of Scotland. Towards the end of the research period references to further estate maps dating to the 18th and 19th centuries were found, but could not be followed up at this time.

The historical documentary work primarily involved the examination of place names in easily accessible sources (and in English) which included the Hearth Tax Records of 1694 held in the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, the Argyll Sasines and the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*. The Malcolm of Poltalloch Papers were consulted in the Lochgilphead Archives. The historical context for this research was provided by a review of published material, particularly that regarding the Campbells, who were the dominant clan in Mid-Argyll in the later medieval period, by Boardman (2006) and Campbell (2000, 2002 & 2004). A brief assessment was made of the potential contribution that Gaelic historical and literary sources could have to the study of medieval settlement in Mid-Argyll.

Sequence of research

This research was undertaken on a part-time basis and fieldwork took place between 2002 and 2007. The SMR data and background maps were acquired at the start of the project. The research relating to the historic maps and documents was also initiated at

the start of the project, notably the Pont manuscript maps, Bleaus's Atlas and *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* as these contained the earliest historic evidence. As the research developed there was a continual referring back to the available historic data in the search for relevant information.

The first field season consisted of visits to known archaeological sites in the vicinity of Kilmartin village, recording and photographing the structures and remains. This included a day trip to Eilean Mor with the Mid-Argyll Archaeological Society where new sites were found. The site descriptions and some initial historical research associated with each site were initially brought together into a data structure report in order to satisfy the funding bodies (James 2003).

A second season continued the process of familiarisation with the study area and identification of potential areas for further work and involved a series of site visits and recording within all three parishes, including the forestry areas of Ormaig and North Knapdale. In the third season, based on the results of the previous broad overview, it was possible to focus on particular case studies which included the partial excavation of the site at Bàrr Mór and a geophysical survey at the ruined tower house at Torran. Work at Glennan included topographic and geophysical surveys, a standing building survey of the laird's house and excavation of the building interior.

The fourth season consisted of further site visits, mainly in North Knapdale, in order to extend the area covered by the broad overview. In addition, further work was also carried out at Glennan with a differential GPS survey of the shielings, earthen banks and areas of cultivation in the hills around the site, completion of the excavations within the house and excavation of a farmstead in the vicinity of Glennan. A fifth season consisted of an examination of the aerial photographs held in the Royal Commission in Edinburgh, for the areas of North Knapdale including Tayvallich, Loch Sween and Fearnoch and a series of field visits took place in these areas to ground truth the potential archaeological sites. A final series of targeted site visits took place in North Knapdale in June 2007. The following is a summary of how this research will be presented.

Chapter 2: A review of medieval settlement studies in Scotland and Argyll in particular.

The review of medieval settlement studies in Scotland and explores how different approaches have contributed to our current understanding. These approaches include vernacular architecture, archaeological excavation, topographic survey, architectural typologies, historical geography and regional modelling. These have highlighted the hierarchical nature of society and settlement types, the use of perishable materials, possible continuity of settlement from the prehistoric to the early-medieval periods and settlement shift in the medieval period perhaps with an increased dependence on the pastoral economy. Rather than being static, rural settlement is seen as being in a constant state of flux with nucleation being perhaps an extremely late phenomenon in the west of Scotland.

The review of the known archaeological sites for Mid-Argyll showed that there are relatively few high status castle sites, compared with the east of Scotland. Of these, Castle Sween and Fincharn, are thought to have been built by Gaelic lords rather than Anglo-Normans, perhaps reflecting an unusually close relationship with the Scottish crown, and therefore influenced by the Anglo-Norman architectural style. There are also few other stone built hall-houses (and none in North Knapdale), which may be a result of a lack of the middle ranking lords and clan chiefs who were more prevalent in the richer agricultural areas of the east of Scotland. Although the archaeological evidence was still lacking for occupation of fortified islands and strongholds by clan chiefs and middle ranking lords, the documentary evidence does link such sites with the elite in the later-medieval period.

Chapter 3: An overview of the social and economic history of Argyll in the medieval and Post-medieval period

Chapter 3 provides a broad historical overview of the political, economic and cultural background of Mid-Argyll in the centuries prior to the medieval period, during the 12th to 17th centuries and during the subsequent Improvements and Clearances. This review indicated that by the 12th century, Mid-Argyll had been Gaelic speaking for several centuries. It had close social and cultural ties with Ireland, although the local Gaelic

lords recognised the Scottish king as their overlord. The place-name evidence suggests that there was little direct Norse settlement in Mid-Argyll, although intermarriage had led to a group of mixed Norse/Gaelic people called the *Gall-Gaedhil*, who occupied the coast of Argyll After the death of Somerled, the main clan rivalry in this area was between the MacDougals and the McDonalds and, after the forfeiture of the MacDonald Lordship of the Isles, it was the Campbells who successfully extended their overlordship with the support of the Scottish crown. The military strength and possession of galleys enabled the Campbells to take control of much of Argyll, entering into bonds of friendship and mutual defence with neighbouring clan chiefs. However, the rise of the Campbells was at the expense of the McDonalds causing great resentment and resulted in an attempt to wipe them out, militarily and economically, in the mid 17th century. Continued support from the Crown enabled the Campbells to re-gain their lands and position and they were then in a position to take full advantage of the commercial and agricultural Improvements on their, by then, vast estates. After an initial period of great investment in agriculture and buildings in the late 18th and 19th centuries, the effect of the potato famine and keen commercial interests saw the removal of tenants from joint-tenancy farms and the creation of single crofts and large sheep farms which resulted in the numerous deserted farms seen throughout Mid Argyll.

The broad climatic changes in Scotland from the 12th to the 19th centuries included the medieval 'warm period', the end of which coincided with wars, famine and the plague in the 14th century. The climatic deterioration of the Little Ice Age, between the 14th and the 17th centuries was, however, matched with the introduction of a more commercialised attitude towards land tenure and agricultural production which allowed for an increased population which boomed in the 19th century with the introduction of the potato as a staple food and vaccination against smallpox.

Chapter 4: Overview of historic maps and documentary sources

An overview of the potential contribution of historic maps (Pont, Blaeu, Roy and the 1st edition O.S. surveys) has revealed 133 place-names many of which can be traced through from the late 16th to the mid-19th centuries. Some site names can be traced back to the 14th century, although these sites have generally not been located. The available documentary sources examined included the 1694 Hearth Tax, Argyll Sasines and the

Origines Pariochiales Scotiae. Through these it was possible to trace early documentary references to many of the settlement names that are depicted on Pont's late-16th-century manuscript maps, although there were some inconsistencies. The Hearth Tax indicated that in the late-16th century, the pattern of settlement was dispersed, consisting predominantly small farms with, on average, four tenants, each occupying a dwelling with a single hearth. Sites with more than one hearth were associated with higher status clan chiefs and ecclesiastics. The available documentary evidence suggested that the MacGilchrists and the Scrymgeours lords of Glassary parish had a keener interest in using written charters than the MacDonalds of North Knapdale or the Campbells of Kilmartin. From a combination of the historic maps and documents it was possible to identify a small number of sites which are potentially medieval in date and which have not been built over by 19th century Improved farmsteads.

An examination of place-name evidence revealed a few Norse names located on the coast. This is suggestive of a Norse influence rather than direct settlement and would be consistent with intermarriage and the occupation by mixed Gael/Norse peoples where Gaelic was dominant. The appearance of *baile-, acha(dh)-* and *airigh-* names was also examined. This research was unable to trace the *baile-* names back before the 16th century, although it is thought to have been in use by the 11th or 12th century. The *baile-* place-name had a long period of usage as it was used for new settlements well into the 19th century. The *acha(dh)-* and *airigh-* names were used for settlements which colonised earlier fields and shieling sites and these are thought to belong to the 16th to 18th centuries. The process of settlement splitting was in evidence by the place-names which included 'mor' and 'beg', 'easter' and 'wester', 'neather' and 'upper'. Some settlement name disappearance has also occurred and is thought to relate, generally, to ownership changes rather than settlement abandonment.

Chapter 5: Results of preliminary fieldwork in Mid-Argyll

During preliminary fieldwork carried out in the parishes of Kilmartin, North Knapdale and Kilmichael Glassary, over 200 sites were found which were new to the archaeological record. The majority of these were 19th century deserted settlements, but shielings, single structures and prehistoric sites were also numbered among them. Many deserted settlements consisted only of visible structures which were 19th century in date

although their place-names could be traced back to Pont's map of the late 16th century. A few examples included ruined rectangular structures that pre-dated the O.S. survey of the mid-19th century and so could potentially be medieval or late-medieval in date. The local clan chiefs could have occupied these structures. The medieval carved gravestones, found in several parish churches, are a physical reminder of the presence of a military caste in the late-medieval period.

Numerous shielings, of a variety of shape and size, were found. This perhaps reflects a difference in function or date. There was little evidence for longevity of occupation in the form of noticeable 'mounds' or enriched soils suggesting that these sites may be Post-medieval in date. Potentially medieval sites were thought to include platform sites and circular enclosures.

Chapter 6: Bàrr Mór

The first of the more detailed case studies was a previously unknown site within forestry, which was chosen because of the presence of drystone-built, oval-shaped structures. The excavation confirmed that it was a small farmstead occupied in the late-medieval period. The extensive use of stone in a rural settlement of this kind was previously not thought to have occurred before the Improvements of the 18th and 19th centuries. The botanical analysis indicated the environment was predominantly moorland and peat, but with some woodland available. This site therefore represented colonisation of the moorland in the late-medieval period, a process observed elsewhere in Scotland at this time.

Chapter 7: Glennan

The second case study was Glennan (Kilmartin parish) where the potential for medieval settlement was prompted by a reference to it in the earliest surviving Argyll charter dated 1240 and by several subsequent historical records. A topographic survey, geophysical surveys and excavation revealed a possibly pre-18th or 18th-century settlement focus near a stream, not far from the present late-18th-centuty laird's house and associated 19th – 20th-century farmstead. There was evidence for at least three stone built structures at an earlier focus by the stream, which may conceal even earlier

remains. Field walking within the hills nearby revealed several shieling sites and a building platform which also have potential to be medieval in date.

The historical research revealed that, although mentioned in a 13th century charter, the farm was not of high status and may not have been occupied by a 'laird' until the 17th century. The documentary references suggest that it supported a relatively consistent number of households throughout the medieval period. This would appear to be inconsistent with what is believed to be the effect of the climatic deterioration, warfare and plague on the population in the late-medieval period.

Chapter 8: Carnasserie

The third case study at Carnasserie (Kilmartin parish) was chosen because of the presence of a medieval castle constructed by the Bishop of Argyll (which is documented from the mid-15th-century). The work at Carnasserie has examined the relationship between the 16th century tower house and the two settlements of Carnasserie (Mor and Beg). The documentary and map evidence indicate that the two settlements were in existence by the late 16th century, with Carnasserie Beg close to the castle and Carnasserie Mor some distance away. The ecclesiastic nature of this lordship may have led to the separation of the lands form the castle property towards the end of the medieval period as his particular lordship was personal and not reliant on the income from agriculture. The subsequent map evidence suggests that Carnasserie Beg had shifted away from the castle ruins by the 18th century, but was nestled around the ruined walls in the early 19th century, only to be removed completely by the mid 19th century. Carnasserie Mor was farmed separately from the castle by a neighbouring laird. There was an extensive building programme in the 19th century which may have obliterated much of the medieval structures, although there are two rectangular structures on the south side of the settlement which may be remnants of an earlier focus.

A walkover survey of the farm revealed many new sites of prehistoric and later date. There are groups of shielings associated with cultivation, a large circular enclosure, possible hut circles and a square structure, some of which have the potential to be medieval in date.

Chapter 9: North Knapdale

The final case study examined a large area on the west coast of North Knapdale, including Kilmory Knap and Keills peninsula which lie to either side of Loch Sween. This area was dominated by Castle Sween, one of the earliest stone-built castles in Scotland. Historic maps, documentary sources and aerial photographs were examined and a walkover survey was undertaken.

Castle Sween is the largest castle within the research area and there are no other known hall-houses or tower houses in this area. The displacement of the McDonald middle ranking clan chiefs by the Campbells in the late 15th century and the installation of obedient tenant farmers in their place may go some way towards explaining the absence of the later tower houses, in the later medieval period. There seems to be a lack of substantial stone-built hall-houses in the earlier period also, perhaps reflecting the Gaelic preference for less substantial residences. A few sites are noted as having occupants with more than one hearth in the late 17th century and it is possible that these are the sites of earlier clan chiefs residences. They include Oib (the Grahames), Tayneish (the McNeills), Ardbeg (unknown), Barbe (unknown), Dentaynish (unknown), and Kilmorrie (unknown), (see Table 4.1).

Some place-names could be dated back to the 14th century, although no structural evidence for these could be found on the ground. From the 16th to the 19th centuries there was strong evidence for continuity of settlement names. While the majority of the structures within the deserted settlements belonged to the 19th century Improvements, there was also evidence for turf buildings still being roofed, and presumably still in use, well into the 19th century. Some settlements included rectangular structures with low stone foundations which were thought to pre-date the mid-19th century. The examination of aerial photographs revealed the extensive areas of cultivation along the coastal strips, which reached its 'high tide' in the 19th century. A few 'possible' sites were followed up with field visits, but proved not to be medieval in date.

The pattern of rural settlement in North Knapdale in the Post-medieval period was sparse and distributed around the coastal edge where there was available arable land. The interior hill ground was utilised for summer grazing as shown by the presence of

shielings. The documentary and historic map evidence suggests that this was very similar to the medieval settlement pattern, although there was evidence for settlement splitting and an increase in settlement size by the late 16th century.

Chapter 10: Discussion & Conclusions

This chapter considers what this research has contributed towards an understanding of the chronology, architecture, social organisation, agriculture, economy and material culture of medieval rural settlement in Mid-Argyll. The potential for medieval sites to be found in the Scottish landscape is also discussed.

The approach of this research primarily combines archaeological survey with historical research. This has provided a broad appreciation of the rural landscape of Mid-Argyll which was found, throughout, to be dominated by the 19th century remains. The historic maps and documents provided some chronological depth to this landscape and assisted with the identification of potentially earlier remains. Other methodologies utilised here, to different extents, included aerial photography, topographic survey and geophysical survey. Generally, it was thought that these were beneficial but could have been utilised over larger areas.

One of the main themes to emerge from this research is mobility, or lack of, with regard to settlements. There is a strong contrast between the continuity of high status settlement sites, in the form of castles, and the lack of continuity of lower status settlement sites. The place-names associated with farm properties, the land, have been shown to have a high degree of continuity from the 16th to the 19th centuries with examples traced back into the 13th century, however the settlements within these farms have been highly mobile in the landscape. They have shifted, split, become deserted or been amalgamated. The middle ranking clan chiefs possibly continued to occupy early-medieval sites such as crannogs, duns and fortified islands, but this did not survive to the end of the medieval period.

Chapter 2: Review of medieval settlement studies

2.1 Introduction.

The aim of this chapter is to critically review the archaeological evidence for medieval rural settlement in Scotland generally and for Mid-Argyll in particular. It will evaluate the different approaches to rural settlement that have been taken by archaeologists, historical geographers and architectural historians and assess how useful they are to an understanding of medieval settlement in Mid-Argyll. Within the term 'settlement' I will consider the houses, outhouses, barns, byres, fields and enclosures inhabited and worked in by the ordinary people. I will also examine the structures inhabited by the high-status clan chiefs and lesser lords who organised and controlled the people within their estates. The apparent gap in the evidence for rural settlement in Scotland extends from the end of the Iron Age to the 18th century. While my research is mainly focused on the period between the 12th and the end of the 17th centuries, I will also consider the earlier and later material as well, in order to understand the visible remains and the wider chronological framework.

Prior to the 1960s the medieval period was studied separately by different disciplines. Archaeologists tended to concentrate on the ruined castles, churches and monumental sculpture reflecting their history inspired focus on the actions of kings and queens. Architectural historians studied these upstanding remains as buildings isolated from the society which constructed and occupied them. Historical geographers were among the first to see the need to incorporate the disciplines of archaeology, history and geography if an understanding of the nature of medieval rural settlement is to be achieved.

Rural settlement will be considered here at various levels. There are likely to be economic and social processes that are working at the national or regional levels which might cause regional differences. At the local level, settlement morphology is concerned with the evolution of settlements, their changes in size, shape and layout in relation to the surrounding fields, pasture and waste, which are influenced by economic conditions and decisions made by the individual owners of the estate. Finally, structural

morphology is concerned with the shape, floor plan and building techniques of individual structures and this may well be the result of decisions made at a very local level.

A consideration of the current regional models for rural settlement in the Western Isles, Perthshire, the Highlands, the Lowlands and Gaelic Ireland are presented and this is followed by an assessment of the current state of knowledge in Argyll prior to this research.

2.2 The contribution of the vernacular architecture approach, early excavations and topographic surveys

Early rural settlement studies were concerned with the architecture of upstanding vernacular houses and the numerous stone-built deserted settlements seen within the Scottish landscape. Although these structures are now acknowledged to date, no earlier than the mid-18th century (Fenton & Walker 1981, Crawford 1983, RCAHMS 1992, 32-36) a consideration of these because they are the final stage in a long process of rural settlement expansion and it is anticipated that by understanding the 18th and 19th-century structures this will enable the earlier structures to be more easily identified.

Some early work on vernacular architecture took place, fortuitously, in Argyll and was prompted by an interest in contemporary thatched domestic houses (Sinclair 1953). Sinclair identified three 'types' which he called, (because of their broad geographic spread) 'Dailriadic', 'Skye' and 'Hebridean' (Figure 2.1). These types were differentiated, in particular, by the thickness and construction of their walls, use of either hip-ended or gable-ended roofs and the location of the fireplace (see Figures 2.2, 2.3 & 2.4). Only the Hebridean type had a truly geographical spread, being found primarily in the Outer Hebrides, where the extremely wide, double skinned, walls enabled rainwater to consolidate the wall core (Figure 2.2). Although early fieldwork appeared to show some difference in the geographical spread of the Skye house (hip-ended) and the Dailriadic house (gable-ended), Sinclair noted that in some instances both types of gable could be found in the same settlement and even in the same structure. He concluded that the Hebridean house type was a design adapted to the specific environment, probably contemporaneous with the Skye type while the

Dailriadian was a more recent introduction, perhaps in the 19th century. He also noted that even within these groups, while they were overall generally similar, there was a significant level of variation. Sinclair's work was useful in that it recorded structure which have since disappeared, highlighted the variety of structural forms, which he over simplified into three 'types' and thus recognised that rural vernacular housing was not a static remnant of the past.

Fieldwork in Argyll was continued by Gailey (1962a & b), who was a geographer and so combined an historical geographer's approach with an examination of vernacular architecture. By this time no examples of the Skye house type survived in Argyll. Nor could he identify any surviving examples of houses built of clay or turf that were described by travellers to the Highlands and Islands in the mid-18th century (Pennant 1790; Burt 1754). So the buildings Gailey recorded were all variants of the 'Dailriadic' type with high gable ends. Gailey noted that in South Knapdale, stone foundations tended to overlie earlier stone foundations representing narrower buildings. He assumed these were a transitional type between narrow turf walled structures and the wider 'Dailriadic' type. Gailey also suggested that the cruck roof support, which were either set within the stone walls or extended to ground level, were also a feature left over from when walls were made of turf and wattle and therefore could not be weight bearing. Gailey seems to assume that all these structures served similar functions and that the change in width was purely an evolution in building technique. He does not consider that the narrow stone foundations may still have been for turf walled structures, and that prior to the use of quarried stone, drystone walls were not load bearing. Gailey also noticed that excavated medieval structures in Wales that had remarkably similar floor plans to the pre-Improvement structures in Scotland (Jope & Threlfall 1958; Fox 1958) which suggested, was due to a shared Celtic culture and environmental conditions, although he does not try to explain why medieval examples should not survive so well in Scotland. Another type of structure, also identified in Wales, and dated by documentary sources to the medieval period, were 'building platforms' which consisted of a flat area where a structure may have once stood (Gresham 1954). Gailey noted that platforms had been identified near Skipness in Knapdale, but these had been interpreted as pre-Improvement charcoal burning stances (Clarke 1956).

From a combination of his own field observation, documentary sources and a comparison with sites elsewhere in the 'Celtic west' Gailey very tentatively suggested an evolutionary sequence for rural settlement in the south-west Highlands (Gailey 1962a, 242).

1. During the medieval period the houses were varied in shape (round, oval or rectangular) and built of organic material (turf, wattle & mud). Only the few wealthy and powerful people, used stone.

2. In the 18th century a gradual change occurred in construction with the introduction of stone walls. Features from the earlier period were retained for a time, such as the narrow width, hipped roofs and cruck roof supports.

3. By the 19th century the houses were wider, did not use crucks and had straight gable ends (Dalriadian).

Gailey suggested three reasons why stone was not adopted as a building material until the 18th century. Firstly, because the land was held at the will of the tacksman or proprietor there was no incentive for tenants to build permanent houses as there would be no compensation for his effort if they were evicted. Secondly, the endemic clan warfare (which only ended after 1745) acted as a disincentive as homes could be burnt down at any time. Finally, by the mid-18th century the iron smelting at Bonawe and Furnace had contributed to a significant reduction in available wood for construction purposes (Gailey 1962a, 239-40). These factors may well have contributed during the Post-medieval period, but his assumption seems to be that people would prefer to build in stone rather than locally and easily available organic materials.

A study of aerial photographs, Roy's Military map and old estate plans provided a basic chronological framework for changes in settlement form in Argyll (Gailey 1962b). The pre-Improvements settlements were located in the vicinity of arable, with a few isolated tacksmen's or minor laird's houses in the vicinity and bothies located up in the summer pasture These settlements were generally amorphous-shaped and pre-dated the Improvements when a more linear form was introduced.

The pre-Improvement settlements were occupied solely by tenants and their dependents, including tradesmen and cottars with no schools or shops, with more dispersed settlement in the form of small numbers of two or three structures at the margins of the settlement (Gailey 1962b, 155). He speculated that the origins of these settlements was at least in the 17th century, quoting Captain Dymes who described Lewis in 1630 where '…towns are some half a score of cottages built together neare some piece of arable land where they make their abode in winter, for the most part of the common people in the somer they remaine in the hills to graze theire cattle' (Grant 1995, 44). Gailey borrowed terminology to separate the hierarchical elements of society (Clark 1956) and suggested that while the 'peasants' occupied the pre-Improvements or 'clachans', the 'aristocratic' element of society occupied 'duns, crannogs and similar settlements' (Gailey 1962b, 173) citing the work of Fairhurst at the dun at Kildonan Bay, Kintyre, to support this (Fairhurst 1939). However, the medieval material he is referring to at Kildonan consists of one medieval cooking pot and a jug (Fairhurst 1939, 207) which are not necessarily indicative of 'aristocratic' occupation, although does indicate some medieval activity. Gailey suggests that the rest of society lived in 'unenclosed clusters of dwellings, constructed of impermanent materials' which were archaeologically indistinguishable from those of Dark Age date (Gailey 1962b, 173).

Despite Gailey's primary interest in vernacular architecture, his appreciation of the value of a multi-disciplined approach has produced some insightful observations on settlement in Argyll. However, there was a complete lack of archaeological evidence or chronological framework to back up his theory of settlement evolution and his explanation of the social conditions reflected a contemporary bias towards the historical approach. Overall, Gailey's observations are extremely useful as a starting point, but his explanations for change or lack of change are rather limited and his lack of chronological information means that his observations may not be relevant for the medieval period.

The more recent work by Bruce Walker and others in the field of vernacular building studies (Walker & McGregor 1993; Walker & MacGregor 1996; Walker, MacGregor & Little 1996) has highlighted the range of building techniques and materials used in the late 18th and 19th centuries. They have noted the use of a wide range of plants for thatching (including heather, flax, reeds, seaweed or turf) reflecting the local availability

of suitable materials. They note that roofing could also utilise wooden panels, or shingles as depicted on hog-backed burial stones at Govan, Glasgow, which represent houses dating to the 10th century (Ritchie 2004). Such a roofing style could have been in use throughout the Norse influenced western regions of Scotland. Walker has also highlighted how walls have been made of turves (sods), turves and stone, wattle and daub or 'stake and rice' as it is known in Scotland (the term 'rice' being derived from the old Norse word for brushwood) drystone, mortar, or a combination of these (Walker, MacGregor & Little 1996, 38). Another significant factor they identified was the often insubstantial nature of the foundations, with roof timbers resting on padstones or directly on the ground, which would leave little or no archaeological evidence in the form of sub-surface foundations. The work of Walker McGregor has therefore highlighted that the use of perishable materials was common practice for buildings well into the 19th century.

Turning then to the contribution of archaeological excavation to the study of rural settlement. Horace Fairhurst's work provided a specifically archaeological element to the study of rural settlement that was lacking in Gailey's work (Fairhurst 1960, 1963). His work at Lix in Perthshire (1971a), Rosal in Sutherland (1969a) and Loch Glashan in Argyll (1969b) have been particularly useful in providing morphological information and dating evidence for pre-Improvement settlement. At both Lix and Rosal the visible ruins could be dated only as far back as the late 18th and 19th centuries despite the documentary evidence for earlier occupation in 1559 in the case of Lix (Drummond Papers 1569) and in 1269 for Rosal (*Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* 1837).

The work at Lix (See Figure 1.6) was undertaken specifically in order to examine the morphology of a deserted settlement, provide dating evidence and to look for the medieval settlement which Fairhurst felt must be there. Lix was chosen because of the existence of an estate plan of 1755 by Cockburn (Commission for the Forfeited Estates) which showed the land divisions and settlements of West, Mid and East Lix (Figure 2.5). Fairhurst noted that the surviving clusters of ruins (Figure 2.6) were in significantly different locations from those on Cockburn's plan which suggested that there had been a re-organisation of the settlement pattern prior to the re-organisation which was prompted by the introduction of sheep farming in the late-18th century. Fairhurst's small excavations found no clear evidence for the structures on Cockburn's

plan which he claimed had 'vanished' because of the use of organic materials, absence of foundation trenches and earth floors (Fairhurst 1971, 190). He detected only a very shallow carbonised layer just beneath the turf in one area. His trench sizes and locations are not published and so it is difficult to assess whether it was the limited size of the trenches or the excavation technique that hampered the identification of ephemeral remains, especially as the area has been subsequently ploughed. The presence of the carbonised layer does, however, suggest that a structure could have burned to the ground.

Fairhurst examined six of the visible pre-Clearance structures and confirmed them to be the latest structures on the site. There was no pottery retrieved from their floors but they were sealed by layers containing Post-medieval pottery (Fairhurst 1971, 183). Fairhurst did note occasional 'hollows, shallow 'scoops' and pits' which may have belonged to an earlier phases of building, but because of the lack of artefacts or pottery and the because of the lack of botanical analysis and radiocarbon dates (not conventionally undertaken at that time) Fairhurst could not prove this to be medieval. Fairhust utilised aerial photography to assist identification of two types of stone and turf built shieling, one roughly rectangular and the other smaller and oval in shape. He identified three groups of shielings which Fairhurst suggested belonged to each of the three settlements, West, Mid and East Lix. He suggested that the occupants would graze their stock in the hills during the summer, away from the growing crops but this practice was abandoned at the end of the 18th century when the joint-tenancy farms were amalgamated into single farms (Fairhurst 1971, 180).

Fairhurst also noted the presence of a pear-shaped enclosure, 20 yards (18.3m) across, near Middle Lix that he tentatively suggested was similar in nature to the possible prehistoric ring-forts seen in Perthshire (Watson 1912; Watson 1914). He speculated that as several 18th-century settlements in Strathtay had 'dun' names, these 'ring-forts' and 'duns' may have been 'forerunners' of the later joint-tenancy farms (Fairhurst 1971, 181). It is interesting that he should make a connection between the enclosures and possible pre-Improvement activity without any dating evidence, as this has been suggested by more recent excavation results in Perthshire (see below).

At the site of Rosal (see Figure 1.6), Fairhurst again attempted to find medieval settlement where there was documentary evidence for medieval activity (Fairhurst 1969a). Rosal was surrounded by a roughly circular, dry-stone enclosure and consisted of the ruins of a souterrain and about 70 pre-Improvement structures interspersed with areas of arable and bog (Figure 2.7). Methodologically, Fairhurst made good use of aerial photographs to map the areas of cultivation. There was considerable variety in the construction of the visible remains including rectangular structures, long-houses, structures with rounded corners and structures with both rounded and rectangular corners (Fairhurst 1969a, 144). Fairhurst identified clusters of structures consisting of a house/byre, outhouses, yards and corn drying kilns as the individual farming units belonging to the pre-Clearance period. Excavation, limited to one of these clusters (Complex A) and only part of a long-house, highlighted some of the problems with excavating pre-Clearance structures (Figure 2.8). The low drystone foundation walls did not have foundation trenches. The only negative features were 'bowl-like depressions' which were the bases of cruck slots and sunken earth floors and the finds all dated from 19th century. A nearby structure had slightly bowed walls, rounded ends and a fire-reddened area, suggestive of a hearth and was suggested to be medieval in date (Fairhurst 1969a, 150).

From his observation of all 70 of the structures on the site (see Figure 2.9) Fairhurst noted some variety in the construction techniques and their condition of survival which he suggested was an indication of chronological depth from the prehistoric period, but the limited excavation, lack of artefacts and absence of radiocarbon dates, made it difficult for him to produce a chronological framework. The souterrain was located on the top of a small mound (Corcoran 1969) but there were no indications of an associated hut circle despite some excavation in the vicinity and this was perhaps because of the cultivation which had taken place within the site. A single sherd of a late-medieval glazed jug handle and a whetstone were found to the south of the entrance to the souterrain (Corcoran 1969, 117). This pottery sherd was the only evidence that Fairhurst found of a medieval presence on the site. Some soil analysis produced evidence for a 'change in the method of cultivation at some time before the evictions' which could not be dated and raised levels of phosphate (the result of manuring) within a cultivated terrace and near the souterrain (Fairhurst 1969a, 159). This work was innovative for its time on an archaeological excavation, but now seems very limited in its scope.

So, apart from a single medieval pot sherd, Fairhurst failed to find evidence for a medieval presence on the site, although he did suggest a medieval date for the three circular enclosures. Fairhurst did date the construction of the drystone enclosure around the site, but it is possible that it is Post-medieval in date. If this is the case, then it is probable that any medieval settlement would survive better outside the enclosure as this would not have been affected by the intense agricultural activity which took place within it.

The variety of structures at Rosal may be because of their different functions (still difficult to determine even after excavation) or because they represent a deep chronological span, but the limited work undertaken here has not enabled these factors to be unravelled satisfactorily. Nor did Fairhurst relate his excavated floor plans to any of Sinclair and Gailey's types of vernacular architecture. He noted the use of cruck slots but, apart from the building material used, did not speculate on the nature of the roof or gable. This work also highlighted the huge problems that are encountered when excavating and interpreting rural structures where there are few artefacts, remains are generally ephemeral and when radiocarbon dates were not available.

A third excavation site in Loch Glashan, Argyll was more successful in identifying medieval occupation (Fairhurst 1969b). He partially excavated several structures on an island on the south-east shore of the Loch (Figures 2.10 and 2.11). This site consisted of five structures, a revetment and a causeway to the shore with an offshore crannog. A small structure at the west end of the site was interpreted as Post-medieval in date on the basis of its poor construction and the presence of an iron saucepan found within it (annotated as 'Recent Bothy' on Figure 2.11). Structure (IV) was also thought to be Post-medieval because it was a 'formless heap of earth and stones' with a clay floor and some 17th-century pottery found 'in the vicinity'. Two more substantial rectangular buildings (II & III) were found at right angles to each other which were constructed of walls made of a mixture of stone and turves. No post-holes or cruck slots were found.

Building II was the largest on the site and so far is one of the best preserved medieval structures in Argyll. It had a clay floor, a hearth consisting of a single fire-cracked stone, two entrances and the walls had incorporated cut corner stones and quoins which Fairhurst interpreted as being re-used from an ecclesiastical structure. He dated the

occupation from medieval pottery and a 14th-century coin found 'nearby'. A quern stone outside the doorway was interpreted as indicating a domestic use. The presence of internal timber features was suggested by the presence of heavy nails or studs in both rooms. Only c 25% of Building III was excavated and this structure, at right angles to Building II, was thought to be contemporary because medieval pottery was found in the interior.

In contrast to the others, Building I was of 'superior' drystone masonry, aligned east-west and in plan had a ratio of 1:2. Because of these features and also the discovery of a stone archway just beyond its east gable (Figure 2.12) Fairhurst speculated that this structure was initially intended to be a chapel, but was not completed. A similar stone arch sits above the door of the ruined church of Kilmory in Craignish (MacGibbon & Ross 1896, 85). He acknowledged that there was no documentary evidence for a chapel in Loch Glashan and that the arch could have been brought to the site along with several other cut stones found on site. There was a doorway in the north wall and there was a possible blocked doorway in the west gable. The floor was of rough earth and stone and there was no evidence for a hearth. No artefacts were found within the structure except for a sherd of modern china.

Fairhurst concluded that all three structures (I, II & III) related to domestic occupation in the 14th or early 15th century from the evidence of the coin and the medieval pottery. While he considered the structures to be poorly built, the pottery and the coin might suggest that the occupant was not of lowly status. He dated the two structures at either end of the site to the Post-medieval period even though there was no real evidence for this apart from a loose association of one of them with 17th-century pottery and their poor construction technique. Fairhurst mentioned in passing, but did not examine, two other drystone buildings on the nearby shore of the Loch which had rounded ends (James 2003, 107-8). Fairhurst also noted but did not consider in more detail, this island settlement within the broader landscape which includes a crannog (Crone & Campbell 2005), a galleried dun (RCAHMS 1988, 195; Gilmour & Henderson 2003) and a field system. Nor did he develop the documentary research later outlined by the Royal Commission which states that the 'lake and island' may have belonged with the township of Knock by the 13th century and included in a 1240 charter granted to Gillascop MacGilchrist (RCAHMS 1992, 306).

A recent undergraduate dissertation has re-examined the pottery assemblage and its location on site and has distinguished between the Reduced wares which probably date to the 15th - 18th centuries and the white gritty ware and redware which is earlier, dating to the 12th - 15th centuries (Bryan 2008). The resulting distribution map showed an exclusive association between Building III and the white gritty ware and the single sherd of redware. There is also an association between Building II and the Reduced ware, with a single sherd of white gritty ware found over the thick wall cobbles (which is probably residual). A concentration of sherds outside the doorway of Building II was interpreted as the site of the household midden. There are also three sherds of hand-made Craggan ware (Barrowman *et al* 2006). These sherds are all probably from the same globular jar and were found above the cobbles between Buildings III and IV. The presence of the Craggan ware and clay pipe between Buildings III and IV would be consistent with a Post-medieval use of Building IV perhaps as a seasonal bothy. There was a single sherd of imported Saintonge ware (this sherd 16th-17th centuries) from the revetment.

With this latest information it is possible to re-interpret the chronology of the site and suggest that these structures were not in use for domestic occupation at the same time. It is probable that Building III was a dwelling in the 12th- 14th centuries (perhaps near the site of an earlier chapel) and then the occupants constructed Building II in the later medieval period. Building III could still have been retained as an outhouse, and hence was devoid of later material. The forms of the pottery were domestic and included jugs, cooking pots and bowls and on the whole represent only a few vessels (5 white gritty ware and 3 reduced ware, the other fabrics represented by single vessels). Considering the rarity of medieval pottery on the west coast of Scotland this site could still be seen as a potential 'high-status' site especially as its island location provided it with some a defensive element.

Fairhurst's work was ahead of its time in that he was interested in the archaeology of rural settlement and managed to produce some very useful work at three different types of sites that typifies the problems involved with excavating pre-Improvement settlement, the lack of datable artefacts, the lack of radiocarbon dates and the difficulty of interpreting function. Fairhurst identified a wide variety of structures in the landscape, as Gailey had done, but was only able to excavated small trenches across a

small proportion of them and his analysis of the pottery assemblage was unsophisticated. However, he did identify stone foundations, turf-walled structures and sub-floor depressions which could have been the remains of medieval timber framed cruck-built buildings.

The 1970s and 1980s saw increasing numbers of archaeological field surveys being undertaken in Scotland. While this greatly increased the amount of data recorded and enabled suggestions to be made about chronology and process based on the morphological differences, without excavation still no real chronological framework could be established. Alcock concentrated on the Highlands and Islands and highlighted that little was known about the variety of shieling huts which would have formed such a significant part of the economy in the pre-Improvement period (Alcock 1980). Alcocks work at Burg, in Kilninian, Mull, identified two centres of settlement near an Iron Age fort at Dun Aisgain (see Figure 2.13, Alcock & Alcock 1979). They were attracted to this site because the place-name was possibly derived from the Old Norse 'borg' meaning 'fortified place' which would therefore date the site to between the 9th to 13th centuries AD. 'Upper' Burg consisted of probable turf walled structures and well-built stone buildings with window jams and integral fireplaces, which the Alcocks interpreted as belonging to the past 150-200 years. In contrast 'Lower' Burg, spread across the lower slopes of the fort, consisted of more uniform buildings with thick drystone walls, rounded ends and opposing doorways which they identified as 'an altogether earlier settlement phase' (Alcock & Alcock 1979, 27). This would suggest continuity from the prehistoric to the beginning of the Medieval period with a break in the settlement pattern some time during or just after the medieval period. This hypothesis was, unfortunately, not tested by excavation.

Alcock proposed a methodology for finding missing medieval sites by initially undertaking fieldwork and detailed recording, a study of place-names and other documentary sources, followed by a search for phosphate concentrations or structures utilising geophysical survey and finally open area excavation (Alcock 1980, 3). Considering the clarity of this methodology it is perhaps surprising that so little work along these lines has actually taken place.

Fieldwork was also undertaken in the late 1970s in Caithness and Sutherland (Mercer 1980) where three types of pre-Clearance settlement were identified.

1. Numerous shielings near streams were set in large mounds of debris, which suggested a long period of use.
2. Individual farmsteads of the immediate pre-Clearance period were characterised by compartmentalised long houses, some with bow-shaped walls perhaps indicating a Norse influence. These structures were associated with other smaller rectangular houses.
3. Finally there were small rectilinear and sub-rectilinear houses concentrated in large numbers and associated with large enclosures. This type was, however, found in only one area of south Sutherland at Dalchork where it is known from documentary evidence that 'cottar towns' existed.

Mercer recognised that only excavation and the provision of radiocarbon dates would provide the necessary chronological framework for the relationship between all these sites to be properly understood. He noted the existence of a possibly Norse influenced longhouse with bow-shaped long walls, which may be a regional type, perhaps only to be found within areas of Norse occupation. They also identified settlement within large enclosures and have associated these enclosures with small plots cultivated by a 'cottar' population. Cottars were a particular class of tenant who sublet a small amount of land from the main tenant in return for his labour (Dodgshon 1980, 71).

A survey on the shores of Loch Tay, Perthshire, incorporated a study of historic maps including Pont, Roy's Military map and an estate plan of 1769 which enabled recognition of *four* types of structures in this area (Morrison 1980).

1. Shielings, round or oval in shape, built of drystone or turf in the hills above the head dykes.
2. Low, hip-ended, drystone longhouses or byre-dwellings clustered together with accompanying outhouses, barns, kilns and smaller 'cottars' houses as depicted on a 1769 survey of the estate.
3. Clustered or isolated 19th-century buildings as depicted on the 1st edition O.S. map, but not depicted on the 1769 survey.

4. Low-turf covered 'rectangular and sub-rectangular structures and straggling field dykes' not shown on either the 1769 plans or later maps, which could be pre-18th-century settlements.

By utilising historic maps Morrison was able to identify at least three chronological elements in the settlement pattern, the early 18th century, the mid-18th century and the 19th century. The shielings were not depicted on the maps and so their chronological span could not be defined in this way. On the issue of the use of stone, Morrison noted that documentary evidence and travellers tales referred only to the poorest elements of society living in huts made of organic materials. The implication being that the people would naturally have wanted to use more permanent materials although perhaps only the higher status people could achieve this. Even when stone was available locally, some people in Badenoch, Highlands, still used earth for walls and were building creel houses well into the late 18th century (Allen 1979).

The Royal Commission have undertaken extensive archaeological surveys in Argyll between 1971 and 1992 but included only a small number of the more outstanding or exceptional remains of pre-Improvement settlement in these publications (RCAHMS 1971, 1975, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1988 & 1992). Such exceptional shieling sites included Talatoll (Kintyre) and Douglas Water (Loch Fyne). The site of Talatoll (Figure 2.14) was unusually extensive in that there were at least 43 structures lying across open moorland (RCAHMS 1971, 200). The structures were generally stone and turf built oval structures and the majority were single celled, but about a quarter had evidence of a subdivision and at least two examples had three rooms. There were two groups of shielings, perhaps relating to different townships sharing the shieling grounds, or perhaps to differing functions or chronology. A large circular stone and turf-built enclosure was also identified. Perhaps more characteristic of shieling grounds were the small groups of structures found beside the Douglas Water, north of Loch Fyne, as at Arinahelik and Arihelach (Figures 2.15 and 2.16). These structures were again characterised by their oval or sub-rectangular shape, small size and were grouped into two or more structures.

These surveys have shown that shielings display variable construction some are clearly little more than temporary huts, while others are much more substantial and are similar

to the structures found in the townships. This may be evidence for more permanent occupation of the shieling grounds at some point in time. The illustration by Pennant of beehive and tepee shaped shielings on Jura in 1772 show how varied the construction of such structures could be (Pennant 1790; Figure 2.17). A further survey in Caithness distinguished four types of shieling which may reflect the difficulty in distinguishing the seasonal and the more permanent settlement (Mercer 1980, 18-19).

1. Rectangular platforms with no upstanding remains.
2. 'Dumbbell shaped' mounds with a central gully.
3. Circular or sub-rectangular structure within a mound.
4. Elongated mound.

Only Type 3 were noted in the Argyll surveys and none of these sat on recognisable mounds.

Detailed topographic surveys of amorphous shaped pre-Improvement settlement have included Balmacvicar, Kintyre (Figure 2.18) and Inivea, Mull. Balmacvicar had three tenants all called 'mcviccar' in 1636, was depicted in Blaeu's Atlas of the early 17th century, but was uninhabited by the Argyll Estates census of 1779 (RCAHMS 1971, 194 & 196). At the beginning of the 19th century the area was converted into a sheep farm. The surviving remains were constructed of stone or stone and clay, and were in varying states of survival. As Dalglish has noted (2000, 83-85) the buildings are seemingly randomly placed, but are in fact located on slight natural mounds beside the stream and so their location is in some part dictated by the topography. There are clear indications that this township is multi-phased as there are potentially medieval structures surviving as slight traces. While no excavation has been undertaken here, the condition of the structures would suggest that the sub-rectangular structures pre-date the linear rectangular structure, a development which was noted by Gailey above. The more substantial remains consist of the 18th-century sub-rectangular dwellings, outhouses, kiln barn and enclosures and the 19th-century shepherds cottage and byre.

The site of 'Imvie' was marked on Ponts map of the 16th century, although the visible structures probably all date to the 18th or 19th centuries. The houses were clay-mortared and some had been externally mortared with lime. At Inivea the topographic survey

enabled the interpretation of houses as those structures with their end walls to the prevailing SW wind and the barns as those with opposing doorways sited across the prevailing wind (RCAHMS 1980, 242). At the township of Blairowin, Glen Shira (Figure 2.19) one group of structures were built on platforms and included a long narrow structure (C1), which narrowed even more at one end (RCAHMS 1992, 466). Perhaps this was the remains of an earlier medieval phase.

Some pre-Improvement settlements are found clustered around medieval hall-houses (to be discussed below). Such examples are Finlaggan, Islay (Figures 2.20 & 2.21), Ardtornish Castle (Morvern), Aros Castle (Mull) and Dun Ara Castle (Mull), (Figures 2.22, 2.23 & 2.24). The Royal Commission has assumed that the structures are contemporary with the hall-houses, implying a close relationship between the lord and at least some of the local population. However, without excavation it is impossible to say what the relationship is between the hall-house and the townships. At Ardtornish (Figure 2.22) at least one of the structures (L) is likely to be a kiln-barn which is probably 18th century. It is probable that several of these structures post-date the medieval lordly occupation of the hall-house. It is not known at present how significant it is that these examples of hall-houses surrounded by amorphous clusters of buildings were all found on Mull, and not in Mid-Argyll. Further research on the individual status of the castle dwellers and of the length of occupation into the Post-medieval period might illuminate this.

There are also potential medieval structures appearing as isolated features in the landscape as is Rob Roy's house in Glen Shira (Figure 2.26) where the outhouse of a fairly substantial, probably 18th century, structure overlies an earlier structure which may be a single medieval farmhouse (RCAHMS 1992, 477).

The topographic surveys have also highlighted how the amorphous-shaped pre-Improvement townships are easily distinguished from the linear settlements, at Tockmal, Islay, (Figure 2.27) which are thought to be the result of the Improvements and date to between the mid-18th and 19th centuries.

Surveys have also identified crannogs and fortified islands as potential types of medieval site. Underwater surveys of crannogs in Loch Tay (Dixon 1982; 1984), Loch

Awe (Hardy, McArdle & Miles 1973; Dixon 1984; Morrison 1985; Holley 2000; Taylor 2003) and the Lake of Menteith (Henderson 1994) have generally found crannogs to date from the later prehistoric to the early-medieval periods. Dry land surveys have also shown that crannogs extend into south-west Scotland (Barber & Crone 1993) and the central Inner Hebrides (Holley 2000). Of the 23 radiocarbon dates from Scottish crannogs in south-west Scotland only one site (Lochrutton) produced two medieval dates of the 11th to 13th centuries (Crone 1993, 246) which suggests that in the south-west of Scotland re-use of crannogs in the medieval period was not a common phenomenon.

In the west of Scotland, however, there is more evidence that crannogs were utilised for settlement well into the medieval period. At the Moss of Achnacree, Lorn, a crannog was excavated in the 19th century and this produced artefacts including two wooden double-sided combs, a wooden ladle, fragments of antler and skin shoe soles which were thought to be medieval in date. Sites classified as fortified islands may also have been originally built on crannogs as well as on suitably located rocky islands (RCAHMS 1975, 94-95). At several sites in Kintyre, Mull, Tiree, Coll, Loch Lomond and Mid-Argyll there is evidence for crannogs and islands being occupied by stone buildings (RCAHMS 1963; RCAHMS 1971; RCAHMS 1980). Several examples have been surveyed by the Royal Commission, as at Eilean na Circe, N Knapdale (RCAHMS 1992, 303), Eilean Tigh, S Knapdale (RCAHMS 1992, 303), Loch a'Bhàillidh, S Knapdale (RCAHMS 1992, 304) and Loch an Daimh, Craignish (RCAHMS 1992, 305),(see Figures 2.28-2.32). At Loch na Buaile, Tiree (RCAHMS 1980, 122) the island was occupied by an oval-shaped, turf-built rather than a stone built structure (which is similar to one found at MacEwan's Castle, Cowal (see below) which is medieval in date). Some sites had outer revetments walls offering some degree of defence, which otherwise was provided by their island location.

Documentary evidence suggests that these lightly fortified islands were often associated with clan chiefs and used as refuges in the 16th and 17th centuries. A crannog on Mull, Caisteal Eoghainn a'Chinn Bhig (Figure 2.33) was associated with the son of John Og 5th Maclean of Loch Buy, who lived in the mid-16th century (RCAHMS 1980, 119). There is also a reference in 1549 to this site and another at Loch Ba as being inhabited strongholds (Macleod 1999). Loch an Daimh (RCAHMS 1992, 304-5; Figure 2.32) was

also said to have been used as such by the Campbells of Asknish during Alasdair MacColla's campaigns of the 1640s. Eilean Mhuirell, in Loch Finlaggan, has two drystone structures each with round corners, thought to be dated to the 14th to 17th centuries and a local tradition of being used as a prison by the Lords of the Isles (RCAHMS 1984, 154-5; Holley 2000, 209).

On Eilean na Circe, North Knapdale, there are two structures. Structure A (Figure 2.29) has walls up to 1.1m high and there is evidence for cruck slots, including one in the SW end indicating that it had a hipped roof. None of the buildings are aligned E-W and are therefore unlikely to be a chapel, the presence of which suggested by the name 'Yl(en) Kerk' seen on Pont's map. These structures were thought to be Post-medieval in date, used by the laird of Oib as a refuge, but perhaps overlying an earlier ecclesiastical structure.

Similarly late medieval dates are ascribed to sites which, although are not islands, have an element of defence, such as the Robber's Den at Ardrishaig (Figure 2.34) where a rectangular building occupies a promontory. This may have a similar status and function as the island dwellings (RCAHMS 1992, 296-7). The Royal Commission suggests that the remains are 16th or 17th centuries in date as it is by tradition the last refuge of a member of the MacVicar family. This site (NR 848 865) has subsequently been evaluated but no evidence for medieval occupation was detected (Regan & Webb 2006).

A more recent survey by the Royal Commission found an example of a late-medieval farmstead occupying an 'island' at Eilean a'Bharain, Loch Tromlee (NMRS unpublished archive). This potentially important medieval site (outside the research area) provides an example of what may have been more common throughout Argyll and what this project is looking for. There were seven structures, none of which were noted on the 1st edition O.S. map (see Figures 2.35 & 2.36). The main structure (407) had stone-built walls 1m thick and there were two other smaller stone built structures (406 & 409). There were also three sub-rectangular turf-built structures (408, 411 & 412) and one oval-shaped turf-built structure (410). This farmstead was perhaps associated with Eilean Tighe Bhain (NN02SW 13) a small fortified dwelling, also in Loch Tromlee, which was the seat of the McQuorquodales of Phantilands until it was attacked by Alasdair MacColla in 1646 (RCAHMS 1975, 212). The variety of building types would

suggest that they were of different date and function, but the historical record would suggest all these structures pre-dated the mid-17th century and are very likely to represent a late-medieval farm site.

Another more recent approach to the task of detecting rural medieval settlement has been the application of scientific techniques. Work at Bragar and Gásig in Lewis utilised geophysical survey and phosphate analysis to tentatively identify potential hearths, walls, ditches and anthropogenic enhancement of soils usually as a result of manuring (Banks & Atkinson 2000). Problems with the geophysical survey technique included interference from the background geology and the probable 'blanketing' effect of waterlogged soils. The phosphate analysis was badly affected by acidic soils, weathering, continued cultivation and the effect of modern manuring. Because of the financial constraints of the project a very small area of ground was examined with these techniques and was not followed up with a programme of excavation, which might have detected earlier settlement within the identified 'hot spots'.

Another approach has been a combination of the 'semi-automated classification' of field systems utilising computerised image recognition techniques, examination of soil signatures, targeted small-scale excavation and radiocarbon dating (Chrystall & McCullagh 2000). The upstanding remains in the two areas that were chosen for analysis had previously been surveyed by the RCAHMS as part of their Afforestable Land Surveys. Within the two field systems, this ambitious project sought to identify the nature of the soils, their date, past land-use practices and the presence of peat or other 'masking' factors. The success of this approach can be measured simply by whether potential medieval settlement was identified or not. At Boyken, Eskdalemuir, an isolated rectangular house was investigated with a small trench and it produced two radiocarbon dates of cal AD 1200. A date of approximately AD 1000 was also produced from a possible stock enclosure. The majority of the remaining field remains were interpreted as being Post-medieval in date. At Badentarbet, Wester Ross, dates obtained from immediately beneath large dykes suggested that they were constructed between about AD 1000 to 1200, although (as Chrystall & McCullagh admit) if the soil had been scarped prior to construction, then this date would be too early. This analysis has provided potential chronologies of the visible remains but highlighted the complexity involved with the study of a field system utilised over a long period of time. Apart from

one structure at Boyken, this technique has contributed little towards the discovery of actual medieval sites as the radiocarbon dating of material from poorly stratified and re-worked context is rather meaningless as the carbonised plant remains can last for hundreds or thousands of years.

In summary, techniques of fieldwalking, topographic survey, excavation, the study of old maps and the inspection of aerial photographs have been very productive. The surveys have been essential for providing the evidence of the sites, their setting in the landscape and for identifying the morphological types of structures which are most probably associated with medieval settlement. Excavation has provided some detail of construction techniques, dating evidence and revealed the varied amounts of material culture associated with different types of sites. The examination of old maps and aerial photographs has also provided evidence for the location of sites and for their dating. The combination of these techniques enable some broad statements to be made on medieval rural settlement to be made. There are three very generalised categories of settlements within the landscape. The high-status sites looked at in this section includes fortified islands and are characterised by the use of stone, having a defensive element and having a relatively rich material culture. The undefended (and potentially lower status) rural settlements are amorphous-shaped groups of sub-rectangular or oval-shaped structures constructed of a stone, a mixture of stone and organic materials or just organic materials, located near to arable land. These structures have unsubstantial foundations, may be narrow compared to their width and have a relatively poor material culture. The third group consisting of settlements in the hills which were occupied during the summer months (shielings) were small, came in a variety of shapes and used a variety of construction techniques. These categories are not distinct, as there are sites which share the characteristics of more than one group.

2.3 The contribution of architectural typologies

The most significant contribution to our understanding of the medieval architecture of Argyll has been the work of John Dunbar and the Royal Commission Inventories. In his review of medieval architecture in the Highlands, John Dunbar was concerned primarily with the nature and scale of architectural building activity, which included the major

standing buildings such as the castles, hall-houses, tower houses, churches and chapels (Dunbar 1981). He proposed that a consideration of the high-status sites illuminated the changing fortunes of the clan chiefs as they either successfully extended their territory or were absorbed into other territories while the scale of building indicated the resources that the clan chiefs had at their disposal.

Dunbar saw most architectural activity taking place between the 12th century and the Wars of Independence in the late-13th century after which there was a lull. Once peace was restored in the mid-14th century, building work resumed towards the end of the 14th century. Dunbar identified the earliest stone built castles as the simple 'castles of enclosure' which consist of a massive stone encircling wall with few openings or datable architectural features and internal structures of timber. The earliest example of such a castle is Castle Sween associated with Suibhne, the powerful Lord of Knapdale (Figure 2.37). The historical records do not provide an accurate date for its construction and so it has been dated from its association with Suibhne, who was known to be active in the late-12th century and from the simple corner and mid-wall buttresses that are thought to be of Romanesque character (Dunbar 1981, 44). Inis Chonnell, Loch Awe, is also seen as an early castle of enclosure as it was of a similar size to Castle Sween and because of its fishtail arrow slits that were introduced into Britain at the turn of the 13th century. It may have been built by either the Campbells of Loch Awe (although they are not in the historical record until the late 13th century) or perhaps the MacDougalls of Lorn.

There are several other rectangular-shaped castles of enclosure in the West Highlands that Dunbar considers to be of 13th century date that were constructed by major lords, such as Duart on Mull (constructed by the MacDouglas of Lorn), Castle Roy in Speyside (by the Comyn Lords of Badenoch), Achadun on Lismore (by Bishop William of Argyll) and the earlier Skipness Castle (by the MacSweens). Again Dunbar relies on the scanty documentary records to provide a historical framework for the construction of these castles, as there are few datable architectural features. Even the royal castle at Tarbet he could only say was 'probably' built in the reign of William the Lion or Alexander II.

Castles with a polygonal shape include Mingary (possibly built by the MacDonald Lords of Islay), Castel Tioram (by the Macruarie Lords of Garmoran), Duntroon (by the Campbells of Loch Awe) and Dunoon which was another royal castle. More elaborate castles with gateways and flanking towers include Dunstaffnage (MacDougall Lords of Lorn) and Inverlochy (Comyn Lords of Badenoch and Lochaber). Dunbar does not speculate on why these castles were built, except for the one at Tarbert which was a royal castle built to consolidate the kings power in the west.

On a smaller scale the more numerous hall-houses found throughout the West Highlands, Dunbar interpreted as an indication of a degree of local stability and prosperity (Dunbar 1981). The hall-houses include Skipness (South Knapdale), Fincharn (Loch Awe, Figure 2.38), Fraoch Eilean (Loch Awe), Castle Coeffin (Lismore), Ardtornish (Islay) and Casiteal Uisean (Skye, Figure 2.39). There are no examples in the Outer Hebrides and only one possible example on Skye (at Camus). Dunbar suggests that these form a well-defined group with close parallels in Ireland. Again these structures are difficult to date from their upstanding remains alone and so after consultation of the documentary sources Dunbar suggested that they belonged to a period of stability which started in the late 12th to 13th century, was interrupted by the Wars of Independence and came to an end with the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493. The Royal Commission has suggested that Fincharn Castle on Loch Awe was of 13th century construction perhaps relating to a royal charter of 1240 confirming the lands to the local MacGilchrist family (RCAHMS 1992, 283). This is also supported by several Irish examples of hall-houses which have been confidently dated to the 13th century (McNeill 1997, 149) and subsequently, other excavated examples in Scotland are proving to be of a similarly early date (Tabraham 1997, 37).

Dunbar suggests the fashion for building tower houses in Scotland came in after the Wars of Independence with some evidence for a regional style in West Highlands with no vaults or mural fireplaces, that were characteristic of tower houses elsewhere in Scotland. They did not, therefore, differ very greatly from the earlier hall-houses and he suggests that they fulfilled a similar function for a similar class in society. Examples of tower houses are Dunvegan on Skye, Moy on Mull, Kisimul on Barra and Breachacham on Coll. Their date of construction is also not clearly defined as they have few

mouldings or datable features. Existing castles such as Castle Sween, Duart, Innis Chonnel and Urquart castles had tower houses constructed within their enclosure walls.

In contrast to these substantial stone built castles, the main residence of the Lord of the Isles in the 14th and 15th centuries at Finlaggan (Islay) was a hall-house surrounded by smaller domestic buildings with no massive enclosure wall or tower house (Figures 2.20 & 2.21). Dunbar suggested this undefended site reflected the 'unchallengeable' position of power that the MacDonalds enjoyed as Lords of the Isles, suggesting that, surrounded as he was by his kin and supporters, the Lord of the Isles had no need for defence.

It is useful to discuss the results of the excavations at Finlaggan here (Caldwell, McWee & Ruckley 2000; Caldwell 2003). Finlaggan consists of two islands, the larger of which (Eilean Mor) was occupied by a variety of structures including two halls (one a great hall), a chapel, a burial ground and a garden (Figures 2.20). The smaller island (Eilean na Comhairle) was connected by a causeway and was occupied by the remains of a castle that was in existence by the late-13th century (Caldwell 2003, 67). This castle had been built over by three structures, which were interpreted as a council chamber, a hall or house for the keeper and a storehouse. Finlaggan was used for meetings of the Council of the Isles during the summer months, as a place of inauguration. It was possibly also used as the setting for annual assemblies of the major secular barons of the Isles and the Bishop and Abbot of Icolmkill (Iona) that were equivalent to the Irish kings *óenaige* (Caldwell 2003, 69-71) which combined games, a market with political assembly (Aitchison 1994, 61-66; FitzPatrick 2001). After the forfeiture of the Lordship, the medieval structures at Finlaggan were subdivided, re-used and built over by smaller more oval-shaped structures similar to other pre-Improvement settlements (Figure 2.21) (RCAHMS 1984; Caldwell, McWee & Ruckley 2000).

Dunbar's consideration of ecclesiastical buildings in Argyll show that the significant building activity was predominantly in the period prior to the early 14th century with Saddle, Iona and Ardchatten abbeys, followed by a modest cathedral on Lismore in and a Priory on Oronsay in the 14th century. The architecture of the ecclesiastical buildings in the west had strong Irish connections, perhaps utilising Irish masons. Because of the dispersed population, the parish churches tended to be small, simple buildings which were established by the local lords, with more numerous dependent chapels which could

administer to the general population. There is no suggestion that during the medieval period the parish churches were the focus for settlement.

Other potential medieval sites such as forts and duns will be considered here from an architectural point of view. One of the most common archaeological sites in the Argyll landscape are the stone-built, hill top duns and forts, however these are normally dated from the late prehistoric to early-medieval periods. Traces of re-occupation of duns in the medieval period has been recognised, but is scanty. For example the galleried dun at Kildonan in Kintyre has evidence for paving, hearths and huts which were associated with pottery dating from the late 12th to the early 14th centuries (Fairhurst 1939). MacEwen's Castle, in Cowal, is an example where medieval structures were built within a prehistoric dun (see Figure 2.40, Marshall 1982). The prehistoric fort sits on an exposed promontory and consists of a dry-stone enclosure that has been severely robbed for its stone. Excavations within the dun revealed an oval-shaped, turf-walled structure (A) with walls up to 3 ft thick, a small circular building constructed of stones (C) and a rectangular stone-built structure (B) which produced a mid-18th-century pot sherd. To the north was a small rectangular structure (D) which had slightly bow shaped side walls, one rounded end and one square end. A Romanesque crucifix, a James I coin and green glazed pottery were found on the site and indicate a broadly medieval and late-medieval date for its occupation (RCAHMS 1992, 296). The castle was associated with the MacEwans of Ottar, a branch of the MacSweens (Sellar 1971, 32) who lost their status as landowners by the late 15th century when their lands passed to the Campbells (RCAHMS 1992, 296). This may explain the abandonment of this site and its re-use as a farmstead.

The Royal Commission have described several duns and forts in Argyll where the interiors are occupied by a range of structures from shielings to substantial stone-built structures with associated cultivation (RCAHMS 1971, 64-94; RCAHMS 1975, 64-93). At the dun at Castles, Lorn, (Figure 2.41) for example, there are the remains of a sub-rectangular building possibly contemporary with the nearby remains of Castle Strae and documentary references associate this site with the MacGregors of Glenstrae in the 15th and 16th centuries (RCAHMS 1975, 81-82, 187). Although clearly having potential for re-use the Royal Commission does not suggest that these sites could have been occupied

in the medieval period unless there are either documentary references or an oral tradition of an association with a historic family.

A survey of surviving cruck-framed buildings in Scotland (Stell 1981) found 220 examples of houses where the roof was supported by the main timber rafters (or couples) which were either were supported on low stone foundation walls or rested on the ground. These surviving examples are not likely to date to before the 18th century, but may follow a much older tradition. Dixon has suggested that a building technique which involved earth-fast roofing timbers was replaced in the 13th and 14th centuries by crucks supported on low walls, perhaps as a result of timber shortages and the need to preserve the timber (Dixon 2002).

This consideration of the architecture of the west of Scotland has shown that, prior to the effects of the Wars of Independence, Argyll was at the forefront of Scottish architectural developments with the construction of castles of enclosure and hall-houses. Further building resumed in Argyll in the mid-14th century, but this was not on such a grand scale as seen elsewhere in Scotland as there are relatively few tower houses. The site of Finlaggan is anomalous in that it was of the highest status and yet did not display highly defensive qualities. The Lord of the Isles possessed castles elsewhere on Islay at Dunivaig and Kilchoman (both also on Islay) which perhaps fulfilled the role of the stone castle when required, leaving Finlaggan as a more traditional Gaelic centre for political assembly. Ecclesiastical architecture displayed a similar Irish influence and slump about the time of the Wars of Independence. The re-use of prehistoric duns and forts was also seen, but on a limited scale and the date of this re-use may be Post-medieval rather than medieval in date. In general, a purely architectural approach does not take sufficient consideration of the society which produced this architecture and how the high-status sites related to the settlements of the rest of the population. This is redressed by a consideration of the contribution of historical geographers.

2.4 The contribution of historical geography

As historical geographers, Dodgshon and Whyte's approaches to the study of rural settlement have been to emphasise the contribution of estate rentals, charters, historic maps and aerial photographs. They have suggested that rather than being static and conservative until the advent of the Improvements, medieval settlement was in a constant state of flux (Dodgshon 1980, 1993; Whyte 1981). As an archaeologist with an interest in Gaelic society, Crawford has highlighted the deeply hierarchical nature of Medieval society which is thought to be reflected in settlement morphology (Crawford 1983).

Dodgshon examines the processes involved during the medieval and Post-medieval period which included population pressure, the influence of feudalisation from the 13th century and the introduction of commercialism from the later medieval period onwards. An overall population rise during the medieval period is attested by estate rentals, which led to population pressure. The effect on the settlement pattern was a combination of the splitting of existing settlements (into Easter and Wester for example) and the establishment of new settlements through colonisation of waste land, moorland and hunting forests. The rise in population was not steady as there was a period of decline during the 14th and 15th centuries which he blames on climatic deterioration leading to poor harvests, hunger and pestilence. This is supported by Parry's earlier work in the marginal land of the Lammermuirs where settlements were abandoned between 1300 and 1600 probably because of the worsening climatic conditions (Parry 1975).

Dodgshon set out a model of settlement change from a dispersed form with enclosed fields to a nucleated form with large fields in the runrig system, which he proposed took place in Scotland from the 13th century onwards, perhaps influenced by the introduction of feudalisation (Barrow 1973). He examined early 19th-century estate plans of two sites at Greaulin and Glen Hinnisdal, Lewis, and suggested that areas depicted as rough ground in between the nucleated settlements were sites of earlier dispersed settlements (Dodgshon 1993, 428). When he checked these areas in the field he found the remains of walls and kailyards and the aerial photographs indicated that there were further remains in the landscape which could be late-medieval if not earlier in date. This work has not been followed up by any investigative excavation which could have provided a

chronology for such change in the settlement pattern. Dodgshon also referred to earlier work by Geddes at Bragar, Lewis, where two early-18th-century rentals indicated that within the division of North and South Bragar the tenants were listed in sub-groups which he suggested was evidence for a more dispersed pattern of small farms than the two place-names would suggest (Dodgshon 1993, 425).

Dodgshon highlighted the lack of visibility of medieval rural settlement which he thought was primarily because of the use of perishable materials, as attested by 18th-and 19th-century travellers and tenants leases. Dodgshon proposed that people *chose* to build in organic materials because it was part of the system of husbandry which required intensive fertilisation of the infield by all available materials including the roofing and walling materials. Even when stone was available, people still preferred to use organic materials. Dodgshon has emphasised the changing nature and location of rural settlement that can be traced through an examination of historical records, plans and aerial photographs. However, without a chronological framework for his observations and similar work carried out in other regions, it would be difficult to assess how local the patterns he observes are and how relevant they are to developments elsewhere in Scotland. For example he linked feudalisation with nucleation of settlement. While this may have had a profound effect on settlement in the Lowlands, it was less significant in the Highlands and Dodgshon has not presented any evidence that nucleation of settlement occurred here before the 19th century.

Another historical geographer, Whyte, undertook his research predominantly in the Lowlands. He found that the traditional model of the pre-Improvement 'fermtoun' consisting of a group of between four and eight families working a farm together (as suggested by the Statistical Accounts of the late-18th century) does not take into account the great variety of settlement size and variable social status of inhabitants that he could identify from the historical records for the 17th and 18th centuries (Whyte 1981).

Whyte utilised the 1691 Hearth tax for south-east Scotland to show how the population density and size of settlements varied across and between different areas. But he also analysed the social status of the inhabitants and noted that while settlements could have similar population numbers their occupants could be of different status. Rentals described the occupiers of the land of varied status including *husbandi, firmari, cotari,*

and *bondagia*. Some settlements could be held as joint farms while others were tenanted by a single farmer assisted by cottars and hired help. He also highlighted one of the drawbacks of utilising old maps such as Pont, Roy and Adair to identify the location of sites mentioned in the historical records as he found that small sites of between 1 –3 households which were mentioned in the historical records could not always be located on the contemporary maps. Whyte also found that the 1696 Poll tax returns for Aberdeenshire revealed a varying effect of commercialisation in that the more commercial farms were large and predominantly farmed by single tenants with cottars and hired servants and that the joint tenant farms (found in the more remote upland areas) were less commercially orientated.

Whyte indicated that the documentary evidence can reveal several processes at work during the Post-medieval period, including the consolidation of jointly held runrig farms into single larger farms, the growth and splitting of fermtouns and the colonisation of waste. He also looked back into the medieval period and identified various processes of settlement change including the colonisation of forests, the colonisation of shieling grounds and the conversion of shielings to permanent farms (see Figure 2.42). The development of settlements, he noted, was not uniform and steady as there were periods of stability, growth and decline.

In addition to field survey, what is required in order to understand medieval rural settlement in the west of Scotland, is an understanding of the hierarchical clan system which, according to Iain Crawford (working in the Uists and the small isles) consisted of three major levels (Crawford 1983, 353). The upper stratum consisted of clan chiefs and the major landowners, beneath whom were the lesser chiefs and tacksmen who would have consisted of their 'lesser kin, adherents and minor lines'. On the bottom rung were the tenant farmers, crofters and cottars. He suggested that these differences in social status would be reflected in the physical settlement remains, so for the West Highlands and Islands he attempted to correlate the known archaeological sites with the anticipated social strata they represented. The residences of the major clan chiefs, the castles, tower houses and fortified islands, are the most visible in the landscape. Crawford has suggested that the minor chiefs lived either in small fortlets, or were archaeologically indistinguishable from the lesser clan members as they lived close to or among their settlements which have still not been found (Crawford 1983, 355). In

order to incorporate the archaeological evidence, Crawford proposed three levels of habitation (apart from the major castles) based on social status, which splits the tacksmen into an upper and lower strata.

At the top was the tacksman's fort, which he identified as the fortified islands, artificial island forts and minor fortifications (which would include crannogs) which often have documented associations with known clans. From the known archaeological sites in Lorne and Kintyre (RCAHMS 1971 & 1975) he tentatively suggested three further subdivisions of these defensive structures which he identified as,

1. Simple small towers of stone or wood in loch shallows or on islets.

2. Small forts of the above or similar type with a major rectangular building incorporated or inserted.

3. Fortified or apparently defensively chosen islands with farm townships upon them.

He placed Loch Glashan (Fairhurst 1969b) in the third category, although there is no specific family association.

Crawford's second group was the unfortified tacksman's baile which were single large domestic buildings and ancillary structures without defence, often called Tigh Mór or 'seanbhaile'. He puts forward an example of such a site from his excavations at the Udal, North Uist where a structure called Tigh Mór had rounded corners, walls over 6ft thick and opposing doorways (Crawford 1983 Fig 151, 160; Crawford & Switzur 1977). This example is certainly pre-Improvement as there is archaeological and documentary evidence that it was overwhelmed by a sandstorm in 1697.

The third group was the 'baile' or township of the people of lesser status, the subordinate tenants, of which there appears to be a complete absence in the archaeological record. At sites which were depicted on Pont and Roy's maps Crawford could only identify structures that dated to the immediate pre-Clearance period. As a result of this fieldwork Crawford speculated that (with the exception of the machair) the location of the medieval predecessors of the pre-Improvement baile were either incorporated within, were built over by, or were in the close vicinity of the later settlements. He gives the example of Siabaidh (Shiaby) on Berneray, Harris which, like

the Udal, was overwhelmed by a sand storm in 1697 and now lies beneath the 18th-century settlement (Crawford 1967). Crawford also suggests that the number and nature of subdivisions within a baile would be related to whether a tacksman was resident and what his relative status was.

Crawford suggests that as fieldwork alone has not produced medieval sites then what is required is a study of the estate archives, place-names with the addition of linguistic evidence and oral traditional. It was through this method that he decided on the site of the Udal to concentrate his attention on. His excavations at the Udal have indeed produced a settlement dating from the Norse through and beyond the medieval period. He concluded that it had been occupied by a person of relatively high-status, such as a tacksman until the 17th century, because of the rich artefact assemblage, after which it was 'on the social slide' (Crawford 1983, 365). Unfortunately, the full results of the lengthy excavations are not yet fully published apart from a consideration of the pottery sequence which is of limited assistance outside the Western Isles as these areas were largely aceramic (Lane 2007).

Crawford has put forward a useful model for rural settlement based on the available archaeological evidence, but has attempted to fit the observed archaeological evidence into his neatly hierarchical model. For example, the Udal is put forward as an example of the second group the tacksmans baile, which one would assume must have once been quite common, and yet, so far, this site would appear to be quite unique even in the Western Isles. The site of Finlaggan also does not fit neatly into his model either, being of the highest status, although Crawford argues that the island nature of the site was sufficient for it to be classified as defensive.

The approach of the historical geographer therefore highlights the potential contribution of the historical records and historic maps to an understanding of the location and nature of rural settlement and the organisation of society. It also, however, shows up some of the problems associated with the interpretation of historical data and with the relationship of the historical data to the archaeological record.

This consideration of the contribution of vernacular architecture, excavations, topographic surveys, architectural models and historical geography has highlighted

three main themes. The first is the hierarchical and pyramidical nature of society which is likely to be reflected in the settlement pattern. The second is the complicating factor of the fluctuating nature of settlement both spatially and socially with time and the third is the use of perishable materials for rural settlement that may be a positive choice of Gaelic society given the pastoral economy and troubled times. This chapter will now take into consideration the more recent archaeological and survey work undertaken in the various Gaelic speaking regions of Scotland which might provide a model for settlement in Mid-Argyll.

2.5 Regional models based on the results of survey and excavation

It has been recognised for some years that there are regional variations in rural settlement in Scotland (Fenton & Walker 1981, Bruntskill 1981, Naismith 1989, Atkinson 1995). The criteria used by these researchers for defining regions vary, but are essentially concerned with environmental factors such as geology, topography and climate as well as social, economic and historical factors. Areas where recent fieldwork and excavation have taken place which may provide comparable material, as they are also in the (until recently) Gaelic speaking areas, are Perthshire to the east, the Highlands to the north, South Uist in the west and Ireland. Perthshire straddles the southern edge of the Scottish Highlands with a range of altitudes from low-lying to well over 600m AOD and the mountain ranges of the Highlands, consisting of the Grampians and the Cairngorms, contain Scotland's highest peaks. In contrast South Uist is low lying and maritime and consists of the alkaline sand machair and the acid blacklands. Ireland is also low lying, with a mixture of good pasture, cultivated ground, bogs and woods. Some work undertaken in the non-Gaelic speaking Lowlands has also been considered as the discovery of medieval rural settlement has proved more successful there than elsewhere.

Western Isles

In addition to Iain Crawford's work in the Western Isles there has been the Sheffield Environmental and Archaeological Research Campaign in the Hebrides (SEARCH) project in South Uist and Barra (Parker Pearson *et al* 2004; Sharples 2005, Branigan

2005) and an Afforestable Land Survey undertaken by the Royal Commission in Waternish, Skye (Dixon 1993a, Dixon 1993b) These have produced a useful model for settlement change and provides examples of different methodologies.

The SEARCH archaeological excavations and survey in South Uist produced evidence for a shift away from arable to a more pastoral economy which was detected in a change in an ecofactual assemblage and the presence of seasonal shelters. There was also some evidence that after a considerable period of stability in the prehistoric and Norse periods, there was a significant re-organisation of settlement in the medieval period which possibly post-dated the shift in the economy.

The SEARCH project found that townships were often formed around a nuclei of Early Iron Age sites (Parker Pearson *et al* 2004, 162) and formed a dispersed settlement pattern from the Late Iron Age. At Bornais a series of mounds on the machair were examined with geophysical surveys and excavations (Sharples 2005). Numerous artefacts and ecofacts were retrieved which indicated that the site had been the focus for settlement since the Middle Iron Age. At the site of Balnagraig a Neolithic cairn lay beneath a possibly Middle Iron Age round house and was overlain by two phases of small structures of oval, square and sub-rectangular shaped 'cabins' which might have been medieval in date (Branigan 2005, 31). At the deserted settlement of Gortein there were varied structures, consisting of field walls and enclosures. What may have been the earliest structure was a possibly Iron Age round house perhaps surrounded by contemporary circular and oval-shaped huts. The medieval period was thought to be represented by huts and temporary shelters during a period of 'occasional use by shepherds' (Branigan 2005, 38-40).

There was evidence for a shift in settlement at Bornais and Cille Pheadir, located on the machair, which were abandoned for perhaps more defensive sites in the inland blacklands (Parker Pearson *et al* 2004, 155-163; Sharples 2005, 195). This was not a clear cut shift as some Norse sites either continued in use into the medieval period or were replaced by medieval sites nearby. Some of these abandoned sites were then re-occupied as temporary settlement sites.

At Bornais, the radiocarbon dates revealed that a Norse farmstead (Figures 2.43 & 2.44) was built on the site in the 13th or early-14th centuries and remained in use until the 14th or late-15th centuries when it was abandoned. The construction of a small stone structure, measuring less than 2m across, into a sand filled kiln-barn was interpreted as seasonal re-use of the site as a herders shelter, or a shieling, although the lack of an entrance, hearth and its small size would argue against it being other than a sheep shelter or lambing pen.

Sharples suggests that this settlement shift could have been caused by machair instability as a result of continued cultivation of the machair after a long period of drought, economic changes after the Treaty of Perth in 1266 or political instability after the end of the Lordship of the Isles. He suggests that any of these factors could have resulted in an increase in importance of cattle to the economy that were grazed primarily in the blacklands (Sharples 2005, 196). He does not however take into consideration the effect of an increase in storminess, associated with the climatic deterioration, which might have discouraged people from living near the exposed west coast.

At Bornais and Cille Pheadair the results of the excavations suggested there was a change in social practice in the 14th century. The Norse longhouses developed into a layout consisting of a main room and subsidiary rooms (Figure 2.45) and the internal arrangements were transformed from the long hearths to small hearths which were moved to the doorways. This could be interpreted as a change in social practice from a communal arrangement to a more private, perhaps family orientated, one. The last longhouse at Cille Pheadair was replaced, possibly in the medieval period, by two small temporary shelters from which no domestic material was recovered (Parker Pearson *et al* 2004, 149).

The analysis of the animal bones at Bornais supported a shift in the economy, during the Norse period, from predominantly milk production to the consumption of meat, which Sharples suggests would be a by-product of an increase in importance of the cattle trade. This would indicate that a corresponding decrease in the importance of arable pre-dated the move to the machair for reasons as yet unknown.

Another feature of Bornais and Cille Pheadair was the lack of byres which would indicate that animals were kept outdoors all year. This contrasts with the 18th and 19th-century structures on South Uist which have a byre at one end and a living area at the other, but is similar to the remains of Post-medieval settlement further south on Barra where the blackhouses were relatively 'short' and did not share space with animals (Branigan & Marrony 2000, 8). It is perhaps still too early to interpret these differences as they may be a result of a response to environmental or economic pressures on a regional scale or to a development of local social practices.

Emerging from the SEARCH project, John Raven's PhD thesis explored the medieval landscapes and Lordship in South Uist. He examined the possibility that after about 1400 there was a change in agricultural practices from a mix of arable and pastoral to a predominantly pastoral practice which was reflected in the settlement pattern as a shift away from the Norse enclosed farms (Raven 2005, 363). He hoped to detect a shift of settlement away from the coastal machair to inland sites in the cnoc-an-lochan zone and the adoption of small temporary structures of which would leave little trace in the archaeological record. He anticipated that factors causing this change may have been a drop in population numbers, environmental deterioration or the plague. He thought this change may also have corresponded with a revival in Gaelic culture after the Norse invasion and reinforced links with Gaelic Ireland.

Raven tested his belief in a shift in settlement from the machair at the end of the Norse period and investigated the origins of the Post-medieval *bailtean*. Following on from a survey undertaken by Parker Pearson, he undertook geophysical surveys and excavation of a series of test trenches over several mounds on the machair and the cnoc-an lochan. The results were not conclusive, but did reveal that there was no clear cut abandonment of sites in the machair, in fact he suggests that there was some continuity of activity on some sites as at Aisgernis and Machair Mheadhanach (Raven 2005, 379). The structures identified in his fieldwork were constructed with stone foundations and turf walls and some consisted of a complex sequence of buildings, although nothing on the scale of the Udal. A medieval presence on sites was suggested from the discovery of late-medieval pottery, although in some cases there were problems in differentiating between the Iron Age pottery and the medieval (ibid 378). This form of test pitting is a relatively efficient way of examining the sub-surface features of several sites over a wide geographical area

and of retrieving potential dating material. However, the small size of the trenches does hamper the understanding of complex sites and does not often allow for the association of finds with structural features.

Raven also noted that there were no major castles in South Uist and he suggested that it was from island dwellings, re-occupied after the 13th century, that clan chiefs managed their land and interacted with their clans (Raven 2005, 365). By the end of the medieval period the land was held directly from the lord by communities which occupied *baltean* and farmed the land in open-fields in the runrig system. He suggested that there was little archaeological evidence for an intermediate economic and social system dominated by pastoralism, between the Norse and the late-medieval periods, possibly because of its insubstantial nature.

The work by the SEARCH project on Barra, Vatersay and Sandray consisted primarily of field survey with some small-scale excavation (Branigan 2005) which contributed towards the model put forward above by Parker-Person and Sharples, and discovered a large number of new sites and explored the morphology and interpretation of rural settlement sites.

A multi-period landscape was identified at Borve where Iron Age settlement was indicated by the presence of a broch and several wheelhouses. Some of the structures or 'huts' were also thought to be of this date. A Norse presence was indicated by a burial and medieval occupation was represented by several shielings, huts and a 12th-century soil beneath a clearance cairn. One of these shielings was excavated and found to be merely a circle of stones for a tent-like structure (Branigan 2005, 31). There is therefore support for a medieval pattern of temporary structures or shielings re-occupying existing settlement sites. Branigan agrees that this indicates a predominance of pastoralism in the economy during the medieval period. At another site of Bruernish, Branigan identified a predominance of pastoralism and fishing in the economy which extended into the Post-medieval period from the lack of lazybeds or other evidence for cultivation in the vicinity of several of the blackhouses (Branigan 2005, 43).

A group of shieling structures near Earsary were excavated and found to be of at least three phases. The earliest structure was thick-walled and oval-shaped. From the

presence of Norse pottery and hand made Craggan ware, Branigan suggested that the site was occupied sporadically from the Norse period until the 13th to 15th centuries (Branigan, 2005, 50). Above this were three structures, two of which were oval-shaped structures possibly contemporary with each other, from which two sherds of undiagnostic pottery were retrieved. These were therefore dated to the later medieval or modern period.

Seventy-five potential early historic and medieval sites were identified and some of them were excavated. The excavations almost invariably revealed that the initial identifications of morphology type were incorrect. For example, Branigan realised that there was no clear distinction between prehistoric round houses and Norse oval-shaped houses, as some Iron Age houses were oval and some Norse houses were only 'marginally oval' (Branigan 2005, 30). Of three structures initially identified as round houses, one turned out to be a D-shaped structure and two others were probably tent emplacements (ibid, 31). He classified sites as 'round huts' or 'oval huts' when they sat directly on the ground surface but as 'shielings' if they sat on mounds which suggested multi-seasonal use, although he also accepted that some of the round and oval huts could also have been used as shielings. Thus, site descriptions incorporating functional and morphological elements were both being used, which is perhaps not helpful.

Branigan identified six different types of 'shelters' that were less substantial than 'huts' and varied in shape, including oval, circular and rectangular. These shelters were commonly found on high ground. He interpreted these as shelters for lambs or calves, or as shelters or stores for fishermen or herders. When two of these sites were excavated they, unfortunately provided no artefacts to aid dating or interpretation of function. The excavation of a shieling on Barra revealed it to be formed of a single course of stones possibly for holding down a temporary shelter, such as a tent. The oval-shaped shieling B58 (Figure 2.46) produced Craggan ware which suggested to Branigan that it was in use between the 13th and the 16th centuries (Branigan 2005, 53-54). The pottery consisted of predominantly globular jars which would have been used for a variety of cooking and food storage purposes (Cheape 1993). Another structure identified originally as circular in shape was excavated and found to have been originally a well-built rectangular structure. There was no hearth and a single sherd of 17th / 18th-century pottery was retrieved and so it was interpreted as a Post-medieval shepherds hut that

had been modified into a less well constructed D-shaped structure in the 19th century. Another structure (E19) was an example of a substantial stone building which had been almost completely removed by stone robbing as it survived as only a few isolated blocks of masonry (Branigan 2005, 59). The artefacts within the floor layer indicated late 19th and 20th century occupation by rabbit catchers although its original purpose was unclear.

The presence of pottery on South Uist was certainly different from the situation on the mainland for between 1300 and 1500 hand-made pottery with an everted rim called Craggan ware is often found. In the 14th century this pottery was plain, but by the 15th and 16th centuries the decoration became similar in style to that found in the Middle Iron Age (Parker Pearson *et al* 2004, 160) which would clearly confuse any chronology unless radiocarbon dates were also available. A few sherds of wheel-thrown pottery which originated on the (eastern) mainland have also been found and during the 16th and 17th century. The pottery was similar to the Irish 'Crannog' ware (now called Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery (McSparron 2009) in having a high collar and being decorated.

There is some evidence for the Post-medieval re-use of sites in South Uist perhaps as a result of a population increase. For example at Bornais a tacksman's house occupied the site between the mid-17th and the 19th centuries after a period of two centuries when the only structural evidence was a possible lambing pen (Parker Pearson *et al* 2004, 164). Despite the potentially multi-phased appearance of a settlement at Balnabodach, Barra (Figure 2.47), excavation confirmed that these 'blackhouses' were of 19th century date, with prehistoric settlement beneath, and no evidence for an intermediate medieval phase (Branigan 2005, 106). There was no documentary evidence for the site before the 19th-century and so it is likely to have been a newly established settlement on a site that had not been used since the prehistoric period.

On Waternish, Skye the pre-Improvement settlement was found to consist of an 'irregular sprawl' of houses with nearby spade-dug narrow rig and small globular enclosures (Dixon 1993a, 25). Shielings on mounds were seen along the sides of streams and prehistoric hut circles and 'dogs tooth' walls were overlain by the rig. The largest fermtoun of Halistra consisted of about 100 structures grouped into four main clusters which were located at the boundary of the best cultivatable land and the higher

ground behind. Each farmstead consisted of a long (10m- 20m) sub-rectangular building lying across the contours. The walls were thick, over 1m, and were built earth with a protective rubble face. These long structures were often divided into two compartments and were entered from the lower part. They were accompanied by smaller structures, some of which had corn-drying kilns within them. The globular enclosures which post-dated the rig (presumably as they overlay the rig) were interpreted as stock enclosures. Although Dixon admits that not all the 100 buildings are likely to be contemporary he suggests that these structures dated to the immediate pre-Improvement period, the 18th century and, disappointingly, did not identify any as being possibly of medieval in date because of their different morphology or visible phasing. Perhaps the high density of the settlement here during the 18th century, before it was shifted in the late 18th century to crofting townships elsewhere, has obliterated the surface remains of earlier settlement.

The SEARCH project has increased the number of rural settlement sites in the Western Isles enormously and because of Branigan's specific interest in shielings, no hut or slight structural traces were beneath the notice of his recording team. He attempted to classify these structures as shielings, shelters, huts, or round houses although after excavation the shape was generally found to be incorrect and even their functions were not clear. The interpretation of round structures as prehistoric and oval structures as potentially prehistoric is still evident, but was not proved. Re-use and changes of function were also noted. The dating of sites proved difficult. A few of the structures produced some pottery, either Craggan ware, which is difficult to date, or very occasionally wheel-thrown medieval pottery which provides a broad medieval context. Generally finds were few. The work in South Uist and Barra has shown that there were changes in settlement form from the Norse to the pre-Improvement period which might be associated with an increased dependence on pastoralism, but the dating of this change was not consistent as the Bornish site suggested a shift to pastoralism from dairying in the Norse period rather than later in the medieval period as is suggested by the other evidence. The clear evidence for migration may be limited to some areas of South Uist as on Barra there is not such a clear-cut division of the landscape between machair and the blacklands. This work has therefore provided a potential model of settlement shift in the medieval, but it will require many more excavations before we can see how representative it is of the region.

While dealing with the Western Isles, it is useful to consider briefly the results of some recent excavations of shielings which are more substantial than those described by the SEARCH project. A site at Druim nan Dearcag, North Uist, produced many sherds of hand-made pottery (Craggan ware) thought to be dated to between the 15th and 18th centuries, some glazed wares of the 15th to 17th centuries, a 17th-century copper-alloy buckle and some ferrous slag (Armit 1997). One structure had a hearth and so domestic occupation was suggested. Other structures, with no hearths, were interpreted as stores and one as a boat noost because of its lochside location. Only the structures themselves were excavated and so activities carried out outside the shielings have not been detected. The author suggested that these structures could be interpreted as shielings associated with seasonal transhumance, but because of their location within formerly cultivated grounds may instead have been part of a 'settled landscape of discrete farming settlements' which were close to the permanent settlement (Armit 1997, 918). Another more recent excavation of a blackhouse and multi-period site has taken place on Eilean an Tighe (House Island) one of the Shiant islands (Foster 2004). Here pottery thought to date to the Iron Age and to the 15th/16th centuries was found beneath the 18th/19th-century deposits. The Iron Age deposits were pitted with post- and stake-holes and spreads of hearth material. No specific medieval deposits have been reported as yet, but perhaps awaits full publication and the possibility of these deposits being medieval is quite possible. Another site where the medieval activity in the form of stake-holes, hearths, craggan ware and wheel thrown medieval pottery was found immediately beneath the Post-medieval structures was at the author's excavations on Gunna (between Coll & Tiree, James 1998b). It was thought that at this temporary structures were overlain by more permanent buildings in the Post-medieval period perhaps because of the restricted nature of the site.

Perthshire

Work in Perthshire has included field surveys by the Royal Commission and survey and excavation by the Ben Lawers Project. The Royal Commission have published a synthesis of the field remains within the wider landscape rather than as individual monuments, and there is a lack of dating evidence with which to validate their view that circular structures are prehistoric and rectangular structures are medieval or later (RCAHMS 1990, RCAHMS 1994). Despite this they have fully adopted this division

and, for example, have separated the landscape of Dirnanean into two illustrations, one for prehistoric sites and another for the medieval and later sites.

The survey of north-east Perthshire revealed that the heather-covered hills are dotted with settlements predominantly below the 450m contour. Although few sites have been dated, the Royal Commission have suggested that in the prehistoric period the settlement pattern consisted of dispersed farmsteads, made up of numerous groups of circular hut circles, concentrated around areas of arable land (RCAHMS 1990, 4). The groups of hut circles were generally located above the margins of medieval and Post-medieval activity, which might support the idea that there was a shift in settlement at some point in, or just prior to, the medieval period.

The Commission suggested that the pre-Improvement landscape was represented by two forms of settlement. One tended to be an amorphous groups of buildings such as at Lennoch-more, Glenshee (Figure 2.48, RCAHMS 1990, 142) which was depicted on Roy's map of the mid 18th century and so is likely to be immediately pre-Improvement. The other was a more linear or arranged around a yard, as at Ashintully (RCAHMS 1990, 96). However, the linear or courtyard form of fermtoun is more likely to be a product of the early Improvements and so also of 18th or early 19th century date (Dalglish 2000). Both forms of settlement were often located at the break of slope on the valley sides between the arable and the pasture land. A few of these fermtouns were located in the upper valleys in the vicinity of shielings (RCAHMS 1990, 5) which might be Post-medieval re-occupation of the hill grounds. In the highest ground only shielings were found. As seen in the Western Isles, the shieling huts were of varying shape, including rectangular, oval and circular and were rarely found singly, often in groups of up to 40 structures.

A possible transitional form of structure has been recognised during these surveys in Perthshire and is referred to as the 'Pitcarmick-type'. These are distributed across north-east Perthshire in four general areas, Pitcarmick, Balnabroich, Knoclali & Lair (Figure 2.49, RCAHMS 1990, 12-13). The Pitcarmick-type buildings have rounded ends with bowed, or slightly curving, side walls and they are generally narrow towards one end. Most are between 15m and 25m long and are constructed of low stone foundations with partially sunken floors. There is generally a single entrance slightly off-centre, protected

by an outer porch and often with annexes. They are found within the same locality as hut circles which they occasionally overlie and are generally not found near Improved farmsteads of fermtouns. Examples of Pitcarmick-type buildings close to hut circles and other less substantial remains are seen at Lair (RCAHMS 1990, 150) and Pitcarmick North (Figure 2.50, RCAHMS 1990, 78). An excavation project undertaken by Glasgow University of sites at North Pitcarmick awaits final publication, but radiocarbon dates of the mid-7th to mid-9th and the late 9th to early 11th centuries have been produced from the interior of two structures of this Pitcarmick-type (Barrett & Downes 1993 & 1994; Corser 1993; Hooper 2002, 190). These structures, found as they are in the vicinity of prehistoric sites, show a degree of continuity of settlement location, if not of settlement morphology, which is consistent with the Western Isles model.

A further type of structure was identified which consisted of sub-rectangular single chambered structures which were engagingly called 'chalets' by Barrett & Downes and 'cots' by Hooper, which post-dated the Pitcarmick-type structures (Banks 1996, 219). It is likely that these are what other fieldworkers refer to as shielings. Also, from the rectangular 'cots' in the vicinity, 13th to 14th-centuries pottery was recovered as well as a jug of the 14th to 15th centuries (Hooper 2002, 222). A limited amount of soil analysis was undertaken and evidence for localised phosphate enhancement was interpreted as evidence that there were further structural remains beneath the surface (Banks 1996, 223).

As well as providing some data which would seem to agree with the continuity of prehistoric and early-medieval settlement with its replacement by temporary shielings in the later medieval period, these excavations have also highlighted a problem with taking the Royal Commission survey data on face value, in that what had been classed as a double hut-circle, turned out to be a sequence of three separate hut circles, the earliest of which had left no trace on the surface (Banks 1996, 219). A geophysical survey over a large round house (Structure A in RCAHMS 1990, 78) produced evidence for the round house walls and at least one other circular anomaly (Banks 1996, Illus 8.3.6).

At Dirnanean (RCAHMS 1990, 109 -113) a Royal Commission survey of an area about 4km by 5km, revealed a variety of structure types and size of structure groupings (Figures 2.51 & 2.52). There were several groups of shieling huts, one of which

consisted of 14 huts interspersed with five hut circles (No 255.34), another group of 40 huts was associated with rig and furrow (No 255.35) and another group consisted of ten huts of both rectangular and oval shape (No 255.15). These generally occupied the higher ground while the farmsteads occupied the valleys and lower ground, although there was some overlap. Within this survey area there were also several groups of hut circles that were interspersed with the shielings and farmsteads. This survey has shown that Dirnanean has a complex history of settlement from prehistory through to the Post-medieval period, and does not so far support the possible model.

In striking contrast, the shielings and farmsteads in the survey area of Invereddie are clearly distinguished by altitude and there are no hut circles in this area either (RCAHMS 1990, 146). One could suggest that this area has been colonised at a later period than Dirnanean and that the remains observed have a narrower chronological span. The area of Invereddie includes an artificial island in Loch Beanie with traces of walls (Site 210, Figure 2.53, RCAHMS 1990, 91). Its identification as a high-status site is clear from Pont's map where it is depicted as a mansion and accompanied by the description 'sumtymes ye dwelling of ye chief man of Glenshy and Strathardle'. There are a few examples where a more substantial structure has been interpreted as a tackmen's or laird's house within a fermtoun. Sometimes these also have associated documentary references such as Glen Shee, Dalmunzie (Structure A), which is on record in 1510 and described as an 'old castle' by Stobie in 1783 (Figure 2.54; RCAHMS 1990, 140-141). In general, there are no major early castles in north-east Perthshire, but there are several tower houses which are located in prominent, if not particularly defensive, positions. Some have slight remains of outer structures, which are generally thought to be Post-medieval in date. The area of Invereddie is therefore missing any evidence for the prehistoric and early-medieval continuity of settlement, but this evidence may have become obscured by the density of the later settlement.

Within the Invereddie survey there is a site called Broughdearg (RCAHMS 1990, 103) which has parallels with the Bàrr Mór site that was revealed during the fieldwork phase of this research (see Chapter 6) and should be noted here. Described as shielings, this site consists of a large sub-rectangular building or enclosure which is thought to be the earliest phase, with two additional round cornered structures and an enclosing wall forming a yard (Figure 2.55).

To provide some historical background information for the Invereddie survey, the Royal Commission consulted the documentary records of the Cistercian Abbey in Cupar Angus (RCAHMS 1990, 11). The ecclesiastical influence on rural settlement was discernable from the records which indicated that the system of leasing to individual tenants was established on abbey lands by the mid-15th century and the cooperative system of runrig was not utilised at this point. The leases generally lasted for 5 to 7 years, although some life-rents were known. The practice of splitting fermtouns in the 15th and 16th centuries, could be identified as at Persie for example where three groups of buildings were seen, one a 'bow-sided building' of low, turf covered stone foundations with two enclosures, which may relate to the late-medieval period and two possibly 18th or 19th-century farmsteads (RCAHMS 1990, 154).

In contrast south-east Perthshire is predominantly under 150m in height and the remains of medieval settlement have been largely eradicated by Post-medieval cultivation. Early motte and bailey castles and moated sites have been identified (RCAHMS 1994, 104-109) the latter particularly from aerial photographs. Tower houses were built from the late 14th to early 15th centuries in this area (RCAHMS 1994, 139). Several other tower houses are associated with the leading families of the area throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. One example occupied an island in the Loch of Clunie (RCAHMS 1994, 141) a location similar to the crannogs and island dwellings of Argyll. The abandonment of the 'defensive' nature of architecture is marked by the construction of laird's houses in the 17th and 18th centuries.

There are far fewer remains of pre-Improvement settlement in south-east Perthshire than in the north-east and those that survive are concentrated in the Sidlaw Hills which are over 150m AOD. They consist of a fermtoun at Arnbathie, several farmsteads (some with associated field systems), isolated buildings and shielings. No Pitcarmick-type buildings were identified. Some sherds of medieval pottery collected from mole-casts which were unassociated with structures were the only evidence for medieval activity here, although there is documentary evidence for Ambathie (or Arybothy) in the middle 15th century (RCAHMS 1994 123) which suggests that it started out as a shieling site.

The medieval landscape of south-east Perthshire was dominated by three major ecclesiastical establishments, Scone Abbey, Dunkeld Cathedral and Coupar Angus

Abbey. The Coupar Angus records reveal how the church lands were administered from granges serviced by the labour of lay brothers. The records reveal that an initial period of expansion, when marshy lands and moorlands were reclaimed, ended by the middle of the 14th century, linked to climatic deterioration, pestilence and political instability. A shortage of labour resulted in an increase in the number of leases of church lands to secular tenants. In contrast to the theory that the absence of medieval settlements was partly due to the brevity of leases, a study of the leases of Coupar Angus has revealed that leases in the mid 15th to early 16th centuries were generally 5 years and often for life (RCAHMS 1994, 117, quoting Sanderson 1982).

With the aid of the documentary references the Royal Commission have been able to suggest that the pre-Improvement rural settlement pattern within this lowland area consisted of nucleated villages (with a parish church near a motte) as at Kinnaird, Clunie, Errol and Cargill with a large number of fermtouns and cottartouns, a wide scatter of smaller fermtouns and individual farmsteads (RCAHMS 1994, 113 & 130). A number of these fermtouns developed into burghs in the 16th and 17th centuries with the associated markets and crafts, a characteristic which occurred more rarely in the less populated west of Scotland.

The Ben Lawers Historic Landscape Project, located on the north shore of Loch Tay, Perthshire, has been undertaking multi-disciplinary work on rural settlement history involving topographic survey, geophysical survey, excavation, soil analysis and documentary and map based research (Atkinson *et al* 2004). This work has yet to be published but will provide essential chronological and morphological information with which to test the settlement model. In the meantime there are several sites that have been investigated as part of this project that are of particular interest. One is at Kiltyrie 17 above the head dyke, where a group of shielings, were found to consist of two small oval-shaped shielings overlying both ends of a longer sub-rectangular turf-built structure with a hearth (see Figure 2.56). There were no datable finds, but radiocarbon dates of the 12th to early 13th century were produced from samples of the hearth (John Atkinson, pers. comm.). A nearby site of Kiltyrie 16 produced evidence for late-9th century post-holes and pits beneath an oval-shaped turf structure dated to the early 12th and 13th centuries, above which were shielings dated to the 14th and 15th centuries. These structures are similar to, but not as long as the Pitcarmick structures. This

confirms that the remains of medieval structures can be found above the head-dyke where they have not been affected by later cultivation. They also show continuity of settlement until 14th century or so after which it was replaced with temporary settlement.

The excavation of a shieling at Meall Greigh at an altitude of about 605m AOD (Atkinson *et al* 2004, 23) revealed drystone walling forming an oval-shaped structure with a doorway to the south. What were interpreted as aumbrys in the middle of the end walls along the long side walls are more likely to be bases for timbers supporting a hip-ended roof. There was a fire spot just inside the doorway with a setting for a stone fireguard. Hollows beneath the floor that were unexplained could possibly relate to an earlier structure on the same site. On the south side of the structure an earth mound had been built up from turves and ashes from domestic fires. The few artefacts found consisted of five stone pot-lids, two from inside the structure and three from the mound. Two sherds of salt-glazed pottery dated to the 16th or 17th centuries and a sherd of Scottish Redware retrieved from the external turf mound provided a broad, late-medieval date for the occupation of the structure but did not indicate for how long it was occupied. Other excavations at Ben Lawers concentrated on structures which dated from the late-18th and early-19th centuries and need not be discussed in detail here. However, it is clear that there had been a re-ordering of the landscape in the 14th century as well as in the 18th century.

Aberdeenshire

The Royal Commission survey of Donside extends in 30k wide swathe about from the coast around Aberdeen to the Ladder hills in the west, up to about 750m above sea level (RCAHMS 2008). This report has developed the thematic approach to the archaeology of the area, which was first introduced in the Perthshire reports (RCAHMS 1990; RCAHMS 1994). This area contrasts with Argyll in that there is a strong Anglo-Norman presence in Aberdeenshire from the 12th century. Early 'monuments of Lordship' are identified as Anglo-Norman mottes and moated sites which are often located near to churches. The building of stone castles by royalty, the major landowners and the church is identified from the 13th century and lesser nobility and ecclesiastics also occupied halls within ditched enclosures (RCAHMS 2008, 150-163). Tower houses

were built within the numerous baronies between the 14th and the 17th centuries. There is no suggestion that the prehistoric sites, such as the forts, were occupied beyond the early-Medieval period (RCAHMS 2008 109).

The medieval and later settlement pattern showed evidence of an earlier land unit, the *dabhach,* and of Anglo-Norman burghs and planned villages, some of which have left no trace, although are known from documentary evidence (RCAHMS 2008, 183-188). From the late medieval period the RCAHMS have identified five types of rural settlement, the *fermtoun*, the *milltoun,* the *cottertoun*, the individual croft and manorial sites. *Fermtouns* and *cottartouns* were occupied by different sections of society, the *fermtoun* by joint farm tenants and *cottartouns* by sub-tenants with little or no land attached. Processes such as the splitting of townships was recognised and included the spread into marginal lands in the 15th and 16th centuries as well as an increased density of settlement within the existing farmland.

The Royal Commission also identified what they interpreted as medieval buildings which consisted of large sub-rectangular structures, often with rounded corners and low stone footings (RCAHMS 2008, 199-201). These structures were large, in the region of 15m long and 7m wide and were found singly or in pairs within the marginal areas among shielings and prehistoric hut circles. These were presumably cruck-built although there was no evidence to indicate whether the timbers were earthfast or supported on low walls. There was, they admitted, little evidence for a medieval date for these structures, but were thought to be clearly different from the later pre-Improvement settlement, which consisted of small clusters of narrower structures (4m-6m wide). Shieling sites were identified as smaller structures, generally single-celled, with no evidence for kilns or enclosures, which was interpreted as evidence of seasonal rather than permanent settlement (RCAHMS 2008, 204-206). At one site in particular, Allt Tobair Fhuair, stone huts overlay turf huts and there were midden deposits lying outside the single entrances which would be an excellent site for excavation, containing as it does at least two phases of occupation and surviving midden deposits which could provide dating evidence (RCAHMS 2008, Figure 8.78). Three sites, which consisted of turf structures and enclosures, were interpreted as probable 18th century intakes of land, although there is no explanation of why these should have been built of turf when contemporary shielings could have been of stone and turf. In general, this survey has

identified a great number of rural settlement sites of different types and an attempt has been made to date these from their morphology, location and documentary and historic map evidence. No sites of the Pitcarmick type were identified, which does suggest that they are a regional type. While these dates may well prove to be correct, archaeological investigation is required to provide a chronological framework to back up their proposed settlement model. There is also no consideration of any continuity of sites from the prehistoric or early-medieval period into the medieval period.

The Highlands

A survey in the Strath of Kildonan by the Royal Commission (Dixon 1993a) and the survey and excavation undertaken at Easter Raitts (Lelong and Wood 2000) are considered here. In the Strath of Kildonan, the density of settlement, even before the Clearances, was noticeably sparse (Dixon 1993a, 30-35). There were few farm boundaries, the settlement and fields being enclosed by a ring-dyke. The houses were particularly long and narrow which was thought to be characteristic of Sutherland. The walls were of drystone and not load bearing, implying the presence of cruck slots although none could be seen within the collapse. These long buildings were grouped together with a shared corn-drying kiln. At only one site, Learable, was a sequence of phases detected which 'hinted' at the presence of an earlier, medieval phase. Within the strath generally there was archaeological and documentary evidence for the establishment of new farms on old shieling grounds in the 18th century. The particularly long buildings noted in the strath had the ability to accommodate larger numbers of stock and this might be reflection of large herds being accommodated in a small number of settlements. Alternatively, perhaps more of the stock required accommodation because of the harsh winters in the Highlands, while elsewhere in Scotland, many of the non-milking herd were left in the open all year. The publication of this survey has concentrated on the medieval and later settlement and has not considered the relationship of the prehistoric sites with the medieval, but has identified the re-occupation of shieling sites.

At Easter Raitts, Badenoch, there was documentation from the Post-medieval period although Lelong suggested that the origins of the settlement could be taken much further back (Lelong & Wood 2000, 41; Lelong (forthcoming)). Easter Raitts was part

of a larger estate which had become divided into Easter, Wester and Mid Raitts by the early 17th century. The chapel of Rate is documented from the 13th century and Lelong suggests therefore that that there would have been a settled population served by this chapel from pre-Norman times, but does not say why the population needed to have been 'settled'. By 1380 the 'lands and chapel' of 'Rate' was in the control of the Bishop of Moray, and later belonged to the Gordon family with surviving rentals from the 15th century onwards. Pont's map of the late 16th century showed that the settlements had been separated by this time into 'West', 'Mid' and 'Rait' and Lelong presumes that Easter Raitts relates to either 'Mid' or 'Rait'.

After six seasons of excavation at Easter Raitts the results were similar to Fairhurst's experience at Rosal, in that the visible structures were found to be Post-medieval in date and no medieval remains were discovered. Lelong put this down, partly to the scouring of the site by later occupation and also perhaps to their fieldwork methodology, although traces of Mesolithic, Early-Neolithic and Bronze Age material was found. Perhaps settlement shift has meant that the Post-medieval settlement is not overlying the medieval sites, which lie elsewhere on the Raitt estate, perhaps in the vicinity of the Iron Age sites.

Lowland rural settlement

Even within the Lowlands, the remains of rural settlement are still relatively rare. One such site was excavated at Springwood Park, Kelso (Dixon 1998; Dixon 2001). This site was originally found from scatters of medieval pottery within a ploughed field. It consisted of three periods, the first included building terraces, post-set structures and ditches, and the later phases included cruck-framed structures with clay walls, stone footings and cobbled areas. The settlement has been dated from the pottery and four coins to between the late 12th and the 14th centuries. The walls of one of the later buildings was 1.2m wide, but only survived one course high. There was a significant number of metal objects, including four buckles, a key, two harness pendants, a ring, a needle, as well as sheets, tubes and strips, as well as iron horseshoes, knives and a hammer. The stone objects included spindle whorls, a loomweight, a stone hone and sharpening stones, millstones. The pottery was equally abundant with over 5000 sherds consisting of White Gritty Ware, Kelso Abbey Redware, Scarborough Ware, Reduced

Gritty Ware, as well as foreign imports. This site was located close to the royal burgh of Roxburgh, Roxburgh Castle and Kelso Abbey, and which may explain why it was unusually rich in material culture (Martin & Oram 2007). Although the objects were associated with a rural economy, no scythes or sickles were found and the presence of the silver coins would suggest that this was a rural settlement occupied by tenants at the higher end of the social scale.

In 2006 a lost medieval village was found at Archerfield, near Eldbotle, East Lothian as a result of the construction of a golf course (Hindmarch 2006). Here the substantial remains of rectangular stone-built, clay bonded structures, some still standing several feet high were found and there was evidence for more than one period of buildings. Further details of this project await its full publication. At the site of Laigh Newton, Ayrshire a series of sunken medieval houses was revealed through extensive topsoil stripping associated with quarrying (James *et al* 2007).

The survey of Eastern Dumfriesshire for example incorporated historical research, historic maps, and examination of aerial photographs (RCAHMS 1997a). Consideration of the geology, climate and soils was also included, although very little dealt with the post-1000 AD period. The section on climate, for example, concluded that from the evidence from one site a 'stable and settled agricultural economy ... persisted' from the 14th to the 19th centuries (RCAHMS 1997a, 22), despite the medieval Warm Period and Little Ice Age. Tipping admitted that there were weak dating controls which may have had a blanketing effect on these results. The field survey was undertaken on 'several different levels of intensity' and included the concept of 'prospective survey' in which the experience of the surveyor played a major role in deciding where, and to what level, areas should be surveyed (RCAHMS 1997a, 9). Some areas were subject to a rapid survey where only selective sites were visited, while the uplands received 'consistent coverage'. Areas of greatest potential for the discovery of monuments, in their opinion, did not include forestry plantations. The results were presented within a thematic framework consisting of 'Pre-improvement agricultural remains and patterns of former land-use', and for the early-medieval and medieval periods the themes were 'Lordship', 'Settlement' and 'The archaeology of the church'. While the introduction of such themes is to be welcomed, this choice effectively separated settlement from the

cultivation remains, which is unhelpful, if an understanding of how settlement functioned within the landscape is to be achieved.

In the Menstrie Glen, on the southern edge of the Ochill hills, a survey undertaken by the Royal Commission utilised the historical sources to illuminate the changes in land ownership and farming practices during the medieval period (RCAHMS 2001). Straddling the Highland and Lowland zones, the farming practices of the Menstrie Glen was complex, varied and showed characteristics of both zones. The historical records suggest that transhumance went out of use by the early 17th century and new farmsteads expanded into old shieling grounds during the 17th century. The records of James Wright detail the practices of this particular Improving landowner, including the liming of the land, the creation of new land divisions and the conversion to a sheep-farm. The identified archaeological remains included the shielings, small turf-built farmsteads of the 17th century located above the head dykes, turf-built byre-dwellings of the 18th century, lairds houses and finally stone-built farmsteads of the 19th century (RCAHMS 2001, 30). Although a medieval origin was suggested for a small number of settlements, no remains dating to this period were identified, apart from perhaps the shielings, which were seen as the earliest features. These groups have been dated by their morphological appearance and documentary records, but without archaeological dating evidence these proposed types should be considered provisional as the reality is likely to be more complex and overlapping.

In contrast to the large area covered by the Eastern Dumfriesshire survey, the Royal Commission survey of the much smaller Menstrie Glen, was presumably more intensive and evenly spread, although this is not specifically stated (RCAHMS 2001). Historic documents and maps were again extensively utilised and the survey greatly benefited from the survival of a particular landlords papers dating from the mid-18th century. The RAF vertical aerial photographs taken just after World War II were especially useful for mapping areas of rig and furrow. There were, however, no specific considerations of the environmental history or geology of the area (perhaps because the detailed work has not been done) that would have provided a broader background to this landscape approach.

The recent Royal Commission survey of Donside covered a large area in Aberdeenshire in the east of Scotland (RCAHMS 2008). Although there was no description of the

survey methodology, one can assume that it was similar to that utilised in the Eastern Dumfriesshire, including educated 'prospective survey'. There is a lengthy section on environmental history with the latest radiocarbon dates from pollen cores, however much of what is included here is not relevant to the medieval period, which is put down to 'the uncertainties of chronology and the possible truncation of sediments' (RCAHMS 2008, 42). Pollen cores from only two sites are used to cover the medieval period and the interpretation of such limited results should be treated with caution. There are, however both solid geology and superficial drift maps and a map of the distribution and extent of present blanket peat and its possible extent in the Holocene. These are a clear reminder of that the landscape environment in which the medieval population lived and interacted with, did not just consist of different relief, but also of different soil types and quality, where the presence of blanket peat could be seen as a fuel resource as well as a constraint to cultivation. There has been extensive use of historic maps and documents, a consideration of place-names and aerial photographs (many clearly specially commissioned) that compliment the site plans. The thematic approach to the presentation of the results has been developed further, with a division between early medieval and the medieval and later periods. Within the latter period the themes relate to mapping the medieval Lordships, the extent of parishes and estates, the monuments of Lordship (1150-1700), the medieval and later settlement pattern and finally the archaeology of rural buildings and settlements.

The problems arising from attempting to reconcile data produced by different disciplines, which is part of the landscape approach, has been addressed by a recent study which brought together environmental data and that from historical sources (Davies & Watson 2007). This interdisciplinary study combined detailed analysis of two pollen cores from a shieling site near Loch Awe with historical data available in the Breadalbane archive. The results were initially presented separately so that their limitations were clear and were jointly assessed in the discussion. Both data sets had problems relating to their chronological spread and geographical scale. However, by bringing them together the value of each source could be to be assessed against the other and has brought out the complexities which would perhaps not otherwise have been appreciated.

Survey work in Eskdale, Dumfriesshire has also highlighted the well preserved site of Boyken (Corser 1982; 1993; RCAHMS 1997b). Here there are four or five main clusters of buildings and four other individual farmsteads and large areas of cultivation within the boundaries of the farm. Corser has suggested that each cluster may represent the settlement of an individual tenant, an idea which is supported by the Hearth Tax data of the 1690s. The remains here consist of about 30 sub-rectangular buildings which sit on artificially scarped platforms. Boyken was apparently not built over during a later phase and so is a rare example of a pre-Improvement farmstead. The survey of Eastern Dumfriesshire also produced several other examples of 'platform-buildings' which consisted of sub-rectangular platforms, often crossing the contour, upon which the structures themselves survived as only slight stone or stone and turf remains (RCAHMS 1997, 228). These platforms were found within Eskdale, but not in Annandale. Late medieval estate centres, in the form of stone built halls or small towers were identified and the suggestion was made that perhaps these could be identified in the Hearth Tax records of 1691 where more than 1 hearth was recorded against a single name (RCAHMS 1997a, 215).

These few lowland rural settlement sites, serve to highlight the great difference in settlement morphology and artefactual richness that existed between the Gaelic west and English speaking southern Scotland, and it is not perhaps to this area that confirmation of Gaelic settlement patterns should be sought.

Gaelic Ireland

As the economy of Ireland, outside the English dominated Pale, was pastoral and its Gaelic speaking people had close family and social ties with the west of Scotland, it could be useful to explore what evidence there is for rural settlement in Ireland. It has been suggested that in Gaelic Ireland rural settlement took the form of either isolated farmsteads or house clusters (O'Conor 1998, 74). Two main types of lower status houses have been identified. The first was called the 'creat' similar to the Scottish 'creel' house (Walker 1808, Vol. 1, 95; Dixon 2002, 190) in that it was a 'small, one-roomed, mostly windowless house of circular or oval form …very simply built of post-and-wattle, or wickerwork and roofed with thatch or sods' (O'Conor 2002, 201-204). These structures were thought to be associated with boolying (transhumance), but there

is documentary and pictorial evidence which suggests that by the 16th century small clusters of creats were located in the vicinity of the larger nucleated settlements such as Carrickfergus (Horning 2001, 378), Armagh (O'Conor 2002, 202) and around tower-houses and castles, as at Dunboy Castle, West Co Cork (Figure 2.57), (O'Conor 1998, 104). This suggests that these structures were acting as the permanent dwellings of the poorer members of society as well as the seasonal dwellings in the hill pastures. The evidence for this type of structure having existed in Ireland is principally late 16th-century documents and pictures (O'Conor 2002, 202).

There has been, until recently, a lack of archaeologically excavated examples of creats in Ireland. Possible 16th or 17th century examples have been found at Dunamase Castle, Co. Laois, although the author thought that these were for storing grain rather than occupation (Hodkinson 2003). A possible creat was found at Blackrock, although this was rectangular in plan with rounded corners (Breen 2005, 92-94). The walls were defined by shallow trenches and stake holes were thought to represent the supports for wattle walls. There was no evidence for ground fast roof supports, cruck supports or sill beams and so this was interpreted as perhaps a rectangular version of a creat which could have had a tent-shaped roof as it was only 1.19m wide. There was evidence for burning at the south end but no specific hearth or other evidence for activities within it and so it was interpreted as a small domestic house. A single sherd of red undecorated earthenware pot was the only find. Horning has suggested that the origin of the creats lies in the circular post-and-wattle houses of the early medieval period (Horning 2001, 377) but it would seem that the construction post-and wattle buildings also continued into the medieval periods as is shown by examples from Ballysimon, Co. Limerick and Mooghaun, Co. Clare (O'Conor 2002, 203). The construction of creats and the post-and-wattle buildings are closely related and perhaps there was a variety of structures with shared characteristics in use in the medieval period in Ireland, depending on function, available resources and personal preferences.

The second type of structure, the cruck building, was more substantial, sub-rectangular in shape with rounded corners, a central hearth, walls of clay, wattle and daub or sods that were not load bearing and roof supports consisting of timber crucks which lay directly on the ground or on stone pads (O'Conor 2002, 204-206). In Ireland these structures have also been associated with boolying and excavated examples have been

found at Glenmakeeran (Williams & Robinson 1983), Goodlands (over 120 structures), (Sidebotham 1950; Case *et al* 1969), Tildarg (Brannon 1984) Craigs (Williams 1988) and Canalough (Breen 2005, 94-98). One example, at Tilderg, produced a radiocarbon date of 1185-1375 AD and a few sherds of everted rim ware (now referred to as Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery), (Brannon 1984, 168; McSparron 2009). Another site at Glenmakeeran was dated to broadly the medieval period from the presence of Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery as there were no other diagnostic finds (Williams & Robinson 1983, 36). The site at Canalough consisted of a cluster of ten houses, rectangular in shape with rounded corners. Where one structure had been cut by the sea, its stone foundation for a probable turf wall was seen. Although there was no direct evidence for a cruck-frame, this was thought the most probable roofing method (Breen 2005, 94). More substantial rectangular buildings were seen at Caheravart (Breen 2005, 102-106). One of the two structures measured 14.7m by 7.6m externally, with sod walls on a stone footing and opposing entrances. These have been dated to earlier than the post-Medieval period as they were not shown on the 1st edition map, nor are there any 17th century references to the site. It was suggested that such structures could have been one of the residences of the O'Sullivan Beare lords.

Documentary sources suggest that these cruck built structures were introduced into Ireland by Anglo-Norman lords at the end of the 13th century. These were then adopted by Gaelic-Irish lords as the most valuable element in the construction, the crucks, could be taken down and moved to another location relatively easily, which could have suited their more mobile lifestyle. This style of building seems to have been in use by men of both high and low status by the beginning of the 14th century (O'Conor 2002, 205-6). However, other researchers have suggested that the change from circular to rectangular houses occurred earlier than this, in the 9th century, influenced by the church, although there is little archaeological evidence for the nature of the roofing structure (Lynn 1994, 91).

The analysis of Irish sites is complicated by the strong evidence for some rural settlements being occupied by incomers as at Goodlands, where documentary evidence and the presence of clay pipe stems have shown that it may have been part of a Highland Scottish village occupied during the Plantation period (Horning & Brannon 2004, 31). The presence of Scottish Gaelic mercenaries (*gallóglaigh*) in Ireland,

between about c. 1250-1600, including the Mac Suibhnes and Mac Dubhghaills having lost their hereditary lands, will have provided the opportunity to strengthen cross-cultural links (McLeod (2004). Fosterage and intermarriage strengthened political links in both directions and it is possible that there was a pan-Celtic settlement pattern within which the terms 'Irish' and 'Scottish' have no particular distinction (John Raven, pers. comm.). There was a close link between Scotland and Ireland with a shared Gaelic language and probably also building techniques and yet these links were 'not on a sufficient scale to produce an homogenous cultural province' (Campbell 2001, 6).

At the upper end of the social hierarchy the Irish occupation of castles is also illuminating. There has been discussion regarding whether stone-built castles were built solely by the Anglo-Normans or whether they were constructed by the native Gaelic Irish (Leask 1951, 153; Sweetman 1995, 5; McNeill 1997, 72-74). O'Conor has suggested that within a clan-based social system, land was owned by a patrilineal family group among whom clan lands were periodically redistributed. There was therefore no incentive for an individual chief to invest his wealth in substantial building projects as there was no guarantee that the Chieftainship would pass on to his own son, as was the case with the Anglo-Norman practice of primogeniture (O'Conor 2002, 207). Instead, social status was displayed though public feasting, keeping of armed retainers, patronage of learned classes and ownership of cattle and the buildings where the chiefs lived were not the primary elements of social distinction (O'Conor 2005, 219). It is thought that because of this attitude to inheritance, the Irish Gaelic Lords did not construct impressive castles, but preferred to be more mobile within the landscape, living off the produce of his estate and when under pressure using the tactics of guerrilla warfare, retreating into the wild hills and bogs (O'Conor 2002, 207-8; 2005, 218). There were strong differences between Gaelic and Anglo-Norman society during the later medieval period and this was reflected in the structures they occupied (O'Conor 2005, 213). It was not till after 1400 that the native Irish began to build stone castles and towers or to occupy the existing Anglo Norman castles (O'Conor 2005, 214). They also occupied a variety of strongholds after 1400 which included strong houses, courts, piles, holdes and comfortable seats. These were used as centres of their estates in much the same way as the Anglo-Normans had done. The construction of wooden castles or structures of wattle and daub were also used by those lords who were lower down the hierarchical scale some which differed little from the ordinary native population

(Loeber 2001, 274-5; O'Conor 2002, 206-7). By the 16th and 17th centuries there is evidence that mercenaries were also living in castles while other members of the professional classes (the counsellors, poets, historians and mercenaries) lived in substantial stone houses (Loeber 2001, 301-4).

Some researchers have suggested that the lack of permanent rural settlements in Ireland was because of the nomadic nature of the population. The creaghts, or roving herds of cattle with their herdsmen, were said to follow a nomadic existence throughout the summer months (Nicholls 2003, 136). There is a reference to the people of Munster by Bishop Lyon which states that 'the tenants continue not past three years in a place, but run roving about the country like wild men fleeing from once place to another' (Barry 1988, 355). There was clearly disapproval of a population which was allowed to move freely about the countryside, rather than being tied to the land and a particular lord. The extent of nomadism may therefore have been over emphasised with settlement mobility taking the form of pastoral transhumance from the *sean bhaile* to the booley (pers comm. Kieran O'Conor) and may have been restricted to the lower status members of the population (Loeber 2001, 275). The particular nomadic existence and final extinction of the Clan Murtagh O'Conors in the 14th century, can be seen to be a result of clan feuds and territorial disputes, which saw the O'Conors seeking refuge wherever they could, rather than being a common experience (Simms 2001). Nor was this nomadic status one that was sought after, as they did all they could be avoid becoming 'landless men'.

In addition to the castles, hall-houses, creats and sod walled structures, there is evidence in Ireland that crannogs, moated sites, ringforts and cashels were also occupied throughout the medieval and into the Post-medieval periods (Davies 1950; O'Conor 2001, 337; Finan & O'Conor 2002). The moated sites appear to have been introduced by the Anglo-Normans and were generally associated with wealthy free tenants and members of the knightly class (Bradley 2002, 213). At Cloonfree (see below) a moated site was constructed and occupied by Aodh O'Conor, king of Connacht, a Gaelic Irish king, however he ruled only because of support from the Anglo-Norman William de Vescy, lord of Kildare and this may explain why he chose an English style of building (Simms 2001, 9; Finan & O'Conor 2002, 78).

The documentary references indicate that crannogs were also used as defensive lordly residences throughout the medieval period (O'Conor 1998, 79-84; Brady & O'Conor 2005). There are references to Irish lords dying either 'on Lough…' or 'on Inis…' which would appear to refer to islands, which could have been either natural islands or crannogs (Fredengren 2002, 274-5). An archaeological survey has found a specific type of crannog in Loch Gara, which is topped with a 'high cairn' of stones over timber work which have been dated to the medieval period (Frendengren 2002, 80, 83-85, 273). Other examples have also been found at Island McHugh, Co Tyrone, Cró Inis , Co Westmeath, Balywillin, Co Longford, and Ardakillen, Co Roscommon which were high status residences, centres of lordly and even royal estates, and were not just temporary refuges (Brady & O'Conor 2005). A recent survey in Fermanagh, undertaken by Jacqui O'Hara, has also found crannogs in continuous use up to 1600, but has not noted the presence of a stone cairn (pers. comm. Kieran O'Conor). Fredengren has suggested that during the medieval period in Ireland, lakes were taken over by the ruling families and that a small number of crannogs were re-used by the addition of stones and a clay capping which raised the surface of the crannog above the water. A close geographical connection has been shown between crannogs and lake shore moated sites (O'Conor 1998, 82; 2001 338-40) and with other medieval strongholds (Fredengren 2002, 276) although the reasons for this has yet to be fully explored.

The continued occupation of early medieval promontory forts, ringforts or raths into the medieval period has also been much debated (O'Conor 2008, 89; Breen 2005 48-62). O'Conor argues that many of these sites were chosen for the construction of mottes by the invading Anglo-Normans and used as their estate centres. There was no reason why such sites should have been abandoned by the native Irish lords outside the areas dominated by the Anglo-Normans and so one would expect there to be evidence for this continued occupation. So far the evidence is sparse consisting of stray medieval finds and no significant medieval deposits. However, O'Conor has drawn attention to a site at Thady's fort, Co.Clare, which he believes consisted of a bivallate ringfort and a contemporary late medieval rectangular house (O'Conor 1998, 91). It is thought that other such sites may be found once archaeological investigation has takes place in the Gaelic occupied areas of Ireland and indeed a survey of the county of Meath has found many more ringforts in the Gaelic areas than in the areas taken over by the Anglo-Normans (Barrett & Graham 1975, 37-43). Cashels also seem to have been occupied in

the medieval period including Rathgall, Co. Wicklow, Ballynaveenoragh, Co Kerry and Cahirmacnaghten, Co Clare (O'Conor 1998, 85-6). These examples were associated with rectangular wattle and daub buildings and significant amounts of medieval pottery. Other cashels were re-occupied with tower houses in the later medieval period, and may well have been in continuous use since the early medieval period. The Anglo-Normans are also thought to have introduced the ringwork type of structure which was very similar to the ringfort except that the ringwork has a larger rampart and an entrance faced with stone (Breen 2005, 43).

Irish praise-poems have proved to be a useful source of information on house construction, although as Simms reminds us, the poems were not intended to be truthful descriptions, but to praise and are therefore sometimes ambiguous (Simms 2001, 250-252). The seat of the chief of Magauran in Co. Cavan, was described in the 13th century as a cluster of houses which included a drinking hall or banqueting hall, made of hazelwood and the 'ribs' of the doorpost were decorated with gold. A great house of Aodh O'Conor, king of Connacht, at Cloonfree Co. Roscommon, which burned down in 1306, had been defended with a stout dyke, an earthen palisade and a moat, which was seen as unusual for the times suggesting that there may have been an English influence on the design (O'Conor 2002, 205; Finan & O'Conor 2002). Within this enclosure were several buildings with windows, including a banqueting hall built of willow wands with a thick thatch, which presumably would have required the support of crucks. One poem mentions *Gall-gabhla* in relation to this site at Cloonfree, which has been interpreted as meaning 'foreign forks' or English style crucks (O'Conor 2002, 206). A house at Rudhraighe, co Monaghan included a 'citadel' within a moat, probably dating to between the 15th to 17th centuries (Simms 2001, 252- 256). The thatched house was on an elevated site, had a high ridgepole and was constructed of oak planks and wattle-and-daub. Oak boards were painted and carved with animals. These poems have therefore provided evidence for high-status houses built of oak planks and wattle-and-daub, which were located within a cluster of other buildings.

The review of the Irish material has provided a wide range of possible structures occupied during the medieval period, which were linked to social status. Prior to 1400 the Gaelic lords occupied a range of sites many of which was a continuing presence from the early-medieval period. So sites such as cashels, ring-forts, raths were occupied

as well as other fairly simple post-and-wattle structures, because these could be abandoned quickly in advance of an attack. Rectangular cruck built houses came into use by the 14th century, perhaps influenced by the Anglo-Normans, but some Gaelic lords also continued to build circular wattle built halls throughout the medieval period up until the 17th century. Irish lords therefore did have permanent residences but these were not always stone built. After 1400 there is evidence that stone built castles were built by the Gaelic Irish lords. A change from circular to rectangular houses was evident in the archaeological record, although circular structures also continued in use. Post-and-wattle also continued as a building construction method as well as the more cruck-built structures. There is some documentary and pictorial evidence for ephemeral circular structures in use in the medieval period, including circular post-and-wattle structures and creats, although these remain scarce in the archaeological record.

Scottish Gaelic Literature

In the light of what the Irish material can contribute to medieval settlement, as outlined above, the Scottish Gaelic sources were also examined briefly to see whether there were similar useful references to settlements or structures. Compared with the material from Ireland and Wales, the Scottish Gaelic sources are relatively few, but there are a number of relevant works (Black 1989; Thomson 1974). Three Scottish sources were recognised as potentially useful and include *The Book of the Dean of Lismore* (McLeod & Bateman 2007; MacGregor 2006), *The Black Book of Taymouth* and *The Red Book of Clan Ranald* (Gillies 2006) however, there is no published analysis of these works from an archaeological point of view and to undertake a comprehensive study of these sources was not within the scope of this research.

The *Book of the Dean of Lismore* has been described as the 'single most precious manuscript to have survived from late medieval Gaelic Scotland' (MacGregor 2006). It is a compilation of poetry, prose and history, written in vernacular Gaelic, Classic Gaelic, Latin and Scots. The collection was made by members of the MacGregor clan, based at Fortingall in the 15th and 16th centuries and contains material which dates from about 1200 to 1520. As this material has originated from Argyll, the Highlands and Ireland, and even includes works written by the Earl of Argyll, it is relevant to the study area of this research. In general terms, the works reveal much about the Gaelic literary

culture of the *Gàidhealtachd* with its strong influence and connections with Ireland and the preoccupations of the aristocratic and professional members of Scottish Gaelic society (MacGregor 2006; Watson 1937).

For example, the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* includes the poem *Dál Chabhlaigh ar Chaistél Suibhne* 'A meeting of a Fleet against the Castle of Suibhe' which is an incitement to an attempt by the MacSweens to regain their castle from the Earls of Menteith in the early 14th century and it displays a strong Norse influence -

'The prows of the ships, festooned with jewels

are decked out with coats of mail

for the warriors of the brown-faced baldrics –

they are Norsemen and brave chiefs'.

(McLeod & Bateman 2007, 220-228).

There is a reference to the castle, as a 'shining fortress of stones' and to a 'happy haven in the breast of Knapdale'. An heroic account of the genealogy of the MacGregors is given in a poem *A Ughdar so Mac Giolla Fhionntóg an Fear Dána* (The author of this is a Mac Giolla Fhionntóg). This mentions the practice of sorning.

'11. From Hallow'en to Beltane

the warrior bands had right of quarters in every house;

the hunt (good cheer was there for falcons)

they had in the hunting season.

'18. In his court of many doors

is many a fair-wrought helmet and thin blade;

gold gleameth on their hilts,

the weapons of the Lion of Loch Awe

(Watson 1937, 29-31).

Other poems have references to a drinking house (Watson 1937 89) or a house of feasting (Watson 1937, 101 & 149) and even to the roof couples and lighting arrangements.

'Thus did the masons leave aright

the coupled house of MacGregor,

nor is there any lack of masonry in our time,

since thou has come to its demesne.

Wine is drunk by stately dames,

MacGregor, in thy spacious hall;

in thy wide firm mansion, as I deem,

wax is ablaze even to the door-post.

(Watson 1937, 151).

Other potentially significant works include the *Red Book* and *Black Book of Clan Ranald.* Although the *Red Book* and *Black Book* date to the beginning of the 18th century, they belong to the medieval Gaelic literary tradition as they contain material which was composed and written down during the period of the Lordship of the Isles, or earlier (Gillies 2006). The *Red Book* was compiled by Niall MacMhurich, poet to the Clan Donald and the *Black Book,* partly a copy of the *Red Book,* was complied primarily by Christopher Beaton, a member of the medical family whose patrons were the Macleans. These *Books* contain genealogy, Scottish and Irish Gaelic poems, chronicles, annals and oral accounts (including the campaigns of Alistair McColla) and many other miscellaneous writings. They provide a 'wonderful window into the life and work of the Classical poet-historians and of the scholastic literary culture in the Highlands before the demise of the patronage of the Gaelic arts' (Gillies 2006).

Other potential sources of Gaelic writing include the 15th century Glenmasan manuscript (Glenmasan, Cowal, Argyll) which was possibly copied from a 13th century original (Mackinnon 1904). This includes heroic poems of Irish origin that illustrate the strong literary links between Ireland and the west of Scotland. The existence of manuscripts belonging to the MacLachlans of Kilbride, in Lorn, Argyll (who included the Machlans of Craigenterve in the Kilmartin parish) have also been highlighted and their potential should be tapped (Bannerman 1977a). There is also a brief study of the West Highland galley in poetry and song (Rixon 1998, 188-199).

The existing studies of Gaelic literature have therefore contributed significantly to our understanding of the literary and cultural values and preoccupations of the Scottish Gaelic elite. However, a comprehensive index of specific references to place-names, structures or topographic information, as has been undertaken for the Post-medieval period (Meek 1995, 281-332) has yet to be attempted for the medieval period. This work on the medieval sources would be worthwhile, but could not be undertaken in the timeframe available of this current research.

Summary of Scottish Rural Settlement

This review of rural settlement has revealed many factors at work which have had an effect on rural settlement, the most profound include war, famine, plague, increased commercialisation and climatic deterioration. The effect of these would not have been felt equally all over the country and so the responses also would have been complex and varied both spatially and chronologically. It might prove difficult therefore to provide a 'model' of rural settlement for Scotland which would fit all the evidence. However, from the above it is possible to put forward a very basic 'model' for rural settlement in the Gaelic west.

During the medieval period, when the vast majority of people lived in the countryside, settlement was probably in small, dispersed, amorphous-shaped farms near to the available pockets of arable land. Many people would have spent the summer months living in shielings in the hill pasture with their herds of cattle, although sheep and goats were also important in the economy. The hierarchical society was reflected in a range of settlement types from the small number of castles, hall-houses, strongholds (duns, forts, crannogs, islands) and substantial houses, down to the numerous settlements consisting of individual houses or huts (including wicker-built creelhouses). Several high-status sites have the remains of low structures in their vicinity, but not enough work has been done to show whether these are contemporary or Post-medieval occupation. The site at Finlaggan, however, proved to be an exception, as it was of the highest status in the west, being associated with the Lord of the Isles, and yet had few traditionally recognised defences. It is a reminder that perhaps the Gaelic Lords had less need or desire for stone-built castles than the Anglo-Norman lords.

Settlement continuity has been recognised on some sites from the prehistoric into the early-medieval period. During the medieval period there was initial growth with expansion, into forests, wastes and moorland and perhaps into older shieling grounds, but in the 14th century there is evidence for a shift in population and a hiatus in stone building works which probably relates to the effect of wars, plague, pestilence and famine. This may also have been contemporary with an increased reliance on pastoralism.

The rural houses occupied in the medieval period were extremely varied in size and construction. They were generally rectangular or round-cornered, probably with hipped roofs. There was no chimney, the hearth being in the floor, either central of to one side of the entrance. The walls were of stone, a mixture of stone turf, wattle or clay or just of organic materials. The thatched roof was supported paired on timber crucks which either sat directly on the ground or on padstones. The structures were narrower than in the Post-medieval period and were sometimes of great length, perhaps to accommodate over-wintering animals. These structures could be constructed along the contour, or down the slope in the case of byres, or on terraces. Sometimes it is only this terrace that survives.

The material culture found on rural settlement is poor and organic materials such as wood and bone were probably used extensively. There was little wheel thrown pottery used except in relatively high-status sites, but locally made craggan wares were used mainly in the outer isles.

2.6 Review of the Archaeological evidence from Mid-Argyll

This section looks at current state of knowledge for rural settlement in Mid-Argyll, prior to this research, in the light of the above assessments. The sources used were National Monuments Record and the Royal Commission Inventories.

Curtain-walled castles

In Argyll, the major castles of the 13th century (Castle Sween, Dunstaffnage and Skipness) are thought to have been built by the major Gaelic clan chiefs and these are

all in prominent positions overlooking the sea. Castle Sween (RCAHMS 1992, 245-259) and Skipness (RCAHMS 1997b, 26) are said to have been built by the MacSweens and Dunstaffnage by the McDougalls of Lorn (RCAHMS 1997b, 47). Of these major early castles only Castle Sween lies within the research area of Mid-Argyll.

Castle Sween occupies a prominent position in Knapdale on the east shore of Loch Sween and is thought to be one of the earliest curtain-walled castles in Scotland, built about 1200 by the clan chief Suibhne (RCAHMS 1992 (245-259, RCAHMS 1997b, 89: Tabraham 1997, 33:). Suibhne 'the Red', father of the MacSween clan, was probably of mixed Norse/Gaelic descent and his ancestors were said to include Irish Kings and a Scottish princess (Sellar 1971, 24-28; Tabraham 1997, 38). The MacSweens were therefore of the 'first rank of Gaelic aristocracy' who held extensive lands as 'Thane of Knapdaill and Glassrie' (Sellars 1971, 31; MacPhail 1916a, 82). Their title of 'thane' indicates a close connection with the Scottish crown which may explain their ability and desire to build such a substantial stone-built castle in the Anglo-Norman style at such an early date. Excavations which have taken place within the castle produced limited dating evidence for this first phase in the form of a single pot sherd (Ewart & Triscott 1996).

Castle Sween maintained its prominent strategic position, but the MacSweens lost control of the castle by 1262 to the Earl of Menteith, who extended Stewart control in the west of Scotland for the duration of the Wars of Independence (Barrow 1988, 58; Brown 2004, 111). The castle was later held by Robert II and then by the Lords of the Isles. In about 1440 Torquil MacNeill was appointed constable of Castle Sween and this family was succeeded by the MacMillans in the late 15th century, hence the presence of MacMillan's Tower and MacMillans cross at nearby Kilmory chapel. After the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in the late-15th century, possession of the castle passed to Colin Campbell, Earl of Argyll (RCAHMS 1997b, 89-90), and during the Campbell rebellion in 1647 it was 'captured and burnt' by Alasdair MacColla and was not re-occupied as a lordly residence.

Excavations at Castle Sween have produced evidence for the high-status of this lordly residence. Part of the castle was as used as a forge during the Wars of Independence and some re-building and occupation occurred in the 14th to 16th centuries, when the castle

was in the hands of the Lords of the Isles. After the Campbells took possession of the castle, there is evidence for three kilns, possibly associated with metalworking and most of the pottery assemblage. Many of the artefacts reflected the lordly status of the site, including bone pins, a 14th-15th century harp peg, armour fragments, dagger blades, spearheads, brooches, arrowheads, knives, keys along with more domestic items such as fish-hooks, quern fragments, pins and gaming pieces (Ewart & Triscott 1996).

Although remote to present day eyes, during the medieval period, when the sea acted as a major routeway to communication, the castle occupied a strategic position on the approach up the Sound of Jura and was surrounded by flat cultivatable along the coastal strip and on Danna island. There are also three significant medieval chapels nearby including Keills, Eilean Mor and Kilmory. In the medieval period therefore Castle Sween was an important administrative and military centre, in the possession of those who held the primary position within the social hierarchy of Knapdale. The lack of material after the mid-17th century corresponds with the abandonment of the site after the raids by Alasdair MacColla. No archaeological investigations have taken place outside the walls of the Castle and so the presence of an extra-mural settlement during the medieval period is untested. The earliest documentary reference to a township of 'Castlesween' does not appear until the late-17th century when Neill McNeill of Castle Sween was robbed of cattle in 1685 (Fraser 1964, 51) and in 1693 the settlement had five tenants and a mill (RCAHMS 1997b, 89-90; Ewart & Triscott 1996). These references are consistent with the abandonment of the castle as a lordly residence and its downgrading to a farmstead or township held by a tacksman.

Duntrune Castle, in Kilmartin parish, occupies a similarly prominent, coastal position, at the mouth of the River Add (Figures 2.58 & 2.59). The curtain wall has proved difficult to date and despite its simple plan, the Royal Commission has suggested that it was not built until the 15th century (RCAHMS 1992, 281). The place-name, however would suggest that it was built on the site of an earlier fort (Campbell & Sandeman 1964, 87; RCAHMS 1992, 281). Duntrune lies within the barony of Ardskeodnish which has been associated with the Campbells of Loch Awe from at least the early-14th century, although the first documentary reference to the Campbells 'of Duntrune' was not until 1448 (RCAHMS 1992, 552). From 1423 the Ardskeodnish estate was occupied by a cadet branch of the Campbells in return for the service of a twelve-oared galley

(RCAHMS 1992, 281). Duntrune was used by the Earl of Argyll as a mustering point in 1615, and in the 1640s it was garrisoned by the Campbells against Alasdair MacColla (RCAHMS 1992, 281). A tower house was added in the 17th century. The Castle remained in continuous occupation by members of the Campbell family until bankruptcy in 1796 forced them to sell and it was bought by their neighbours, the Malcolms.

Duntrune Castle dominates the entrance to the River Add and its occupants would have enjoyed access to a variety of resources including the salmon fishing and the Mhoine Moor in addition to relatively extensive arable areas in the vicinity and to hill pasture. Pont's map of the late-16th century depicts at least three settlements in the hills to the north of Duntrune which may have had their origins back in the medieval period. This area is now utilised for sheep grazing and there would be great potential for detecting medieval settlement within the open grassland. Unfortunately, the current owner of the estate has discouraged any invasive archaeology or topographic survey.

The Campbells, who were to become the dominant clan in Argyll by the 15th century, had a stronghold at Innis Chonnell Castle, on the shores of Loch Awe (outside the research area). Innis Chonnell was a simple 13th century curtain-walled castle, similar to, but smaller than Castle Sween (Walker 2000, 49; RCAHMS 1975, 223). The castle was built either by the Campbells (RCAHMS 1975, 231) or by John of Lorn, a MacDougall with a principal residence at Dunstaffnage, (Campbell 2000, 33 & 73), It was certainly in Campbell hands by 1315 when Sir Colin Campbell was granted the castle by Robert I in return for his support against the MacDougalls (Innes 1854, 122; RCAHMS 1975, 287). It remained the seat of the Campbell clan until the 1st Earl of Argyll moved his principal residence to Inveraray in the late-15th century (RCAHMS 1975, 231), thereafter Innis Chonnell was retained by the Campbells for use as a prison (Campbell 2002, 243).

Hall-houses

On a smaller scale were stone-built hall-houses, built with no defensive curtain wall by the minor chiefs. Hall-houses consisted of an un-vaulted undercroft and a main hall on the first floor and may originally have been built of timber (Cruden 1963, 93). It is

likely that such structures occupied the interior of the curtained walled castles, such as Castle Sween, Duntrune and at Carnasserie (see below). The only other known hall-house in Mid-Argyll is Fincharn (Figure 2.38) which is located on a promontory on the south shore of Loch Awe (RCAHMS 1992, 283-86). There is documentary evidence that Fincharn and other lands in Argyll were granted to Gillascop MacGilchrist in 1240 by Alexander II (McPhail 1916b) and he may have constructed the castle soon after being granted this charter. His name indicates that he is an indigenous Gael rather than an Anglo-Norman incomer and the charter may be a written confirmation of his existing property. The granting of land directly from the crown in this way, might suggest a close relationship which was reflected in the construction of a castle in the Anglo-Norman style. The 13th century document is the earliest example in Argyll of the replacement of unwritten land ownership by feudal tenure being recorded with a written charter (McPhail 1916b, 121). It is probably Fincharn Castle which is being referred to in 1296 when Alexander MacDonald of Islay took possession of 'Glasrog' in Glassary and Kintyre after James the Steward was defeated by Edward I (Barrow & Royan 1985, 177). In 1374 the estate passed by marriage into the hands of Alexander Scrymgeour, who was hereditary Constable of Dundee and Standard-bearer of Scotland (RCAHMS 1992, 285) and therefore a significant lord and supporter of the Scottish Crown, who probably did not use this castle as his principal residence. There is no evidence for a settlement in the vicinity in the medieval period, although a settlement called Nether Fincharn, at a distance of about 0.5 km from the castle, was depicted on Roy's map of the mid-18th century.

Tower Houses

By the 14th century the fashion for castle building had shifted away from the large curtained walled enclosures to tower houses (Cruden 1963, 103) which could act as administrative centres, lordly residences while also providing their immediate household with some defence. They were often surrounded by other structures such as stables, offices and workshops within an enclosure or barmekin as at Threave in Dumfriesshire (Tabraham 1997, 69). New stone accommodation blocks were added to the existing curtained-walled castles at Castle Sween and Duntrune, but generally there are relatively few tower houses in Mid-Argyll, perhaps reflecting a smaller number of 'middle ranking landed gentry' (Tabraham 1997).

Carnasserie Castle, Kilmartin (Figure 2.60) dominates the north end of the Kilmartin Glen and was thought to have been built, or substantially re-built, by John Carswell (the minister of Kilmartin who became Bishop of Argyll) between 1565 and 1572 on the site of an earlier castle (RCAHMS 1992, 215), possibly a hall-house. The present castle consists of a hall and tower and which appear from the outside to be of contemporary build, although the lower part of the north wall of the tower may have some earlier work (RCAHMS 1992, 215). Small scale excavations took place inside Carnasserie Castle but only 16th-century finds were retrieved (Murray 1998). However, there is documentary evidence which suggests that there was a substantial structure here before Carswells construction. A charter of 1436 was signed at 'Carnastre' by John MacLachlan of Strathlachan and John Carswell was given custody of a castle and the two settlements of Carnasserie mor and Carnasserie beg by the 5th Earl of Argyll in 1559 (RCAHMS 1992, 224). Tradition has it that the Carswell family had owned these lands for some generations prior to the construction of the tower house and that his father had been Constable of Carnasserie for the Earl of Argyll (Campbell 2002, 50). It is possible that the ditch surrounds an earlier hall-house on this site.

An oval-shaped enclosure, nearby (see Figure 2.60) could be the site of an earlier castle or perhaps a dun. The relatively thin walls of this circular structure would argue against it being a substantial keep such as a *donjon*. There are also low, grass-covered foundations of several Post-medieval buildings to the north-west of Carnasserie Castle which are shown on an estate map of 1825 (Johnston 1825) and which are probably the remains of the settlement Carnasserie beg.

Another middle ranking landowner in the parish was John Carswell's son-in-law, Neil Campbell, the minister of Kilmartin between 1574-1627 and Bishop of Argyll between 1580-1608 (RCAHMS 1992, 129). He acquired the church lands at the Reformation and subsequently is thought to have built the Z-plan castle at Kilmartin as his private residence in the late-16th century.

The site of a possible tower house or 'fortified dwelling' has been noted at Caol Chaorann, Torran and thought to date to the 16th or 17th centuries (Figure 2.61; RCAHMS 1992, 214). The ruins are located on the summit of a rocky knoll, at the west end of Loch Awe, 400m from the fort at Dun Toiseach (= dun of the chief). The remains

consist of a rectangular building slightly smaller than Fincharn Castle, along with other possible structures and a revetted enclosure. There are documentary references to 'Mekill Torrane' in 1529 and to Toranbeg in 1621 (Innes 1854, 94), but it is not known who was responsible for building this substantial structure, when it went out of use, or even if it was ever finished.

Other references to 'castles' at Ormaig, Kilmartin parish (depicted on Roy's 18th-century map), Lochgair, Kilmichael Glassary (RCAHMS 1992, 2132) and on Danna island (Campbell & Sandeman 1961, No. 530, 86) are more likely to be Post-medieval mansion houses. Some enigmatic ruins at Barnasload Plantation, Kilmartin (NR 89NW 92) have been tentatively identified as a tower, but the heavy overgrowth hampers their interpretation.

Fortified islands, crannogs and refuges

Perhaps occupied by members of lower social status than the hall-houses were the strongholds and fortified island dwellings. There are two such sites described as island-dwellings in the research area, at Loch Glashan, Glassary (Figure 2.10 & 2.11) and Eilean na Circe, Knapdale (Figure 2.28). Both have already been mentioned above, along with the similarity of these sites to re-used crannogs seen elsewhere in the west of Scotland. The isolated nature of these sites may be partly defensive and partly to create a distinctive space separated from the rest of the population on the mainland. There are 11 recorded crannogs in the research area (see Table 2.1) but of these only two, Lochan Taynish and Loch Leathan, have any evidence which could suggest medieval or Post-medieval occupation.

Table 2.1 Crannogs within survey area

Name	NMRS No	Loch	Parish
Inverliever	NM80SE 17	Loch Awe	Kilmartin
Policemans Bay	NM80SE 61	Loch Awe	Kilmartin
Ederline Boathouse	NM80SE 18	Loch Awe	Kilmichael Glassary
Loch Ederline	NM80SE 39	Loch Awe	Kilmichael Glassary
Loch Ederline	NM80SE 40	Loch Awe	Kilmichael Glassary
Fincharn	NM90SW 5	Loch Awe	Kilmichael Glassary
Kilneuair	NM80SE 48	Loch Awe	Kilmichael Glassary
Loch Loran	NR99SW 5	Loch Loran	Kilmichael Glassary
Loch Glashan	NR99SW 1	Loch Glashan	Kilmichael Glassary
Loch Leathan	NR89NE 11	Loch Leathan	Kilmichael Glassary
Loch Coile-Bharr	NR78NE 8	Loch Coile-Bharr	North Knapdale
Lochan Taynish	NR78NW 14	Lochan Taynish	North Knapdale

The crannog on Lochan Taynish had been 'substantially reinforced with stones' and had foundations for a rectangular building (Hill & Barrett 1976). At Loch Leathan, a tradition recalls that Alasdair MacColla was fired on with arrows from a 'castle' on the island in 1647 (Campbell & Sandeman 1964, 89) and Pont's map of the late-16th century depicts a building on the island (RCAHMS 1992, 306) although there was no trace of any building when inspected by the Ordnance Survey (NMRS). The crannog in Loch Glashan produced radiocarbon dates showing occupation in the late 6th to 9th centuries AD and evidence for leather and metalworking, but the only evidence which may be dated to the medieval or Post-medieval period was a dump of stones and rotary querns on the surface of the crannog (Scott 1960; Fairhurst 1969b; Crone & Campbell 2005, 100).

At the Ederline Boathouse crannog, small scale excavation trenches revealed a boulder capping sealing organic layers and two sherds of E ware indicating an early-medieval presence, but no medieval evidence (Henderson & Cavers 2004). The evidence for the re-use of crannogs in the medieval period is therefore unpersuasive at present, although the Post-medieval association with the local lairds is often documented and may have its origins in the medieval period.

Late-medieval mansion houses

At a site just north of Loch A'Bharain (= Loch of the Baron) on the Crinan Canal, there are said to be the ruins of a house belonging to the McTavish barons of Dunardry in the 17th century ((NR89SW 19; Campbell & Sandeman 1964, 89; Bradford 1991, 1). The place-name itself refers to a connection with a high-status individual, but suggests that the medieval seat of these minor lairds was in the vicinity as the link between the McTavish clan and Dunardry had its origins in the medieval period (Bradford 1991).

Within the research area therefore, a hierarchy of lordship can be detected from the size and location of the castles and hall-houses. North Knapdale was dominated by the Gaelic MacSweens from Castle Sween as there are no other major castles within North Knapdale. Kilmartin and Glassary parishes were in the hands of lesser lords occupying smaller castles (Duntrune, Innis Chonnel, Findcharn and possibly Carnasserie) whose overlords were the MacDougalls of Dunstaffnage and then the Crown. By the late-medieval period tower houses had been built within the earlier castle walls or on new sites such as Kilmartin Castle and possibly Caol Chaorann by new middle-ranking lords and ecclesiastics. The whole area was by then dominated by the Campbell Earl of Argyll based at Inveraray Castle. By the end of the medieval period there is evidence for several lightly fortified islands, which were associated with local clan chiefs who probably used them as lightly fortified dwellings or strongholds and latterly as refuges during the 17th century. From the evidence from Loch Glashan, it is possible that islands also served as dwellings for clan chiefs or substantial tenant farmers during the medieval period.

Medieval baile

Turning now to the ordinary people, there is less evidence for where and how these people lived. The only medieval burgh was at Inveraray (NN00NE 13) the seat of the Earls of Argyll from the mid-15th century (Campbell (A) 2000, 142; Campbell 2002, 250). The remains of the burgh were, unfortunately, demolished in the mid- to late-18th century to make way for the new town and castle. Of the modern villages of Kilmartin, Kilmichael Glassary, Lochgair, Ardrishaig, Tayvallich and the town of Lochgilphead, it can be seen that a few are located on the sites of early-Christian or medieval churches,

but otherwise their development is obscure and undated. Kilmartin had a medieval church and graveyard but it is not until 1627 that there is a documentary reference to 'all the tenements, as well houses as gardens, of the town called the Clachan of Kilmartein in Ardskeonis' (Innes 1854, 94). So far no archaeological evidence has been found for medieval settlement in the village (RCAHMS 1992, 128; Campbell 1996, Baker 1999; Abernethy 2002a; Lewis 2002, 19).

According to the First Statistical Account for the parish of Kilmartin, dated 1792, over 60% of people lived in farms of between three and six households and it is the remains of these farms which dominate archaeological remains in the rural landscape (RCAHMS 1992, 32; First Statistical Account 1792, 97). Lists of these sites have been attempted for parts of Argyll but this work is not complete or exhaustive (See Campbell MSS in the Lochgilphead Archives). These deserted settlements are therefore underrepresented in the archaeological record and few have been surveyed or recorded. For example, the RCAHMS have highlighted that the hearth-tax of 1693 listed about 500 settlements in the area of Mid-Argyll & Cowal (RCAHMS 1992, 32) and yet (at the start of this research) the NMRS included only 85 'deserted settlements' for the whole of Argyll & Bute. The majority of these are on the islands of Mull and Bute reflecting the extent of archaeological work rather than a real distribution. When this research began only 24 'deserted settlements' or 'townships' appeared in the NMRS in the parish of North Knapdale, 13 in Kilmichael Glassary and 9 in Kilmartin. Fieldwork and archive research by a local resident, Allan Begg, had begun to rectify this situation with the identification of 90 deserted settlement sites in the parish of Kilmichael Glassary and 95 in Kilmartin (Begg 2002; Begg 1999). He did not, unfortunately, publish any lists for North Knapdale. Begg's reports are an extremely useful starting point in that they provide some contemporary descriptions and local stories of the last known inhabitants, but they lack systematic survey, grid references and any consideration of the history of the sites prior to the 18th century.

The 18th and 19th century changes in settlement patterns associated with the introduction of large sheep farms, as at Arichonan, or the amalgamation of multiple tenancy farms into single tenant farms, can be relatively easily detected and their under-representation has been partly addressed by the survey of unroofed rural settlement depicted on the 1st edition O.S. maps, the First Edition Survey Project (RCAHMS 2002). The first edition

maps did not, however, include any structures that were less than three feet high (about 1m) so the FESP data is still an incomplete record of the current field remains.

It has also been noted that many 18th and 19th century farm names are mentioned in medieval charters, 17th century historical documents, or are depicted on Pont's manuscript map of the barony of 'Ardskeodnish' (which is equivalent to the Kilmartin parish) dated to the late-16th century. These farms include sites such as Carnasserie beg, Glennan, Garvald, Bennan, and Ardifuer (James 2003). This suggests that while the visible stone-built structures may well be no earlier than the 18th or 19th centuries, the origin of the farm to which the place-name refers existed in some form back in the medieval period

There is a dearth of pre-Improvement settlement in the archaeological record for Mid-Argyll. One strand of this research is therefore to examine the remains of deserted settlements, especially those with documentary references dating to the medieval period or those depicted on late-medieval maps, to see if any earlier remains can be detected in the field.

Shielings

Shieling sites are also under-represented in the archaeological record. A search of the NMRS when this research began, listed only two examples in North Knapdale, seven in Kilmichael Glassary and 13 in Kilmartin, none of which had been surveyed by the Royal Commission and none had been excavated. A survey by Campbell and Sandeman (1964) included a classification of 'huts and houses' as follows,

A   Large circles with either massive walls (6ft to 14ft thick) or light walls (2 ft thick)

B   Large ovals (75 ft. by 50 ft.) with light walls

C   Small circles (6 ft. to 10 ft. diameter) with light walls or beehive cells (5ft to 10 ft diameter).

D   Half-moon walls against cliffs

E   Small ovals (18 ft. by 13 ft. average)

F   Paired ovals ('figure-of-eight' plan)

G   Sub-rectangular (23 ft. by 15 ft. average).

Only a representative sample of these huts and houses were listed for Argyll, 19 in total, which included a possible Norse boat noost. One example of Type F, turf-built 'paired ovals' is located on the Mhoine Moor only 6 ft above sea level and are more likely to be modern shooting stances rather than medieval settlement. Campbell and Sandeman acknowledged that there was a confusing variety of structures within the landscape and clearly intended to publish more on these structures once they had done more work, but in the event this never appeared.

This lack of settlement evidence for the people of lower status may be because, as suggested above, the structures they built were of organic materials or perhaps they have not been recognised in the landscape because of the archaeologists lack of familiarity with what to expect of a medieval settlement, and the lack of datable artefacts. It was thought worthwhile therefore to consider the possibility of continuity of settlement from the prehistoric and early-medieval periods by looking at the homesteads, enclosures, forts and duns for their potential for medieval settlement.

Homesteads and Enclosures

Circular structures characterised by banks of stone or stone and earth (sometimes classified by the RCAHMS as 'homesteads') are all termed 'enclosures' in the Inventory for Mid-Argyll and Cowal and were distinguished from 'forts' and 'duns' because of their non-defensive location and thinness of their walls. (RCAHMS 1988, 33, 197-201). They were categorised by Campbell & Sandman as Type A (see above). The Inventory for Mid-Argyll & Cowal includes 20 examples of 'earthworks and enclosures', which includes eight in North Knapdale, one in Kilmartin and two in Kilmichael Glassary parishes (RCAHMS 1988,197-201). Some 'possible' enclosure sites within the research area have been identified in the past but were dismissed by the O.S. because nothing could be seen on the surface when they visited, as at Crinan Moss (NR89SW 47) and Craeganterve beg (Craw 1930). Other examples such as Dun Dubh (Wilson & Hurst 1964) now lies within forestry and may not have survived.

These circular monuments are generally assumed to be prehistoric, although some re-use in the early medieval or later period is sometimes suggested by the presence of pottery. There is growing archaeological evidence, from elsewhere in Scotland that challenges this belief (Gregory 2001; Taylor 1990; Fiddes 1953). This evidence includes the presence of medieval pottery and radiocarbon dates and shows that an assumption of a prehistoric date is not always justified. However, the few enclosures which have been excavated in Mid-Argyll have not produced any diagnostic medieval material. These include Cnoc nam Fiantan (RCAHMS 1988, 198) and Barnluasgan (Regan, Webb & Abbot 2005; Regan & Webb 2006). Where there is a relationship between an enclosure and a turf or stone built structures, the enclosures appear to be the earlier features (as at Barnakill, and Na Coireachan (RCAHMS 1988, 198-200), but this is not enough to prove a medieval date.

The circular rath or ringfort is a common type of site in Gaelic Ireland and is generally dated to the early-medieval period, although there are a few examples that stretch the chronological span from the Bronze Age into the Post-medieval period (Stout 1997, 23-29). Why there is not a similarly high density of ringforts in the territory of the Dál Riada in the early medieval period, given the close links between these areas, is perhaps not a question that can be discussed here, but the fact that some raths continued in use into the medieval period could be relevant. This would reinforce the point made earlier that circular enclosures or homesteads in Argyll should not be excluded from the potential medieval landscape. The fact that ringforts have defensive ditches, the number of which is thought to reflect the status of the occupant, might indicate the occupants of the Argyll enclosures were not of a high-status.

Even if these enclosures were originally prehistoric, they could have been used in the medieval period, perhaps as stock enclosures or small farms, occupied by a family or other small social group. If used as stock enclosures then one might expect there to be some re-building of the enclosure wall and the entrance to be maintained. There may be minimal other structural evidence associated with this use and no associated artefacts. The factors affecting the location of these features as stock enclosures are perhaps the need for security (i.e. be hidden from general view), be close to water, or be near a route to a market, or pasture land. If utilised as a farm either for a family or other group, then one could suggest that the requirements would need to be close to water and close to

cultivatable land. Both Ford (RCAHMS 1988, 199, Figure 2.62) and Carnasserie enclosures (RCAHMS 1988, 115) are fairly hidden from the main valleys, are close to cultivatable land and are not far from a source of water which could be ideal for 'hiding' stock temporarily in the hills. The existence of many other turf-built enclosures within the outfield, will have been obscured by the practice of spreading of the turf and ploughing it in when the outfield came into cultivation (Dodgshon 1981, 161).

Duns and forts

Rectangular and sub-rectangular structures have been noted within several forts and duns in Argyll such as Dùn Chonallaich Dùn na Ban-òige, Beinn an Dùin, Caisteal nan Con Diobh, Dun Dubh, Shirvan and Dun Mhuirich (RCAHMS 1988, 160 - 189). While many of these interior structures may well be associated with Post-medieval sheep farming, the remains at two sites Dun Dubh, Shirvan (outside the research area) and Dun Mhuirich, North Knapdale, could well be earlier and excavations at Dunadd, Kilmartin, there was evidence for possible medieval feasting.

The low-lying, fort of Dunadd (which was the centre of the kingdom of Dalriada until it was sacked by the Picts in AD 736 (Annals of Ulster) was surveyed by the Royal Commission (Figure 2.63) and has been partially excavated (Lane & Campbell 2000). These excavations produced some evidence for possible medieval re-use in the form of fragmentary rectangular buildings within two enclosures E and F (Figure 2.64). Outside the fort there were other structures that were thought to represent further medieval structures, although not excavated (Lane & Campbell 2000, 96). On the summit of the fort the excavations in the 1930s had removed large quantities of animal bone from a deep midden and one bone from this assemblage was radiocarbon dated to CAL AD 1040-1280 (GU-2459). However, no medieval pottery was found during any of these excavations. Lane & Campbell's tentative interpretation of this as being evidence for feasting on the summit of the site (Lane & Campbell 2000, 96) would seem to be quite plausible because there are medieval documentary references to Dunadd which suggest that the site was the chief residence of the MacLachlan clan chiefs (Steer & Bannerman 1977, 142). In 1436 Alan, son of John Riabhach MacLachlan of Dunadd was granted by John MacLachlan of Strathlachan the 'offices of *seneschall* and *thoisseachdeowra'* of land in Glassary (Bannerman & Steer 1977, 143). In 1506 Dunadd was being used as a

meeting place for the commissioners of assessments ….to compose the feuds of the isles' (Nicholson 1974, 541-9). In the same year, the Earl of Argyll was also at 'Dunnad in Ergile' to issue proclamations about the future control of the Isles on behalf of James IV and rents were paid by the lords of the southern isles at 'Dunnod' (Stuart 1878-1908, xii, 703-04). Two days later the Earl of Argyll, the bishop of Argyll, the Bishop of the Isles and other royal officials met three Highlands lords at 'Dounaide' in order to resolve a feud' (ibid 709-10). Dunadd was therefore being utilised by the Earl of Argyll in the early-16th century as a symbolic place from which to assert his delegated royal authority over the old Lordship of the Isles (Lane & Campbell 2000, 40). Dunadd therefore remained a significant landmark in the medieval landscape despite losing its royal status in the 8th century AD (Campbell 2000, 39-40). By the 18th century there was still a settlement of Dunadd, but it lay to the east of the fort (see Figure 2.65).

At Dun Mhuirich, North Knapdale, (Figure 2.66) there are at least two stone-built, rectangular structures occupying the interior of the dun and further rectangular-shaped ruins can be seen to the north (RCAHMS 1988, 189-90). Dun Mhuirich is located on a small knoll near the sea and close to the road towards the early Christian and medieval chapel at Keills. Its accessible location, in contrast to the interior hilltop duns, may well be related to its choice as a site for re-use as a medieval settlement. Its name indicates that it was associated with the MacMhurich clan, hereditary bards of the Lords of the Isles and writers of the Books of Clanranald (Kingston 2001, 113) and so it is probable that one of their kin had a settlement here during the 14th and 15th centuries when Castle Sween was held by Clan Donald (see Chapter 3).

There are clearly dun sites that have traditional associations with medieval clan chiefs, such as, Dunadd, Dun Mhurich and McEwans Castle in Cowal. Several duns in Argyll were excavated at the beginning of the 20th century and of these Ardifuir 1, Eilean Righ 1 and Dùn Chonallaich produced artefactual material dated to the early-medieval period, but no evidence for medieval occupation (Christison 1904; RCAHMS 1988, 33-35). Dun and fort sites were therefore used selectively in the medieval period. Given the importance of the sea to communication in the medieval period, it was those forts or duns in relatively accessible positions, low lying and close to the sea which were utilised by the lords as places of public assembly or perhaps as strongholds. Those sites

within the hills probably remained within the pastoral landscape as places for shelter or temporary refuge.

Courts and places of assembly

There are other types of sites, such as baronial courts and places of assembly, which are not settlement forms, but still belong to the medieval landscape and will be considered briefly here, because they are evidence for significant medieval activity which has left very little or no physical trace. They are a reminder that not all significant activities in the medieval period took place within four walls.

The site of Bruach Na Cuirte (= Bank of the Court, NR89NW 67) is located south of Slockavullin, Kilmartin parish (see Figure 2.67). It lies at the north end of a linear promontory overlooking the Kilmartin valley. Prior to gravel quarrying here, there was evidence of a curving bank cutting off the north end of the promontory (Craw 1929, 189). At the south end of the same promontory is the site of Bruach an Druimein where a curving bank and both short and long cists were found (Craw 1929, 156-162). The long cists were possibly contemporary with an early-medieval chapel known as *Kil y Kiaran* (Craw 1929). Excavation here in the 1960s produced evidence for Iron Age settlement and early-medieval metalworking (Cregeen 1960, 1961 & 1962, Cregeen & Harrington 1981; RCAHMS 1988, 204; Abernethy 2002b, Abernethy 2008). The only evidence for medieval activity were a few sherds of pottery which were either retrieved from the topsoil or from insecure contexts. Some paved surfaces and amorphous features that could have been of medieval date were noted by the excavators, but were poorly understood because of the nature of the rescue excavation.

The site of Dùn Domhnuill, at Kilmahumaig, Crinan (NR79SE11), is by tradition a moot hill where Donald, Lord of the Isles (late-14th to early-15th centuries) granted Kilmahumaig to the first of the Mackay clan (Currie 1830, 18-19; Campbell & Sandeman 1961, No 549, 90). This site was described in 1964 as a steep-sided, grassy mound 33 ft high with a flattened summit, possibly a cairn, although later surveyors considered the mound to be natural (NMRS, O.S. 1973).

Other meeting places have been noted at Barnakill, Kilmory Knap and Kilmichael of Inverlussa (Campbell & Sandeman 1961, 89). A verbal tradition survived that a west-sloping field at Barnakill (near Dunardry) was the site of a local barony court and Wapenshaw. At Kilmory Knap, the *Clach an Dhobhrain* (= The Otter's Stone) was a flat-topped boulder marked on an estate plan of 1776. This was said to be a meeting place for settling differences and concluding agreements between the neighbouring districts. At Kilmichael of Inverlussa, an outcrop of blackish rocks was said to be where Sir James Campbell of Achnabreck held courts in the 18th century which may have been following a more ancient tradition.

2.7 Maritime and coastal resources in Mid-Argyll in the medieval period.

Occupying such a coastal region the people of Mid-Argyll would have interacted within the marine as well as the rural environment and the sea would have been a source of food as well as providing contact with other communities. Mid-Argyll has access to the Irish Sea via the Sound of Jura, Loch Sween and Loch Caolisport to the west and to Loch Fyne to the east. Many farms therefore would have had access to the coast and its resources.

As a very basic level, without the need for a boat, foreshore could provide sea shells such as mussels, oysters, cockles and limpets which could be collected for food and for bait. Fishing off the rocks with lines and catching fish with wicker baskets, nets or traps would also have been possible, although controlled by the local lord. Collection of sea-weed as a fertiliser was never as commercialised in Argyll as it was in the Outer Hebrides, but it would still have taken place at a local level.

Mid-Argyll had a strong boat-building tradition inherited from the Norse invaders and so were familiar with the sea. The medieval West Highland galley (or *birlinn*) would have been too big an investment for any but the most wealthy lords to have built. There is the suggestion that these galleys would have also been used for fishing in the 16th century, extending into the Irish fisheries (Rixon 1997, 36). These galleys had shallow draughts and so could be dragged ashore on a sandy beach with out the need for a harbour. Loch Crinan, at the mouth of the River Add, would have provided shelter and access to marine resources. Before it was drained in the 19th century, the Mhoine Moor

at the mouth of the River Add, would have been a marshy coastal wetland which would have provided access to a variety of other resources, including reeds for thatch and birds for food. Loch Crinan was controlled by the Campbells from Duntrune Castle which was located on its north side. Further south, at Carsaig Bay there could well have been an early stronghold overlooking the bay, as is suggested by the Norse place-name. Castle Sween overlooks a small sheltered bay, and would have controlled access to Loch Sween. Smaller clinker built boats, curraghs and even dug-out canoes would also have been used in the medieval period (Grant 1995, 250-277, Rixon 1997, 5) and these could have been launched from any small bay or cove. There are at least 16 place-names between Kintraw in the north and Loch Caolisport in the south which includes 'Port' and this is an indication of the frequency of potential access points to the sea along this relatively exposed coastline.

No major harbours developed within Mid-Argyll in the medieval period, for when the Campbells controlled the herring fishing in the Firth of Clyde in the 15th century, the fish were channelled through their burghs further east at Inveraray, Kilmun and Dumbarton. In the 17th century the fishing rights of the River Add, which was rich in salmon, were shared between Sir Dougal Campbell of Auchinbreck and the Marquis of Argyll and shows that this valuable resource was strictly controlled (No 346, Campbell 1933, 121-22).

2.8 Discussion

By looking at rural settlement in different parts of Scotland and Ireland it is possible to identify several types of buildings in the landscape and to build up a chronological framework.

1. Stone built rectangular structures which appear on the 1st edition OS maps and are 19th century in date.
2. Drystone, hip ended buildings which may be 18th or 19th century.
3. Rectangular or sub-rectangular structures, with low turf covered stone wall foundations. These are likely to be pre-Improvement, perhaps introduced after the 13th or 14th centuries to lift roof timbers off the ground.
4. Long low structure with turf walls (perhaps a regional type eg Pitcarmick type).

5. Shielings, which themselves have a varied morphology, perhaps reflecting their varied function or date.

The higher status sites include,

1. Stone built rectangular or sub-rectangular buildings, with a cruck-frame, which may be medieval in date, perhaps occupying crannogs or re-used duns which may be acting as strongholds for the local lairds.

2. Curtain walled castles, or castles of enclosure, usually built by the Anglo-Normans although perhaps later occupied by Gaelic lords

3. Hall houses, stone built and possibly 12th or 13th century in date.

4. Tower houses of the 15th – 16th centuries.

It has also been possible to put forward a tentative model of settlement change for Mid-Argyll.

1. Expansion of the population, economy and settlement in the 12th and 13th centuries, with some evidence for continuity of settlement from the prehistoric period.

2. Decline or settlement shift in the 14th century because of the wars, famine, plague and environmental deterioration. Perhaps an increased dependence on the pastoral economy.

3. Some recovery in the late 14th century and a revival of links with Gaelic Ireland.

4. Ending of the Lordship of the Isles in the late 15th century causing increased political instability, an increase in feuding and an increase in the non-productive military caste.

5. Settlement splitting and establishment of new settlements on previously marginal land as the population expands in the 16th century.

6. Consolidation of joint-tenancy farms into single larger farms in the 19th century.

The examination of existing medieval settlement in Argyll has shown that there is evidence for a hierarchy of settlement types from the castles, tower houses, and hall-houses to smaller island dwellings, deserted settlements and shielings. There is little evidence in Argyll for the potentially medieval, amorphous-shaped pre-Improvement settlements seen occasionally elsewhere in the west of Scotland. It is anticipated that the

pre-Improvement settlement will have been constructed primarily of perishable materials, survival of which will depend on the later extent of cultivation and expansion of nucleated settlements. The stone-built settlements that do survive in great numbers, mark the period of expansion and nucleation in the 18th and 19th centuries.

It has been suggested that an examination of Post-medieval settlement and vernacular architecture is 'a way of getting back, step by step, to the customs and practice of pre-Improvement times' (Stell 1993). However, rather than being a continuation of the medieval past, particular consideration must be made of the continually changing economic and social processes which were affecting the population and settlement throughout the medieval and later periods, which are highlighted by the historical geographer and which would have had an effect on settlement density, location and character.

This review has shown that a wide range of methodologies have been utilised in the study of rural settlement, the most successful being a consideration of vernacular architecture, field survey, aerial photography, geophysics, archaeological excavation, historical research, linguistic evidence and oral tradition. Individually each method offers a slightly different slant on the issue of medieval settlement and combined together they begin to reveal the issues involved, the processes taking place and the structural remains that exist in the landscape. This research will therefore utilise a similar variety of techniques, in order to explore what can be detected of medieval settlement in Mid-Argyll. But first an over view of the social and economic history of the area is presented in order to provide the historical context for this work.

Chapter 3: An Overview of the social and economic history of Argyll in the medieval and Post-medieval period

3.1 Introduction

The history of Argyll (and Scotland generally) in the medieval period (taken here to be from the 12th to the 17th centuries) has been described by many writers as turbulent (Duncan & Brown 1957, Stevenson 1980, Barrow 1981, Campbell 2000, Campbell 2002). But is difficult to ascertain the level of turmoil for the ordinary people as they barely enter the historical record until the 17th century. This chapter will present a broad economic and social overview of Argyll during the medieval and Post-medieval period and examine: evidence for the linguistic, cultural and social make up of the population, periods social unrest or population displacement which may have affected the settlement pattern and the suggestion that pastoralism was preferred when society was under political or social stress.

This overview is divided into four chronological parts. The first looks at the early-medieval Kingdom of Dalriada (see Figure 3.1), Norse settlement and the first two centuries of the medieval period. The second part deals with the onset of the climatic deterioration, plague, warfare and famine of the 14th and 15th centuries. The third part deals with the 16th and 17th centuries. Finally the Post-medieval period is considered in order to aid an understanding of the surviving archaeological remains.

3.2 The Kingdoms of Dalriada and Somerled and the extension of Scottish royal power - The 5th to the 13th Centuries

By the 8th century, Argyll had been Gaelic speaking for many centuries and had strong cultural and kinship ties with Ireland (Bannerman 1974, Duncan 1975, Foster 1996, Campbell 2001, Nieke 2004; Woolf 2004). Society at this time was hierarchical, headed by a warrior caste which ruled through a complex series of client relationships and were occupied in heroic exploits, feasting and feuding, measuring its wealth predominantly in movable cattle (Duncan 1975, 73). Pastoralism would therefore have been the predominant economic activity with any available cultivatable land being utilised for

growing crops for human consumption and to feed the cattle in winter. The *Senchus Fear nAlban* provides some information on the method of tax assessment at the time as it is based on the *tech* or 'house' within each district, the 'house' or as Bannerman suggests the 'household' being the basis on which the people owed tribute or food rent to their chief or king (Bannerman 1974, 49, 133, 145). Another significant characteristic of society at this time was the importance of seafaring as indicated by the requirement of every 20 'houses' to man two seven-bench boats in the service of their chief. This naval power would have enabled the chiefs to maintain their close links with Ireland and to undertake trade with Britain and the Continent.

The impact of the Norse raids was felt initially along the east coast of Britain but soon extended around the north coast and into Argyll, the first raid on Iona being in A.D. 795. From then onwards there was an influx of Scandinavian people into the west of Scotland and Ireland and the kingdom of Dalriada may have been divided between the native dynasties and the Norse who settled predominantly along the coastal edge and in the islands (Woolf 2004, 94). The Norse intermarried with the Gaelic speakers resulting in a mixed Norse-Gaelic society that was referred to in Ireland as the *Gall-Gaedhil.* The Hebrides became known as the *Innse Gall* meaning 'Island of the Foreigners' (referring to the Norse) and Argyll as *Airer Gaedel* meaning 'coastline of the foreigner' (Woolf 2004, 95).

Somerled, according to tradition, was a powerful warior of Norse-Gaelic descent who became the *regulus* (king) of Argyll in about 1130 and married Ragnhild, daughter of King Olaf of Man, sometime before 1150 (Marsden 2000, 42). The period of Somerled's rule in the first half of the 12th century saw much of Argyll ruled by a westward-looking, Christian, Gaelic-Norse leader of an independent kingdom, with strong kinship and cultural ties to Ireland, alternately making war and seeking political alliances with his neighbours the King of Man and the King of Scots. Marriage contracts were, however, only made within the Gaelic-Norse dynasties (McDonald 2000, 176). While Somerled led his warriors into battle outside Argyll, there are no historically recorded incursions into Argyll during his reign and the strength of his overlordship may also have deterred fighting and feuding within Argyll and also prevented the Scottish crown extending its control into the west of Scotland. So this may have been a period of relative peace.

In the aftermath of Somerled's death in 1164, the conflicting claims of his sons brought civil war to the Kingdom of the Isles (Woolf 2004, 105-7; Duncan & Brown 1957, 197-8; Sellar 2000, 194-95) resulting in a division of territories between three clans descended from Somerled. From this period clan Dugald held Mull and Lorn, clan Donald held Islay, Kintyre and Morvern and clan Ruari held the Uists and Garmoran (Munro 1981, 23; Woolf 2004, 105). Mainland Argyll was left in the hands of 'loyal' descendants of Somerled, including Duncan MacDougall of Argyll, whose principal stronghold was Dunstaffnage in Lorn (Duncan & Brown 1957, 202). The outer isles remained under the control of the Norse, and in 1248 Duncan of Argyll's son Ewan became king of the Sudreys (the Hebrides) which he ruled on behalf of King Hakon of Norway.

In the Treaty of Perth in 1266, the Norwegian king, Magnus, recognised that his hold on the outer isles was weak and sold them to the Scottish king. This ended the dual loyalties of the MacDougalls and they became more integrated within Scottish society (Duncan & Brown 1957, 215; Sellar 2000, 210-11). Alexander was made sheriff of Lorn, which meant he was responsible for law and order across Argyll, all the way from Ardnamurchan to Knapdale, far beyond his own lands (Duncan & Brown 1957, 216; Boardman 2006, 18-19). The principal lords of the sheriffdom were Alexander de Ergadia (Lord of Lorn), John de Glenurchy, Gilbert McNaughton (of Dunderave in Loch Fyne), Malcolm McIvor, Dugald Campbell of Craignish, John son of Gilchrist, Radulph of Dundee, Gillespic McLachlan and the Earl of Menteith (Skene 1890, 88-89).

North Knapdale was in the hands of the clan chief Swein, based at Castle Sween, until exiled by Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith in 1262 (Barrow 1988, 58; RCAHMS 1992, 258). There is little historical information of any lesser lords within Knapdale at this time. The lesser lords within Ardskeodnish and Glassary included the MacGilchrists at Fincharn castle and the Campbells of Lochawe, probably at Duntroon as well as their main stonghold of Innis Chonnell (Duncan & Brown 1957, 205, RCAHMS 1992, 281; RCAHMS 1975, 223).

There is evidence that these western clans were being drawn into the feudal system as the Scottish king was determined to bring Argyll under his control (Murray 2005, 300). There is charter evidence for Gillascop MacGilchrist being granted lands in Mid-Argyll and Cowal by Alexander II in 1240 (MacPhail 1916b, 114-5, 121-4 & 227-245). These lands included Fincharn and Glennan and in return Gillascop owed service directly to the Scottish king, in the form of a knights service in time of war. The MacGilchrists were, by tradition of Irish descent and may well have been of mixed Gaelic and Norse blood. The hall-house at Fincharn (thought to date to the period of this charter) may have been in the hands of the MacGilchrists until taken over by Master Ralf of Dundee in 1290 (Duncan & Brown 1957, 205). Master Ralf may have been either a son or son-in-law of Gillascop MacGilchrist and so his descendants were still from the local Gaelic dynasty, although with a strengthened connection with the east of Scotland (MacPhail 1916b, 117).

The origins of the Campbell clan have been traced back to Duncan MacDuibne who may have held lands in the region of Loch Awe (Skene 1890, 79) although it has been argued that the Campbells were originally from Lennox (Sellar 1973). The tradition that the Campbells were descended from the British King Arthur would be consistent with a British Lennox/Lowland origin. In 1292 Colin Campbell 'Lord of Lochow' was listed as a landowner within the sheriffdom of Lorne with close family connections to Robert the Bruce (Sellar 1973, 116-7, Boardman 2006, 18). Colin was bailie of Loch Awe and Ardscotnish in 1296 responsible for collecting the royal revenues on behalf of Edward I (King of England). Perhaps it was while carrying out this commission that Colin *Mór* Campbell was killed by the MacDougalls in a skirmish near Loch Avich, north of Loch Awe on the border with Lorn (Sellar 2000, 212; Boardman 2006, 21).

So between the mid-12th and the end of the 13th century Mid-Argyll was in the hands of either local Gaelic/Norse lords or Gaelic/British lords, both of whom recognised the Scottish crown as their overlord. Incoming Norman lords, the Stewarts, had taken control of parts of Knapdale and there may well have been localised unrest associated with this change in lordship, but it is not historically recorded, apart from a poem describing an attempt by the MacSweens to re-gain their lands in 1310 (Thomson 1977, 27). Apart from this change in overlordship and the 'skirmish' between the Campbells

and the MacDougalls in 1296 one could suggest that after the conflict and civil wars of the 12th century, the 13th century was a time of relative peace for Mid-Argyll as the Norse threat had been removed. In general the reign of Alexander III (1249-86) was seen by later chroniclers as a 'golden age', a period of plenty (Whyte 1995, 49) which Mid-Argyll could have shared.

Population and economy in the 12th and 13th centuries

Historical information on the size of the population and the economy in Scotland at this time is sparse and so only general comments can be made about those factors which would have influenced the settlement pattern. From the 11th to the 13th century the North Atlantic enjoyed a 'Medieval Warm Period' and overall it was a period of expansion in population and economic wealth (Fagan 2000, 3-21; Houghton *et al* 2001). There are a few stray references to famines in the 13th century, but there were no major epidemics. Population size for the whole of Scotland is estimated to have been about 1 million by the early 14th century and this population would have been concentrated in the rich agricultural lands of the Lowlands, with a more sparse population in the mountainous Highlands and the west.

Where recorded in historical documents, the exports from the eastern Scottish ports, were wool, hides, cattle and some fish supporting the idea that the economy was predominantly pastoral. On a lesser scale, there were also trade links along the west coast, between Loch Fyne, Bristol and Ireland, including the import of luxury goods, such as wine, into Scotland by the clan chiefs (Sellar 2000, 208; Boardman 2006, 295). The Scottish economy was based on money from the early 13th century, but there would have been little currency circulating in Argyll where rents were principally paid in kind and in labour and where property exchanges were paid partly in cattle and partly in cash (Whyte 1995, 49).

It is generally assumed that, as a pastoral society, the settlement pattern in Argyll consisted of small hamlets and single farms located near available pockets of cultivatable land. These farms would have been surrounded by large areas of unenclosed hill pasture which was most suited to livestock rearing. Place-name evidence suggests that summer shielings were used in the medieval period (Fenton

1999, 130; Bil 1990, 3) although seasonal transhumance was probably a much more ancient practice. The favourable climate and lack of famines and epidemics would have enabled the population to grow, resulting in the division of properties and expansion of settlement into newly cleared forests and more marginal areas throughout Scotland.

3.3 Wars, famine and economic contraction in the 14th – 15th centuries

The turn of the 14th century brought an end to the period of plenty as Scotland suffered the damaging effects of decades of war, famine, the plague and climatic deterioration known as the 'Little Ice Age' (Matthes 1939). The Scottish struggle for independence from England at the end of the 13th century saw the Scottish King (John Balliol) at war with Edward I, the 'Hammer of the Scots'. The major rivalry at this time in the west of Scotland was between two clans, both descended from Somerled, the MacDougalls who supported John Balliol and the MacDonalds who supported the rival claimant to the Scottish throne, Robert the Bruce. The Campbells, as kin of Robert and allies of the MacDonalds, were therefore supporters of the Bruce claim. The effect of this territorial rivalry was not immediately felt in Mid-Argyll and Knapdale as the significant fighting took place elsewhere on MacDonald lands (Boardman 2006, 21). Peace must have been restored for a while as Alexander MacDougall was made baillie of Loch Awe and Ardscotnish, in 1304 which was MacDonald and Campbell territory (Boardman 2006, 21).

Once he became king in 1306 Robert the Bruce sought to reduce the power of the MacDougalls, defeating John MacDougall at the Pass of Brander (to the north of Lorne between Loch Awe and Loch Etive) in 1308 (Sellar 2000, 214). It was probably with the help of the Campbells, that the MacDougall Lords of Argyll were ousted from Argyll in about 1308/9 and Robert was able to take control of Dunstaffnage Castle in Lorn in 1309. In 1314 at the Battle of Bannockburn, Stirlingshire, Robert the Bruce finally defeated the combined English and Scottish army of Edward II. This situation favoured the fortunes of the MacDonalds and the Campbells as they were loyal supporters of Robert the Bruce. The MacDougall lands seem to have then been redistributed by Robert between his supporters, the Campbells, the MacDonalds and the Macleans (Boardman 2006, 39). Sir Neil Campbell married Robert's sister and was made the Earl of Atholl. The Campbell fortunes continued to rise with the granting of

the castle of Innis Chonnel and the baronies of Loch Awe and Ardscotnish to Sir Neil Campbell's son, Colin, in 1315, in return 'for the service of forty oars for forty days'. Boardman has suggested that this extended overlordship by the Campbells may have been resisted by the existing families, such as the MacGilcrists, and that this new position may have had to be enforced militarily (Boardman 2006, 41). However, the Campbells may have thought it expedient at this time to make alliances with the local clan chiefs rather than remove them, as the names of several local clans continued to be associated with the area for several centuries.

Lordship of the Isles

By the mid-14th century the MacDonalds had taken over from the MacDougalls as the main force in the west of Scotland. John MacDonald was in possession of Mull, Lewis, the Uists and Gamorran and styled himself Lord of the Isles, with his castle at Ardtornish (Munro 1981, 24). The Lordship of the Isles was to become one of the most powerful semi-independent provinces in Scotland in the 15th century (Bannerman 1977, 211; Oram 2004, 126, see Figure 3.2). The Lordship became a focus of Gaelic culture and language within an increasingly Anglicised Scotland. To increase their status and wealth they maintained a large standing army of warriors (caterans) who formed a military caste in society and this is reflected in the numerous carved gravestones depicting armed warriors with their two-handed claymores, clad in shoulder mail, helmets and acketons (quilted jackets), (Steer and Bannerman 1977).

A marriage between John MacDonald and Margaret, Robert the Steward's eldest daughter, brought Knapdale and Kintyre into the Lordship of the Isles (Oram 2004, 124-5) and the title *Rí Airir Goídel* (king of Argyll) disappeared in favour of *Rí Innse Gall* (king of the Hebrides), (Bannerman 1977, 211). By the mid-15th century the Lord of the Isles had inherited the Earldom of Ross and moved his attention to the east of Scotland, which enabled the cadet branches of the MacDonald clan to become stronger in the west (Oram 2004, 134). A secret treaty of Ardtornish in 1462 between John and the English king Edward IV, to overthrow the Scottish king, came to light in 1474 and James III forfeited the Lordships lands, including Knapdale and Kintyre (Oram 2004, 136). Castle Sween was briefly held against the King during a rebellion by Angus the son of the Lord of the Isles. The MacMillans of Knapdale, keepers of Castle Sween on behalf of

the Lords of the Isles, were probably expelled by the crown at this time because of their support for the Lordship (Bannerman 1977, 219).

The territorial losses of the MacDonalds became gains for the Campbells. In 1481 Castle Sween and much of Knapdale were granted to Colin Campbell, the first Earl of Argyll. The Lordship was finally forfeited in 1493 and James IV granted the lands to the former vassals, thus ensuring some continuity of land occupation (Munro 1981, 33). The Lordship of the Isles was officially over by the end of the 15th century, but support for the restoration of the MacDonalds remained strong in the west, although strongly resisted by the Campbells in Mid-Argyll. An example of Campbell opposition to a restoration of the MacDonalds was the incarceration of Donald Dubh, the heir to the Lordship, for most of his early life in Innischonnel castle on Loch Awe by Colin Campbell, the first Earl of Argyll, even though Donald Dubh was his grandson.

Rise of the Campbells

During the 14th and 15th centuries the Campbells grew from being lords of Loch Awe and baillies of 'Ardskeodnish' to Earls of Argyll, eventually replacing the power of the MacDonalds. In 1323, after Colin's death, a dispute over the lordship of 'Ardscotnish', between two lines of the Campbell family was taken to a meeting of the three estates at Scone, where an agreement was made for the 20 merks of land in Ardscotnish to be left in the hands of Dugald, Colin's brother, and this later became the Duntroon branch of the Campbell clan (Boardman 2006, 42, 43 & 103).

By the time of Robert the Bruce's death in 1329, there were several cadet branches of the Campbell clan holding lands in Argyll and Atholl. In Mid-Argyll these lords of 'middling stature' included several other branches of the Campbells: the MacArthur Campbells, the MacGilchrists, the MacNaughtons, the MacIvers, and the Glassarys. Although the Campbells were their kin, these lords were keen to assert their independence and preferred to hold their land directly from the crown (Boardman, 2006, 61-70). Gilbert of Glassary had received the lands of brothers John and Gillascop MacGilchrist (including Fincharn, Loch Awe and Ederline), from the Crown (MacPhail 1916b, 115-18, 136-8).

Gillespic Campbell steadily acquired territory in Arran, Cowall and Knapdale, including Castle Sween and the hereditary lieutenancy in Mid-Argyll (Boardman 2006, 63-67). He became unpopular with neighbouring families who lost their lands by his cunning use of marriage alliances and the acquisition of the rights of widows. In Craignish, (the parish to the north-west of Kilmartin) he acquired the overlordship while the original MacDuill owners retained possession of the land (RCAHMS 1992, 261; Boardman 2006, 70-71). By 1361 Gillespic's son, Colin *Iongantach*, had a personal lordship in Glassary and Craignish and he was also bailie of the lands of Gilbert of Glassary. Colin married Mariota, the Campbell heiress of Ardscotnish, Menstrie and Glenorchy which brought him the overlordship of these lands, although they were still occupied by the existing clans. This takeover was not without conflict as there is a traditional story of an attempted murder of Colin by the Clanchallums in Ardscotnish on behalf of Duncan, Colin's brother. According to a 17th century version of the story Colin escaped from a burning house and only survived by running into a pool 'under Kilmartine town'. Towards the end of the 14th century Gillespic Campbell was Lieutenant of Argyll on behalf of the crown, thus responsible for law and order across a large area, beyond his own lordship (Boardman 2006, 74-75).

The Campbell lordship was, at this time, no less Gaelic orientated than the MacDougalls or the MacDonalds in the west, and like them they possessed a large number of galleys which contributed significantly to their military power. Like the Lords of the Isles, the Campbells wanted to be seen as Highland Gaelic-speaking aristocrats and their choice of marriage partners and the fosterage of children were kept within the families of the Gaelic west (Boardman 2006, 83). They used charters to strengthen their hold of property, which has been seen as a tool of the feudal system, as did the Lords of the Isles when it suited them (Munro & Munro 1986). But the Campbells differed from the Lords of the Isles in that the Campbells were loyal supporters of the Scottish crown (Boardman 2006, 82-83), although used their position to extend their own power in the west of Scotland, on their own behalf. Therefore there is no suggestion that, despite their potential British origin, the takeover of lands by the Campbells would have resulted in a less Gaelic orientated form of lordship or culture.

During the 15th century the Campbells continued their acquisition of lands and positions, although it was intermittent progress as they were embroiled in the political

storms of the Scottish court. Within the barony of Ardskeodnish, the cadet branch of the Campbells 'of Duntrune' was first referred to in a document in 1448 (RCAHMS 1992, 281). The establishment of such cadet branches and the alliances with other local chiefs, provided the Campbells with loyal support in their heartland of Mid-Argyll and Cowal. From the mid-15th century onwards the Campbells became ever more orientated towards the royal court and the differences between the MacDonald and the Campbell lordships increased. Duncan's son, Colin Campbell, became the first Earl of Argyll and moved his seat from Innis Chonnel to Inveraray on Loch Fyne, a sea loch which connected to the Firth of Clyde. This would have provided the local cadet branches of the Campbells an opportunity to extend their own power and local position.

After the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles Earl Colin was made Lieutenant of the Isles, thus responsible for law and order across the whole of the Inner and Outer Isles. He received lands in Knapdale in 1481 and custody of Castle Sween. Colin continued to be a patron of Gaelic history and culture, bringing into his service the MacEwan poets who had previously been the court poets for the MacDougalls. However, with the acquisition of the earldom, an emphasis on primogeniture and the use of charters, Campbells moved away from the Gaelic tradition which required 'communal validation' for lordship to a position which was more difficult for other clan members to challenge (Boardman 2006, 189-278) and led to a significant shift of power away from clan members.

The accusations of the use of unscrupulous methods for the advancement of the Campbell clan is illustrated by one traditional story which recounts that in 1498 some Campbells kidnapped Muriel, the child heiress of John Calder, Thane of Cawdor, so that she could marry a Campbell when she was of marriageable age and thus bring her inheritance into Campbell hands (Campbell 1916a, 401; Boardman 2006, 273-4). Boardman suggests that the control of the heiress was a royal gift and therefore legitimate, but such action would have caused great resentment by the clans who lost territory to the Campbells in this way.

Another local clan whose origins may date back to this period are the MacTavishes of Dunardry. A Duncan MacThamais was recorded as a Baron of Argyll in 1355 and was possibly a descendant of Sir Thomas Campbell, a landowner in Kintyre in 1292. The

MacTavishes were therefore kin of the Campbells, and although formed their own clan by the mid-14th century, still considered themselves Campbells. They were therefore part of the Campbell expansion into Mid-Argyll, replacing the local lairds. (Campbell 2000, 243-247). There were several other branches or septs of the Campbell clan who held property in Mid-Argyll including the Malcolms, the MacKellers and the MacArthurs. Whether they were truly descendants of Campbells or had assumed an association with the Campbells for protection is not now known. Local clans who were ousted by the Campbells and their allies at this time include the MacGilchrists and the MacNaughtons.

Onset of The Little Ice Age and The Great Famine

The environmental degeneration or 'Little Ice Age' is thought to have become noticeable in the Northern Atlantic by the beginning of the 14th century and to have worsened in the 17th century, before the climate warmed again in the mid-19th century (Parry 1985; Fagan 2000; Houghton *et al* 2001). Colder winters and wetter summers would have resulted in poor harvests and, within a subsistence economy, led to more frequent famines. In 1310 'so great was the famine and derth of provisions…[in Scotland]..that in most places, many were driven, by the pinch of hunger, to feed on the flesh of horses and other unclean cattle' (Skene 1872, 338). A particularly severe famine occurred across Northern Europe between 1315-18, as a result of particularly heavy rains (Lucas 1930; Kershaw 1973; Jillings 2003, 55). This 'Great Famine' was a severe crisis, causing perhaps 10% – 15% of population mortality and reports of cannibalism across Europe and in Ireland (Lucas 1930, 364, 376; Aberth 2000). In 1321 there was a particularly 'hard winter [in Scotland] which distressed men, and killed nearly all animals' (Skene 1872, 340-1).

Harvest failures in Scotland resulted in shortages and higher prices which would hit the poorest the most and through malnutrition would have made them more susceptible to diseases such as typhoid and dysentery. Famine in Scotland was followed by livestock epidemics of sheep in 1319 and cattle in 1321 (Kershaw 1973, 14). The consumption of these diseased stock, under famine conditions, would have hastened the spread of disease among the population. Thus, the combined harvest failure and stock disease and labour shortage would have affected both the arable and the pastoral elements of the Scottish economy. Unlike in Ireland, where the Gaelic pastoralists could (under normal

conditions) find pasture for their stock all year round (Lennon 2005, 45) in Scotland stock would not survive the winters without grain. It has been suggested that the famine would have affected the peasants of the marginal areas of the Highlands even more than elsewhere as surpluses would have been less frequent even under normal circumstances (Kershaw 1973, 36). Highland landlords would have had to write off rents because of the shortages and would have had to delve into their own resources to re-stock their tenants. So all echelons of society would have suffered (although to differing extents). Because cattle were movable wealth, perhaps the pastoral part of the economy could be restored more quickly than the arable, thus encouraging more dependence on pastoralism.

The Plague

While still recovering from famine and pestilence, the country was hit by the Black Death in the mid 14th century. Because of the lack of statistics regarding births and deaths in this period it is difficult to ascertain the effect of the plague on the population of Scotland. History records its arrival in Scotland in 1349, brought by English soldiers, followed by another plague in 1362 (Skene 1872, 369). Further plagues arrived in 1379-80 and there were nine other outbreaks before 1500 (Whyte 1995, 40; Jillings 2003, 34, 59). It is thought that, across Europe in general, about a third of the population died (Skene 1872, 359; Jillings 2003, 60) while in Scotland it was perhaps about a quarter or less who died because the rural population was more isolated (Jillings 2003, 7).

Wars of Independence

The problems of famine and pestilence were exacerbated by warfare. War with England broke out in 1296 and lasted until 1323, then continuing from 1332 until the Treaty of Berwick in 1357. It has been suggested that it was the Great Famine of 1315-18 that prompted the Scottish raids into England in the 1320s (Kershaw 1973, 13, 15; Whyte 1995, 39). As the Lowlands saw the worst of the fighting it would have been the arable lands which would have suffered the most significant agricultural and economic disruption (Jillings 2003, 51). The war also interrupted Scotland's traditional trade with England, forcing it to find other trading partners abroad (Whyte 1995, 72).

Population

There was a severe fall in population across Europe resulting in a shortage of labour which resulted in rents dropping, wages increasing and lands being leased out to new tenants. Class tension caused by these changes resulted in peasants revolts across England and France. Scotland did not experience such revolts, perhaps because it was less severely affected by the plague and the effects of the labour shortage or perhaps because the landowners still had a close relationship with clan members.

The mid-14th century saw the official end of serfdom or slavery in Scotland, which it is suggested was a result of a shortage of labour (Smout 1998, 36-7). It has been estimated that the population in Scotland in the late-14th century had dropped to between 250,000 and 350,000 (Lythe 1977, 66) and the population of rural Argyll was probably a small proportion of this. The effects on society of the famines, wars, animal epidemics and the plague would have been interrelated and probably impossible for historians to distinguish. Argyll, although not affected directly by warfare, would have suffered along with the rest of Scotland from animal pestilences and famine, but perhaps less so than other areas from the plague.

The Economy in the 14th and 15th Centuries

The national land assessments of 1366 (for which the returns for Argyll are incomplete) show that the rents had fallen by half since the previous century, an effect of war (Jillings 2003, 60, 65, 81) and the agricultural crisis. The subsistence economy of the Highlands was based on oats and bere (a variety of barley) with small amounts of hemp, flax and rye and depended heavily on livestock production. Cattle were an integral part of Gaelic society and there is documentary evidence for cattle being used as movable wealth, for marriage dowries and for small-scale cattle-droving trade from Argyll and the Highlands well before the 16th century (Dodgshon 1995, 105; Haldane 1997, 11-14).

In general, Scotland was still a poor country compared with Europe. Its foreign trade was small scale and was predominantly in wool with the Low Countries via the eastern ports, although there was some contact with Ireland from the west coast. Scotland's other major exports were of hides, sheepskins, fish, goatskins and coarse woollen cloth.

Historians have noted a boom in exports of wool and leather in the 1370s and 80s (*Exchequer Rolls* II, xc). This level of export declined at the beginning of the 15th century perhaps indicating that there had been a temporary switch from arable to livestock farming, as a result of a population fall, labour shortages and higher labour costs (Whyte 1995, 73-7). An alternative explanation could be that as the urban trades were interrupted, merchants found alternative sources of commerce in the traditional rural products.

The economic difficulties caused by the disruption of the wars, famine and plague were exacerbated by the need to raise money for David II's ransom and prompted the introduction of the feu-ferm form of lease (Lythe 1977, 67) which attempted to standardise the forms of leases, with a fixed term, usually of three to five years with an initial down payment on entry. Use of this form of lease introduced a more commercial element to landholding and contributed to the erosion of the traditional Gaelic system.

It has been suggested that the infield and outfield agricultural system evolved in Scotland in the late-medieval period, as it is in the 15th century that the term outfield first appears in charters (Dodgshon 1981). There was evidence for a system of 'infield' land close to the settlements, being intensively cultivated and manured during the winter months and rotating areas of pasture (outfield) being manured in the summer by enclosing the grazing cattle at night within turf dykes. Another possible development was the joint-tenancy farms and runrig, where arable farming was organised on a communal rather than on an individual basis (Dodgshon 1993). Joint tenancy farms (if indeed a new phenomenon during this period) could perhaps be seen as an increase in communal cooperation during periods of low population and economic stress, when people needed to help each other in order to survive. Alternatively, it could have been a situation forced upon them by the landlords eager to secure higher rents by dividing properties among several families, when none had the money to pay the whole rent for a property. Part of this research will therefore be to investigate whether evidence for the introduction of the joint tenancy farms can be detected.

The Campbells in the 15th century

Against this background of famine, wars, plague and slow economic recovery, the Campbells were the most successful in Argyll at enlarging their clan territory and personal wealth, partly because of their cooperation with the Scottish crown (Cregeen 1968, 153; Boardman 2006). They provided the crown with a significant military force and could mobilise thousands of men and transport them quickly in their galleys, as they did on behalf of the crown at the Battle of Flodden in 1513.

The Campbells relied on the loyalty of the lesser lords and in Mid-Argyll these included the Malcolms who were to become very significant in this area in later centuries. Their origins are not clear, but their name is said to mean 'Slave of Columba'. In 1414 Ranald MacCallum of Corbarron was made hereditary Constable of Craignish castle and Donald McGillespie vic O'Challum had a charter of Poltalloch from Duncan Campbell of Duntrune in 1562 (Moncreiffe 1967, 107). Other septs of the Campbells who begin to appear in charters included the MacTavishes of Dunardry.

By the beginning of the 15th century, the Campbells were significantly wealthy as shown by the choice of Duncan Campbell 'lord of Argile' to be one of the hostages sent to England as surety for James I's ransom in 1424. There is documentary evidence for large sums being paid as entry fees when Archibald, earl of Argyll took over his extensive lands, for numerous dowries, extensive building works and for purchasing lands and offices. The Campbell presence at court would also have involved substantial expenditure (Boardman 2006, 291-2).

The Campbell income was only partly from rents. It was greatly enhanced by the profits from administering justice and other lordly rights, which were significant (Boardman 2006, 293). Within their territories the Campbells were engaged in the traditional practice of Gaelic lordship which included feasting, feuding and tribute taking, but it was their access to the Firth of Clyde which opened up new opportunities for trade and income. The royal burghs of Inveraray and Kilmun (established in 1474 and 1491 respectively) were within reach of the burghs of Glasgow, Paisley, Dumbarton and the Firth of Clyde. It was the location of Argyll, close to the Firth of Clyde between the fishing areas of the west coast and the markets in the Lowlands, which enabled the

Campbells to profit from new economic opportunities, without needing to make changes within their traditional Gaelic lordship. The Campbells were engaged in the rapidly expanding herring trade, channelled through the burghs, which provided them with an additional source of income not available to other Gaelic lordships (Boardman 2006, 296-7).

Cattle also played a significant part in trade in the Campbell lordships with the export of cow hides from this cattle-rich area. The numbers of cows owned by a chief remained a measure of his wealth and social status and cattle continued to act as a currency. There are documentary records for land exchanges being paid in cattle sometimes accompanied by cash payments (Boardman 2006, 300-1). A temporary rise in the trade of pastoral products is the only suggestion that the population became more stock orientated than they already were.

The Campbells, MacMillans and MacMhurichs in Knapdale

While the Campbells extended their power in Mid-Argyll, they also gained land in Knapdale as subjects of the Stewart Earls of Menteith. In 1357 Sir John Menteith's grandson granted the pennyland of 'Castle Swine' to Archibald Campbell of Lochawe (RCAHMS 1992, 259). The Lordship was later inherited by Robert II, who in turn granted half of the lands in Knapdale to John, Lord of the Isles. The keepership of Castle was granted to the MacMillans who gave 'sword service' to the Lord of the Isles, having been ousted from the Barony of Lawers by David II in 1360 (Macmillan 1960, 12). They established a chieftainship in the south of Knapdale and after marrying into the family of the MacNeills of Taynish, became Constables of Castle Sween, possibly building the MacMillans tower between 1472 and 1475 (RCAHMS 1992, 259). It is recorded that the dowry of Erca MacNeill was ten farms between Castle Sween and 'Kenlochkillsport' (Loch Caolisport), (MacMillan 1960, 13).

After the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, the MacMillans lost their lands in Knapdale and they were ousted by force from Kenlochkillisport by the MacAllisters who, according to tradition, drove them into the sea and left them stranded on a rock (Steer & Bannerman 1977, 152; MacMillan 1960, 30). One branch of the MacMillans became tenant farmers within Knapdale and Kintyre while another became one of the

largest landowning families in Argyll in the 18th century (MacMillan 1960, 18-20). The rest of Knapdale forfeited by the Lords of the Isles in 1475 was granted to Colin Earl of Argyll in 1481.

Other clans owing service to the Lords of the Isles included the MacMhuirichs who were the hereditary Sennachies (poets and historians) of the Clan Ranald from the 16th to the 18th centuries (Skene 1890, 397). After the forfeiture of the Lordship they moved to Clan Ranald territory in South Uist (Thomson 1963; Gillies 2000; Raven 2005). The MacMhuirich family held lands mainly on Mull, Tiree, Bute and Islay, but there are also references to members of the MacMhuirich's family being granted tacks of royal lands in Kintyre after the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, which they then left sometime between 1541 and 1596 (Mckerral 1946, 14; Thomson 1963, 295-98; Gillies 2000, 42). There is no mention in these sources of lands in Knapdale being held by MacMhuirichs, however it would seem likely that during possession of Castle Sween by the Lord of the Isles, a member of the clan could have held the lands associated with the site called Dun Mhuirich, just across from Castle Sween. These MacMhurichs may have been ousted with the MacMillans after 1474. Dun Mhuirich and its associated farm was then probably taken over by a Campbell or one of their supporters, although retained its name.

3.4 Power, politics and rebellion, the Campbell Earls of Argyll in the 16th and 17th centuries

The 16th and 17th centuries saw the politics of Scotland change from being a pro-French, Catholic country ruled by the Stewarts, to a Protestant, pro-English country ruled by the Hanoverians. The Campbell Earls, as prominent magnates, played no small part in this transformation, but their actions had incurred the hatred of the Galic clans that they had displaced in the west with devastating results for Argyll in the mid-17th century.

Rise of Anti-Campbell feelings

The lack of royal control in the west resulted in an increase in lawlessness and feuding in the west which the King was unable, or could not afford, to control. As hereditary

Justiciars of Scotland, the Campbell Earls of Argyll were made responsible for peace throughout the west of Scotland, in those areas previously part of the Lordship of the Isles. They used this position, and accompanying powers of 'Fire and Sword', to repress rebellions in the west by MacDonalds and their allies trying to re-kindle the forfeited Lordship (Campbell 2002, 2). The Earls were accused of encouraging the unrest so that they could benefit from the forfeiture of their enemy's lands (Cregeen 1968, 156) and also acquired lands though the acquisition of debts. During the 16th century, the Earls greatly increased their landholdings in Knapdale, Lorne, Glassary and Lennox, Ardnamurchan and Kintyre. Existing tenants were evicted and replaced with loyal clans (Campbell 2002, 139). In particular, the 'unruly and barbarous' tenants of Kintyre were replaced with Lowlanders who were forbidden to sublet the land to any one with the names MacDonald, Maclean, MacAlister or MacNeil (Campbell 2002, 145-151).

The worst feuding generally involved the MacDonalds, the MacLeans and the Campbells. For example the MacDonalds devastated Craignish in 1529, resulting in retaliatory raids by the Campbells. In the 1530's there were raids and counter raids between the Campbells and the MacLeans of Duart which involved 'killings, burning property and driving off beasts'. The invasion of Argyll by Donald Dubh MacDonald in 1543 can be seen in this context when he burned houses, killed and drove off a huge number of cattle. It is not known which locality of Argyll was attacked by him, but the Campbells were clearly the target. Towards the end of the 16th century the feuding escalated into more extreme violence and atrocities were carried out on both side including massacres on Rathlin Island, Luing, Islay, Mull, Tiree, Glenisla and Glencova (Campbell 2002, 80, 85, 93; MacLean-Bristol 1999). In 1602 killing and burnings were carried on Bute by a group of Campbells from Mid-Argyll including Donald Campbell of Duntroon, Colin Campbell of Barbreck, Campbell of Inverliever the younger, Donald Campbell of Oib, Neill McNeill of Taynish and Angus Campbell the younger of Danna. All of them were declared rebels and the Earl was held responsible for them, but was not punished, presumably because of the powerful position he held in Scotland.

The Scottish Civil war, which started in 1644, therefore provided a focus for anti-Campbell feelings as the Campbells were on the side of the Covenanters and the Gaelic clans in the west generally supported the Royalists. Alasdair McColla, fighting with the

Marquis of Montrose on behalf of the Stewart crown, led a Royalist army against the Covenanters and was chased by the Earl of Argyll through the Highlands.

In the winter of 1644/5 Alasdair led a surprise attack into the Campbell heartland of Mid-Argyll with the specific intention of destroying the Campbell clan (Byrne 1997, 158, Campbell 2004, 218). The forces stayed for about two months, burning farms, crops and stealing cattle across 18 parishes. During this raid about 900 men of fighting age may have been killed and Alasdair earned the title '*fear thollaidh nan tighean*' meaning 'destroyer' or 'piercer of houses' (Campbell 2002, 220; Stevenson 1980, 147-8). While one historian suggests that the women and children were spared, although left destitute, without shelter or food in the middle of winter (Campbell 2002, 220) another has said that 'neither age or sex found any security against the savage, and indiscriminate fury with which they butchered' (Campbell 1916b, 319). It is difficult to know now which to believe as the historical records consist of a small number of, probably biased, contemporary accounts, deliberate propaganda and oral tradition. The earlier Campbell version is probably influenced by oral tradition while the later has tried to rely on historically recorded facts, which are few. Stevenson is of the opinion that there was a deliberate attempt to destroy the Campbell clan by killing their fighting men and destroying their source of food by burning houses and crops. After McColla moved on, the inhabitants ventured from their 'hiding places in the hills' to behold the destruction of their dwellings and the devastation (Campbell 1916b, 346). The Marquis had escaped by boat from Inveraray Castle, which was then burned.

In 1646 Alasdair devastated Mid-Argyll again, this time staying 20 months revealing the weakness of the Campbells. Their traditional allies, the Lamonts, MacDougalls and Camerons, deserted them. Only the castles and strongholds of the Campbells remained in their hands while the countryside was left mostly undefended and at the mercy of the invading army. In he absence of artillery, Campbell occupation of their stone-built castles, strongholds and 'rocks within loghs and lakes' enabled them to maintain a presence in Argyll and as the MacDonald army roved around the countryside, the Campbells attempted to re-supply their strongholds from Ireland and elsewhere in Argyll (Stevenson 1980, 213-5). This emphasises the clear distinction between the castles of the clan chiefs, that could successfully withstand the attacks of a poorly equipped Irish army, and the settlements of the farming communities which were not

defended and were abandoned to the enemy. The main exception to this was Inveraray Castle, which the Marquis did not attempt to defend. It was only after the Royalist forces were defeated elsewhere in Scotland and General Leslie drove Alasdair out of Argyll in 1647, that the Earl could return (Campbell 2002, 236).

There were further raids into Argyll in 1679 and in 1685, after the unsuccessful rebellion of the Earl, Argyll was again invaded by Royalist forces led by the Earl of Atholl, and occupied for two years. At this time about 23 Campbell landowners were hanged, Carnasserie Castle was burned, sixty horses were driven away and twenty of the garrison were wounded (Campbell 2004, 24; Campbell 1916b, 343; Fraser 1964, 48; RCAHMS 1992, 225). The immediate Campbell family and about 35 heritors were banished, and their lands forfeited. About 150 clansmen were sent to the Jamaica plantations where they were to labour as slaves (Campbell 2004, 59). The Earl of Atholl allowed his men to pillage and burn the lands around Inveraray, boats and nets were destroyed and all transportable goods were taken away. For the third time in a few decades the people of Mid-Argyll were left destitute. There is an account of these 'depredations', in the form of a list of the goods and animals which were said to be stolen at this time (Anon 1816). Many farms in Kilmartin, Glassary and Knapdale were affected, including Bennau, Duntroon, Glennan, and Fearnoch. They even stole several thousand fruit trees from Inveraray Castle (Campbell 2004, 60). It took the Privy Council to put a stop to the attacks, by removing the Marquis of Atholl from his position as Lord Lieutenant.

This hatred and devastation was specifically targeted towards the Campbells in a way that no other clan experienced (except for the proscribed MacGregors). The MacDonalds were able to undertake this surprise attack and maintain an occupation because the Campbells did not expect anyone to attack them in their heartland. Their power had relied strongly on the cooperation and support of their neighbouring clans, and when the Campbells looked weakened, some clans took the risk of changing sides. By killing their fighting men the Campbells were weakened militarily and by burning the settlements and crops they were hit financially, by removing the tenants ability to pay rent. It took the overthrow of the Stewart crown by the Protestant Hanoverians to save Argyll. The Earl returned to Inveraray by 1689 and the castles (apart from Carnasserie) were re-garrisoned (Campbell 2004, 68-9).

Settlement and clan society

The widespread burning of settlements across Argyll during the second half of the 17th century could be put forward as one of the reasons why medieval settlement in this area is so hard to detect. And yet there was clearly a high degree of continuity of place-names, which suggests that while the houses themselves were destroyed the farms remained intact, probably with new buildings on a new site. The tenants would have relied on the landowner or clan chief to assist with restocking of the farms and it would have taken several years for them to become rent paying again. This disruption to the economy and social situation would have provided the landowners with an ideal opportunity to redefine their relationship with their tenants and, in the spirit of increased commercialisation of the economy, choose friendly and loyal tenants who would be hardworking, rent paying and be more distanced socially from the clan chief. The commercialisation and militarisation of society, and the adoption of primogeniture led to an increased social and economic distance between the clan chiefs and the clan members and further eroded the traditional responsibility of the clan chief for the welfare of the clan.

In the 16th century the high costs associated with the Earls attendance at court and incurred on behalf of the crown, led to financial problems. One way of raising money was by borrowing from their 'gentlemen heritors' in exchange for freeing them from their traditional obligations of military assistance and hospitality. These heritors included many names from Mid-Argyll including the Campbells of Auchinbreck, Barbreck, Inverliever, Duntroon, Castle Sween, Blairintibbert, Knap and Oib, Duncan MacTavish of Dunardry and McKay of Kilmahumaig (Campbell 2004, 9). The Campbells also introduced commercialisation to their estates prompted by their acquisition of new lands in Kintyre and the Inner Isles. They brought in more fixed term leases either to joint tenants or to a single tenant, or tacksman (Whyte 1995, 134; Dodgshon 1981, 255-65; Whyte 1995, 125). The tacksmen sought to make a profit from sub-letting their lands to clan members, and provided a safety net for the people in times of trouble. The Campbells moved away from an exclusively Gaelic environment, which involved a social contract with their clan members and allies, to a Lowland (Anglo-Norman) commercial relationship of landlord and tenant. The adoption of primogeniture

reduced the role of their nearest kin group (the *daoine uasile*) to that of middle managers or tacksmen rather than potentially rival clan chiefs.

The distinct warrior class of medieval society had expanded greatly in the 16th century and were involved with feuding and fighting in Scotland and hired out as mercenary soldiers in Ireland and Europe. These 'redshanks' did no manual labour and were supported by the tenants of the overlord, a practice called sorning (Dodgshon 1995, 106; Campbell 2002, 40-41). Gaelic traditions in the west were seen as a cause of their rebelliousness and so with the Statutes of Iona in 1609 the government sought to reduce the power of the clan chiefs. Highland chiefs were forbidden to keep armed forces and so those of the military caste who did not emigrate turned to agriculture, piracy or sorning (Campbell 2004, 105). Sorning was not restricted to the Outer Isles. In Glassary there were 'wild men who cannot be coerced or punished by secular judge or power....' based at Fincharn castle, 'Lochquho' (Loch Awe) and Ford, from where they committed murder, theft, burnings, and 'lesornyng'. In 1506 Earl Archibald and other commissioners had held a judicial and political tour of Knapdale, Kintyre and Argyll, which involved mass gatherings of Hebridean lords at Dunadd, Lochgilphead and Dunstaffnage. One of the practices particularly criticised at Dunadd was the practice of sorning, which was seen as an oppression on the people (Boardman 2006, 322 –5, 339). Sir Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck and Archibald Campbell of Barbreck were both accused of oppressing the inhabitants of Knapdale and Glassary in 1612. The Earls attempted to distance himself from this behaviour, but did nothing to stop it.

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of pre-Improvement farming in the Highlands as it was much criticised by the later Improvers who saw the economy in commercial rather than social terms. The old breed of black cattle, although smaller and produced less milk than the improved breeds, could reach steep inaccessible grazings and overwinter without shelter. The old native breeds of sheep were also smaller and produced less meat, but had finer wool and more of them could be supported on the same amount of ground than the Lowland breeds. However, they did not survive so well without winter fodder and so would have been more vulnerable in the increasingly hard winters (Sinclair 1792, 261). Traditional farming utilised additional animal resources in that the sheep and cattle also provided a source of dung for manure and fuel and the sheep could also be milked. Traditional farming was perceived as inefficient and

conservative and yet it would have provided adequately for a small, widely dispersed population, especially during the Medieval Warm period. As the Little Ice Age took a grip and the climate worsened, the traditional methods would have come under pressure, especially as the population was still growing (Whyte 1995, 112).

The export of cattle and hides continued to rise into the 16th and 17th centuries, under varying degrees of state control. The economy of Argyll was already heavily dependent on stock rearing, but it was the landlords who promoted an increase in commercial pastoralism, as they saw potential profits from the burgeoning droving trade. Regulations were brought in during the 16th and 17th centuries which indicate that there were attempts to stop the selling of stolen cattle which was associated with the traditional practice of clan raiding (Haldane 1997, 10). This all indicates a strong trade in cattle from Scotland to the Lowlands and England during this period which was to expand enormously, during the 18th and 19th centuries.

The effect of the cattle trade and increased population would have resulted in the hill grazing became more intensively utilised and controlled (Whyte 1995, 139). The numbers of settlements increased as farms were split and new ones expanded into the old shieling grounds (Bil 1990, 255-277). Already well established shieling grounds were increasingly controlled as their value increased. The women and girls took the dairy cattle to the shielings where they made butter and cheese while other cattle were taken further afield by the herdsmen and boys. At night the dairy cattle were corralled within turf walled enclosures and the resulting manured land was later cultivated as outfield. The number of animals kept by a township was limited by the amount of winter feed that was available which was usually provided in the Highlands by growing cereals and grazing on the stubble within the infield. The surplus cattle were killed off at Martinmas (November 11th) possibly a very ancient practice, although this became more necessary with the onset of the Little Ice Age. Such subsistence farming was very dependent on good harvests, in good years they would have been able to put grain aside to pay their rents, save a third as seed crop for the next year and a third to feed themselves and their stock over winter, but after a bad harvest there was an immediate threat of famine and rent arrears which took years to clear. This situation contrasts with the agricultural practices of Gaelic Ireland where a greater degree of tenant mobility and a greater dependence on pastoralism was possible.

Population Mobility and Pastoralism

It was said in Gaelic Ireland that the tenants were able to 'migrate from one territory to another at set times of year in search for better conditions', did not stay more than three years in one place and then moved about the country 'like wild men fleeing from one place to another'. This would appear to describe a transient, semi-nomadic, society which could 'melt into the landscape' in times of trouble. This situation was perhaps made possible by a low population, mild winters and spare winter pasture (O'Conor 1998, 105; Lenon 2005, 47-8; Nicholls 2003, 137). Such mobility, if it were practiced in Scotland, might be another reason why medieval settlement is difficult to detect.

There is documentary evidence that the population in Scotland during the 16th and early 17th centuries was in some ways highly mobile. People headed for the Lowlands into land vacated by the wars, into Kintyre and Ulster as settlers and many thousands of men left Scotland as mercenaries for Ireland, France and Holland (Whyte 1995, 120). As the estates became commercialised, those tenants who found their leases had expired would have needed to find new lands to farm. There was also the traditional small scale transhumance movement from the winter settlements to the hill pastures in summer. Another, possibly rather extreme, example were the clan MacGregor who sought whatever protection and land they could as they had been proscribed. Another strong indication that the population in Argyll was mobile was after the depredations of the 1640s, the Marquis and the lairds and gentlemen of Argyll decided that there should be no more 'wandering around at pleasure' (Campbell 2002, 249). As labour was short, they decided that people had to attach themselves to a master by each November and have a written certificate for their land. All 'kindly' (i.e. loyal to Campbell) tenants were encouraged and could have as much land as they could work at a reasonable rate (Campbell 2002, 249). Tenant mobility was thus brought under control by the Earl who sought to tie the people to the land.

The little evidence that exists therefore suggests that elements of the labour force in the 17th century were mobile, as farm tenancies were becoming shorter and changing hands more frequently with a more commercial motivation for the letting of land. However, there is no evidence for semi-nomadic pastoralism as seen in Ireland. The reasons for this were probably the harsher environment in Scotland which required access to arable

land to grow winter fodder and the greater intensity of land utilisation. When Mid-Argyll was attacked in the winter of 1644 those people who had enough warning took to the hills with what cattle and possessions they could carry. But this was a short-term solution only, as without winter fodder for the cattle or food for themselves they would have soon perished in the hills. Although not as mobile as groups in Ireland, a degree of population mobility in Scotland was probably still a contributing factor to the lack of evidence for medieval settlement.

3.5 Economy and society in the 18th and 19th centuries

Although this thesis is primarily a consideration of settlement in the medieval period, it is useful to consider briefly the period of the Improvements and the Clearances, in order to see the deserted farmsteads, that predominantly make up the archaeological record, in context. These stone-built structures would have required significant resources for their construction, but were abandoned after a relatively short period of use, which highlights an abrupt change in the rural economy in the 19th century.

Dukes of Argyll and the Jacobite Rebellions

In 1701 the Earl of Argyll was rewarded for his support of William of Orange, by being made the 1st Duke of Argyll and 'Marquis of Kintire and Lorne, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Vicount of Lochow and Glenila, Lord Inveraray, Mull, Morvern and Tiry' (Campbell 2004, 100) and was restored to his position of power and authority. The threat of a Jacobite invasion in 1692 had prompted the creation of a list of men available for defence in each parish. Unsurprisingly, in Kilmartin parish this consisted principally of Campbells, although McArthurs, 'McCalims' and others are represented (MacTavish 1935). In Glassary there are several 'McThavishs', a few Campbells and a small number of Lowland names such as Brown and Glass. In 1715 a second list for Kilmartin included Campbells of Duntroon, Kilmartin, Nether Rudle, Ederline and Stroneskir, as well as MacLachlans of Craginterive, Innischonnell and Dunadd, MacCallum of Poltalloch and MacNeil of Arischonan (Campbell 2004, 106-7). So, despite the severe depredations and enforced emigrations of the past decades, the Campbells and their

allies were back in possession of the principal properties in Mid-Argyll with some inroads by Lowlanders into Glassary.

When the Jacobites rebelled in 1715 and 1745-6, it was said that they were as much anti-Campbell as they were anti-Protestant (Cregeen 1968, 159). In the aftermath of Culloden in 1746, the Campbells were confirmed in their position as the enemy of the Gael in the eyes of the defeated Highlanders (Campbell 2004, 151-2).

Entrepreneurial emigrants, held back by the social control practiced by the Duke of Argyll, left Argyll for Jamaica and North Carolina in the 17th and early 18th centuries (Campbell 2004, 222). A total of 350 emigrants from North Knapdale left in 1739 for Cape Fear River in North Carolina and in 1700 Colonel John Campbell of Torbhlaren left for Jamaica. By the mid-18th century the Malcolms of Poltalloch had established themselves as successful sugar planters in Jamaica (Macinnes 1998). The abolition of the heritable jurisdictions of the clan chiefs in 1747 finally saw the end of the feudal rights of Scottish landowners who could no longer 'hang people without trial or jury'. It was said at the time that '[n]o sooner were men emancipated from their fetters than they began to improve their properties' (Sinclair 1792, 258-9).

The rise in commercialism led to increased debt for many Campbells which, in the second half of the 18th century, resulted in financial ruin for some. Sir James Campbell of Auchenbreck went bankrupt in 1762, as did the Campbells of Duntroon in 1772, following the collapse of the Ayr Bank (Campbell 2004, 170). In 1773 Campbell of Danna put his lands into the hands of trustees, Castle Sween was sold in 1773 and in 1776, Campbell of Knap sold his estate. In 1776 the incoming Campbell family at Duntroon went bankrupt and McTavish of Dunardry sold up. The Malcolms of Poltalloch, previously tenants of the Campbells, but now wealthy sugar planters and slave traders, bought up the old Campbell estates of Dunadd, Duntroon, Dunardry and later Kilmartin. Other wealthy merchants from Glasgow also bought estates for hunting and shooting.

During the 18th century the population of the Highlands continued to rise, a trend which has been attributed to the introduction of vaccination against smallpox, the introduction of the potato as the staple food supply and the income from the kelp industry (Campbell

2004, 182). The Napoleonic wars kept the prices for beef and mutton high, encouraging the droving trade as a commercial venture. This in turn saw the demise of the smaller native white faced breed of sheep as the fear of cross-breeding with the Blackface sheep (the English buyer's preference) prevented both breeds being grazed on the hills together (Bil 1990, 309; Smout 1998, 328).

In Argyll, the growing population was not initially seen as problematic as there was land to cultivate and the British Empire to supply with men, but this attitude changed. The early Improvements involved the amalgamation of joint-tenancy farms into single tenant farms for specialised arable, sheep or cattle, the introduction of new crops for winter fodder and liming of the soil. It was the wealthier tacksmen who had access to cash who generally benefited from these improvements. As a result a small number of people were employed as paid labourers, shepherds or herdsmen on farms which had previously supported four to eight families (Cregeen 1959; Cregeen 1963). There is a reference from the late 18th century to about 40 tenants in Kilmartin parish being 'deprived of their farms' and the land being turned over to pasture. There was an experimental element to this venture as the cottars were kept on and the houses remained lived in 'in case they were needed later to return to tillage' (Old Statistical Account 1792). In Glassary and North Knapdale some farms were amalgamated for black cattle at this time, but there is no mention of whether the people were kept on the estate or emigrated. The increased commercialisation of the landowners estates resulted in greatly increased levels of rents in Scotland. These higher rents put an excessive burden on the tenants to provide cash which engendered resentment and widened the gulf between the landlords and the ordinary people. Generally in Scotland the result was an increasing level of poverty and emigration (Smout 1998, 330).

By the early 19th century the Malcolms were the largest landowners in Mid-Argyll. Neill Malcolm I commissioned reports on the state of the houses on his estates (Malcolm of Poltalloch Papers, Lochgilphead Archives DR /2/1/10). These reports show that the Malcolms initially acted in a paternalistic manner towards their tenants. For example, the report states that all the buildings at 'Ardifuire East' and 'Ardifuir West' were 'delivered to the tenants as sufficient habitable houses' and they were to 'uphold them and deliver them so at their removal'. At 'Barminluasgun' the houses were all of 'fail' (turf) and deemed in not good condition. At Arichonan the houses were

found to have been built by the tenants themselves and 'by that way were not built right at first'. Neill Malcolm I and his son of the same name invested in new buildings where required and found new employment for their tenants. Their investments in industry in the area including assistance with the construction of the Crinan Canal, in slate, timber, fishing and whisky.

The Potato Famine and the Clearances

At the end of the Napoleonic wars in the early 19th century, the prices of beef, mutton, kelp and fish dropped drastically in Scotland and the rural economy suffered, causing tenant farmers to sell their stock in order to buy food. The kelp industry was never as important in Argyll as it had been in the Outer and Northern Isles and so its demise in the early 19th century was proportionally less damaging to the local economy. However, with an increasing population and failing economy the Potato Famine of 1846 hit the rural population hard. The Scottish Government's relief efforts and charitable committees ensured that the levels of starvation in Scotland were less than were experienced in Ireland at this time, but as they did not want to interfere with the forces of the market economy, and considered that it was the obligation of the landowner to provide subsistence, their response was limited (Devine 1994, 157-9).

This resulted in destitution and a mass migration to the Lowlands or abroad (Devine 1994, 149-50). Unfortunately, Alistair Campbell's *History of the Clan Campbell From the Restoration to the Present Day* does not deal with the Clearances or the famine in Argyll in any detail, which is rather an omission, but states that Argyll was 'free of the worst excesses of the Clearances' and justifies any evictions by saying that the 'land just could not cope' with the hugely increased numbers of people after such a disastrous crop failure. The Argyll Estate ledgers record large rent arrears after 1846, after which the proprietors apparently 'did what they could but the situation was beyond them' (Campbell 2004, 182-3). The unwanted people, although not perhaps burned out as elsewhere in the Highlands, were still 'weeded out' (Mackenzie 1883, 226). The Duke of Argyll was among those who practiced 'assisted passage' which involved exporting people abroad and his expenditure on such 'relief' was significant (Devine 1994, 150-1).

For a few decades at the end of the 19th century, the landowners were attempting Improvements to their estates, amalgamating properties into crofts, but retained a significant number of joint-tenancy farms (Hunter 2000). The Malcolms managed their estates differently on either side of the Crinan Canal. In Knapdale there were still some joint-tenancy farms, which concentrated on cattle, while in Kilmartin and Glassary there were predominantly single-tenanted farms or crofts, some arable farms and some specialised sheep or cattle ranges, which employed people from the surrounding villages when required (Macinnes 1998, 182). This differentiation was perhaps because the hilly terrain in North Knapdale was less suited to improvement and could perhaps be picked up in the archaeological record.

Neill Malcolm III brought estate management ideas back from his slave plantations in Jamaica which involved employing estate managers with permanent resident workers rather than tenant farmers and cottars with leases (Macinnnes 1998, 182-3). This ended the paternal attitude towards the tenants, many of whom were now seen as 'redundant' and evictions followed (Crofters Commission 1884). The infamous evictions at Arichonan in 1848 were particularly insensitive because they took place during the Potato Famine, and prompted a violent, but unsuccessful response by the tenants (McFarlane 2004). Some of those evicted from Mid-Argyll emigrated to Canada and America, some were retained as staff at the Malcolm's New Poltalloch mansion house and others would have made their way to nearby villages or the Lowlands (Begg 2002). It was this process of population displacement which has resulted in the numerous 'deserted settlements' which are seen throughout Mid-Argyll dating from the mid- to late 19th century. Further desertion of the amalgamated crofts took place during the 20th century as a result of the loss of men to farm them during the two World Wars (Campbell 2004, 177).

This historical overview has highlighted several points which relate to medieval settlement. Firstly is the lack of historical evidence relating to ordinary settlement compared to the castles, strongholds and land possessions of the clan chiefs and their high-status followers. While castles are associated with numerous historical events the ordinary farms are mentioned only occasionally by name in a small number of land charters.

The environmental conditions of the west of Scotland, being hilly, wet with acid soils would be most suited to an economy based on a mixture of pastoral and arable farming with settlement located near the limited pockets of arable land. The farming was at subsistence level and the population predominantly self-sufficient. The general assumption is that with a relatively sparse population this would have resulted in a dispersed population occupying small farms within a changing territory controlled by the clan to which they belonged or were in alliance with. Food rents or tributes were paid to the local lord, who could also require certain services to be rendered or hospitality to be provided. At the local level there was probably a degree of bartering and exchange, but trade as such with other regions or countries was limited to the higher echelons of society who exchanged pastoral goods for luxury items. There is no evidence that people came together in permanent settlements to support specialist crafts, educational facilities or commercial markets until the Post-medieval period. Land was acquired by the sword and was held by unwritten 'hereditary right' by the kin and followers of the clan chiefs. The strong clan system seems to have relied on and encouraged the maintenance of traditional values and a strict social hierarchy which could have resulted in the continuity of settlement types and pattern in the landscape, although this would have been working within a changing clan territory. From the little evidence there is it can be seen that the population of Mid-Argyll was sparse and rural, with no evidence for nucleated settlements clustered around a lord's castle and church in the English feudal manner.

The already sparse population of the 12th century may have risen during the 13th, which may have resulted in an expansion of settlement, but this was checked in the 14th century by the effects of the climatic deterioration, wars and the plague when the population may have fallen by a quarter. Some recovery took place in the 15th and 16th century, but this was accompanied by an increase in lawlessness and feuding which would have caused social and economic unrest and the commercialisation of farms led to some displacement of traditional tenants. Because of the already heavy reliance on pastoralism, it would be difficult to detect historically whether the economy of Mid-Argyll became more stock orientated during such times of economic stress. There is certainly evidence that the national exports were geared towards the traditional pastoral products when the urban economy was disrupted, but whether this reflected a change in the rural economy is unclear.

Joint-tenancy farms had become a characteristic of the pre-Improvement rural economy and historical geographers have highlighted the documentary evidence for their existence only as far back as the late-medieval period, suggesting that they were a new phenomenon. These farms consisted of clusters of several houses, barns and byres belonging to, on average, four tenants who were often closely related. Rents were set at a level to maximise the income of the landlords. With the sense of communal responsibility for tax as indicated by the early-medieval 'house' it is possible that farming by a small group of kin could have been a much older practice, which was formalised into joint-tenancy farms with the introduction of written charters. They could also have been a means of maximising rents. When interpreting the archaeological record, historical geographers have suggested that it would probably prove difficult to differentiate a joint-tenancy farm, from one farmed by a single tenant assisted by cottars.

There are three significant historical reasons why medieval settlement may be difficult to detect. One is the relative poverty of rural Argyll. The people survived on subsistence farming which was vulnerable to the effects of poor harvests. The surpluses of the self-sufficient rural society, previously re-invested in the clan members of the locality in the form of feasting, protection and support in times of famine were (towards the end of the medieval period) increasingly seen as a source of income for the landlords. While the Campbell chiefs increased their control of the natural resources and amassed land and fortunes for themselves, this wealth was only partially shared by their cadet branches and tacksmen. The ordinary people were left to pay increasing amounts of rent and having restricted access to the natural resources such as woods and fishing. It is assumed that this poverty would have been reflected in a limited material culture and house construction techniques would have relied on locally available organic materials. Their houses are likely to have been rapidly constructed, perhaps tent-like constructions, of perishable materials, while the clan chiefs began to build stone castles, hall-houses and fortified houses in lakes.

The second reason for the difficulty of detecting medieval settlement is the population boom of the 18th and 19th centuries which resulted in the construction of numerous stone built settlements coupled with an expansion of the areas under cultivation. These have probably obliterated much of the evidence for earlier, medieval farms. The third reason

which is relevant particularly in Mid-Argyll, but was probably seen elsewhere at different times is the clan warfare and effects of the Civil War, which resulted in the destruction of houses and property across 18 parishes in Argyll in the 17th century, including the area of this research.

Chapter 4: Overview of historic maps and documentary sources for Mid-Argyll

4.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the contribution of historic maps and documentary sources to the study of medieval settlement in Mid-Argyll. This information dates from the 14th century to the 20th century and provides some useful insight into the existence of medieval place-names, their origins and the level of continuity of settlement during the medieval and Post-medieval period.

4.2 Historic Maps

The historic maps consulted include two of Pont's manuscript maps, Blaeu's Atlas, the Roy Military Survey of Scotland, the 1st edition 6 inch to 1 mile Ordnance Survey maps and 19th-century estate plans.

Pont's manuscript maps

The Pont manuscript maps were surveyed in the late-16th century and are the earliest maps that include local place-names. The Pont surveys of Scotland were completed before he became minister of the Parish of Dunnet in Caithness in 1601. The impetus for these surveys appears to have been a desire, inspired by the politics of the day, to provide an accurate record of the nature of the country which would inform Presbyterian and secular administrative affairs (Stone 2001, 26; Withers 2001, 151). Much of Pont's work has not survived, but what has been preserved consists of manuscript maps (some overwritten by Robert and James Gordon) written descriptions and some complete maps. Fortunately, many of Pont's maps were published later by the Blaeu Brothers of Amsterdam in 1654, and so some evidence for his surveys survive where the manuscript map does not.

Of particular interest here is Pont's manuscript map of the barony of Ardskeodnish (Pont 15, *Argyll north of the Crinan Canal*) held in the National Library of Scotland,

which corresponds roughly with the parish of Kilmartin and parts of Kilmichael Glassary (see Figure 4.1). Another of Pont's manuscript maps (No 14, *Mid-Argyll from Dunoon to Inverary and Loch Awe*) includes the south-western shore of Loch Awe, including Fincharn Castle. These maps are not accurate topographic maps as we would understand today, rather they are mental maps of the landscape depicting what Pont considered to be significant features. They were conducted in the contemporary spirit of a 'chorography' and were specifically not measured maps to an accurate scale. These maps have been described as 'landscapes of power' as they generally depict the significant properties and the residences of the landed gentry (Goodare & Lynch 2000).

The Pont maps are extremely useful to this research as they provide a record of many place-names that were in use in the late 16th century with their approximate geographical locations. These place-names include the major townships (*bailtean*), castles and churches. It is therefore possible to list all the significant settlement names for the barony of Ardskeodnish in the late 16th century as depicted by Pont on Map 15 (see the first column in Table 5.2). It is immediately noticeable that many of these names (taking into account changes in spelling) are still recognisable in the landscape, such as 'Pooltalach', 'Lairges' 'Ederling' and 'Kilneuir' indicating a level of continuity of settlement place-names. The relative density of settlement can be seen to vary across the parish, from the closely grouped settlements of the Kilmartin valley to the sparsely populated hills of Kilmichael Glassary. The depiction of these place-names with their 16th-century spellings also assists with their identification in contemporary historical documents.

These maps also depict significant natural features including rivers, lochs, islands, hills, mountains, moorland, moss and woods. While keeping in mind that these are not scaled maps, they do provide an indication of the extent of woodland and moorland which would have been affected by the level of settlement and land use intensity. Unlike some other areas of Scotland (Smout 2001) Pont's map of Ardskeodnish, for example, depicts only groups of two or three trees, for example, in the vicinity of Rowedall, Kear[nan] and Shyruam ouer. This suggests that in the late 16th century the woodland resources of Kilmartin and Kilmichael Glassary had been much depleted.

Several lochs are depicted and named, such as 'Loch how' (Loch Awe), 'Loch Euldagan' (Loch Ederline) and 'Loch glashin' (Loch Glashan) and there is evidence for the contemporary occupation of fortified islands within these lochs. Examples can be seen of such fortified islands (or crannogs) within 'Loch Lean' (Loch Leathan, see Figure 4.2) and 'Loch Gunnif' (possibly Loch Gaineanhach, see Figure 4.3).

The use of a settlement symbol (two joined rectangular symbols with a vertical line) helps to distinguish between settlement place-names and the names of natural features such as 'Lehirna molt' which refers to an area of moss and has no symbol. Dunadd is depicted as a hill with a settlement symbol on its summit, suggesting that it was the location for settlement at this time (see Figure 4.4). Churches are shown as rectangles with a cross, as at Kilmartin (see Figure 4.5), Kilmichael and Kilmore (Lochgilphead). Churches at Kilneuir and Kilbride are depicted without a cross, possibly because they were Pre-Reformation in date and had gone out of use. The castles, the pre-eminent 'symbols of power' are depicted with good likenesses of the structures. For example Kilmartin Castle is depicted as a Z-shaped tower house within the village of Kilmartin. Carnasserie Castle is a tower house with one taller block (see Figure 4.5). A small castle at Fincharn is depicted on Pont 14 as a tower with an arched doorway and a window above (see Figure 4.6). Duntrune Castle has been depicted with a small symbol that differs little from the settlement symbol, except for what is perhaps a window (see Figure 4.7). Pont is probably depicting the curtain wall of the castle which had been built by the 15th century and before the construction of the tower house, thought to be in about 1700 (RCAHMS 1992, 278).

The study of Ponts maps also presents certain problems. While the maps do show the significant settlements, there is no indication of the settlement size, their layout or who the occupants were. Another issue is that these sites, as surveyed in the late 16th century, may not be representative of settlement in the medieval period. The growth in population in the late medieval period possibly resulted in numerous new sites being established, many of which would be depicted by Pont in the same way as the older settlements. Nor were the settlements accurately surveyed, which makes it difficult to relate these sites to the contemporary landscape. Locating these sites and identifying whether they have moved in the landscape, is therefore problematic. Some lochs are also difficult to identify, such as 'Loch nafer', which is depicted between Carnasserie

and Tibbertich where there is no loch today. This could be evidence for the effects of drainage or perhaps just poor surveying. Nor do the maps show areas of cultivation and pasture, nor any indication of the lower status sites that might have included 'cottar touns', single structures or shielings.

There is a degree of variation in the use of symbols across all the Pont manuscript maps. For example, no mills are depicted on Ponts manuscript map 15 and this differs from some of his other maps where mills are shown as circles with a cross inside. It is unlikely that there were no mills in the area at this time and so one must conclude that such detail of the landscape has not been recorded in this case.

Blaeu's Atlas

Pont's manuscript map of Knapdale is now lost, but it was used to prepare Blaeu's Atlas which was published in 1654. The Atlas includes *The Province of Knapdail which is accounted a member of Argyll. Auct. Timoth. Pont* (National Library of Scotland). The Blaeu map of Knapdale is therefore the earliest map available for Knapdale and, like the Pont manuscript maps, depicts significant numbers of settlements in their approximate geographical locations. A list of settlement names on Blaeu's map of Knapdale are shown in the first column of Table 5.3. Again several place-names are recognisable such as 'Arie chonnen' (Arichonnan), 'Duni' (Dounie), 'Dunardery' (Dunardry), 'Dall' (Daill), 'Scotnes' (Scotness) and 'Eillery' (Ellery). Several churches are depicted with crosses, such as at Kilmacharmick (Keills), 'Oib' (Kilmory Oib), Kilmore (Kilmory) and Kilmore (Lochgilphead). There is also an unnamed church opposite Crinan, which is probably Kilmahumaig. 'Castel Suyn' (Castle Sween) is depicted, but not in the pictorial fashion that was used by Pont.

Blaeu's map shows that settlement was primarily located around the coastline with a few sites inland. There are no settlements depicted on inland lochs within North Knapdale, although two are located in South Knapdale (outside the research area), 'Oilen loch an Vaylle' and 'Oilen Loch Mack Torren'. What is thought from the archaeological evidence to have been a medieval fortified dwelling, perhaps with a chapel, on Eilean na Circe, is depicted as 'Yl. Kerk', but is not accompanied by the symbol for a settlement, perhaps indicating that it was not occupied at this time.

Woodland is depicted, particularly in areas around Kald Challie and the Oib peninsula, but again no cultivation or shielings are shown.

The Blaeu Atlas shares similar drawbacks as the Pont manuscript map, being geographically inaccurate. For example, the Tayvallich peninsula (Figure 4.8) is squashed lengthwise and the two coastlines, north-west and south-east appear off-set to each other when compared with the more accurate modern maps. The sites along each coast seem to be located correctly relative to each other, but not with sites on the other side of the peninsula, which probably reflects how Pont undertook the survey, travelling along one coastline and then the other.

Despite the problems with these early maps they are invaluable to the study of medieval settlement as they provide 133 place-names in Kilmartin, North Knapdale and Kilmichael Glassary which were in existence by the end of the 16th century along with their approximate locations. Some of these may have been recent, established as a response to a growing population, but others will have their origins in the medieval period. These lists are therefore an extremely useful starting point in the analysis of settlement development.

The inaccuracy of the Pont/Blaeu maps made identification of sites in the field difficult, especially as the place-names were not generally noted on the modern O.S. maps. Therefore the Roy Military Survey of Scotland, 18th & 19th century estate plans and the 1st edition O.S. maps of the mid-19th century were utilised to trace the location of the place-names.

Roy's Military Maps

The Military Survey of Scotland, undertaken between 1747 and 1755 by William Roy depicts the Post-medieval rather than the medieval landscape which is the subject of this research. However, consultation of these maps is useful in that they show continuity of many of the earlier place-names, or alternatively, indicate where spellings have changed and occasionally where settlements seem to have disappeared (see Table 5.2 and 5.3 second columns). These maps generally depict the settlements as nucleated clusters of structures, surrounded by areas of cultivation, with hills, mosses, woods, roads, and

lochs also shown (see Figure 4.9). There are also unnamed sites with between one and three buildings. Because of the more accurate surveying techniques and the topography depicted in the Roy maps it is possible to reconcile many of the settlements with the contemporary landscape. Generally, shielings are still not depicted on the Military maps and so this essential element of the economy is still absent from the mapped landscape.

There is only a slight increase in the number of settlements depicted in the mid-18th century as there was in the late 16th. Given the greatly increased population since the end of the 16th century, this may have been accommodated in the larger size of the settlements, hence the nucleated appearance. There are also several small un-named settlements shown by Roy, but we do not know if these are new sites or ones that have not been thought significant enough to depict before.

18th & 19th century estate plans and surveys

A survey was undertaken along the proposed route of the Crinan Canal in the late-18th century from Loch Fyne to Loch Crinan (British Library Maps K top 48.79.). As well as depicting the route of the canal, there are several nucleated settlements and single houses shown, some of which are not depicted by Roy (see Figure 4.10). An estate map of the Kilmartin village and environs by John Johnston, is dated 1825, shows the location of structures which have disappeared from the landscape, such as Carnasserie Beg and buildings to the south of Kilmartin church (see Figures 4.11 & 4.12, Lochgilphead Archives, AGD/957/2). Both these maps have been used to identify the location of settlements (see Tables 5.2 & 5.3).

The main drawback of these later maps for a study of the medieval period is, of course, that they are showing the landscape at a much later period in its development. However, there is the potential for some of these sites have been continuously occupied since the medieval period, perhaps as medieval shieling sites or single structures, later becoming the focus for more permanent named settlement.

It is acknowledged that any further research into medieval settlement should involve examination of all existing estate maps. Those that are known about but have not yet

been consulted include a few estate maps of the Glassary parish held in the National Archive, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh and a map of the Taynish estate dated 1747 in the British Library (King's Maps XLIX:28).

First Edition Ordnance Survey maps

The 1st edition (6 inches to 1 mile) O.S. maps, surveyed in the mid-19th century, have proved to be the most useful maps for locating (and displaying the extent of) deserted settlements in the landscape. All buildings (un-roofed as well as roofed) along with mills, field walls, enclosures, tracks, areas of moorland and prehistoric sites were accurately surveyed. Many of the deserted sites have place-names that are also depicted by Pont or Blaeu, indicating continuity of farm names from the 16th to the 19th centuries. One of the drawbacks of the 1st edition maps is that only structures or ruins that were more than three feet high were included in the survey. Therefore potentially medieval drystone or turf-built structures and shielings surviving only as low ruins, would not have been included.

Some sites which are depicted by Pont or Blaeu, but not shown on subsequent maps could not be located and were therefore interpreted as potential Post-medieval desertions. Other sites not shown by Roy, but subsequently shown on the 1st edition O.S. maps clearly had some element of continuity. For example, a group of three settlements (none of which have been located) lay to the north of Duntrune Castle and include 'Culknuk', 'Tillegre' and 'Bargirgaig' (see Figure 4.7). Of these three only Culknuk can be tentatively identified on Roy's map as 'Collarack' and none are shown on the 1st edition map. These sites may have been early clearances by the Campbells of Duntroon. However, the absence of these sites on the Roy maps should not be taken as proof that they were already cleared by the mid-18th century. George Langland's map of 1801, depicts a site called 'Coilchroick' in the approximate vicinity of where Pont depicts 'Culknuk' and so, if this is the same settlement, it must have survived until the beginning of the 19th century, although had gone by the middle of the century.

After consultation of the 1st edition maps for Argyll, it was possible to identify many more of the Pont/Blaeu sites and provide a national grid reference for them (see column 5, Tables 5.2 & 5.3). An important point to note here is that the grid reference relates to

the 19th-century incarnation of the place-name, and is not necessarily the location of the medieval settlement of that name.

Apart from the sites which are the result of settlement splitting, many of the settlements depicted by Pont or Blaeu are potentially of medieval origin and by utilising the historic maps many sites with the same or similar place-name have been pinpointed in the landscape. This provided a good starting point for the field survey which sought to identify these sites on the ground and to investigate whether there were any remains of potential medieval structures in the vicinity.

It was taken on board that the Post-medieval settlement history of a site would have affected the potential for discovering medieval settlement at these sites. For instance, unlocated sites may have been deserted and therefore may not have experienced subsequent building development. If the land use has remained as rough pasture then there is a high potential for the late-medieval or earlier settlement to survive as upstanding remains. Whereas, for those sites with a continuous occupation, the earlier settlement focus may have been obscured by the 19th-century expansion of settlement and cultivation. A third possibility is that the subsequent settlement has shifted away from the medieval focus although retaining the same place-name.

Significant 'disappearances' of settlements since the late 16th century include Shyruam ouer, Shyrua middle & Shyrwa N which were located between the settlements of Kilmartin and Kilmichael Glassary. There is a single site called 'Nether Seroin' on Roy's map, but there is no sign of this name in the area on the 1st edition map. Subsequent examination of a map of the Crinan Canal dated 1823 shows a site of 'Sheurvin' to the south-west of Kilmartin village in the vicinity of what is now called Slockavullin (Crinan Canal by David Smith RHP 5489). One could speculate that the disappearance of these three related sites, within the well-populated Kilmartin valley, is perhaps more to do with a change of name associated with a change of ownership, rather than a change in the rural economy associated with the Clearances. Further historical research could illuminate this example.

This preliminary research has found evidence for settlement shift, perhaps several times over a few hundred years. For example, there is map evidence that a site called

Fearnoch was originally located to the north-east of Loch Leathan in the 16th century and has moved possibly three times (James 2006). Pont depicts the site of 'Fairnach' on the north-east shore of 'Loch Lean', and I would argue that this is a fairly accurate location because another site 'Soccoch' is also shown to the north of the loch and the name 'Lehrna Molt' (without a settlement symbol) is also shown to the north-east of the loch (see Figure 4.3). Both Soccoch' and 'Lehrna Molt' can be found on later maps in the same vicinity. 'Leacann nam Mult' is depicted on the modern OS 1:25,000 map (Explorer 358) with no symbol, to the north-east of the loch and Socach is located to the north of the Loch on the 1st edition OS map (Argyllshire Sheet CL). Roy's maps are not useful here as they do not depict 'Fairnach'. However, the 1st edition OS map shows a site called 'Fearnoch', accompanied by rectangular fields, about 1.25 km to the south-east of Loch Leathan, as well as an unnamed settlement straddling a stream about 0.75m south of the loch (See Figure 4.13). The named site is likely to be an Improved farmstead and I propose that the unnamed site was its predecessor, possibly dating to the 18th century, which has been cleared and become unroofed. These are potentially the second and third locations for the site of Fearnoch. Finally, the modern 1:50,000 OS map locates 'Fearnoch' (a Forestry Commission cottage) beside the road about 0.5km south of the loch. So, within the extent of the farm of Fearnoch, the settlement of that name has moved at least three times since the mid-16th century.

An examination of the estate map of the Kilmartin village and environs by John Johnston, dating to 1825 (Lochgilphead Archives AGD/957/2), provided evidence which enabled the identification of another site. Johnston depicted an unroofed settlement south of Kilmartin village, which he names 'Auchavin' (see Figure 4.12). The site of 'Auchavin' is in approximately the same location (south of Kilmartin) that Pont depicts a site called 'Achaind' and I would propose that these are the same.

In conclusion, the examination of the historic maps have provided several useful avenues of further research. The Pont and Blaeu maps have provided a list of place-names which were in existence at the end of the 16th century and many of these have the potential to be medieval in date. These maps represent a 'landscape of power' depicting the aristocratic properties (castles) and high-status farms. They show the settlement pattern of Mid-Argyll consisting of dispersed farms located predominantly along the coast and river valleys. The small number of castles occupied by the elite, dominated

the landing points and waterways. The size of these farms is not known, nor the extent of cultivated ground and these early maps probably do not include all the settlements that existed in the landscape, as seasonal shielings were not depicted. By comparing the Pont/Blaeu maps with later maps the potential medieval sites can be identified on the ground and the Post-medieval processes of settlement shift and splitting can be investigated.

4.3 Documentary Sources

The aim of the initial documentary work was to expand upon the historic map work by tracing the existence and continuity of place-names as far back as possible into the medieval period. There are relatively few historic charters and written documents referring to settlements or the ordinary population dating to the medieval period. Parish registers, for instance, did not start in Kilmartin until the 17th century. Not being a trained historian, the sources that were selected for examination during this research were those which were easily accessible, in English and would provide a wide coverage of Argyll. These included the *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* compiled in 1854, the 17th-century Argyll sasines, an account of the 17th-century 'Depridations', 17th-century lists of Fencible men, and the 1694 Hearth Tax.

Argyll sasines

The Argyll sasines recorded land ownership exchanges and grants of land to tenants from the 17th century and include useful place-names, personal names and some indication of the type of land ownership and rentals that were in existence at this time (Campbell 1933 & 1934). The information provided in the sasines has been incorporated into the results on individual settlements and presented in the following chapter. The sasines have also recorded the use of historical titles such as 'Toiseachdeor' well into the 17th century which are evidence of continuity of social practice relating to the control of local power. The 'Toiseachdeor' was an ancient office of the law, often equated with the coroner (McNeill & MacQueen 2000, 190) and the 'Toiseachdeora of Glassary', for example, was granted to Sir Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck in 1652 (No 346, Campbell 1933, 121-3). There is an earlier reference, in

1436, to Alan son of John Riabhach MacLachlan of Dunadd being granted the 'offices of seneschall and thoisseachdeowra' of Glassary (Steer & Bannerman 1977, 143). The 'Tosseochdeora of all Kintyre' was granted to John M'Connell in 1627 (No. 218 Campbell 1934, 70) and the same title to 'John M'Neill, now of Taynish' in 1652 (No. 347, Campbell 1933, 123). Other titles mentioned include 'bailliary, seneschalate, Crownership and sergeandry of the said Barony' (Gigha), and the 'Crownership and Mairship of fee of North and South Knapdale' which were also granted to John McNeill of Taynish in 1652 (No 347, Campbell 1933, 123-4). The sasines have therefore been a very useful source of information, the only drawback being the dependence on the interpretation from the Latin by Campbell and the fact that they do not go further back than the 17th century.

'Account of the Depridations'

Another useful document is entitled 'Account of the Depridations committed on the Clan Campbell and their followers, during the years 1685 and 1686….' which lists the losses that were suffered by the Campbell clan members (and their allies) at the hands of their enemies following the Campbell rebellion (Lochgilphead Archives Ref 941.423 L.C.). This lists place-names, tenants and the goods that were claimed to have been taken away and so provides some indication of the size of the farms and their possessions and stock in the late 17th century. One of the problems with this document is that it is anonymous and is apparently a transcription from a 'lost' original. As part of a potential insurance claim, it also possibly contains some inflated sums, but is presumably an accurate list of settlements and their occupants.

List of rebels and fencible men

The 'List of rebels' dated 1685 includes place-names and the relevant tenants or owners who were said to have supported the Campbell rebellion (MacTavish 1935). The 'List of fencible men' 1692, includes those who were eligible to be called up for military service or defense. Only the tenants names are listed for Kilmartin parish, but for Glassary parish both the settlement and tenants names are listed. One would have expected the 'List of rebels' and the 'List of fencible men' to be mutually exclusive lists. At Stronesker the four rebels are listed in 1685 as Duncan Roy Campbell, Dugall

Clerk, John Campbell and Dugald Campbell (MacTavish 1935, 19) and in 1692, only 7 years later, the 'fencible men' are listed as Donald mc Cally, Duncan mc Cally, Ard. mc Chruter, Donald McNeill and Dugald Clerk' (MacTavish 1935, 41). One name (Dugall Clerk) remained on both lists and could have been the same person, perhaps receiving a pardon after pleading that he had had no choice. Otherwise the change of tenantry is most likely to be connected to the aftermath of the Campbell Rebellion. Whether the others (all Campbells) had died, been imprisoned, were evicted or had emigrated is not known.

Extracts from Poltalloch Writs

Title deeds dating back to the mid 15th century relating to property in Dunadd, Kilchoan, and Inverneill purchased by Edward Malcolm of Poltalloch have been transcribed from notes made by the Duke of Argyll (Campbell 1922). The potential of these deeds has not been properly assessed as part of this research although some deeds, such as one dated 1436 relating to a charter signed at Carnasserie Castle (see Chapter 8) have been noted from other sources.

Hearth Tax

The Hearth Tax returns for Argyll & Bute dated 1694 are held in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh (SRO E69/3/1). The returns for each settlement are grouped by parish and by larger land holdings, which has resulted in those with a geographical proximity being grouped together (see Figure 4.14). For each settlement, the names of the heads of the household or tenants are listed and the number of hearths and kilns given. The only exemptions to the Hearth Tax were hospitals and the poor living on the charity of the parish (http:/www.nas.gov.uk/guides/taxation.asp). This is therefore an extremely useful source of information on place-names and size of settlements in the late-17th century.

Table 4.1: Numbers of hearths per settlement from Hearth Tax of 1694 (geographically, by parish and by larger landholding).

Place-name in 1694 Hearth Tax	Tenants with 1 hearth	Tenants with 2 or more hearths	kiln	Hearth Tax Page Number
Glenans lands in Glasarie and Kilmartin parish				
Lagg	2	1 (2 hearths)	0	22
Glenane	5	0	1	22
Darinanderenish	1	0	0	22
Lands of Kilmartin & lands of Kilmartin parish				
[Kilmartin]	6	2 (2 hearths)	0	23
Achav[b]in	3	0	0	23
Lagan	2	0	0	23
Ballebraid	2	0	0	23
Neather Lergie	4	0	0	23
Upper Lergie	4	1 (2 hearths)	0	23
Carnaserie beg	3	0	0	23
Polltalloch	0	1 (2 hearths)	0	23
Inverliver lands in Kilmartin parish				
Inverlivermore	3	0	1	23
Inverliver beg	3	1 (2 hearths)	1	24
Toranmore	3	0	0	24
Arienechtan	3	0	0	24
Torranbeg	[All wastages] ?			24

Ai[hm]élan	6	0	1	24
Craigintyrb lands in Glassary & Kilmartin				
Carnaseriemore	8	1 (2 hearths)	1	24
Tibertich	4	0	1	24
Craigintyrbemore	3	0	1	24
Craigintyrbebeg	4	0	0	24
Ewrach	1	1 (2 hearths)	0	24
Two [Shrivans]	4	1 (2 hearths)	1	24
Upper [Shrivan]	6	0	1	24
The house of Duntro[n]	0	1 (3 hearths)	0	24
Tilligare	2	0	0	25
Crinan	2	0	0	25
Ard[..] Castell	5	0	0	25
Ard[..] Cladich	5	0	0	25
Craigbennan	1	0	0	25
Ellan mc Caskan	2	0	0	25
Bennan	1	0	1	25
Ellan Righ	1	0	1	25
Strone	1	0	0	25
Glecharne	2	0	0	25
Raschyllie	4	0	0	25
Achach[rom]	6	3 (1 with 2 hearths, 1 with house & milne & 1 with house & smidie)	0	25
Cullchr[nick]	6	0	1	25
[ ]illerchoan	2	0	1	25
Lands of the house of Barbreck in Craignish,				

Killech[?] and Ardskeodnish Parish				
Barbreckmore	8	1 (2 hearths)	0	25
Barbreckbeg	1	0	0	26
Largielegan	1	0	1	26
[T.]rnalt	4	0	0	26
Blarintibert	4	0	0	26
Neather Kentra	3	3 (1 with house & kiln, 1 with house & miln, & 1 with house & smidie)	1	26
Li[ber] [Kentra	3	0	0	26
Leach	1	0	0	26
Slugan	0	1 (2 hearths)	0	26
Lagandaroch	2	0	0	26
Barlay	1	0	0	26
Dallocholish	1	0	0	26
Drach	1	0	0	26
Melacha	1	0	0	26
Continues with parish of Craigneith (not included here)				
Lands of Kilbride and Knapdale parish				
Clachan	3	2 (1 with 3 hearths, 1 with 2)	Kiln & mill	35
Dunamiltoch	4	0	0	35
Oib Campbell Lands in Knapdale parish				
Oib	3	2 (2 hearths)	0	39
Kilmorrie	4	0	0	39
Lagan	4	0	0	39
Garoibe	1	0	0	39

Achnibreck lands in Knapdale parish				
Kilmichael Inberlussa	7	0	1 & mill	39
Castell Swine	3	1 (2 hearths)	1 & mill	39
Dannamore	4	0	0	39
Kills	4	0	1	39
Barrinlochan	3	0	0	39
Duny?	2	0	0	39
Ardmachbeg	3	0	0	39
[.....] ebernoch	4	0	0	39
Lerna[ ]sson?	4	0	1	39
Daltot	4	0	0	40
D[ ] orasnay	4	0	0	40
Kilbryd	4	0	0	40
Barnafad	3	0	0	40
Strondoir?	6	0	1	40
Inverneill	4	0	0	40
Brenfeorlin	5	0	0	40
A[ ]echnan	3	0	0	40
Ard[ ]	1	0	0	40
Kil[ ]olan	4	0	1	40
Bronbley?	8	0	0	40
Achindarroch	6	0	0	40
Dell & Craiglass	6	0	0	40
Taymish [ ] in Knapdale parish				
Tayneish	2	1 (2)	0	41
Barchormag	3	0	0	41

Ardbeg	1	1 (2)	1	41
Kilmorrie	4	0	0	41
Barbe	3	0	0	41
Barbreck	2	0	0	41
Barnisailg	2	0	0	41
Fearnoch?	2	0	Mill	41
[ ]	0	2	0	41
Barbe	0	2	0	41
Arinfadebeg	2	0	0	41
Scotnish	3	0	0	41
Dunarderies lands in Knapdale parish				41
Dunarderie	4	0	Kiln & mill	41
Dunans	3	0	0	41
Barr[ ]ilo	4	0	0	41
Bardarroch	1	0	0	41
Darnas? lands in Knapdale parish				41
Damaninloch ?	8	0	0	41
Dentaynish	4	1(2 hearths)	0	42
Arinafademore	5	0	1	42
Caresag	2	0	0	42
Glena Savll	2	0	0	42
W[ ]	4	0	0	42
Cossindrochit	4	0	0	42
Fernoch	3	0	0	42
Knaps? lands in Knapdale parish				
Ballemore	4	0	Mill	42

Fernoch	3	0		0	42
Kilmorrie	2	1 (3 hearths)		0	42
Ardna	6	0		0	42
Stronferld	5	0		0	42
Continues with lands in Kintyre					

The numbers of households per settlement can be extracted from this data. The graph in Figure 4.15 shows that of the 111 sites included in Table 4.1, the majority (c 78%) of the settlements consist of between one and four households. The most frequently recorded number of households is four. The highest recorded number of households is nine, as at Barbreckmore, Carnaseriemore and Achach[rom]. Kilmartin at this time has eight households, one of which is headed by a Campbell who presumably resided at Kilmartin Castle. The number of people actually living in each household is not recorded.

Generally, each household has a single hearth, although there are a few examples of tenants with two, or even three hearths. The 'house of' Duntroon (the castle) has three hearths and although the owners name is not recorded, one can assume that it was the Campbell laird. Houses with more than one hearth were clearly of a higher status than the others and presumably these are where a local laird or ecclesiastic had their residence. Curiously, Poltalloch (thought by this time to be associated with the Malcolm family) was occupied by a Campbell. The effect of the depredations which took place in the mid-17th century may explain the entry for Torranbeg as 'all wastages' in 1694, but surprisingly, given the extent of the damage, this is not a common entry. The Royal Commission have suggested that some of the structures with more than a single hearth in East Dumfriesshire could have been stone built pele or bastle type houses (RCAHMS 1997a, 215).

There is not an exact correspondence between the above table and the areas covered by Pont's and Blaeu's maps, as some farms may be included within other large properties in the Hearth Tax records. So it has not been possible to state categorically if there are sites on Pont that are not included in the Hearth Tax and *vice versa*. However, it can be seen that in the vicinity of Kilmartin, most of the sites in the Hearth Tax are also depicted by Pont (eg Kilmartin, Achaybin, Nether Lergie, Upper Lergie, Carnasserie Beg and Poltalloch). One exception to this is Ballibrad which is not depicted by Pont. Either Ballibrad post-dated Pont's survey or perhaps it was excluded from Pont's survey because of its small size (two households each with a single hearth in 1694) and yet other sites, recorded with single households in 1694 are included on Pont e.g. Bennan.

One example of how this research can highlight a potential medieval site is the site of Tilligare. This site was noted in the Hearth Tax in the vicinity of Duntroon and is presumably the same places as that recorded by Pont as Tillegre, but it did not survive into the 18th century. There is documentary evidence therefore, for this settlement in the Duntroon area, consisting of a small settlement with two households which was probably cleared by the mid-18th century. This site has great potential for the discovery of medieval remains, as it was not built over in a later period. Unfortunately, only a rapid walkover of this area was possible as it was not available for the comprehensive and detailed fieldwork.

The data provided by the Hearth Tax also has discrepancies with the map evidence which are not easy to resolve or explain, but for the purposes of this research into medieval settlement, the sites depicted by Pont have been given priority as the maps are the earlier source. Another drawback with the Hearth Tax data is that it is written in 17th-century 'secretary' hand that requires some training in deciphering. Any mistakes in the transcriptions here are the authors own.

Origines Pariochiales Scotiae

One of the more useful historical source utilised was the *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* (Innes 1854 and 1855) as it enabled the place-names to be traced further back into the medieval period. The intention at this time was primarily to record the earliest use of each place-name, so that an indication of the antiquity of particular settlements could be ascertained.

Kilmartin Parish (see Table 4.2)

The earliest reference that relate to areas of land in Kilmartin parish is in 1296 when Nicholas Cambel was 'bailie of Leghor' (=Lochawe) and 'Ardescothyn' (=Ardskeodnish), (Innes 1855a, 92). These lands ('Louchaw' and 'Ardscodynche') were granted by Robert the Bruce in 1315 to Sir Colin Campbell, the son of Nicholas 'for his loyalty' after the Battle of Bannockburn. This would suggest that these two properties were separate land holdings, which were perhaps more ancient lordships. Lochawe included lands at the west end and south side of Lochawe and Ardskeodnish

was the area bordering this to the south, which became, approximately, the parish of Kilmartin.

Both Lochawe and Ardskeodnish were held by the Campbells from the 13th century and throughout the medieval period. In 1323 there is a reference to the 20 merklands of Ardscodniche (Innes 1855a) and to Sir Duncan Campbell being lord of Lochaw in 1414. In 1448 both properties were held by Sir Duncan, 'lord le Cambell'. Lochawe appears to have been the major property as the Campbells were referred to as Lord of Lochawe, who were granted the additional barony of Ardskeodnish. In the same year, 'Duncan Yong Cambell of Duntrone' (Duntrune) was acting as steward of Ardskeodnish for Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe. So within the barony of Ardskeodnish, it was the castle of Duntrune that occupied the highest status. Duntrune is mentioned (with various spellings) between 1448 and 1565 (Innes 1855a, 93) which pre-dates the construction at Carnasserie by Bishop Carswell.

A charter was signed at 'Carnastre' (= Carnasserie) by John MacLachlan of Strathlachlan in 1463 (RCAHMS 1992, 224), suggesting that there was a significant residence here by this time. These two castles would seem to be the predominant high-status sites during the late-medieval period in Kilmartin. Further up Loch Awe the Campbell Earls were using Innis Chonnel as a prison and Fincharn (in Glassary parish) was sub-let to tenants.

There are also early references to the church and its properties. For example the vicar of 'Killmartin' is mentioned in 1304 (Innes 1855a, 91). However, it is not until after the Reformation that there is a reference to anything other than the church or vicar, as in 1575 when the 'bishops quarter' was granted to a Gawine Hammiltoun. In 1587 the 'bishops quarter' of Kilmartine was granted to Christian, sister of Archibald Carswell of Carnasserie and her son John Campbell. In 1617 there is again a reference to the leasing of church property when 'the teinds of two-forths of the parsonage and vicarage of the chapel of Kilbryde at Lochgersyde which were part of the patrimony of the parsonage of Kilmartine' (Innes 1855a, 92). After the Reformation many church lands came into the hands of secular lords and this process is probably reflected here.

This source has taken a few of the place-names back to earlier in the 16th century, eg. Ponts 'Tibberdick' is mentioned as 'Tibberchit' in 1529, but does not include any settlement place-names in Kilmartin which pre-date the 16th century.

The *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* has included several place-names which are not depicted by Pont, including Slauchcaure and Innerbeg in 1529 and Kandtrais Uffir, Kandtrais Neddir with mill and aqueduct, Leacha and Corredowlachane in 1599.

Table 4.2 Place-names in Kilmartin parish referenced in the *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* (Innes 1855a).

Documented name	Date	Pont/Blaeu	Name on 1st edition OS map	Modern name	Results of Research
Tibberchit	1529	Tibberdick	Tibertich	Tibertich	Occupied farm
Slauchcaure	1529	not shown	not shown	none	Unlocated
Craiginterriff	1529	o: craig[??] Tarf & N: Cra[??] tarf[??]	Creagantairbh Beag & Creagantairbh Mor	Craegenterve beg & mor	Occupied farms
Correinbeg (or Torreinbeg)	1529	not shown	not shown	Small house here (N of Loch Awe) Torran beg?	Described as 'all wastages' in Hearth Tax of 1694
Innerbeg	1529	not shown	not shown	none	Unlocated
Awrenachtane Arenachtoun	1529 1621	Not covered by Pont's surviving surveys	Arinechtan	Arinechtan (N of Loch Awe)	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Bishops quarter (Kilmartin)	1575		not shown	Kilmartin	Kilmartin
Awrecammise	1529	Not covered by Pont's surviving surveys	Arichomish?	Arichamish (N of Loch Awe)	Occupied farm
Arechames	1621	Not covered by Pont's surviving surveys	Arichomish?	"	"
Mekill Torrane	1529	not shown	not shown	Not known	Unlocated (see also Torreinbeg above)
Ormage	1529	Ormag	Ormaig	Ormaig	Occupied farm
Glenkermane	1546	Kear[nan] ?	Kiarnan Mor & Kiarnan Beg	Kirnan	Occupied farms
Farnoch	1546	Fairmach?	Fearnoch	Fearnoch	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Fernach	1627	See Fairnach	" ?	" ?	"
Laggane	1546	Laggan	Laggan Wood	None	Re-developed site
Glendan	1564	Glenen	Glennan	Glennan	Ruined 18th-century tacksmens house

					and farmstead
Dunnad	1572	Dunnad	Dunadd	Dunadd	Occupied farm beside royal fort
Kandtrais Uffir	1599	not shown	not shown	None	Unlocated
Kandtrais Neddir with mill and aqueduct	1599	not shown	not shown	None	Unlocated
Leacha	1599	not shown	not shown	None	Unlocated
Arevekanerich	1621	not shown	Arichomish?	Arichamish (N of Loch Awe)?	Occupied farm (see above)
Corredowlachane	1621	not shown	not shown	None	Unlocated
mill of Innerliver	1621	Not covered by Pont's surviving surveys	Mill at Inverliver not shown	Inverliever	Occupied farm
Torranbeg	1621	not shown	not shown	Torran beg	Described as 'all wastages' in Hearth Tax of 1694 (see above)
Aucheynd	1627	Achaind	Maoile Achaidh Bhan (woodland)	None	Unroofed buildings in 1825.
Glencairnan	1627	Kear[nan]?	Kiarnan Mor & Kiarnan Beg?	Kirnan?	Occupied farm
The Clerk's Aiker	1627	not shown	not shown	None	Kilmartin – The Glebe?
Clachan of Kilmertein	1627	Kilmart[h?]	Kilmartin	Kilmartin	Kilmartin village
Lergineddir (Lergi McKessaig)	1627	Lairges	Nether Largie	Nether Largie	Occupied farm
Lergie Over	1627	Lairges	Upper Largie	Upper Largie	Occupied farm

North Knapdale (see Table 4.3)

The *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* includes several medieval references for Knapdale. In 1292 'Knapedale' was included in the sheriffdom of Lorne or Argyle (Innes 1855a, 40) and by 1472, just before the breakup of the Lordship of the Isles, had been divided into North and South Knapdale territories (Innes 1855a, 41). The church of St Charmaig (or McCharmaig), which could have been at Keills or Eilean Mor, is said to have been granted after the Battle of Largs in 1263 (Sinclair 1792). However, there is an earlier church place-name of Chillmacdachormes dated to about 1250 (Innes 1855a, 39) which suggests that it was already in existence by the time of the battle. Throughout the medieval period Knapdale (*Killvick Ocharmaig*) was a single parish that was divided into two parishes (North and South) in 1734 (Sinclair 1792, 255).

There are several sites that are referred to from the mid-14th century, but are not depicted by Pont. These sites (the location of which is not now known) include Apenad, Skondenze, Dressag, Barrandayb, Thivinche (island of), Barmore and Contynich. One could argue that all these were deserted by the late-16th century, except for the fact that two other sites Blairnatibrade and Glenansaule/Glennasaull, which are also not shown by Pont, can be identified from the 1st edition maps as the modern Blarantibert and Gleann Sabhail. This would suggest that for these two sites at least, there was continuity of the place-name in the form of farmland and/or settlement of some sort, which were perhaps not significant enough to be recorded by Pont. While Blarantibert now refers to a large 19th century settlement, the name Gleann Sabhail refers to a valley within which there are three deserted settlements of 19th century construction. The conclusion drawn here is that either Pont has not depicted all the settlements that were in existence or that these settlements were deserted by the late-16th century but the place-name associated with the vicinity was preserved in local tradition and was re-introduced perhaps when new sites were established in the area. The other sites mentioned above were presumably not re-occupied or there has been a change of name. The various changes of ownership since the breakup of the Lordship of the Isles could provide a context for such place-name changes. The two place-names Ulva and Dallechelicha have been identified as Old Ulva (on Ulva island) and Daill (to the south of the Crinan Canal) and

are therefore two of the oldest, still used, farm names in Mid Argyll dating from at least the mid-14th century.

Table 4.3 Place-names in North Knapdale parish referenced in the *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* (Innes 1855a).

Documented name	Date	Pont/Blaeu	1st edition OS	Modern Name	Results of Research
Castel Suyn	1353	Castel Suyn	Castle	Castle Sween	Ruined castle
Apenad	1351	not shown			Unlocated
Barmore (Danna)	1351	unnamed	not shown		Unlocated
Ulva	1351	Vlwa		Old Ulva & New Ulva	Occupied farm & deserted ruins
Dallechelicha	1351	Dhaill?	Daill	Daill	Occupied farm & deserted ruins
Skondenze	1351	not shown			Unlocated
Dreissag	1351	not shown			Drissaig mentioned in sasines of 1619, 1627 (Campbell 1934, 16, 67) located in Cowal?
Barrandayb	Before 1445	not shown			Unlocated
Bairbeith	1429-1449	Barbe	Barr-beith		Deserted 19th-century ruins
Dannaa (island of)	1481	Denna	Danna	Danna	Danna
Thivinche (island of)	1481	not shown			Unlocated
Blairnatibrade	Before 1445	not shown	Blarantibert	Blarantibert	Occupied farm & deserted 19th-century ruins
Ardenavad	1513	Ardennaeg?			Unlocated
Kilmichell	1481	Kilmichel		Kilmichael of Inverlussa	Occupied house & village
Glenansaule/ Glennasaull	1513	not shown	Gleann Sabhail	Gleann Sabhail	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Barmore	1513	not shown			Unlocated (Danna)
Contynich	1513	not shown			Unlocated

Corsaig	1513	Kasrwick	Carsaig	Carsaig	Occupied house
Taynish	1564	Taonish	Taynish	Taynish	Occupied 18th-century house
Galchylie	1564	Kald Chaillie	Gallchoille	Gallchoille	Occupied farm
Drumnagall	1564	Drum na gald	Druim nan Gall	Drimnagall	Occupied farm
Barbafalg	1564	Barnshalg	Barnashalig		Deserted 19th-century ruins
Scottenishe	1564	Scotness	Scotnish	Scotnish	Occupied house
Ovir Scottenishe	1564	not shown	not shown		Unlocated
Vaude (island)	1564	not shown	not shown		Unlocated
Avenaraidebeg	1564	not shown	not shown		Unlocated
Tynische	1564	Taonish	Taynish	Taynish	Occupied house
Bairaoraniode	1564	not shown	Barr thormaid	Barrahormid	Occupied farm
Barbay	1564	Barbe	Barbeith	Barbae	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Kilmorrie	1564	not shown	Kilmory	Kilmory	Occupied farm
Surbiskell	1564	not shown	Turbiskle	Turbiskill	Occupied farm
Ardbeg	1564	Ardbeg	North Ardbeg	North Ardbeg, South Ardbeg	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Obe	1591	Oib	Oibmore	Not shown	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Arichonnan	1654	Arie chonnen	Arichonan	Arichonan	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Lecknaban	1654	Leck na ban	Leachnaban	Leac na Ban	Occupied farm
Ardno	1654	Ardna	Ardnoe Point	Ardnoe Point	Shieling only found during fieldwork
Eroorie	1654	Eyuery	not shown		Unlocated
Ariluge	1654	Ariluig	not shown		Unlocated

Kilmichael Glassary (see Table 4.4)

The name Glassary appears by 1251 when there is a reference to the dean of 'Glassered' (Innes 1855a, 43) and it is referred to as a barony in 1490 (Innes 1855a, 43). Table 4.4 shows the place-names in Kilmichael Glassary parish mentioned in the *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae*. Nearly half of the pre-16th-century place-names listed there can be identified in the contemporary landscape, and about half of the 16th and early 17th century sites can be located. There are a variety of possible reasons why these missing sites cannot be located. Some may have been deserted, some changed their name, some changed their spelling dramatically and some were too small to be included in the Pont survey. There is unlikely to be a single explanation for the disappearance of all the settlements and it is probable that a combination of these factors was responsible.

There is significant difference in the numbers of pre-16th century sites included within each parish in the *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* (there are a total of 30 in Kilmichael Glassary parish, 13 in Knapdale and none are included for Kilmartin). As Pont's map confirms there were unlikely to be a greater number of settlements in Kilmichael Glassary than in Kilmartin, because much of Kilmichael Glassary consists of hill ground, which would be less likely to support permanent settlement. This discrepancy may partly be explained by the incomplete and fragmentary state of the documentary sources. It might also suggest that there was a keener interest in utilising charters in the medieval period in Kilmichael Glassary parish (in the hands of the MacGilchrists and the Scrymgeours) than in Kilmartin (in the hands of the Campbells). It has not been possible to follow up this line of historical research for this thesis, but it would be a useful direction for an historian to take in the future.

One additional historical document was found to contain references to place-names some of which were not included in other sources. This was the Scrymgeour's Papal petition of 1501 which complained of 'wild men' who were murdering, thieving and sorning from named places in the vicinity of the church of Kylleneur (Kilneuir) in Glassary (Fuller 1994, 317-8). They were said to reside 'at the side of the mountain of Latyrewern, at the castle of Fynchaers and the lake of Lochquho, at the ford of the rivulet of Anygray and also the places of Strovesk, Terroner, and at Lochclea, Soctocha, Brenowc and Glusner, [in the] d[iocese of]

Lismore'(see Table 4.5). The significance of this petition is that it illustrates the occupation of particular sites by people who were considered beyond control by the Scrymgeours. These wild men were probably 'redshanks', members of the local clan warrior class who lived off the tenants of their clan chief. This petition would suggest that they were extending their activities beyond their own clan territories to the annoyance of the neighbouring lairds. These place-names refer to a variety of sites, from a medieval castle (Fincharn, fallen from its lordly position), a fortified island (possibly Loch Leathan) to the side of an un-located mountain (Latyrewern). Some sites are later recognisable as 19th-century single farms such as Soctocha (Sococh) and Strovesk (Stronesker), which indicates that all these site were located at the south-west end of Loch Awe. One site, Brenowc, has no other known references either on historic maps or other documents and is still unlocated. This is a reminder that there were probably many more settlements in the landscape in the medieval period than those that survived into the late-medieval landscape, as indicated by Pont, and that evidence for the existence of these could be down to the chance survival of a single document. The results of this research so far has enabled many settlements to be identified where the location (or vicinity) is known and which have potential for a medieval origin.

One potentially medieval site is Craigeneur (Kilmichael Glassary) which was documented in 1371 (see Table 4.6) and is possibly the same as a site called Creag an Iubhair on the modern maps (NGR 949 997). This site is located on the upper reaches of the River Add. Its location where the route between Loch Awe and Loch Fyne, crosses the river may have tied it closely to this particular spot in landscape. This site was not spotted on the modern map till late in the research programme and as the fieldwork phase had been completed, it was not possible to follow this up. Another such site is Glennan (Kilmartin parish), which was mentioned in a charter of 1240 and was chosen to be a specific case study in further research (see Chapter 7).

Another site is that of Monenier (Kilmichael Glassary) located by Pont on the River Add upstream of Lagg and downstream of Knock Alua. This is probably the same as Moneniernich as depicted by Roy on the S side of the River Add where it is depicted as four structures and an area of four strip fields. The *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* includes a site called Minrnyerinch referred to in 1315 which is most probably the same place (see Table 4.4).

Another potentially significant place-name that can be traced from a 14th century documentary reference is 'Derrenaneranach' (Innes 1854, see Table 4.4). This is possibly the site depicted as 'Derren Loch' on the south shore of Loch Glashan by Pont (see Figure 4.16). Roy depicts a site of 'Derinloch' on the N side of the loch (Figure 4.17) and the 1st edition O.S. map shows 'Dailaneireanach' also on the N shore of Loch Glashan (see Figure 4.18).

Table 4.4 Sites in Kilmichael Glassary parish referenced in the *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* (Innes 1854)

Documented name	Date	Pont/Blaeu	1st edition OS	Modern name	Results of research
Knocagullaran	1315	Knock	Knock?	Knock?	Occupied farm near Lochgair
(march of) Ardocastuff	1315	Ardnacastel	Ardcastle wood	Ardcastle wood	Forest plantation near Lochgair
(march of) Kamestronireyth	1315	Kammes & Kammesochrach	Kames, Middle Kames & West Kames	Kames	East Kames & Middle Kames occupied farms, third site a deserted ruin.
Derrenaneranach	1315	Derren Loch	Dailaneireanach		Not visited and now in forestry
Knocalme	1315	Knock Alua?			Unlocated
Minrnyerinch	1315	Monenier	Not shown	Unlocated	In the vicinity of NR 918 961
Karnefin	1315	not shown			Unlocated
Kylmell M'Glenod	1315	not shown			Unlocated
Edderling	1371	Ederling	Ederline	Ederline	Occupied farm
Cambysenew	1371	not shown			Unlocated
Garvald	1371	Garualt	Garbhallt	Garbhallt	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Camrenis	1371	not shown			Unlocated
Craigeneur	1371	not shown	Creag-an-Iubhair	Creag-an-Iubhair	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Oswalds	1371	not shown			Unlocated
Calkilkest	1371	not shown			Unlocated
Hwywile (Achageyvill)	1394	not shown			Unlocated
Kilnewir	1394	Kilneuir	Kilneuair	Kilneuair	Ruined medieval church.
Torblaren	1471	Torblaran	Torr a Bhilarain	Torbhlaren	Occupied farm

		Craigmurrail	Craigmurrail	Craigmurrail	
Cragmurgile	1476	not shown			Deserted 19th-century ruins
Tanglandlew	1479	not shown			Unlocated
Auchaleley	1492	not shown			Unlocated
Feorlan	1492	not shown			Unlocated
Lochie	1492	not shown			Unlocated
Knokmaddie	1492	not shown			Unlocated
Dournadounan	1492	not shown			Unlocated
Cammysien	1495	not shown			Unlocated
Carren	1495	not shown			Unlocated
Kilmichell	1481	Kilmichel		Kilmichael Glassary	Modern village
(two) Cerrikis	1539	Carri[?]		Carrick	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Auchinboy	1539	not shown			Unlocated
Ardnehellery	1539	Eillery ?		Ellary	Occupied 19th-century castle
Kilmichelbeg	1539	Kilmichel beg		Kilmichael Beg	Occupied farm
Balmory	1539	Balmoirknap?	Balimore	Balimore	Occupied Farm
Lingartane	1539	not shown			Unlocated
Duntelkane	1539	not shown			Unlocated
Blarebow	1539	Blarbuy	Blarbuy	Blarbuie	Occupied farm
Dowpeyn	1539	Dupern		(Dippin Hill)	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Drumtecormick	1539	not shown			Unlocated
Fernocht	1539	Fairnach		Fearnoch	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Auchinquhois	1539	not shown			Unlocated
Kilmichaelbeg	1541	Kilmichel beg		Kilmichael Beg	Occupied farm

Garthenrannich	1541	not shown			Unlocated
Knok	1541	Knock		Knock	Occupied farm near Lochgair
Ardcastell	1541	Ardachastell		Ardcastle Wood	Area of woodland
Gallanache	1541	Gallanach ychrach	Gallanach	(Lochgair)	Lochgair village
Auchnabrek	1541	Achnabreck		Achnabreck	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Ballemoir	1541	See Balmoirknap?	Balimore	Balimore	Occupied Farm
Hoyellow	1541	not shown			Unlocated
Monencarnach	1541	not shown			Unlocated
Knopalway	1541	Knock Alua?	Knock	Knock	Occupied farm near Lochgair? (see below 1549)
Tunnyne	1541	not shown	Tunns	Tunns	Deserted 19th-century ruins
Thangenalyith (Changenalryicht)	1541	not shown			Unlocated
Bairquholl	1541	not shown			Unlocated
Lag	1541	Lag	Lag	Lag	Deserted 19th-century ruins, now re-developed
Auchety	1541	not shown			Unlocated
Cragmvryill	1541	not shown			Unlocated
Tynishe	1542	Taonish	Taynish	Taynish	Occupied 18th-century house
Knockalloway	1549	Knock Alua	Knock	Knock	Occupied farm near Lochgair?
Stronknok	1549	Schron-eskar?	Stronesker	Stronesker?	Occupied farm
Kilchammig	1549	Kilchummack? (now in Knapdale)	Kilmahumaig	Kilmahumaig	Burial ground (in North Knapdale)
Gartnagrenoch	1549	Garmagrenoch? (now in	Gartnagreanoch	Gartnagrenoch	Occupied farm

		Knapdale)		
Muckarich	1549	not shown		Unlocated
Kilnewir (lands of)	1572	Kilneuir	Kilneuair	Ruined medieval church
Gortinrannich (towns and lands of)	1617	Gortenaga[?] ?		Unlocated
(two) Ardchastles (towns and lands of)	1617	Ardachastell	Ardcastle wood	Area of woodland

Table 4.5 Place-names mentioned in Scrymgeour Papal Petition of 1501 (Fuller 1994, 317-8)

Name in Papal Petition	Date	Modern name
mountain of Latyrewern	1501	?
Fynchaers	1501	Fincharn castle
lake of Lochquho	1501	Loch a' Choire or Loch Awe
Anygray	1501	Anagra (18th-century). Ford
Strovesk	1501	Stronesker
Terroner	1501	Torran
Lochclea	1501	Loch Leachd or Loch Leathan
Soctocha	1501	Sococh
Brenowc	1501	?
Glusner	1501	Glasvaar

This brief examination of the historic maps has established that many settlement names have origins which can be traced back to the 16th century and a small number back into the 13th - 14th centuries. These maps provide very little other information. It is only in the 17th century that a wider range of information is available from the Argyll Sasines (and later still the Valuation Rolls and Census Records which have not been consulted). This documentary evidence indicates that in the late-16th century, the pattern of settlement was dispersed, consisting predominantly of sites with a small number of tenants (generally between one and four) each occupying a dwelling with a single hearth. These are presumably the permanent settlement sites and there is no evidence for seasonal sites such as shielings. There is a small number of larger settlements and it is interesting to see that only one of these, Kilmartin (which was not the largest in the 17th century), developed into a village in the Post-medieval period, the others all became deserted. The high-status sites, such as the castles, remain significant sites associated with the aristocracy throughout the medieval period and into the 17th century. However, at the next level down, the survival of site names seems to be related to the fortunes of the particular families in possession, the Campbells being the most successful of these locally. Some sites become the sites of 18th-century tacksmen's houses, others become joint-tenancy farms while others are cleared, probably for sheep and cattle farms. The continuity of place-names at the same location should not be taken as evidence for the continuity of settlement location as there is evidence for a degree of settlement shift within properties. This has been mentioned in the case of Fearnoch above and has also been followed up in the field survey (see Chapter 5).

Examination of the Pont and Blaeu maps and the Hearth Tax records have provided selective late-medieval 'snapshots' of the settlement pattern in the late-medieval period. However, they cannot be used to extrapolate back into the medieval period as there are too many unknown factors. We cannot assume that all the sites had medieval origins as there is evidence for settlements splitting by the 16th century as in the cases of Carnasserie Mor and Beg, Ederling and Ederling Beg. It some cases it may not be immediately obvious which was the original settlement. In general we do not know enough about the processes involved with settlement growth, decline and evolution during the medieval period. The divisions of Easter and Wester or Nether have also been mentioned previously. These are likely to be later than the mor and beg divisions as they show the influence of the English language.

This comparison of the map and easily available documentary evidence has also illustrated some of the difficulties encountered when dealing with two different types of historical information, in that they are often inconsistent with each other, leading to problems of interpretation. For example a comparison of the sites mentioned in documentary sources in the mid- and late-16th century includes many which are not depicted by Pont or Blaeu at the end of the 16th century. Were some deserted at a time when population was apparently increasing? Or is it that many of the existing settlements were not depicted on the maps because they were not considered significant enough?

In addition to the examination of historical maps and documents, the possibility of dating a place-name linguistically has also been examined and it is to this aspect that this research now turns.

4.4 Place-names

Place-name study can be helpful to the study of settlement in that they can provide evidence for the cultural background of the population, language changes, land divisions and land usage. Chapter 3 has shown that Argyll was Gaelic speaking from an early period and this is reflected in the absence of any recognisably Pictish place names in Argyll (Campbell 2000, 4).

In Orkney, Shetland and the Outer Hebrides there is a high proportion of Norse names but these fall away on the inner isles and on the mainland (Johnston 1995,111). Crawford has discussed the location of *bólstaðr* (= homestead) and *byr* (= farm) names in Scotland in particular, and has not identified any on the mainland of Argyll (Crawford 1995, 9-11) which would suggest that Norse settlement was restricted to the outer isles. However, there have been a few suggested examples of Norse names within Mid-Argyll. Some include the generic element *dalr* (= valley) such as Knapdale (*knappr* = knob/hill) and Rudale (*ru* = red), (Gillies 1906, 9, 34 & 237). The element *aig* (= creek or small bay) appears in Ormaig (Orm = serpent) and Carsaig (*car* = Gaelic for rock or cliff (Gillies 1906, 9 &36)). The element *nes* (= a headland) appears in Scotnish (Gillies 1906, 36; Watson 2002, 72) and Taynish. Other suggested place-names include

Ulva = Wolf island and Danna = Dane island (Macmillan 1960, 2). The place-name Gallanach ychrach, which includes the element *gall* (= Gaelic for foreigner) usually referred to the Norse foreigner (Taylor 1995, 142). The gall element in Druim–nan-gall as seen on the 1st edition OS map, may however, be a red herring as it is spelled Drum na gald by Pont which is presumably nearer to its original spelling.

This smattering of Norse names, some mixed with Gaelic, would support the idea that Mid-Argyll did have some Norse influence, as a result of a short term conquest, or intermarriage, but did not form part of the main Norse kingdom. These predominantly coastal place-names probably represent the establishment of Norse or mixed Norse/Gael settlements which can therefore be dated to between the 9th and the 13th centuries (when Gaelic regained predominance). The type of settlement may also have been distinctive, consisting of possibly bow-shaped, long-houses, as the excavations at Jarlshof (Hamilton 1956) and the Udal (Crawford & Switzur 1977) have shown.

Gaelic names that are of particular relevance to settlement are derived from *baile-* (= farm (Taylor 2001, 483)), *achadh-* (= field or secondary farm (Taylor 2001, 483)) and *airigh-/ airidh-* (= shieling (Bil 1990, 34; Gillies 1906, 187)). Nicolaison has suggested that the *baile-* names were used over an extremely wide period, possibly originating in the early-medieval period and that *achadh*-names were secondary settlements established sometime after the *baile-* names (Nicolaison 2001, 168 & 182). Other work has suggested that the *baile-* names of the east of Scotland and in Ireland dates to the late 11th or early 12th century at the earliest (Davit Broun pers. comm.) with a gradual extension across Scotland as Gaelic usage spread. There was not, however, a clear replacement of *baile-* names by *achadh-* names as they were both used for settlements within the Gaelic speaking areas well after English was becoming more widespread (Thomson 1994, 233). A further complication is that a later use of *baile-* names has also observed in Ireland as translations of the English *-tun* in the 14th century (Nicolaison 2001, 172). Neither Nicolaison or Thomson suggest a date for the origin of the use of the *airigh-* and *airidh-* place-name, but Bil observed that by the 18th century they were used in Perthshire for permanent settlements which had been established on old shieling sites which themselves may have originated in the Medieval period (Bil 1990, 35).

In order to develop a strategy for investigating the *baile-, achadh-* and *airigh-* place-names an initial search was made of the above documentary sources and historic maps for Mid-Argyll for examples of their use (see Table 4.6)

Table 4.6 Sites with the *baile-*, *acha(dh)-* and *airigh-* prefix in Mid-Argyll (* Suggested by Professor Dauvit Broun)

Modern Name	Grid ref	Pont/Blaeu	Hearth Tax 1694	Roy	1st edition OS	Meaning	Earliest evidence
Balimore	NR 707 741	Balmoirknap	Ballemore	Ballymor		Baile mor = big farm	Late 16th century
Ballibrad	NR 842 993	not shown	Ballebraid	not shown	not shown		Late 17th century (Johnson's 1825 map of estate).
Balliemore	NR 857 932	not shown	not included	shown but unnamed	Balliemore	Baile mor = big farm	? Mid 16th century (1541, Innes 1855a)
Baluachraig	NR 832 970	not shown	?not included	not shown	Baluachraig		Probably 19th century
Balure	NR 697 809	not shown	not included	not shown	Balure		Probably 19th century
Ballymeanoch	NR 838 961	not shown	not included	not shown	Balameanoch	Baile meadhonach = middle baile	Probably 19th century
Ballygowan	NR 816 976	not shown	not included	not shown	not shown	Bail' a'ghobhainn = the smiths farm (Gillies 1906, 42)	Probably 19th century
Braigh Baile	NR 817 980	not shown	not included	not shown	not shown		M Campbell mss. Probably 19th century
Achageyvill	unlocated						1394 (OPS)
Achachroma	NR 821 981	Achachroma		not shown	Auchachrome		Late-16th century
Achaind/Achav[b]in	NR 837 986	Achaind	Achav[b]in		not shown		Late-16th century
Achayerran	NR 854 977						Late-16th century
Achnabreck	NR 856 902	Achnabreck			Achnabreck		1541, see Table 4.4
Achnashelach	NR 850 918	Achnashelach					Late-16th century
Achindarroch	NR 856 885	Achindarnach			Auchindaroch		Late-16th century

Arichonan	NR 774 912	Arie chonnen		Arihonnan	Arichonan	Conan's shieling *	Late-16th century
Arinechtan	NR 922 069	not shown	Arienechtan			Nechtan's shieling*	1529 see Table 4.4
Arichamish	NR 905 060	not shown			Arichomish?	Seamus's shieling or Thomas's sons shieling*	1529 see Table 4.4
	?		Arinafademore		not located		1694 Hearth Tax
Ariluig	?	Ariluig		not shown	not located		1654, see table 4.4
Cruach mor Dunardry	NR 818 906	Dunardery	Dunarderie	Dundary	Dunardry	Hill fort shieling (MacMillan 1960, 58).	Latin charter of 1669 mentions Dunardry (Bradford 1991, 1)

Table 4.6 shows that the earliest documentary or historical map evidence so far found for these *baile-, acha(dh)-* and *airigh-* sites is a single unlocated example from the 14th century and further examples from the 16th century which is a reflection of the limited sources that have been consulted. Further research into medieval charters could reveal earlier references, and it is acknowledged that this is somewhere that future research should be directed.

Some of the *baile-* sites can be traced back to the 16th century, but for others, such as Ballygowan, there is no evidence that they existed before the mid-19th century. So, as others have suggested, the coining of settlement names with the element *baile-* is perhaps not restricted to the medieval period in Mid-Argyll and may have been in use for settlements over a wide chronological span and well into the 19th century. So far this research as shown that there are several place-names with the *acha(dh)-* and *airigh-* elements and that these pre-date the mid-17th century and were therefore in existence before the Improvements. Until the earliest forms of these place-names can be traced, or the archaeological evidence can be found, it is not really possible to explore further at this point Nicholaison's idea of a progression from *baile-* place-names to secondary *achadh-* sites.

It is interesting that several *arigh-* names are combined with a personal name. Arichonan (Knapdale) for example could be the seasonal settlement of Nechtan (perhaps an ancestor of the MacNaughtons based in Loch Awe (Dauvit Broun, pers.comm.). Arichonan is depicted on Blaeu's map of Knapdale, and the earliest documentary evidence for Arichonan is dated to the mid-17th century. So there is the potential for this settlement to have been established on an already existing shieling site of that name sometime before the end of the 16th century. It has been suggested that the place name Dunardry (N Knapdale, clan seat of the McTavishes from the 14th century) is derived from *Dun-ard-airigh* meaning 'high fort shieling' which would suggest that a fort was re-used as a shieling site and then re-used as a clan seat early in the medieval period and that this gave its name to the estate (MacMillan 1960, 58), although this interpretation is questioned by Professor Dauvit Broun. (Another interpretation could be *Dun-ard-righ* meaning fort of the king's point). Earlier references to both these sites could in the 14th and 15th-century charters might clarify their original forms.

Place-name evidence has also provided several examples of settlements splitting by the late 16th century as the divisions 'mor' and 'beg', meaning 'big' and 'little' were depicted by Pont. These include Carnasserie Mor and Carnasserie Beg, Fincharn Mor and Beg, 'Y. na uaid M' and 'Yrin na uaid B', 'Kilmacharmick M. B.', 'Kilmichael' and 'Kilmichael beg' 'Ederling' and 'Ederling Beg' (see Tables 5.2 & 5.3). The specific reference to one of these sites being larger than the other may not relate directly to status as the example of Carnasserie shows. Carnasserie Beg refers to the (seemingly in the 19th century) small settlement that lay just outside the walls of the castle, while (the more extensive) Carnasserie Mor lay in the hills to the north. Some 'beg' sites seem to have no known accompanying 'mor' site such as 'Ardmachbeg' and 'Ardbeg'. Perhaps 'beg' relates to the size of the 'ard' rather than the size of the settlement which was named after it and is therefore not an example of settlement splitting. Another division refers to 'the two …' as in the two 'Cerrikis' (see Table 4.4).

Other split place-names reflect the influence of English words, such as 'Shyruam ouer', Shyrua middle and Shyrwa N[orth] (Table 5.2), 'Kandtrais Uffir' and 'Kandtrais Neddir' (Table 4.2), 'Scottenishe' and 'Ovir Scottenishe' (Table 4.3). By the end of the 17th century there were additional examples of mor and beg names, such as 'Craigintyrbemore' and 'Craigintyrebebeg' (Table 4.1) although these could have been coined in an earlier century but not documented. Other split names recorded by the 17th century include 'Neather Kentra' and 'Li[ber] Kentra', 'Upper Lergie', 'Neather Lergie' (Table 4.1) and 'Lergie Over' (Table 4.2). Settlement splitting was clearly a process which was taking place at least by the 16th century and continued into the Post-medieval period with more sites using the English 'North', 'South', 'Easter' and 'Wester' names.

This investigation of the historic maps and documents has provided much information on the nature of settlement towards the end of the medieval period. The maps indicate that in the late-16th century there were a number of dispersed farms located predominantly on coastal sites. The Hearth Tax shows that the settlements were predominantly of 1 - 4 households each with a single hearth, but some had up to 9 households. Some of the households with more than 1 hearth were associated with the significant landowning families such as the Campbells of Duntrune, Kilmartin, and Oib, and the MacNeills of Taynish, The survival of these settlements into the Post-medieval period is variable, and seems to be dependent on the particular fortunes of the associated

families. Some of these high-status sites do not continue as such, eg Oib Campbell, probably because this branch of the Campbells moved to Duntrune Castle in the 18th century and abandoned their old residence in North Knapdale. The sites which remained as single-tenanted farms are probably those which were the main residences of the significant families. Their other properties were rented out as joint-tenancy farms, such as Arichonan, and these benefited from the initial Improvements, but later suffered the effects of the Clearances in the 19th century. While many of the farms names continued as significant properties through the 18th and into the 19th century, and appeared to have become nucleated settlements by the 18th century, only a very few of these sites developed into villages in the 19th and 20th centuries, i.e. with a church and other trades (e.g. Kilmartin and Kilmichael Glassary) reflecting that Argyll remained a rural, under developed economy.

Consultation of the *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae* in particular has enabled the identification of several settlement place-names in Kilmichael Glassary, which have been found to date back to the early-14th century, such as Knocagullaran, Ardocastuff, Kamestronireyth, Derrenaneranach, Knocalme, Minrnyerinch, Karnefin and Kylmell M'Glenod and from the late-14th include Edderling, Cambysenew, Garvald, Canrenis, Craigeneur, Calkilkest, Oswalds, Hwywile (Achageyvill) and Kilnewir. In North Knapdale the 14th century sites include Apenad, Barmore (Danna), Ulva, Dallechelicha, Skondenze and Dreissag. The *OPS* has not provided similarly early place-names for Kilmartin parish. From the map work alone, only a small number of these settlements could be located in the modern landscape. This may be because of significant changes to their spelling, their loss through amalgamation of farms, desertion because of climatic deterioration, the plague or settlement shift. Clearly, the investigation of the historic documents has been limited in its scope, but has enabled some sites to be traced back into the 14th century. Further work on medieval charters would be a useful line of research to follow in order to find the earliest forms of place-names. The most useful aspect of this kind of work has been the identification of sites, or the likely areas of sites, which could be targeted for more detailed field walking and it is towards this evidence that this research now turns.

Chapter 5: Results of preliminary fieldwork

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the results of an initial phase of fieldwork which took place over about 50 days between 2001 and 2004. A total of 82 deserted settlements in the parishes of Kilmartin, Kilmichael Glassary and North Knapdale were visited and many were recorded during the course of this research (see Figure 1.3 showing the area covered). It was hoped that in the vicinity of the 19th-century remains there may be evidence for the pre-19th-century period of occupation as suggested by the fact that many of these place-names are depicted on Pont's manuscript map of the late-16th century or in Blaeu's Atlas. This survey also included extensive field walking in forestry areas and in open pasture while on the way to known sites. This led to the discovery of 28 deserted settlement sites which were not included in the archaeological record at that time, of which 11 were not depicted on the 1st edition O.S. maps. There were also 27 new single buildings, and 48 shielings or groups of shielings (see Table 5.1). This initial survey covered a wide landscape, the methodology of which is described in Chapter 1. This work helped to define areas for further investigation which included fieldwork, detailed topographic survey, geophysical survey and excavation. These subsequent case studies are presented in Chapters 6 to 9.

Because much of the fieldwork was carried out prior to the completion of the historical and map research, the potentially medieval sites identified in the previous chapter (Craigeneur, Monenier and Derrenaneranach) were not targeted in the field as it would now seem obvious to do. The identification of these sites has been a success for this type of research and is clearly a priority for further work.

Table 5.1 Results of Fieldwork

Classification	No. of sites visited	No. of which are new to the archaeological record
deserted farmstead	82	28
single structure/building	37	27
shieling/ group of shielings	49	49
shelter	5	4
stone &/or earth bank/wall	24	24
barn	2	2
cultivation /rig & furrow	14	14
farmstead (occupied)	2	2
enclosure	17	8
lambing pen	2	2
sheep pen/ penfold	1	
clearance cairn	9	9
mortar	1	1
mansion/ tacksmans house	5	4
mill	2	
platform	2	2
track	1	1
turf structure	4	4
battle mound	1	
bloomery mound	1	
bridge	1	1
homestead	4	1
kiln	8	5
limekiln	6	4
mound	1	1
arc of stones	2	2
upright stones	1	1
castle	3	
chapel	1	
cross-incised stone/cross-slab	2	
arch and altar	1	1
burial ground	1	
well	1	
tower	1	
tower house	1	
cup (and ring) marks	6	4
dun	13	
fort	6	
hut circle	4	3
saddle quern	1	1
spring	1	1
cairn	6	3
Total	332	209

The number of 19th-century deserted settlements within the parishes under study was not known when this research started, as this site-type was only just beginning to be added to the National Monuments Record of Scotland. However, the amateur study by Begg (1999) had suggested that there were in the region of 129 deserted settlement sites in the Kilmartin and Kilmichael Glassary parishes alone.

The main aim of this initial fieldwork was to see if there were any signs of structures at these deserted settlements that could date from the period when Pont was undertaking his surveys, in the late 16th century. A second aim was to see whether there was any significant difference in the remains at sites which were depicted by Pont and those which were not, as this might shed some light on how the settlements had developed. The third aim was to seek the remains of sites in the vicinity of the deserted settlements. Finally, it was hoped that a detailed examination of these settlements would assist with an understanding of rural settlement.

The term 'deserted settlement' is used here to include the ruins of what might be classified as 'fermtouns' or 'townships' which had been permanent settlements, distinct from seasonal 'shielings' (Bil 1990). The term 'deserted settlement' includes all settlements which have become deserted, and does not differentiate between those that were cleared in the 18th and 19th centuries and those which have seen occupation within living memory. Farmsteads are those sites which are still in occupation.

5.2 Survey of deserted settlements

The structures identified at deserted sites served a range of functions within the rural landscape including houses, house/byres, barns, corn-drying kilns, kilnbarns, wells, stackyards, sheds, pens and enclosures. The joint-tenancy farms would have had multiple dwellings, barns and enclosures, although perhaps a single shared kiln. The term 'croft' is one which refers to single-occupancy farms which date from the Improvement period (the mid-18th century to mid-19th centuries). Shielings functioned as small temporary dwellings that were occupied seasonally, either occurring alone or in groups.

The place-names depicted by Pont were generally found to refer to a wide variety of sites, such as,

1. occupied 19th-century farmhouses deserted settlements
2. deserted 19th-century fermtouns or townships
3. natural features such as woods, moorlands and hills
4. castles, prehistoric forts, crannogs, medieval churches or burial grounds
5. unlocated sites, or
6. modern villages or re-developments.

Tables 5.2 & 5.3 include the 16th-century place-names as depicted by Pont or Blaeu and their subsequent spellings as traced through Roy's Military map and the 1st edition O.S. maps. Those visited during this research have been given a Site Number, (column 7) which relates to the site gazetteer (see Appendix 1).

Several of the Pont/Blaeu place-names could not be located on the 1st edition maps and were subsequently not detected in the field. It is presumed that these late-medieval sites have become deserted, been amalgamated into single farms or perhaps their names have changed. The methodology used here of targeting the known sites first has been successful in identifying the 19th-century deserted settlements, but has not been able to identify these unnamed sites. One of the results of this research will be a strategy for dealing with these unlocated place-names.

Table 5.2 All settlement sites shown on Pont 15: Argyll north of the Crinan Canal with their equivalent names on Roy and the 1st edition where they can be traced.

Pont 15 (Ardskeodnish) late 16th C	Roy (mid 18thC)	1st edition OS (mid-19th C)	1st edition OS map sheet	NGR	Results of Research.	Site No in Gazetteer	Category of site.
Achachroma	not shown	Auchachrome	CXLIX	NR 821 981	Deserted 19th century ruins	117, 126, 127	2
Achaind	not shown	Maoile Achaidh Bhan (woodland)	CXLIX	NR 837 986	Unroofed buildings in 1825.	291	2
Achane Loir	(Auchnellen ?)	(Auchinellan)	CXXXVIII	NR 864 027	Occupied farm		1
Achatycharlie	Acharly	Achnatearlach	CL	NR 870 948	Deserted 19th century ruins ? (not visited)		2
Achayerran	not shown	Achayerran	CXLIX	NR 854 977	Deserted 19th century ruins	133	2
Achnabreck	Achna breach	Achnabreck	CLX	NR 856 902	Deserted 19th century ruins		2
Achnashelach	Achinshelach	Achnashelloch	CLX	NR 850 918	Occupied farm		1
Ardafour o:pN	Ardfour	Ardfiuar	CXLIX	NR 789 968	Deserted 19th century ruins	69 & 70	2
Ardachastell	Ardchaisell	not shown	CXLIX	NR 795 959	Prehistoric fort		4
Ardnacas[e]d	Ardchaistre	Ardcastle wood	CLXI	NR 94 91	Area of woodland		3
Ardnahiller	not shown	not shown	CLXI	not known	Unlocated		5
Barmoloch	not shown	Barr-molach	CL	NR 878 997	Occupied farm		1
Barwhowil	not shown	Barrachuile?	CL	NR 890 958	Deserted 19th century ruins		2
Bareuil	Barryule	Baroile	CXLIX	NR 849 957	Deserted 19th century ruins	106	2
Bargirgaig	not shown	not shown		not known	Unlocated settlement near Ardifuar, see Chapter 6		5
Basoaun?	not shown	not shown	(CLX)	not known	Unlocated		5
Bennan	not shown	Bennan	CXLIX	NM 805 001	20th century farm with earlier settlement nearby.	44, 192, 193, 194	2

Blairbuy	Blarbuy	Blarbuy	CLXI	NR 878 889	Occupied farm		1
Carnain	not shown	not shown	CXLIX	NR 855 981?	Possibly deserted site of Carnach, mentioned by Begg being near Achayerran (Begg 2002, 20).		2
Carnastre	Castle Carna[?]aire	Carnassary Castle	CXXXVIII	NM 839 008	Carnasserie Castle 16th century, possibly incorporating earlier structure.	22,	4
Carnastre m	not shown	Carnassary	CXXXVIII	NM 838 011	Township deserted in the 20th century. See Chapter 8.	21	2
Carnastre beg	not shown	not shown	CXXXVIII	NM 839 008	Structures around castle abandoned in the 19th century (see Chapter 8).	23	2
Carri[?]	Carrick	Carrick	CLXI	NR 908 872	Deserted 19th century ruins		2
Claisaig	not shown	not shown	(CXLIX)	not known	Unlocated		5
o: craig[??] Tarf	Craigintarve	Creagantairbh Mor	CXXXVIII	NM 848 015	25. Occupied farm		1
N:Cra[??] tarf[??]	Craigintarve	Creagantairbh Beag	CXXXVIII	NM 858 016	Occupied farm		1
Culknuk	Collarack?	not shown	(CXLIX)	not known	Unlocated		5
Derren Loch	Derinloch	Dailaneireanach	(CLXIX)	Vicinity of NR 899 939	Within forestry, not visited		5
Dunmuck	Dunimoch	Dunamuck	CLX	NR 843 922	Occupied farm		1
Dunnad	Dun Add	Dunadd	CLX	NR 837 935	Occupied farm at base of fort		1
Dunan	not shown	not shown	(CL)	not known	Unlocated		5
Duntruy	Duntroon Castle	Duntroon Castle	CXLIX	NR 793 955	Occupied 16th century tower house with earlier curtain wall.		1
Dupen	not shown	Dupern	CLXI	NR 880 900	Deserted 19th -century ruins		2
Druyin	not shown	Druim Hill	CLXI	NR 87 88	Druim Hill, now forested		3
Ederling	Ederlin	Ederline	CXXXIX	NM 873 026	Occupied farm		1
Ederling beg	not shown	not shown	(CXXXIX)	not known	Unlocated		5

Eurach	not shown	Eurach	CXXXVIII	NM 848 010	Occupied farm.		1
Fairnach	not shown	Fearnoch	CL	NR 883 967	Deserted 19th century ruins		2
Fincarn b: & moir	Nether Fincharn, Over Fincharn, Fincharn Castle	Fincharn, Fincharn Castle (in ruins)	CXXXIX	NM 902 039	Fincharn Farm & ruined castle, third settlement not located	184	1, 4, 5
Gallanach ychrach	Gallanich?	Gallanach	CLXI	NR 923 905	Lochgair village		6
Garualt	Gaeavalt	Garbhallt	CXXXIX	NM 891 026	Deserted 19th-century ruins	49, 199, 200, 201	2
Glenen	(Tightchair)	Glennan	CXXXVIII	NM 857 010	Ruined 18th-century tacksmens house and farmstead	64, 307, 308, 309	2
Glenkarnes	Glenarbaran?	not shown	(CXLIX)	Kirnan ?	Occupied farm		1
Kammes & Kammesochrach	Nether & Upper Camis	Kames, Middle Kames & West Kames	CLXI	NR 920 894, 917 892 & 918 886	East Kames & Middle Kames occupied farms, third site a deserted ruin.		1, 2
Kask[aillie]	not shown	not shown	(CXLIX)	not known	Unlocated		5
Kear[nan]	(Mill of Corrin)	Kiarnan Mor & Kiarnan Beg	CL	NR 868 956 & NR 872 957	Occupied farms		1, 1
Kilbrid	Kilbride	Kilbride	CXLIX	NR 853 965	Occupied farm	131, 132	1
Kilmart[h?]	Killmertin	Kilmartin	CXLIX	NR 835 988	Modern village		6
Kilmichel	Kilmichel	Kilmichael Glassary	CLX	NR 857 934	Modern village		6
Kilmichel beg	Kilmichael beg	Kilmichael Beg	CL	NR 955 934	Occupied farm		1
Kilmore	Killmorsay	Kilmory	CLXXI	NR 868 867	Kilmory Castle (19th century)		4
Kilneuir	Kilmore	Kilneuair	CXXXIX	NM 889 036	Medieval church	182	4
Kylnu/chaini	Killneuchar	Killinochonoch?	CXLIX	NR 838 956	Occupied farm		1
Knock Alua	Knock	Knock	CLXI	NR 920 917	Deserted 19th-century ruins in forestry		2
Lag	not shown	Lag	CL	NR 877 952	Deserted 19th-century ruins, recently re-		2

							developed
Laggan	not shown	(Laggan Wood)	CXLIX	NR 837 995		Re-developed site, on edge of Kilmartin village	6
Lairges	Largo (x2)	Upper Largie/Nether Largie	CXLIX	NR 835 999 & NR 828 980		Occupied farms	1, 1
Lekwain	not shown	not shown	CXLIX?	not known		Unlocated	5
Le[?]irna/molt (not a settlement)	not shown	Leacann nam Mult	CL	NR 87 98		Area of open heath	3
Loch Lean (defended island)	L. Lean	Loch Leathan	CL	NR 874 983		Crannog in loch	4
Monenier	Moneniernich	not shown	CXLIX	NR 918 961		In forestry, not visited	5
Ormag	Ormack Castle	Ormaig	CXXXVIII	NM 822 030	18	Occupied farm & 19th-century ruins	1
Pooltalach	Bordsalloch	Poltalloch	CXXXVIII	NM 807 010		Deserted 19th-century ruins, recently re-developed	1
Rowedall	Rudell	Rudale	CXLIX	NR 842 947		Occupied farm	1
Schron-eskar	St[....?]	Stronesker	CXXXIX	NM 874 015		Occupied farm	1
Shyruam ouer, Shyrua middle & Shyrwa N	Nether Seroin	not shown	CXLIX	not known		Unlocated. 'Sheurvin' depicted in 1823 near modern Slockavullin.	5, 5, 5
Soccoch	not shown	Socach	CL	NR 881 997	135	Deserted 19th-century ruins, recently re-developed	1
Sylu[?]r	not shown	not shown		not known		Unlocated	5
Tibberdick	not shown	Tibertich	CXXXVIII	NM 843 026		Occupied farm	1
Tillegre	not shown	not shown		not known		Unlocated	5
Torblaran	Turleran	Torrabhlarain	CXLIX	NR 865 940		Occupied farm	1
Vilich	Ulla?	Uillian	CLX	NR 863 929	148	Deserted 19th & 20th century ruins	2

Table 5.3 Settlement sites on Blaeu's map of Lorne (only those west of what would become the Crinan canal) and in North Knapdale are included, with their equivalent names on Roy and the 1st edition OS maps.

Blaeu (Knapdale) 17th century	Roy (mid 18th C)	1st edition OS (mid 19th C)	1st edition O.S. map sheet	NGR	Results of Research	Site No in Gazetteer	Categor of site
Achindarnach	Achindaroch	Auchindaroch	CLX	NR 856 885	Area re-developed as modern farm called Oakfield		1
Arie chonnen	Arihonnan	Arichonan	CLX	NR 774 912	Deserted 19th-century ruins	74	2
Ariluig	not shown			not known	Unlocated		5
Ardbeg	Ardbeg, E Ardbeg	North Ardbeg, South Ardbeg	CLXIX	NR 712 842 & NR 715 838	Deserted 19th-century ruins	283	2
Ardennaeg	not shown				Unlocated		5
Ardna	Ardnoe	(Ardnoe Point)	CXLIX	NR 772 946	Shieling only located	101	5
Ardnakkeg	Ardnachkaig	Ardnakaig	CLIX	NR 744 904	Occupied Farm		1
Balmoirknap	Ballymor	Balimore	CXC	NR 708 740	Occupied Farm		1
Barbe (north), Barbe (south)	Barbe	Barr-beith	CLIX	NR 755 913	Deserted 19th-century ruins	94	2
Barbreck	Barbreachk	Barr-breac	CLXIX	NR 719 854	Deserted 19th-century ruins		2
Barchaihornoich	not shown				Unlocated		5
Barnagad	not shown	Barnagad	CLXX	BR 785 870	Deserted 19th-century ruins		2
Barneshalg north)	Barnashallag	Barnashalig	CLXIX	NR 729 866	Deserted 19th-century ruins	271-274	2
Barnshalg (south)	not shown		CXLIX		Unlocated		5
Barlochen	Barnlochan	(Barr an Lochain)	CLXIX	NR 703 826?	Deserted 19th-century ruins, un-named		2
Barloisken	Barlaskin	Baranloisgan	CLC	NR 789 911	Occupied farm		1
Barowen	not shown	not shown			Unlocated		5
Castel Suyn	Castle Swine	Castle Sween	CLXXIX	NR 712 788	Castle Sween		4
Cossindros	Cushendrochet	Cosandrochaid	CLXIX	NR 706 821	Occupied farm		1

Dall	Dall	Dhaill	NR 826 908	CLX	Occupied farm	146	1
Daltar	Daltot	Daltot	NR 747 833	CLXIX	Occupied farm & deserted ruins	331, 332	1
Denna	North Danna, Danna-meanach, South Dana	New Danna, Mid Danna & Danna na Cloiche	NR 693 791, 693 784 & 693 777	CLXXIX	Occupied farms & deserted 19th-century ruins		1, 1, 2
Dou na rosna	Dunorinsa	Dunrostan	NR 734 815	CLXXIX	Occupied farm		1
Dreynach	Drynach	not shown		CLXX	Unlocated		5
Drum na gald	Drumnagaul	Druim–nan-gall	NR 718 844	CLXIX	Occupied farm	298	1
Dunardery	Dundary	(Dunardry Locks)		CLX	Destroyed by Crinan Canal	140	5
Duni	Douny	Dounie	NR 755 918	CLIX	Deserted 19th-century ruins, 18th-century house nearby	83, 84, & 85	2
	Dunourich	Dun Mhuirich	NR 722 844	CLXIX	Possibly medieval & post-med re-occupation of IA fort	333	2
Eillery	Elyree	Ellary	NR 741 761	CLXXIX	Occupied 19th-century castle		1
Eyuery	not shown				Unlocated		5
Feirnach	Fernach	Fearnoch	NR 704 744	CXC	Occupied farm		1
Feirnoch	Fernachiacherach	Lower Farnoch, Upper Farnoch	NR 725 852	CLXIX	Lower Farnoch, occupied farm		1
Garmagrenoch	not shown	Gartnagreanoch	NR 790 903	CLX	Occupied farm	77	1
Gheroib	not shown	Garoib	NR 786 899		Occupied farm and deserted ruins	156	1
Glensavel	(Clachintall ruarby)	Gleann Sabhail	NR 75 90	CLIX	Deserted 19th-century ruins, three groups	87, 88 & 89	2
Grienen	Crinan ho[use]	Crinan	NR 795 935	CXLIX	Occupied house		1
Innerlusa	(Killmichael of Inverlusa)	(Kilmichael of Inverlussa)	NR 775 858	CLXX	Occupied 18th-century house		1
Innerstain	not shown	(Ardnafrain)	NR 728 749	CXC	Unlocated		5

Kald Chaillie	Callichyle	Gallchoille	CLX	NR 768 899		Occupied farm	1
Kasrwick	Carsych	Carsaig	CLXIX	NR 736 879		Occupied house	1
Kilbrid	Kilbryde	Kilbride	CLXXIX	NR 727 801		Deserted 19th-century ruins, near to modern farm	2
Kilchumnack	Kilmahumag	Kilmahumaig	CLX	NR 787 936		Burial ground	4
Kilmacharmick M.B.	Keils	Keillmore & Keillbeg	CLXXIX	NR 689 804 & 694 806	322	Medieval chapel with turf-walled ruins	2, 4
Kilmichel	(Killmichael of Inverlusa)	Kilmichael of Inverlussa	CLXX	NR 775 858	150	Occupied house & village, Kilmichael & Inverlussa ?	1
Kilmore	Killmorey	Kilmory	CXC	NR 702 750		Re-occupied 19th-century township	2
Naseuil	not shown	not shown	CLX?			Unlocated	5
Leck na ban	L.....nachan	Leach na ban	CLX	NR 786 919		Occupied farm	1
Lerg na Kinchin	(Ashfield)	(Ashfield)	CLXIX	NR 764 854		Occupied farm	1
Oib	Killmory	Kilmory Oib	CLX	NR 781 902	78	Deserted 19th-century ruins	2
Oib Maddy	not shown	not shown				Unlocated	5
Oilinenen	not shown	Oib Greim?	CLXX	NR 768 873		Deserted 19th-century ruins	2
Owa	not shown	not shown	CLXXIX?			Unlocated	5
Scotnes	(Tornachlach)	Scotnish	CLXIX	NR 754 879		Occupied 19th-century house	2
Schronselt	Stronar[?]n	Stonefield?	CXC	NR 720 748		Deserted 19th-century ruins	2
Taonish	Taynish	Taynish	CLXIX	NR 725 831		Occupied 18th-century house	1
Vanachan	not shown	not shown	CLX?			Unlocated	5
Vlva	Ylloa	Old Ulva	CLXIX	NR 713 814		Occupied farm	1
Yl.Kerk	small unnamed island	(Eilean na Circe)	CLIX	NR 767 892		Eilean na Circe, fortified island	4
Y. na uaid M.	not shown	not shown	CLXIX	not known		Possibly Dun Bhronaig	4
Yrin na uaid B.	not shown	not shown	CLXIX	not known		Unlocated	5

Architectural features

The following section is a summary of the observations made at the deserted sites visited (see Figure 5.1). These features include consideration of the distinctive architectural features encountered, settlement layout and chronology (James 2003).

Architectural features such as doorways, windows, cruck slots, fireplaces and drains were recorded where visible. When these features were present, then the function of some of the observed structures could sometimes be suggested, but for many featureless structures, it would have required intrusive work, such as debris clearance or excavation before a function could be identified. For example, when fireplaces were present, then a dwelling could be suggested, however the majority of fireplaces observed were not original, having been inserted in a later phase. Prior to the 19th century, fireplaces would have been centrally placed. Inserted fireplaces were usually up against one of the gable walls and may, in some cases, indicate conversion from an earlier use. Structures where the fireplace was an original feature were few and included Creaganterve Mansion and Glennan (see Figures 5.2 & 5.3) which are both thought to be 18th century mansion houses and therefore of high-status. It is said that dwellings would have had their gable end towards the prevailing wind, which can also be a clue to the function.

The presence of opposing doorways has been interpreted as evidence for winnowing barns as seen at Arichonan and Blarantibert (see Figures 5.4 & 5.5). Winnowing barns would have been orientated across the prevailing winds thus taking advantage of the draught when both doors were open. However, it has also been noted that an animal feeding passage between the domestic area and the animal barn of rural houses were a feature of long-houses in Brittany, which can be also associated with opposing doors (Meirion-Jones 1973, 1 & 18). Barns also tended to have triangular vents in the walls or ceramic pipes inserted just below the wall head. Examples of stone-built barns were also seen at Carnasserie Mor, Ardifuar, Gartnagreanoch and Kilmahumaig croft.

Byres were identified by the presence of an external drain, as at Structure A at Gleann Sabhail 2 (see Figure 5.6). Gleann Sabhail 2 was a particularly good example of a croft where all the individual elements of dwelling, byre, winnowing barn, animal pens, kiln and enclosures could be identified clearly from the visible evidence. Corn-drying kilns

were often noted at some distance from the main group of structures, and substantial kilnbarns were noted at Garbhallt (see Figure 5.7), Old Ardifuar, Dounie and Auchachrome Farmstead West. Secondary features, including blocked windows or doorways and the insertion of lambing pens, testify to the re-use of the sites, often as sheep farms or as outhouses in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Layout

Whether the layout of the deserted settlements could be described as 'clustered', 'linear' or set in a 'courtyard' was recorded during the survey. The existence of nucleated settlements by the 18th century is consistent with what was seen on the old estate plans of Lix, for example, discussed in Chapter 2. It had been suggested that the linear and courtyard layouts were a result of the Improvements of the 19th and 20th centuries (Dalglish 2000) and indeed settlements with these layouts had structures dating to this period e.g. Bennan with a linear layout (Figures 5.8 & 5.18) and Soccoch as a courtyard (not illustrated). The layout of other settlements varied greatly, but there was often a sense of some order. When only two structures were found together these either lay parallel to each other or were at right angles to each other. When three or more structures formed a cluster, these generally were aligned either with or across the contours.

Chronology

As a result of the work described in Chapter 2 and comparisons with what was found in the field, it has been possible to suggest which architectural features might indicate that a structure could be 'early' (i.e, be pre-18th or 18th century in date). These features include the use of massive boulders or rough undressed stones in the foundations, rounded corners forming an oval-shaped structure in plan, low foundation walls surviving as grass-covered stone or turf banks, structures with a narrow width compared to length or a central fireplace. Features thought to indicate 19th-century construction or re-use included the use of faced stone, the presence of lime mortar, integral fireplaces within gables, square corners and the presence of window frames or other timber fittings. The use of cruck slots, as a form of roof support, seems to have been retained until quite a late date, and only when lime-mortared walls were built well enough to

take the weight of the roof, were they abandoned as a construction method, which is not thought to have occurred until the mid to late-19th century. The identification of round-ended structures was hampered by the presence of tumble which often disguised the shape of the gable end.

Assumptions of age based on the height of structural remains is also not a reliable criterion. I was informed by a local farmer that some old drystone walls survived better than more recently built ones because in the drystone construction the builder had relied on the quality of the stonework, rather than the presence of mortar to hold the structure together. Once the mortar was washed out the more modern structures fell apart.

The majority of structures examined during this field survey were found to be relatively late in date (i.e. early-19th century) as they could be identified on the 1st edition OS maps, often as roofed and therefore, presumably occupied, structures. These 19th-century structures have a very similar appearance, being single storey, with rectangular corners, high gable ends (Dalriadic), cruck-slots (Figure 5.9) and external stones (see Figure 5.10) for attaching ropes to hold down the thatched roof.

5.3 Structures not depicted on the 1st edition OS maps

In order to investigate whether there were remains of potential medieval sites in the vicinity of the deserted settlements, the layout of deserted settlements in the field were compared with how they were surveyed for the 1st edition O.S. maps. There were several settlements where additional structures, not depicted on the 1st edition O.S. maps, were identified (see Table 5.4). These additional structures could either have been already ruinous by the mid-19th century or constructed after the O.S. survey. Earlier dates (i.e. 18th century) could be suggested for a few structures which were less well-built and constructed of drystone e.g. Carnasserie Mor and Bennan and sometimes as relict features within later stonework (as at Arichonan). Some other structures were clearly later in date and were associated with sheep farming or forestry (e.g. a tin shed at Crinan).

Site No. in Gazetteer	Name	Additional structures
21	Carnasserie Mor	Two low rectangular structures M & N
44	Bennan	Two low rectangular structures F & G & enclosures
64	Glennan	Low banks & terracing into hillside
70	Ardifuar	Six rectangular structures G, I, J, L, M, N and a kiln (K)
74	Arichonan	Fireplace in an outer wall
82	Crinan	tin shed
87	Gleann Sabhail 1	A kiln (F) and a shed (E)
88	Gleann Sabhail 2	Low rectangular structure, an outhouse
94	Barbae Dounie	rectangular structures >1m high
128	Raslie Burn West	Two rectangular structures A & C, at right angles to each other.
129	Raslie Burn East	A structure with unclear shape (C)
143	Blarantibbert	Remains of a structure with rounded corners (I) and a low oval-shaped structure (L)
148	Uillean	A D-shaped enclosure (G), and a new cottage (A) built since the 1st edition
159	Oib Greim	Difficult to relate to 1st edition because of forestry
161	Lochan Buic	A possible structure up against a rock, similar to a shieling (C)
162	Loch Losgunn	Two structures with round corners (A & D)
272	Barnishalig 2	B (rectangular structure)
276	South Ardbeg	Five rectangular structures (F, C, D, E & G)
279	Fearnoch	A rectangular structure (E) and a kiln (B)

Table 5.4 Sites with structures not depicted in the 1st edition OS map.

Of the 82 deserted sites visited, 63 (77%) showed no discernible difference in plan between the 1st edition O.S. map and the structures noted on the ground. This would suggest that there had seen some significant investment by the mid-19th-century, but had become deserted not long after, before any major re-building took place. Some evidence of a 'change of use' in the form of blocked doors and the insertion of lambing pens was detected on several of these sites. Of the 19 sites (23%) where additional structures were noted, two sites had structures that are thought to post-date the 1st edition O.S. survey (see Crinan and Gleann Sabhail 2), leaving 17 with 'earlier' structures.

Some of the additional structures were kilns, which (given that the general agricultural trend was moving away from arable farming towards sheep rearing) were unlikely to have been built after the mid-19th century, It seems likely therefore that kilns were occasionally excluded from the original O.S. surveys, either because they were not seen or were not considered significant. These are still probably of 18th and 19th century date.

Some of these additional structures were rectangular in shape and had recognisably square corners as at Carnasserie Mor (Structures M & N). If these structures belonged to the late 18th or early 19th centuries, then they must have had a short life-span, as they must have been ruinous (and not just roofless) by the mid-19th century. Alternatively they could be earlier, perhaps 17th-century tacksman's houses. Only two of these settlements, Blarantibert and Loch Losgunn, included structures with rounded corners. At Blarantibert, a curving length of wall was incorporated into an enclosure wall (I) and is thought to be the remains of an oval-shaped structure. There were also low foundations of an oval-shaped structure (L) which was a possible whisky still. At Loch Losgunn there were two structures (B & C) with rounded corners and one (A) had two rounded and two square corners (see (Figure 5.11). Structure D, to the north, was a short length of curving walling 1m wide. It was thought possible that these structures are slightly earlier than the square-cornered structures, perhaps being 18th century in date. In general, the visible morphology of the deserted sites visited displayed very little evidence of being multi-phased, as the structures were predominantly 19th century in date, although some possible 17th-or 18th-century structures were suggested. There seemed to be no sites with the potential for being multi-period as seen at Balmacvicar, Kintyre (see Chapter 2).

Of the 28 deserted sites which were new to the archaeological record, 11 were not depicted on the 1st edition O.S. map (see Table 5.5).

Site No. on Gazetteer	Name	NGR	Description of new structures
10	Dun Toiseach	NM 88870 05264	A possibly sub-rectangular structure 0.8km to the east of Dun Toiseach. It is 13.7m long & 5.2m wide (internally) with spread rubble walls so the shape of the corners are not certain.
16	Strone	NM 81950 02736	Two structures lying parallel to each other. Widths are 4.2 m and 3.3 m internally, corners are possibly rounded.
39	Bàrr Mór	NM 81397 00656	Four oval-shaped structures between 2.8 m & 3.3 m wide and two enclosures.
61	Ath Mhic Mhairtein	NM 85685 04420	Rectangular drystone structure 3.6m wide. Site of a 13th century battle (Campbell 1889, 21).
64	Glennan platform	NM 85852 00961	Rectangular platform
118	Raslie West	NR 82245 98361	Two rectangular structures at right angles to each other. They survive as low turf banks with some boulders visible. Measure 16m long and 4.0 m wide and 14.5m long and 5.0 m wide (internally).
127	Auchachrome	NR 81853 97658	A rectangular structure or enclosure with wall lines consisting of a few large boulders. Internal length is 16.9m and width is 5.0 m. Beside a single sycamore tree.
149	Loch Glashan	NR 91809 92472	Two oval-shaped structures13.1m long and 4.1 m wide and 7.3m long and 3.6 m wide.
262	Ormaig	NM 81985 02884	Three rectangular structures with an enclosure and a fourth rectangular structure at a short distance away.
271	Barnashalig	NR 73115 87012	Two rectangular drystone structures & a kiln
291	Achairnd	NR 83650 98750	At least two flat platform sites with stone walls visible, and an oval-shaped mound.

Table 5.5 Newly discovered sites (excluding shielings)

The new sites included rectangular structures, oval-shaped structures and rectangular platforms. As mentioned above, even the rectangular-shaped structures have a potential to be pre-19th century in date. The site at Raslie West (see Figure 5.12) has a traditional association with a cadet branch of the Campbells and therefore has potential to be a tacksman's house perhaps dating to the 17th or 18th centuries. The site at Auchachrome contains massive boulders in its foundations and may be a large structure or perhaps an unroofed enclosure. The platform sites are discussed further below.

The oval-shaped structures in Table 5.5 are thought to be potentially late-medieval of 17th century in date. The sites of Strone and Dun Toiseach were ambiguous in shape as the rounded corners may have been the result of wall collapse (see Figures 5.13 & 5.14). However, two sites, Bàrr Mór (see Figure 5.15) and Loch Glashan (see Figures 5.16 & 5.17), consisted of structures with rubble foundation walls which were clearly oval-shape and have strong possibility of being medieval or late-medieval in date. Bàrr Mór, in particular, had walls surviving up to a metre high and was chosen as one of the case studies for further survey and excavation (see Chapter 6). The remains at Loch Glashan were extremely low and had been eroded during periods of submersion beneath the loch when the water level was high, and so was not chosen for further work at this time. One site was chosen for further historical work to illustrate how an understanding of the field remains could be enhanced with a more detailed historical background.

5.4 Bennan (Site 44) NGR NM 805 001

The site of 'Bennan' is depicted on Pont's manuscript map and also on Blaeu's map of Lorn dated 1663 (see Figure 4.7) and the spelling of Bennan is one of the more consistent since the late-16th century. On Langland's map of 1801 the site is named 'Benan', but it is not shown on Roy's map of the mid-18th century, however it returns to the original spelling of 'Bennan' on the 1st edition OS map by the mid-19th century, where it is depicted as two roofed structures and a well (Argyllshire CXLIX, see Figure 5.18). These structures have been identified in the field as a linear range with an enclosure and a separate single structure with an annex and two enclosures. The long range (A, B & C) is characterised by high gable ends, integral fireplaces, chimneys and the use of cement and mortar, which indicates its fairly recent occupation (see Figure

5.8). This is confirmed by the record of the last tenant of Bennan dying in 1917 (Begg 1999, 26). Begg interpreted the long range as a dwelling house with a barn and byre attached and the separate Structure E as a small stable.

What is not shown on the 1st edition OS map are two other structures (F & G) which were found during this survey, at a distance of 56m to the east (see Figure 5.18). Both structures were rectangular in shape and Structure F had walls 0.6m high while Structure G had walls up to 1.1m high. The only architectural features were a possible central doorway in F and rounded corners at the southern end of G. To the east of structures F & G there was another large drystone enclosure. If these structures are interpreted correctly as an earlier focus for the farm of Bennan, perhaps dating to the 18th century, then this could be an example of settlement shift that has taken place over the past 200 years. The surrounding ground is undulating and bracken-covered with many rocky outcrops and so is not conducive to the identification of unsubstantial remains. There are several, such small, well drained sites in the vicinity which could have been suitable for building and therefore it is thought unlikely that the earliest settlement would lie beneath the 19th century structures A, B & C.

The earliest documentary references to Bennan found so far are in the Argyll Sasines that dates from the early-17th century. These references illustrate the different measurements of land and rent in use at that time and the names of the person granting the charter and of the recipient. The early sasines show the close relationship between the cadet branches of the Campbell clan and with the other leading families of the area. A Sasines of 1621 refers to the '20/- land of Bennand in Ariskeodnish' given on a charter by Donald Campbell of Duntroon 'to his beloved cousin'… 'Archibald Campbell of Ylanrie' (Eilean Righ) and signed at Duntroon (No 172, Campbell 1933, 55). In 1632 a sasine refers to the '1d land of Bennan' and the charter is to Duncan Campbell, now of Duntroon (and heir of Donald Campbell) 'on a precept of clare constat by Lord Lorne' (No 446, Campbell 1934, 141). The use of 'pennylands' with reference to Bennan in the 17th century may be an indication of the use of a pre-Norse form of land share (Easson 1987, 9; Bangor-Jones 1987, 20). In 1643 the '1d land of Bennan' (along with other lands and titles) was given to Niall Campbell, son and heir to Duncan Campbell of Duntroon, on his marriage to Mary, daughter of Hector McNeill of Taynish (No 232, Campbell 1933, 76).

In 1658 the '20/- land of Bennand' (only) was given to John McIndeor in Kilchoan, on a ' wadset charter to him (price 800 merks)' by Archibald Campbell of Ellanrie…'with consent of Patrick Campbell of Duntroon, the Superior' (No 381, Campbell 1934, 238). This wadset charter, or mortgage, is evidence for a lower strata of land administration. This may have provided an opportunity to introduce new tenants and raise cash at the same time, but may also have been a continuation of an earlier situation for which we have no charter evidence, and thus not affecting the situation on the ground.

In 1659 the '1d land of Bennan' was again included among other lands 'on a charter by Argyll' to John Campbell heir of Patrick Campbell of Duntroon (No. 418, Campbell 1934, 154). There is also a reference to the 'Kaynes, presents and casualties of Bennan, Barghirgaig and the two Ardifuirs [easter and wester]' (ibid). In 1661 the reference is to an 'annual rent of 48 merks furth of the lands of Bennan', given to 'John M'Indeor in Bennan, on a bond (capital sum 800 merks)' by Patrick Campbell of Duntroon (No. 1017, Campbell 1934, 334). That John M'Indeor is now 'in Bennan' would indicate that he was the occupant of this farm. Niall M'Indeor, also 'in Bennan' (probably a close relative) acted as a witness. In March 1668 John M'Indeor was still 'in Bennan' (No. 1418, Campbell 1934, 460) but by December 1668 a John M'Dow was described as 'indweller in Bennan' and there is a 'sasine of the liferent of the 20/- land of Bennan…given personally by Angus Campbell, fiar of Bennan' as part of his marriage contract to Katherine M'Callum, daughter of Archd. Campbell of Ellanrie (No 1453, Campbell 1934, 471).

Another documentary source, The List of Rebels dated 1685, provides some further detail in the name of a tenant as it mentions the confiscation of two cows from 'Duncan mc Brain in Bianan' (MacTavish 1935, 21). With regard to this particular spelling, it was reported to this author, by a neighouring landowner, that the local pronunciation of Bennan is 'Bianan' with an emphasis on the first 'a'. In 1715 there is reference to the deceased John M'Callum in Bennan (Campbell 1916b, 192). By 1775 the tenant of Bennan was a Duncan Gillies and in 1836 it was Angus Kennedy (Begg 1999, 27 & 28).

The place-name 'Bennan' can therefore be traced back to at least the late-16th century. The structural remains so far identified consist of at least two phases, but they probably

date no further back than the 18th century. The documentary evidence is relatively sparse and does not provide any indication of tenants prior to the 18th century, although the sasines reveal a hierarchy of land administration from the Earls of Argyll, to the Campbells of Duntroon and then down to their lesser tenants.

Further work in the historical records has subsequently uncovered a reference to a document dated 1422 which refers to Duncan Campbell of Lochawe and includes the ten properties of 'Ayrdechaistol', 'Ayrdiefur', 'Acha…' (Achachrom?), 'Poltaluch', 'Beannan', 'Balg…' (Baraltroof), 'Peulcair', 'Culachmuic', 'Crenanmore' and 'Crenan beg' in 'Ayrdaskondynsche' (Campbell 1915, 239- 40). Campbell states that this document was transcribed by Craufurd from an original then in (Campbell of) Duntroon's hands. Campbell notes that this is exactly the same order of place-names that were used in an 18th-century charter and would testify to a high degree of continuity of landholding by the Campbells from the early 15th to the 18th century. Campbell had not seen this document for himself, but did not doubt its authenticity. This charter was not found among the Poltalloch Papers by the archivist at the Lochgilphead archives and so may be still in the possession of the Malcolms of Poltalloch. It can therefore be suggested that Bennan was one of a group of farms which was associated in the medieval period with the 'Ayrdechaistol' or Duntroon estate which belonged to one of the cadet branches of the Campbells from at least the 14th century and from where they oversaw the rest of the barony of Ardskeodnish (see Chapter 3).

The following section moves on to a consideration of other potentially medieval sites which were visited during this research, such as shielings, circular enclosures, duns, forts, castles and tower houses.

5.5 Shielings

Shielings sites were investigated and recorded during this research because it was thought that they might provide evidence for medieval settlement that has survived in the hills, above the head-dykes, away from the low-lying Improved farmland, where cultivation may have masked the ephemeral remains of earlier settlement.

Shielings were not depicted on early maps until the Improvers estate plans of the 18th century and even the 1st edition OS maps did not depict shielings as a matter of course. The more recent maps are beginning to include the location of 'old shieling' sites (e.g. O.S. Explorer Series 358, sites at NGR NM 955 007 & NM 922 014). There were few shieling sites recorded on the NMRS when this research began, in Kilmartin there were 11 sites, North Knapdale had 3 sites and Kilmichael Glassary had 7 sites. Earlier researchers had also noted some which had not reached the record, such as a group of perhaps 17 shielings within loops of the River Add in Gleann Airigh, Kilmichael Glassary (Campbell & Sandeman 1964). The total number of shielings for Kilmartin was expanded to 24 by a survey by Regan & Webb (2005). Therefore it was recognised that there were potentially huge numbers of shielings surviving within the landscape and, as shown in Chapter 2, these had potential to be medieval in date.

Shielings are small seasonal shelters located near pasture land which are associated with a pre-Improvement, pastoral way of life, also known as transhumance, practiced throughout the uplands of Europe (Bil 1990, 1). Transhumance has a long history, back into the medieval period if not before, as attested by the use of the Norse name 'saetr and 'skali' in the Northern Isles, introduced prior to the introduction of Gaelic. The shileings of Caithness and Sutherland were often located on mounds, which suggested some degree of longevity and re-use (Mercer 1980). It is possible, therefore, that some shieling sites may have been utilised on a seasonal basis since the medieval period. Shielings have been shown to be morphologically varied, ranging from substantial sub-rectangular shaped 'houses' to small oval or circular-shaped 'cells'.

At present the term 'shieling' has been used here to describe almost any small, oval, circular or D-shaped, drystone structure that is located in a remote, rural location. While some of these may well be shielings proper, i.e. shelters for people, many more may be recent enclosures, including lambing pens or shepherds shelters. Lambing (or twinning)

pens are small drystone enclosures, that are circular or oval in shape, the distinguishing feature being the absence of an entrance. These were used for penning a lamb in with its mother (or adopted mother) to encourage suckling. They were often found on deserted settlement sites built into the corner of an old house or barn, presumably because of the availability of the stone.

During this fieldwork a total of 49 new shielings or groups of shielings were discovered (of which 32 were measured, see Appendix 2). Many of these were concentrated in the vicinity of Carnasserie Farm as the owner knew their location and was keen to have them recorded (see also Chapter 8). The location of these shielings was included in the database and their shape, dimensions and altitude (where recorded) were noted. Because the name of the shieling sites was not now known, they were given the name of the nearest geographical feature and the place-name therefore has little significance.

The open grazed grassland areas of Mid-Argyll proved excellent for site visibility. Within the forested areas the visibility was varied depending on the age of the trees; the oldest plantings provided good visibility, because the trees were further apart and the canopy was above head height, although in some cases the forestry ploughing and planting had been driven straight through sites. The Forestry Commission are now actively recording all structures encountered during felling operations and creating a buffer around them during re-planting so that the identified structures are preserved within the new planting. The 'middle-aged' trees 10-20 years old proved the most difficult for visibility. Several of the shieling sites were initially identified by the Forestry Commission during this procedure and had usually been described as 'structures'.

The newly discovered shielings were predominantly single-celled (see Figure 5.19) and there were only three examples with visible evidence for a sub-division into two cells, Corlach, Ardnoe and Barr an Daimh 5. Another example, Bàrr Mór shieling 3 has a possible annex on one side and a 'porch'. Unlike the results of a shieling survey of the Leckan Muir, Kilmichael Glassary (Stott 2002, 60) no multi-phased structures were found during this survey. No further work was done on these sites at this stage.

The size of the stuctures found during this survey ranged in size from 1.5m to 8.0m long (measured internally). It was hoped that a calculation of the length to width ratio might help identify groups of structures, to see if these could be allocated different functions, such as for dairy and for non-dairy activities. However, when their length to width ratio was calculated (see Figure 5.20) no clear groups emerged. Unsurprisingly, the three structures on the right of the graph (Corlach Farmstead, Ardnoe and Barr an Daimh 2) were those with two cells. This suggests that there is indeed a great variety of shape and size and that even if the shielings were built for different functions, the types cannot be clearly differentiated from their size alone. This exercise has a small dataset of 32 sites and perhaps with a greater number of examples, more clear patterns may emerge.

The shape of the shielings is shown in Table 5.6, and was dominated by oval or possibly oval-shaped structures. The shape was often difficult to ascertain with confidence because of the presence of felled trees, vegetation and the collapsed nature of the stone and turf walls. It is recognised that excavation could either confirm these shapes or lead to a re-classification once the tumble was removed down to the original footings.

Shape	*No of examples*
Oval or possibly oval	17
Sub-rectangular	6
Rectangular	5
Circular	4
Semi-circular	2
Square	1
Total	**35**

Table 5.6 Shape of shielings (35 of the 49had their shape recorded).

A feature of some of the smaller structures was that they were built up against a large natural outcrop e.g. Bàrr Mór 1, Druim Buidhe, Barr Sailleach and Barnluasgan (see Figure 5.21). Of these only one (Druim Buidhe) did not have a suggestion of an entrance, which could indicate that it was a lambing pen rather than an inhabited shieling.

The majority of structures were only identified because they had a stone element in their walls, either as low spreads of stones, or as large natural boulders protruding from the vegetation. This stone probably formed the foundation for the turf and timber superstructure. A few examples, such as at Garbh Sron (Site 264) had substantial, battered drystone walls up to 1m high and an oval-shape which were suggestive of a pre-Improvement blackhouse that may not have used much turf in its construction (see Figure 5.22).

The altitude at which the shielings were found ranged from 81m to 211m AOD, which is not high by Highland standards and clearly reflects the relatively low lying nature of Mid-Argyll. There is a suggestion of two plateaux in the altitude of shielings, at about 150m and just over 200m, but with such a small sample it is not possible to say whether this is significant (Figure 5.23). Given the topography of Argyll this is likely that the altitude of sites reflects the nature of the landscape rather than a significant difference in the use of the landscape. In contrast at Ben Lawers the medieval shieling sites discovered were at a height of about 320m above AOD, well above any subsequent cultivation. When a comparison is made between the length/width ratio and altitude, again no significant pattern is seen (see Figure 5.24). So there was no evidence, for instance, for a particular shape of structures to be found at a particular altitude.

Some shielings were found in groups of up to six structures as at Lochan an Druim an Rathaid. Some of the shielings within the groups were the same size and shape. Two out of the five shielings at Barr an Daimh were circular and both were the same size and two of the oval-shaped structures were also the same size. At Lochan an Druin an Rathaid, there were 5 oval-shaped shielings and two are identical in size and two were similar in size (5m by 2m and 5m by 3m). In general, there seem to be more similarities within groups of shielings than between groups. Some shielings appeared to be isolated features such as Ardnoe Shieling and the shelter at Druim Buidhe. However, it should be borne in mind that in felled forestry, as at Ardnoe for instance, not all the features may have been visible and this isolation may not be real.

Many of the shielings were sited near cultivated ground in the form of rig and furrow. In a rocky and boggy landscape such as Mid-Argyll, which does not offer many areas of extensive arable land, it is assumed that all areas of cultivatable land have had some

degree of settlement at some time in the past. The present extent of cultivation is much reduced from the 19th-century level when the population of the countryside was far greater than it is now and much land was drained and improved. So there are extensive areas of rig and furrow (outfield) beyond the current cultivated areas. These higher and more remote areas of cultivation have to a large extent been turned over to rough grazing and, more recently, to forestry. In the former case cultivation ridges can still be detected in the landscape, but within the forestry they have often been eradicated by the forestry ploughing. The location of cultivation is of interest to this research because where there is cultivation there may also have been settlement, even if only temporary while the outfields were being tended. However, as mentioned in Chapter 3, much of this cultivation in the higher ground may belong to the 19th century, some sites may have been established during the 13th-century warm period.

Four groups of shielings were incorporated within enclosed outfields, at Carnasserie, Corlach, Kilbride, and Ballibrad. The shielings at Carnasserie (Site 260), which were incorporated within the enclosure bank, were small and oval-shaped (see Figure 5.25). We should, however, not assume that all such structures functioned as summer dwellings as these structures are only 1km from the presumed main settlement of Carnasserie Mor, are at much the same altitude and may instead have functioned as stores or even small animal pens, associated with this patch of outfield.

The longevity of structures is thought to be reflected in the size of the mound upon which it sits, and shieling grounds in other regions have been noted as being more green than the surrounding land, indicative of occupation deposits (see Chapter 2). However, none of the shielings noted in this work were located on particularly noticeable mounds, and the vegetation was not visibly more verdant than the surrounding landscape (perhaps because the fieldwork took place early in the growing season before any differentiation in the vegetation would have become noticeable). The wet climate, acid soil conditions and the absence of sand blow in Mid-Argyll, are not conducive to the accumulation of occupation deposits which are noted elsewhere in western Scotland. There may therefore be fewer possibilities for the survival of deep midden deposits surrounding occupied sites that are seen in the Outer Isles such as the Udal (Crawford & Switzur 1977) on Gunna (James 1998a) and in Iceland (Simpson *et al* 2004).

A wide range of structures was seen at the site of Corlach, north of Kintraw, where there were four structures and two small standing stones. This site was marked on the 1st edition O.S. map as an unroofed structure, in the lee of an oval-shaped crag, against which there is a substantial oval-shaped enclosure (the outfield), (see Figures 5.26 & 5.27). This site occupied an exposed hilltop position, although the altitude of 585ft (183m) is not particularly high. The main structure was rectangular and measured 8.0m long and 2.5m wide internally, with walls up to 0.5m high, consisting of at least two courses of large stones and boulders. There was an internal wall and an inserted lambing pen in one corner. There were cultivation ridges c. 1.5m wide in the vicinity. About 100m to the north of this there are a further three structures (Sites 2, 3 & 4) which consisted of a smaller rectangular structure, an oval-shaped structure and a possible rectangular structure, respectively. None of these structures were on noticeable 'mounds'. This site would seem to be an unlikely position for a permanent settlement because of its exposed location, and yet the main structure was quite substantial. Without excavation it is difficult to date such structures, however the possibility that an attempt was made to occupy this site on a more permanent basis in the Post-medieval period should be considered in the light of the discoveries at Ben Lawers, Perthshire, where the higher grazing land was set out as farms in the 18th century (John Atkinson, pers. comm.). This site was later utilized by shepherds, as shown by the presence of the lambing pen, during the subsequent use of the hills for sheep grazing probably in the 19th century. The other shielings may belong to the same period, but there is potential for them to belong to the pre-Improvement period, perhaps prior to the cultivated enclosure.

Classifying all structures found in the more remote landscape as 'shielings' is clearly misleading, as a variety of functions, such as permanent farms, temporary human shelters, storage for dairy produce, herders huts and lambing pens, are also possible. However, it is not a simple task to differentiate the functions of such structures even though there is such variability because there seems to be considerable overlap in their morphology. The building technique used was simple and adaptable and have generally only been detected because of the use of stone foundations. It has been found in the past that excavation of these structures has produced a few sherds of craggan ware as at Trotternish on Skye (MacSween & Gailey 1961, 80), possible weights for cheese-

making (John Atkinson, pers. comm.) but generally no artefacts which could clarify their function.

In the 19th century, items noted at an inhabited shieling in the Outer Hebrides were sparse and consisted of a single blanket, an iron pot, a basin, a spoon, a bag of meal and some utensils for milk, which the observer noted would have previously been made from hand-made pottery or craggan ware (Curwen 1938, 276 & 281).

The excavation of a shieling mound in Trotternish on Skye found peat and wood ash, a stone edged hearth and two sherds of craggan ware (MacSween & Gailey 1961, 80). There were three main occupation phases ending in the mid-19th century. The excavation of a turf-banked structure at Kennox in South Lanarkshire, was recently interpreted as a shieling. Excavation was restricted to the mound itself and produced only residual Mesolithic flints, although the site was radiocarbon dated to 410-650 AD (Johnson 2005, 143). The recent excavations of shielings at High Pasture Cave, Skye, have been more promising in that animal bone, crucible fragments, a smelting hearth base, a quernstone, fire-cracked stones and some unspecific fragments of pottery were found in 2007 (Birch 2007). However, the site is known to date back to at least the Iron Age and so until the radiocarbon dates are returned it is not certain that the finds do not represent prehistoric activity. Other excavations of 18th-century shielings on Canna have produced various pieces of pottery, iron and shell at one site and no artefacts or archaeological layers at all at another (Harden 2004). Where hearths are found then radiocarbon dating is possible and it might be necessary to look outside the shieling structure for signs of cooking and other activities.

Shieling structures found during this research probably served a range of functions and belonged to a wide time period. One would anticipate that the less substantial, smaller structures, with only slight stone foundations, could be remains of turf and timber structures which could have been used as temporary occupation during the summer as part of a small scale transhumance system. These could be of any date. There are also slightly more substantial structures with battered dry stone walls which resemble blackhouses (the vernacular houses of the Outer Hebrides), which might represent medieval settlement or perhaps more permanent settlement of a later phase. Occupying the same landscape are the structures associated with the more recent economic system

of sheep farming and cattle herding, such as shepherds and herders bothies and lambing pens.

To answer the question of whether any of these structures could be evidence for medieval settlement, one should initially exclude those which are associated with the 19th-century developments, such as the lambing pens and poorly constructed shepherds shelters. One could then consider the more substantial structures such as the Bàrr Mór shielings 2 & 3 and the structures on Garbh Sron with their battered walls and oval shapes which are likely to be the remains of more permanent settlement, perhaps in the 18th century. The site at Corlach is likely to be an example of a farmstead being established on an old shieling ground, perhaps in the late 18th century. Excavation of these structures and of the surrounding vicinity could provide evidence for their date and perhaps identify activities which took place in the vicinity. As there are no shielings located on a significant mound, it is not possible to immediately point to sites in Mid-Argyll with potential occupation over a long period of time, but there is a wide variety of types which could provide a good chronological and morphological framework

5.6 Platform sites

One particular 'type' of site which may provide evidence for medieval settlement was discussed in Chapter 3, is the platform site. Some medieval sites in Wales and Cornwall were constructed on rectangular platforms dug into a hillside, but did not necessarily have evidence for any upstanding walls. During this fieldwork, rectangular platforms were found at two sites. The first one at Glennan was a rectangular-shaped platform (Site 68) that has been cut into the sloping hillside, just north of a stream, above a Post-medieval farmstead and tacksmen's house. The platform measured 6.4m by 2.8m and was surrounded on the north, east and south sides by a grass-covered bank up to 1.2 m high, extending overall to 13.3m north-south and 6.8m east-west (see Figure 5.28). This site was included in a survey as part of the detailed case study of Glennan (see Chapter 7) but no further work took place here. Other explanations, such as a shooting or feeding stance, should also be kept in mind.

The second platform site was located just south of the village of Kilmartin, on the south side of the stream within forestry planting. This site (291) was depicted as six unroofed

structures and three roofed structures on an estate plan of 1825 and was named 'Auchavin' (Johnson 1825, see Figure 4.12). As noted in Chapter 4 a site of 'Achaind' was noted in this approximate location south of Kilmartin, by Pont in the late-16th century. When visited during this survey, a track could be identified within the wood, extending from the main road up the south side of the stream towards the location of the mill (Figure 4.12). Between this track and the main road, at least two flat platforms, with occasional structural stones protruding from the vegetation, could be seen. It is thought probable that these platforms are associated with the structures that were still roofed at the beginning of the 19th century. The undergrowth here is thick and the ground surface uneven which may have hampered the identification of other platforms. This site is thought to have great potential to be the site of a late-medieval settlement as it was recorded by Pont. Although the forestry may have disturbed some of the archaeological remains, the site has been free of subsequent cultivation.

5.7 Circular enclosures and large irregular enclosures

The circular enclosure may also have contributed to the medieval landscape as described in Chapter 2. Within this thesis, the 'circular enclosures' are differentiated from the much larger areas of enclosed cultivation termed 'irregular-shaped enclosures' because of their size, shape and probable function. The large irregular shaped enclosures are likely to be enclosed 'out-field' within which cultivation took place, while the smaller circular enclosures could have been partially roofed and used for habitation or storage. The circular enclosures are of interest to this research because excavated examples of circular enclosures elsewhere in Scotland are beginning to provide evidence for some activity or re-use of these sites in the early-medieval and medieval period.

In addition to the enclosures already known in Mid-Argyll mentioned in Chapter 2, this fieldwork has identified two new circular enclosures. One was at Carnasserie (Site 24, NGR: NM 83473 01291). This is a low, circular earth bank with an internal diameter of 16.7m. Four large upright stones protruded from the bank, unevenly distributed around its south-eastern side which was similar to the site at Chippermore (Fiddes 1953). The earth banks at Carnasserie were spread about 1.5m wide and were less than 0.4 m high.

No entrance could be discerned. This site would traditionally be interpreted as a prehistoric 'homestead', but may have been re-occupied in the medieval period.

The second at Fearnoch (Site 281, NGR: NR 87947 97199) consisted of a substantial circular-shaped, stone-walled enclosure, with an internal diameter of 16m, with stone banks to either side, externally. This was, however, interpreted as a 19th century sheep fank as its walls were in fairly good condition despite the recent forestry planting. An examination of the aerial photographs of this area taken in 1950 showed that this enclosure was in fact part of a much larger landscape consisting of five large curvilinear enclosures, turf banks and other possible structures, in the vicinity of Fearnoch and Loch Leathan (AP's 1:10,000 58/A/438 1950, 5070 & 5071, see No 2 on Figure 5.29). Although now planted with trees, rig and furrow could be seen within the large curvilinear enclosures on the aerial photographs.

In this case the circular enclosure (281) is indeed thought to be a Post-medieval stock enclosure, associated with the cultivation of an area of out-field, perhaps contemporary with a settlement beside the stream (Site 279, No 1 on Figure 5.29). However, the suggestion that the late-medieval location of 'Faimach' lies to the north-east of Loch Leathan (see Chapter 4) might mean that one or other of these more northerly curvilinear enclosures, perhaps of turf rather than stone, pre-dates the 19th century. Unfortunately, these enclosures lay deep within recent forestry and were not visited.

There are therefore a few circular enclosures (at Carnasserie, Barnakill, Kintraw and at Ford, see Chapter 2) and perhaps some curvilinear enclosures at Fearnoch, which have potential for being medieval in date that would be worth investigating in the future. All the sites mentioned above are fairly low lying and are within reach of cultivated ground and water. As mentioned in Chapter 2 the circular enclosures could have been re-used in the medieval landscape within a system of curvilinear enclosures as stock enclosures providing some protection from wolves or raiders, and were perhaps partly roofed.

5.8 Duns and forts

The re-use of duns and forts in Scotland was explored in Chapter 3 and it was seen that, where 'recent' activity was recognised, the structures ranged from probably temporary

shieling sites to more substantial stone-built structures and farmsteads with associated cultivation such as at Bàrr Crom, Cruach a'Bharra, Dùn Beag and Drimnagall (Appendices 3 & 4). A small number of these duns and forts were visited during this research and any internal structures which could potentially be medieval or Post-medieval in date were noted. It is unlikely that medieval and Post-medieval society differentiated between duns and forts when utilising these sites as their concerns were probably more associated with the presence of an existing enclosure, a source of building stone, provision of a vantage point and accessibility to the high grazing grounds. The following consideration of duns and forts as separate structure types is merely a convenience as this is the way the archaeological record is organised.

A total of 33 'dun' sites were noted in the Mid-Argyll and Cowal Inventory within the parishes of Kilmartin, North Knapdale and Kilmichael Glassary (RCAHMS 1988, 169-197) of which 8 were visited during this research. A total of 19 'forts' were noted by the Royal Commission and 3 were visited during this research (RCAHMS 1988, 143-169). The tables in Appendices 3 and 4 identify where the Royal Commission had identified such 'recent' or modern activity and includes the results of the field visits.

Of the 34 dun sites, 14 (41%) had some evidence for later activity in the form of rough drystone structures which have been interpreted as herdsmen's shelters, shielings and animal pens. Of the 18 forts, 9 (50%) have some evidence for either 'recent' structures or possible platforms for timber structures. Those sites that have been excavated have not produced any clear evidence for medieval settlement and the artefacts retrieved are undiagnostic, but could date from the prehistoric to the medieval period. The visits undertaken as part of this research did not reveal any further evidence for re-use, and instead noted less surviving remains than were seen by either Campbell and Sanderson (1964) or the Royal Commission. At Dùn Beag, Drimnagall, for instance there was no surviving evidence for the collapsed structure, flint pebbles, shells or bone that were seen in 1960. This emphasises the fragile nature of midden deposits once exposed to the Argyll climate.

The dating of these rough drystone structures found within the duns and forts is difficult to ascertain from their surface morphology alone. Because of their rough construction they have tended to be interpreted as structures associated with Post-medieval sheep

farming. It is possible these stone-built structures are indeed all Post-medieval, however, the duns and forts would also have been available for use in the medieval period. The duns and forts would have provided good vantage points for monitoring movements across the landscape, passing warnings back to the local inhabitants if danger was approaching, or animals straying into a neighbours territory. The place-name *Achadh Cnoc na Faire* (= 'field of the lookout hillock' (Appendix 3), would support the idea of these hill-top duns being used in this way.

There are a few sites where the evidence for medieval occupation is more convincing as at Dùn Mhuirich, North Knapdale (NR78SW3) for example. This dun was clearly re-occupied with the construction of two substantial rectangular-shaped drystone structures within the dun and possibly two other structures outside which could be medieval or late-medieval in date (see Figure 2.66). This dun is unusual in that it has 'considerable natural strength' as well as a coastal location (RCAHMS 1988, 189-90). It lies near to the road to Keills chapel and the old cattle crossing to Jura, which has probably contributed to its re-use, in contrast to the other more inaccessible, inland hilltop duns. The place-name suggests that the site is associated in some way with the MacMhuirich clan who were the hereditary bards for the Clan Donald, the Lords of the Isles (Boardman 2006, 209) and were an important family on Colonsay and Oronsay (RCAHMS 1984, 32). It is possible that the site was used as a fortified house during the period of the Lords of the Isles and was subsequently taken over by the MacNeills, as there is documentary evidence in the mid-16th century when Neill MacNeill of Taynish is referred to as 'of Dunworich' in a charter of 1553 (SRO, GD 437/7). The site is not depicted by Blaeu, but Roy's map of the area depicts 'Dunourich'. This site is potentially one of the most significant medieval sites in the research area because of the presence of potentially medieval structures and a possible association with a known medieval clan.

The early-medieval royal site of Dunadd has rectangular foundations on one of the lower terraces (Area F, see Figure 2.63 & 2.64) and the excavations produced medieval mammal bones suggesting that feasting was taking place on the summit (Lane & Campbell 2000). This site also has documentary evidence for its use as a high-status meeting point in the late-medieval period. Despite its significance during the medieval period, there was no other artefactual evidence for medieval activity found during the

excavations. This is perhaps related to the nature of its use as an open air meeting place, where tents perhaps were erected but otherwise no substantial constructions were required. Pont's map (Figure 4.4) gives the impression of a settlement at the top of Dunadd and yet this has left no trace. It is perhaps more likely that the MacLachlan residence was the foot of the hill, possibly on the east or north sides where Post-medieval settlement was located (see Figure 2.65; Crinan Canal Plan (Rennie 1792)).

If low lying, and possibly coastal, duns are the most likely ones to be re-used as medieval fortified dwellings, then other examples in similar locations are worthy of investigation, despite there being no visible evidence at present. Such sites include Dùn Beag and Dùn na Doide (North Knapdale), although their proximity to Castle Sween may have influenced whether they were re-used in the medieval period. Another small dun site, re-discovered in 1998 at Trevenek (NR89NW 129) near Slockavullin in the Kilmartin valley, would fulfill the criteria of being low-lying and with good access to the Kilmartin valley, although there are no visible features in the interior (Abernethy 1998).

While there are a significant number of duns and forts to which 'later' structures (consisting of level platforms and rough drystone structures) have been added, the majority of these structures could well prove to be Post-medieval in date when population pressure was at its height. However, it is thought probable that such sites could also have been utilised as high-status sites in the early-medieval period, but were abandoned as such towards the end of the early-medieval period. Re-use of these hill top sites was perhaps as stock enclosures in times of danger, as look-out posts or as refuges for the people whose only defence against an invading army would be to flee to the hills. So far, excavations of such sites have produced very little clearly medieval material, which could well be related to the use of organic building materials, a paucity of material culture and a lack of radiocarbon dates.

5.9 Land boundaries

The remains of drystone dykes are extremely common features of the Mid-Argyll landscape and date to the period of the Improvements of the 19th century when farmland and pasture was enclosed. These drystone dykes are usually marked on the 1st edition

OS map. However, during the survey, several substantial earth and stone banks were also encountered, snaking across the countryside, sometimes following similar lines to the drystone dykes and sometimes not. These earth and stone banks are earlier than the drystone dykes and are often not depicted on the 1st edition O.S. map. These are thought to date to the 18th and early 19th centuries. Some may be head-dykes, constructed to separate the cultivated in-field from the moorland and the out-field (Bil 1990, 58). As mentioned in Chapter 4, there was little need to enclose estates prior to the 18th century and apart from the head-dyke and the enclosed out-field, the hills and the cultivated in-field were left unenclosed.

The earth and stone banks have not been systematically surveyed as part of this research, but have been included in the more detailed case studies where appropriate. It is acknowledged that these features should be considered when studying the medieval landscape as some could be features of greater antiquity than the 18th century, being either head dykes or enclosing areas of out-field.

In general, the types of land boundaries observed in Mid-Argyll were not as varied as those seen during the survey of Barra, where eight types of boundary were identified (Branigan 2005, 27). Excluding the modern wire fences, there were two types in Mid-Argyll, the drystone dyke and the earth and stone banks. No attempt has been made to differentiate different types of drystone bank as these are all Post-medieval. The earth and stone banks varied in height, from low remnants (perhaps only 0.3m high) to massive banks as seen at Carnasserie, where one length was up to 1.5m high and spread up to 3m wide. This particular bank is shown on the 1st edition OS, map where it is marking the boundary between the improved grassland to the east (probably equivalent to the infield) and the unimproved hill ground to the west (the outfield). Given the proximity and importance of Carnasserie Castle in the late-medieval period, it is possible that this bank relates to the development of this estate and could well be the medieval head dyke. More systematic surveying and dating of such earthen banks around all the settlements, as well as mapping the properties and areas of pasture, bog and moorland within the landscape would be a huge task, but could help to understand the layout, extent and development of the medieval and Post-medieval landscape.

5.10 Possible medieval tower houses

While this thesis is primarily concerned with the lower status sites, the location of the castles and tower houses is also being considered because of their role as the administration centres for the rural estates and the fact that they are often the only sites with significant historical records prior to the 17th century. Castles were usually located at strategic positions commanding good access to the sea or to inland lochs reflecting the use of seaways and lochs as the most important means of communication in the medieval period. The castles of Castle Sween, Duntrune, Fincharn, Innis Chonnel, Carnasserie, and Duntrune have been discussed briefly in Chapter 3 and Carnasserie is discussed further in Chapter 8. This research has also highlighted that there are other possible castles or hall houses in the landscape.

The ruins of what is interpreted as a 'fortified dwelling', possibly a tower house was surveyed and described by the Royal Commission at Caol Chaoruinn, Torran (RCAHMS 1992, 214). This site lies at the west end of Loch Awe, on the north shore, a site which would have controlled access between Loch Awe and the Kilmartin glen. Nearby is an Iron Age and possibly early-medieval dun, Dun Toiseach (=dun of the chief, see Appendix 3). Fragments of substantial upstanding walls protrude from a knoll in an otherwise fairly flat field (see Figure 5.30). It is thought to consist of two, or possibly three, rectangular structures, probably of different builds, forming a substantial, roughly rectangular building. The castle's full extent was difficult to ascertain because it has been covered with field clearance stones.

There are no historical references to a castle located here, but there are a few references to the local farm name, Torran. The land of 'Meikill Torrane' was granted by the Campbell Earl of Argyll to Sir John Campbell of Calder in 1529 and it was sold by John Campbell of Inverliever in 1574 (RCAHMS 1992, 214) and there are mid-17th century sasines referring to 'Torranbeg in the Lordship of Lochawe' (Campbell 1933, 79 & 149). The List of Rebels 1685 (MacTavish 1935) includes three occupants of Torranmor (John Campbell, Dougall Buchanan, and Malcolm Mc gilichurin) and three at Torranbeg (Hugh Campbell, Alexr Campbell and Ard mc Ferson), (MacTavish 1935, 8). The Hearth Tax of 1694 refers to the lands of 'Torran beg' being 'all wastages' while 'Toranmore' has three households each with a single hearth. There is no Pont or

Blaeu map for this area, the earliest map being Roy's map of the mid-18th century which depicts 'Torran Mor' with six structures, 'Torran beg' with four and no sign of a structure at the site of the castle. The area where the loch narrows is named 'Culcharraig' which becomes 'Caol Chaoruinn' on the 1st edition OS map from which the Royal Commission have presumably taken the name for the castle (see Figure 5.31).

It is unusual that such a substantial structure should have no historical references to it and one can surmise that it had ceased to be a significant residence prior to the 16th century, by which time the two settlements of Torran mor and Torran beg had become established. This area could have been part of the lands granted to Gillascop MacGilchrist in the mid-13th century, with his stronghold at Fincharn (see Chapter 3). When Colin *Iongantach* (Campbell) extended his personal lordship in the mid-14th century, perhaps one of the cadet branches built this castle at the west end of the Loch. The Battle of Flodden in 1513 saw an end to several of the Campbell cadet branches and allied clan chiefs and their lands would probably have been taken over by surviving Campbell clan leaders, whose main residences were elsewhere. Perhaps the occupants of the castle perished at Flodden and the site was amalgamated into another Campbell estate. This would seem to be consistent with the lands of Torran being in the hands of the Campbell Earl of Argyll by the beginning of the 16th century.

A geophysical survey was carried out in the vicinity of Caol Chaoruinn in order to see whether there was any evidence for settlement close to the castle. This survey consisted of a resistivity and magnetometer surveys of a flat area on the landward side of the castle (see Figures 5.32 & 5.33, Poller 2004). The anomalies in the magnetometer survey were interpreted as reflecting the underlying geology, however the anomalies in the resistivity survey were interpreted as follows,

C & D - natural geology
E & F - possible wall lines
G - cultivation ridges or field drains.

So the geophysical survey, unfortunately, did not reveal any evidence for settlement in the vicinity of the castle. However this site remains a significant site for the medieval

period as it is probably a high-status residence belonging to a narrow chronological period from the mid-14th to the early 16th century.

The only other possibly medieval 'tower' is the site of Barnasload Plantation (NR89NW 92, Site 125), located on a ridge overlooking the Kilmartin Glen, but this site was obscured by dense vegetation and old tree stumps and was difficult to survey. It appeared to be rectangular in shape, measuring about 7.4m wide and 17m long, with low turf-covered stone walls up to 0.4 m high and spread about 1.5m wide. No structure was depicted on the 1st edition O.S. map and so it is thought to be potentially medieval in date.

Two other sites were referred to as castles but were more likely to be Post-medieval mansion houses. Roy's map of the mid-18th century, depicts 'Ormack Castle' to the north-west of Kilmartin village. This site is marked as 'Ormag' by Pont but there is no indication that there was a castle here, nor has any documentary evidence surfaced which suggests that there was a castle at Ormaig. It is thought more likely that this was instead a substantial 17th or 18th century mansion house which was demolished in the 20th century to make way for the present modern bungalow, although the 19th-century steading still survives.

The 'site of' a castle at Loch Gair is depicted on the 1st edition O.S. map (Argyllshire CLXI). This was the principal residence for the Campbells of Auchenbreck, which was possibly built in the 17th century (RCAHMS 1992, 24, 295 & 320). A sundial dated 1695 has the initials of Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchenbreck and his wife Lady Henrietta Lindsay who were married in 1679. The house was substantial as it was taxed for 55 windows in 1748, but was demolished by the late-18th century. There is no suggestion that this house replaced a castle on the same site as Pont depicts 'Loch gher', the sea loch and a settlement of Loch Gherr, and the symbol depicts a settlement rather than a castle.

5.11 Places of assembly and inauguration

Within a sparsely distributed, and possibly transient, population, clan cohesion could be reinforced through known and repeatedly used places of assembly associated with

significant clan events such as the inauguration of the clan chiefs and judicial courts (O'Grady 2008). While an understanding of the presence of such sites does not immediately inform the question of the location of medieval settlement, they signify a use and appreciation of the landscape and a maintenance of Gaelic culture despite increasing Anglo-Scottish influence (see Chapter 2).

In Gaelic Ireland, small mounds were used as places of assembly and were where the inauguration of chiefs and kings took place (FitzPatrick 2001, 360). In Scotland also, the Gaelic tradition of outside assembly and the use of inaugural mounds was practiced, as shown by the inauguration of David I at Scone in 1124. Probably because of David's enforced absence from Scotland during much of his youth he was unhappy about taking part in the traditional inauguration practices and 'so abhorred those acts of homage which are offered by the Scottish nation in the manner of their fathers upon the recent promotion of their kings, that he was with difficulty compelled by the bishops to receive them' (Anderson 1908). A depiction of the inauguration of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone at Tullyhogue, Ireland about 1600 is shown in Figure 5.34. Such use of inauguration mounds was therefore an element of Gaelic culture which could reinforce links with traditional Gaelic society and legitimise current expressions of power.

There is documentary evidence which suggests that in the medieval period, the hillfort of Dunadd (the capital of Dalriada) was the chief place of residence of the MacLachlan clan (Steer & Bannerman 1977, 142; see Argyll Sasines above) and it is possible that it was also used by them as a place of assembly, as suggested by the medieval mammal bones found on the summit, which suggest feasting took place here. This was also the site which was chosen by the Campbell Earl of Argyll in 1506 as a meeting place from where to make pronouncements on behalf of the King, and this was, almost certainly, because of its previously royal association (Lane & Campbell 2000; Boardman 2006, 322).

Another site within the Kilmartin parish, is known only from the place-name Bruach na Cuirte (= Brae of the Court) which is marked on the 1st edition OS map, south of Slockavullin (NR89NW67). Bruach na Cuirte presumably marks a place traditionally used as an open air court by the local laird. One could speculate that this would have been the lord of Ariskeodnish, a cadet branch of the Campbell clan, who occupied

Duntrune Castle only 3.6km away (see Chapter 3). This association of Bruach na Cuirte with a cadet branch of the Campbells was therefore not of a high enough status for it to be chosen as a venue for the Earl's assembly in 1506. Today, there is no sign of a mound, however, this site occupies a small natural promontory, that is higher than the surrounding ground, except to the south-west and so from most directions, it would have had the appearance of a mound overlooking the Kilmartin valley (Figure 5.35). At the southern end of this same promontory, a curving mound once cut off the early-medieval site of a chapel, long-cist cemetery and metalworking site at Bruach an Druimein (Craw 1929, 189; Abernethy 2008). Although a few sherds of medieval pottery were retrieved from the plough soil during these excavations, there was no evidence to suggest that Bruach an Druimein was an important site in the medieval period. It may be that only the early-medieval assembly place was retained into the medieval period, while the other parts of the promontory reverted to cultivation.

The site of Dun Domhnuill near an early-Christian chapel at Kilmahumaig, Crinan, North Knapdale is described as a 'moot hill' (NR79SE11). This site was used, according to 19th-century oral tradition, by Donald, Lord of the Isles, when he granted the property of Kilmahumaig to the first of the MacKays in the late 14th or early 15th centuries (RCAHMS 1992, 113). On top of the 33ft high mound there was once a stone built 'Judges Chair' that was used as a Judgement Seat by the Lords of the Isles (Campbell & Sandeman 1964, 90). This site is at the northern extremity of the mainland territory of the MacDonald Lord's of the Isles, at the boundary with Ariskeodnish.

Another possible assembly site 'Derrenaneranach' on the shore of Loch Glashan (see Chapter 4) possibly incorporates the place-name element *eirachd,* derived from '*oireacht*' meaning court or gathering, as discussed by O'Grady (2008, 134-139). O'Grady concluded that the *eirachd* place-name possibly referred to places of particularly large and significant assemblies possibly associated with a regional place of authority. Although the exact location of this site has not been identified as it now lies within forestry, it is surely significant that this vicinity lies on a route between Loch Fyne and Loch Awe, via the River Add and Loch Leathan, and was perhaps on an ancient territorial boundary (O'Grady 2008, 344). This site has been identified on the 1st edition O.S. maps with a very similar spelling, but located further NW, closer to the River Add than Loch Glashan (see Table 5.2). A complication is that on Pont and Roy's

maps the spelling is 'Derren Loch' and 'Derinloch' respectively which perhaps puts into question the derivation of the place-name. Neither Pont nor Roy were local inhabitants and so perhaps assumed the pronunciation referred to the loch. The compilers of the Ordnance Survey were perhaps more assiduous in providing an accurate rendition of the Gaelic. Even if this site is indeed of 14th century origin, the map evidence would suggest that it has shifted in the landscape at least 1.5 km to the N since the mid-18th century.

The use of places of assembly was a traditional element of Gaelic society and there is evidence that this practice was maintained throughout the medieval period in Mid-Argyll, or at least revived for appropriate occasions. This was presumably because the practice enabled the communication of important land grants or the settlement of legal disputes in a local community that was usually dispersed within the rural landscape in the absence of a market centre. As seen in Chapter 3, the Campbells were keen to be seen as Gaelic lords as well as supporters of the Scottish crown and so would have encouraged the continuation of traditional Gaelic practices of outdoor public assembly, hospitality and feasting.

5.12 Ecclesiastical sites

The archaeological remains of churches and chapels were important elements in the medieval landscape. Although they were intended to serve the dispersed rural population, they were not directly related to settlement. The associated graveyards, however, are revealing about the nature of society at the time.

The medieval carved gravestones found at several parish churches (Kilmartin, Kilmichael Glassary and Keills) and smaller chapels (Eilean Mor, Kilneuair, and Kilmory Knap) indicate the importance of these ecclesiastical sites as places of burial (Bannerman & Steer 1977; RCAHMS 1992). There are other small medieval chapels within Mid-Argyll which do not have surviving gravestones (Kilbride (Rhudil), Kilmichael Inverlussa and Kilmahumaig), but may still have been places of burial, although possibly used by the lower status members of society who could not afford the ornate carved gravestones. The main graveyard for the Campbell Earls from the mid-15th century was at Kilmun (Holy Loch), replacing their traditional burial place at Inishail (upper Loch Awe (Boardman 2006, 142)) which are both outside the research

area. The gravestones of Mid-Argyll are carved in a distinctive West Highland style, within which several characteristic sub-styles or 'schools' have been identified (Bannerman & Steer 1977) although how and where these 'schools' practiced is not entirely clear. It is probable that each clan patronised a particular school, although little work has been done in this area.

At Kilmartin, the medieval grave slabs date from the 13th to the 16th centuries and belong to the Iona and Loch Awe Schools (see Figure 5.36). These grave stones were generally not inscribed, but several have been re-used and now bear later carving such as 'POLTALLOCH', or 'DUNTROON' which probably dates to when they were appropriated later by the Campbells of Duntrune. One stone which is inscribed bears the original carving in Latin of 'Under this stone lies Patrick, son of Gilchrist MacKellar' and is possibly of 15th century date (RCAHMS 1992, 134). Other stones with probably later inscriptions include 'IOHN LAMONT', the initials 'D McD', 'AR[CHIBALD] GILLIS', 'A McA[RTHUR], McTAVISH and a tomb chest bears the name 'INVER(?IEVER), (RCAHMS 1992 134-137) . These names (McTavish, McArthur & MacKellar) are recognisably local clan names, kin or allies of the Campbells (see Chapter 3) who were of relatively high-status and could afford to commission carved gravestones. There are a small number of stones bearing the Campbell name such as 'IAIN CAIMBEUL' and 'CA (?)MPBELL' (RCAHMS 1992, 135-137) who probably belonged to cadet branches of the Campbells. The earliest dated burials include one with the inscription 'here lyes the corps of DUNCAN DEOR son to MK DEOR at AUCHINELLAN died May 16th, 1693', one with 'MacBen 1685' and one with 'Malcolm 16--' (Begg, undated MSS).

These gravestones provide another strand of information about the existence of settlements which complements the historical record. Auchinellan, for instance, mentioned above in 1693, can be identified in the modern landscape on the west side of Loch Ederline. It was not depicted on Pont, although a site in the vicinity of Ford is named 'Achane Loir', which might be referring to the same place. This might suggest that it was not a place of high-status at the end of the 16th century. 'Auchanellan' is included in the Sub-Valuation Roll of Argyllshire in 1629 (Lochgilphead archives CA/1/22/1) and in 1688 'Auchinnellan' was occupied by John Campbell, according to the Valuation Roll of that date (Lochgilphead archives CA/1/16/1). There are two

clusters of houses seemingly called 'Auchnellan' depicted by Roy in the mid-18th century. Perhaps this is an example of a site only acquiring a relatively high-status in the 17th century.

Kilmartin parish church was a significant place for burial in the medieval period, but there is no evidence that there was a settlement attached to it prior to the 17th century. The earliest reference to a settlement is dated 1627 which refers to 'all the tenements, as well houses as gardens, of the town called the Clachan of Kilmartein in Ardskeonis' (Innes 1854, 94). The 1694 Hearth Tax entry for what is probably Kilmartin (see Table 4.1) records 6 households each with a single hearth and two households each with two hearths (one of which would have been the minister in Kilmartin Castle). At Kilneuair, which was the parish church for Glassary until the 16th century, there are grave slabs of the Loch Awe School, depicting swords and knights, but none with inscriptions. Pont depicts a site at 'Kilneuir' but with no cross presumably because it was no longer the parish church. There was a Post-medieval township and market there (Campbell 1916b, 352) although Roy's map and the 1st edition O.S. map do not reflect this. The foundations for four rectangular structures just outside the church enclosure have, however, been identified in the field (RCAHMS 1992, 186) but were not found during this research perhaps due to the dense undergrowth in the vicinity.

At the parish church of Kilmichael Glassary there are similar undated, unnamed grave slabs of the Loch Awe School (RCAHMS 1992, 143-149). There are a few amongst them with original inscriptions, such as (in translation from the Latin) 'Here lies Alexander MacIver of Kirnan'. Alexander's son John McIver held Kirnan in 1570 and so this gravestone is likely to date to the mid-16th century. This site is depicted on Pont as 'Kear[nan]'. Another has the inscription 'Here lies Duncan Roy, son of Alan MacLachlan, thane of …'. Duncan Roy was a witness to charters in 1511 and 1533 and his father Alan MacLachlan of Dunadd, was the *'thoisseachdeowra'* of Glassary, here translated into the Latin as 'THA[N]E'. By the late 17th century the inscriptions are written in English eg 'HEIR LYES DONALD / McGILKCHRIST CLER/K TO S(IR) D(?UNCAN) C(AMPBELL) OF AUCHE/NBRECK WHO DEID /13 JULY 1672 / AND PHINGUEL ST/EUART HIS SPOUS WHO DIED APP(RIL) 1688'. The MacGilchrists, once the most significant landowners in the area, have now become mere

clerks to the Campbells, although could still afford to have gravestones carved for themselves.

At Keills, the parish church for Knapdale, there are graves slabs of a variety of 'Schools' including the Iona, Loch Awe, Loch Sween and Kintyre schools (Bannerman & Steer 1977) which perhaps reflects wider territorial connections, but they tend not to include a settlement name which would confirm this. One bears the inscription in Latin translated as 'Here lies Cormac MacPhedran' and is thought to be 15th century in date (RCAHMS 1992, 90). Another bears the inscription 'Here lies John, son of Cristinus, and Aithbheac, daughter of Molmalmi' and is dated to the 14th or15[th] centuries. Another has the inscription '…Ó Cuinn had me made' and 'Here lie….Alan, his son' dated to the 15th century (RCAHMS 1992, 91). An early 16th-century inscription is translated from the Latin as 'here lies Torquil, son of Malcolm, son of Neil…' is thought to be referring to the grandson of Neill, keeper of Castle. Another possibly 15th-century slab has the inscription 'NININANV[S] (possibly 'Ninian' or 'Niven'). These names would seem to have been predominantly Gaelic, referring to members of the local powerful clans and were translated into Latin for the inscriptions.

At Kilmory Knap there are several decorated grave slabs in a range of styles including the Iona, Loch Awe, Kintyre and Loch Sween schools (RCAHMS 1992, 164-172) along with two freestanding crosses. One is inscribed with 'This is the cross of Alexander MacMillan' which refers to the keeper of Castle Sween for the Lord of the Isles before 1481. The symbolism on the MacMillan cross reflects the preoccupations of the aristocracy, a crucifixion and sword on one side and a hunting scene with a huntsman and battle-axe on the other. Another cross is marked with a Latin inscription 'This is the cross made by Duncan for himself and his father Colinus (?Malcolm) MacMillan' possibly of early 16th-century date. This cross bears a mounted horseman with a spear.

The male-dominated, military nature of society in Mid-Argyll is reflected in these grave slabs as many depict swords, or fully armoured warriors. The galley is also a common decoration, a symbol of the power and importance of the sea to the Lords of the Isles (Figure 5.37 & 5.38). Only occasionally were ecclesiastics depicted and very few women are represented or mentioned, one of the few being Mariota de Ros, Lady of the Isles' on a cross on Eilean Mor dated to the early 15th-century (RCAHMS 1992, 73).

The symbolism displayed on the grave slabs also reflects high-status occupations and preoccupations. The slab made by Ó Cuinn at Keills bears several symbols, including a sword, a harp, a casket, a comb, shears, a mirror and a winged griffon. The symbols are generally signifiers of high-status, the sword representing a warrior, the harp being associated with the display of Gaelic musical culture and the casket was possibly a money chest or charter container. The griffon is also common in medieval heraldry. The comb and shears are perhaps associated with wool and cloth making, which could have been an important source of income. One 14th or 15th century cross-shaft also at Keills bears an inscription translated as 'Cristinus the smith, son of Celestinus Macicui, caused this cross to be made' (RCAHMS 1992, 93). Smithying was a high-status occupation and many clans supported their own smith who would have been responsible for weaponry and armour.

Clearly in the medieval period churches and chapels were places of burial as well as for administering spiritually to the parishioners. There is, however, no evidence that these churches and chapels were the focus for settlement until after the Reformation, perhaps after the church lands were appropriated by the secular lords.

The distinctiveness of the carved grave slabs emphasises the cultural differences between the Gaelic west and the Anglo-Scottish Lowland style which was supported by Sir Duncan Campbell for the effigies if himself and his wife at Kilmun (Figure 5.39, Boardman 2006, Plate 3). This shows that while the most senior member of Argyll society sought to identify himself in the mid-15th century with Lowland Scottish society, the other Gaelic families of the west were happy to retain their own local distinctive style, perhaps reflecting the distinctiveness of their Gaelic, rural, militaristic society as a whole.

5.13 Conclusions from preliminary fieldwork

This research has identified a number of medieval or late-medieval place-names and has linked many of these with what are probably later incarnations of these settlements. At some sites there are the slight remains of structures which have the potential to be of medieval date. In general, there seems to be little evidence in Mid-Argyll area for multi-period settlements or shielings, perhaps because of a combination of the severe

destruction of the 17th century, the extent of the 19th century cultivation which has obscured earlier remains and the availability of alternative sites enabling settlement shift.

In general, the preliminary fieldwork has shown that the landscape is far more 'occupied' than the present archaeological record would suggest. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the land outside the extent of the taxed farmstead or township was extensively utilised for seasonal grazing of dairy cows, beef cattle, horses and goats. The land was not enclosed apart from a head dyke above the settlement and perhaps earthen dykes to protect outfield cultivation from the stock. People moved across this landscape on a daily and seasonal basis, bringing milk, cheese and butter back to the main settlements.

The coastal strip and river terraces above the boggy valley bottoms are likely to have been the focus for arable farming and settlement throughout the medieval period. With the Improvements and drainage of peatlands in the Post-medieval period, cultivation would have become more intense and have extended across the drained valley bottoms and up into the surrounding hills. This extension of cultivation will have affected the survival of medieval settlements and the best remains are likely to be found above the 'high tide' of 19th-century cultivation and there may be small areas below this line in which medieval remains have not been affected. The impermanent medieval structures made from organic materials will have decayed and been recycled and yet there may be surviving evidence for sub-surface features such as hearths and middens, occupation deposits and perhaps even remains of turf or stone-built foundations, which could be detected though detailed field walking, geophysics and excavation.

The methodology used here, consisting of the examination of the historic maps, documents and place-names and extensive fieldwork has shown that the significant farm properties, which formed the basis for taxation, have displayed both continuity and change. Some farms became the sites for Post-medieval tacksmen's houses and are still occupied as contemporary farms, while some single-tenanted farms and joint-tenancy farms were deserted in the 19th century. A few potentially medieval sites have been identified. Some sites had disappeared by the end of the 16th century, perhaps

amalgamated into other properties or abandoned after the plague and some other sites did not disappear until the 19th century.

Although the farm names can be documented, there is still little that can be said about the makeup of these settlements prior to the records of the 17th century. Whether the tenant farmers lived with their paid labourers is not known, but the suggestion from an Irish comparison would be that the labourers lived in separate settlements in the vicinity (Barry 1988 350) which have generally not been noted. The significant farms were occupied by an average of four households by the 17th century, as shown by the Hearth Tax, which provides an indication of the size and density of settlement and the presence of higher status families with more than one hearth.

Several changes can be seen to the upper echelons of society from the medieval period to the 17th century. Initially, the area was dominated by the major clans from their castles of Innis Chonnel, Castle Sween and Dunstaffnage. Smaller castles and hall-houses were constructed by either cadet branches of the Campbells e.g. Duntroon or by allied clan chiefs directly from the crown, as at Fincharn from the 13th century onwards. Prior to this it is still assumed that some low-lying early-medieval and prehistoric sites such as duns, crannogs and islands were still used by the clan chiefs as their strongholds and the majority of the population would have continued to occupy the valley sides and coastal strips. There was no impetus in Mid-Argyll for the establishment of market centres and the population remained predominantly dispersed, dependent on agriculture and fishing. The large castles were gradually taken over by the Campbells who moved the centre of their Earldom east to Inveraray. The castles in Mid-Argyll were then held for the Earls, by constables or kinsmen on their behalf and occupied as strongholds. There is also evidence that the duns, crannogs and islands were still used as lightly fortified strongholds by clan chiefs, well into the 17th century.

As a result of this research, four case studies were chosen for examination in more detail utilising topographic survey, geophysics, aerial photography and excavation, enhanced by further historic research where appropriate. These were designed to be on a variety of scales, from the site specific to a wider landscape.

Chapter 6: Bàrr Mór, Kilmartin. Case Study 1.

6.1 Introduction

The site of Bàrr Mór, Poltalloch was chosen for further work because of the discovery of a group of substantial, oval-shaped structures and a surface find of a single sherd of brown-glazed French pottery of 16th or 17th century date (see Figure 6.11). This led to guarded speculation that this could be an example of a late-medieval settlement which did not appear on any maps. In order to obtain dating evidence and to understand its function a topographic survey and targeted excavation of the site was carried out. This site specific methodology has revealed the morphology and date of a rare type of farm which consisted of small, simply built, dry-stone and turf structures, possibly reflecting the colonisation of mixed woodland and moor in the late-medieval period.

The site is located about 1km from the sea, at NM 81397 00656 and about 600m to the E of the steading of Old Poltalloch, at a height of c 170m AOD within a mature forest plantation (see Figure 6.1). Its existence had been initially noticed by the Forestry Commission, but it was not shown on the 1st edition OS map and was not previously recorded. As the settlements name is unknown it has been referred to here by the name of the nearest natural feature. The topographic survey (Figure 6.2) revealed that the site was built on a fairly steep, north-west facing slope and that there was a roughly circular flat area, about 8m in diameter, just to the north-east of the buildings. It is thought that the original access to this site would have been along a natural terrace from the N. No kiln was noted in the vicinity.

There were five roughly-oval shaped structures (A, B D, E & F), an enclosure (E) and an area of stones (G - which could not be interpreted from the surface) forming a tight group of structures (see Figure 6.3). Structures A and C were parallel to each other and Structures B, D and F were at right angles to them. Structure A was an oval-shaped drystone structure, aligned E-W (Figures 6.4 & 6.5) with walls constructed of angular rubble, up to 0.9m thick, 1.5m high and with a slight batter. There were possibly two blocked doorways within the long S wall and two alcove-like features (001 & 057) within the west wall, constructed of flat base slabs with upright stones to either side

which had both partly collapsed. Structure B was aligned N-S on a slightly higher terrace than Structure A (see Figures 6.6). The walls were about 0.7m wide and up to 0.7m high. There was a gap in the wall in the south-west corner of the west wall and a single 'alcove' could be seen in the NW corner of this structure (025). Although the side stones of the alcove extended through the entire width of the wall, as in feature (057) the back of the alcove was blocked by smaller stones, which were thought to be primary. Structure C was a sub-rectangular shaped structure with rounded corners, and walls 0.7m wide and up to 1.3m high. Because the walls were topped with flat coping stones, unlike A & B, this structure was interpreted in the field as a stock enclosure with an entrance in the north wall. However the coping stones may have been associated with a secondary use of the structure, and it may have also originally been a dwelling. The west end of the enclosure had been built over by Structure F. Structure D was an oval-shaped structure with walls spread over 1m wide and up to 1m high. There was an entrance in the NE wall and a lambing pen had been constructed within the southern half of the structure. Structure E was another enclosure, the wall of which abutted Structure C on its southern side. Its walls were 0.7m thick and up to 1.5m high. There were two entrances, one to the north, which had been partially blocked with secondary walling and another to the east. Structure F was also an oval-shaped structure which had been divided into three rooms of unequal size, each with a doorway to the east. Structure G was mostly low tumble and after some clearing of vegetation, a substantial drain with a lintel stone at its northern end was exposed. Given the limited resources of the project it was decided to examine the two structures A & B and excavate two test trenches, one within Structure E and another outside the site to the north-east.

6.2 The Results of the Excavation

Structure A.

The details of the excavation have been reported as a Data Structure Report and are summarised here (James 2004a). Because of the deep rubble (007) that infilled the eastern part of Structure A and the presence of a lambing pen in the north-east corner, only the western half of the structure was excavated. Here, two roughly constructed dividing walls (003 & 005) created two separate compartments with very rough faces to either side.

Within the west room a clay floor was sealed by a series of orange ash and clay lenses (contexts 016 and 048), (Figure 6.7). The only finds were a single piece of slag and an unidentifiable mammal bone. The orange coloured ash deposit (016) was initially interpreted by this author as peat ash, however the botanical analysis revealed that the presence of carbonised heather type stems and roots indicated burned, below ground, turves (Miller & Ramsay 2005). This ash also contained significant amounts of carbonised cereal grains, chaff and arable weed seeds. The grains included hulled six-row barley, oats, along with oat and barley chaff. There were also small quantities of flax, weed seeds (including marigold) corn spurry, nipplewort and ribwort plantain, which are all characteristic of fertile arable land. The hearth deposit (048) contained a similar assemblage of charcoal to 016, plus hazelnut shells and carbonised brown seaweed. This suggests that wild food was being collected for consumption, locally available wood collected for fuel and perhaps seaweed was being burnt. Above this was a small informal hearth abutting the southern wall, containing patches of charcoal and a single piece of undiagnostic flint. Three radiocarbon dates from the hearth layers 016, 048 and 043 (see Table 6.1 and Figure 6.8) are all mid-15th to mid-17th century AD (at 2 sigma) in date, thus confirming the late-medieval date for the occupation of this structure. These layers were sealed by a mid-brown silty soil, thought to represent the collapse of a turf roof, which contained three iron objects, including a small ball, a flat object and a fragment of a hook (see Figure 6.9). This material was sealed by tumble about 0.3m deep.

The middle room in Structure A was diamond shaped, formed by short lengths of straight walls. The lowest layer exposed here was an unburnt peaty material which was interpreted as either a peat store or as the remains of the collapsed roofing material. It was sealed by tumble, probably from the internal walls. A second phase of occupation was indicated by a small informal hearth that overlay this tumble in one corner and was sealed by further tumble.

The walls of Structure A would have been about 1.5m high all the way round, forming an oval-shaped building. The two 'alcoves' in the south-west corner are similar to storage alcoves seen in shielings in Lewis (Miller 1967, Plate VII) and Perthshire (Atkinson et al 2004, 18) and could have been used for storing milk products. However, they could also have served a structural purpose as they were located in the corners and

on the main axis of the end walls. They could have been the bases for sloping timbers for a hip-ended roof of the 'Skye' type discussed in Chapter 3. To have acted as such supports one would expect matching slots at the other end of the building, which were not seen possibly as a result of wall collapse.

Structure B

As there was less tumble within Structure B the whole structure could be excavated (see Figure 6.6). The outer drystone wall was again oval-shaped in plan but survived here to a maximum height of only 0.7m. The long north-west facing wall had collapsed and it was not clear if there was a single door, or two, one into each of the two rooms. A very rough, low, dividing wall separated the structure into two roughly equal rooms, although its presence would not preclude a connecting doorway. A single 'alcove' was seen in the north corner, the base of which was only about 0.3m above the floor level and no back stone survived. Within the northern room the uneven, sloping bedrock was infilled with a brown peaty soil (040) which contained charcoal and carbonsied cereal grains, including oat and barley chaff, various arable weed seeds and flax, which was very similar to the assemblage from context 016 in Structure A. A hearth deposit (050) contained peat ash and charcoal. A layer of rough cobble stones sealed this infill across the western (lower) side of the compartment (see Figure 6.10).

On the eastern side the floor had been levelled up with mottled grey brown silt and a small, flat, fire-reddened stone was set into the floor. This hearth was surrounded by a peaty soil with patches of charcoal and orange peat (033). A second sherd of 16th/17th century French pottery was found within context 033, beside the hearth stone (see Figure 6.11). Within this layer there was a particularly dense patch of charcoal which contained a significant amount of heather, although this time it consisted of the above-ground leafy shoots and flowers, indicating that green leaf heather had been collected perhaps for bedding (either for humans or animals) or thatch and was later burnt here.

In the southern room a rough sub-dividing wall was suggested by some tumbled stones and to the south of this was a slight mound (0.14 m high) of brown gravel which contained charcoal and a large number of burnt mammal bones. These bones proved to be unidentifiable as they were completely calcined from heavy burning. To the south of

this mound was a drain, 0.2m wide, though the outer wall. To the north and east of the revetment wall was a rough floor of small stones that sloped down from east to west.

Two further late-medieval radiocarbon dates from Structure B were derived from a peat ash deposit (050) and from the soil beneath the cobbled floor (040) (see Table 6.1) which indicate that occupation of Structures A & B were broadly contemporary. A third radiocarbon date from charcoal beside the hearth (033) produced an Iron Age date and so is probably residual charcoal. The circular flat area just to the east of this structure was not investigated, but was perhaps a prehistoric site such as a hut platform.

Structure B was sealed by a thin layer of dark brown peaty soil which was interpreted as collapsed roofing material and this also sealed a fragment of Medieval green glazed jug handle. This deposit was then sealed by tumbled stones, presumably derived from the collapsing walls.

Lab code	Context (Structure)	Material	δ ^{13}C relative to VPDB	Radiocarbon age BP	Calibrated date (2 sigma)
SUERC-9514 (GU-13839)	050 (B)	Grain: Hordeum vulgare sl.	-23.3	305 ± 35	1470 AD -1660 AD
SUERC-9515 (GU-13840)	048 (A)	Charcoal: Alnus (young branch wood)	-26.9	375 ± 35	1440 AD -1640 AD
SUERC-9516 (GU-13841)	043 (A)	Charcoal: Corylus (young branch wood)	-27.0	315 ± 35	1470 AD - 1650 AD
SUERC-9517 (GU-13842)	033 (B)	Charcoal: Corylus (young roundwood)	-27.1	2355 ± 35	720 BC - 370 BC
SUERC-9518 (GU-13843)	040 (B)	Grain: Hordeum vulgare var vulgare	-23.8	365 ± 35	1440 AD - 1640 AD
SUERC-9522 (GU-13844)	016 (A)	Grain: Hordeum vulgare var vulgare	-23.4	395 ± 30	1430 AD - 1630 AD

Table 6.1. Radiocarbon dates from Bàrr Mór. NB calibrated ages are determined from the University of Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit calibration program (OxCal3).

Test Trenches

Two test trenches were excavated on this site. Test Trench 1 (TT1) was located on the edge of the circular flat area, in the vicinity of where the first sherd of French pottery was found. This trench revealed the foundation stones for what might have been an enclosure wall which would once have extended E-W across the northern edge of the flat area from Structure B. No other features or finds were identified in this area. The soil on either side of the foundation wall contained small amounts of charcoal identified as alder, hazel, heather and a single hazelnut shell. The presence of this material outside the structures may indicate the spread of midden material during the occupation of this site, or perhaps was the residual material from an earlier occupation. No carbonised cereals or seeds were found in the samples from this area.

Test Trench 2 (TT2) was located against the inner wall of Structure E. Here the natural subsoil was found at a depth of only 0.1m and again no finds or features were seen. The wall for Structure E had been constructed directly onto the subsoil. As there was no significant build up of material and because of the presence of the coping stones, the structure was interpreted, in its final stages at least, as a stock enclosure. Very little of the interior was examined and if the coping stones were secondary then it is possible that this was another dwelling, perhaps the largest on the site.

Taylor Bennie, a post-graduate student at Glasgow, undertook soil analysis in the vicinity of the site and compared it with the hearth material from Structure A. A total of seven background cores were taken from the area to the north of Structure G and the pH and phosphate levels were compared with 12 cores taken from Structure A (Hearth 1, Bennie 2004). His research was aimed at examining the potential for 3D mapping of hearths. He noted elevated levels of phosphate within the hearth and to the north of Structure A, in two areas, one just outside what may have been another doorway to the north and another on the edge of a flatter area which may mark the start of the cultivated land.

The partial excavation of two structures has shown that Bàrr Mór was occupied during the late-medieval period (sometime between the mid-15th and the mid-17th century). The presence of the three sherds of pottery would also fit within this time frame. The two

sherds of thin walled, brown glazed pottery have been identified as being of French origin and dating to the 16th or 17th century. The only other sherds of this fabric found in Scotland come from recent excavations in Glasgow (George Haggerty, pers. comm.). The only other pottery sherd, a green glazed jug handle, is of a similar date. The absence of any modern material such as clay pipe, glass or industrial ceramics would also suggest that the site was abandoned well before the 18th century when this material was being introduced into the rural economy.

Artefacts

The use of pottery was clearly rare on this site and the presence of the two sherds of this foreign commodity would suggest that this site had a connection with a relatively high-status site. This is perhaps consistent with its proximity to Poltalloch, the ancestral home of the Malcolms or to Duntrune Castle held by a cadet branch of the Campbells in the late medieval period. The absence of finds within the structures is thought to suggest that the majority of materials used on this site were organic, although useful metal tools would probably have been taken away when the tenants left. The few fragments of ironwork from the upper layer of Structure A, may have fallen down with the roofing material, or have been deposited during some post-abandonment temporary occupation. The fragment of hook was thought to resemble part of a rabbit trap (Rosemary Campbell, pers. comm.) which again is indicative of fairly modern activity. The presence of slag is indicative of small scale, self-sufficient, metal working taking place on site.

Site stratigraphy

From the layout of the structures and the few stratigraphical relationships it can be seen that there was more than one phase of construction. The first phase is possibly represented by Structures A and C as they are parallel with each other and may represent a single family farm with a house and byre. Structure C was overlain by Structure F which is therefore a later addition. Structures B and D abut each other, are on a higher terrace than the other structures and may represent one or two further phases. The final phase is represented by the conversion of Structure C into a stock enclosure, the addition of an enclosure E to the south and a lambing pen within

Structure D and probably relates to the temporary utilisation of the site by shepherds, possibly in the 18th or 19th centuries.

Structures

The single-skinned, oval-shaped drystone walls of Structure A would probably have had a hipped roof resting partly on the wall head and perhaps partly supported on corner posts set into alcoves (or cruck-slots) within the corners and main axis of the walls. The roofing material may have been partly of peaty turves as is used in the Faroes and Iceland (Susan Bain, pers. comm.) or perhaps of heather thatch. The walls were battered on the outside and they would probably have needed to be faced on the inside and outside with a dung and mud matrix in order to keep the structures wind and water tight. There was no evidence for a timber interior lining. There were probably two doorways and perhaps three rooms in Structure A, although this subdivision could have taken place in a later phase. The eastern room was not excavated and so its function is not known. The middle room may have been a peat store and the west room was used as an informal hearth with a variety of uses. This structure could have been dwelling if the unexcavated east end was the sleeping quarters. The walls of Structure B did not survive so high as Structure A and the lack of tumble within Structure B would suggest that either the wall stones were robbed or that they were low foundations for turf walls. The roof could have been supported on timbers (perhaps driftwood) with a turf or heather thatch. The presence of a hearth would suggest that this too was a dwelling and the south end perhaps a byre. The flat capping stones around Structure C were thought to indicate that this was an unroofed enclosure, but it is possible that this too could have originally been an inhabited structure.

Economy

The botanical evidence retrieved from within Structures A and B suggests that they functioned as part of a small mixed farm which cultivated hulled barley, oats and flax. It is thought that these crops were processed on site within both Structures A and B with heather charcoal being used in the drying process. The use of these structures in this way may explain the absence of a separate corn-drying kiln. The weed seeds are

suggestive of a fertile soil nearby and it is possible that the flax would have been grown on the best ground with the hulled barley and oats in the less fertile areas.

Heather-type charcoal was present in all the soil samples and this seems to represent the burning of heather turves rather than peat. This could have been the hearth fuel or burnt turf roofing. The wood charcoal consisted of small amounts of alder, hazel and birch plus very small amounts of oak, willow and apple type. This suggests that there was a scarcity of woodland in the area, or that there was a prohibition about using it. The occupants were therefore making use of both the moorland and woodland resources that were available. Hazelnut shells were being broken into small pieces which is consistent with consumption rather than for its use as tinder. A single context (048) contained seaweed which is usually associated with fertilisation of soil or burning for potash. Whichever it was used for, it was in small quantities. The presence of the hearths in Structure A and B indicated that these were used at least partly as dwellings. These are small for dwellings, but are of similar size to the peripheral structures seen at Finlaggan in the 16th century (see Figure 2.21).

The presence of animals on site is suggested by the presence of a drain in Structure B and the later substantial sub-rectangular enclosure (Structure C) and enclosure (E) formed of less substantial connecting walls created a courtyard which could keep animals in or out depending on the seasonal requirements. The drain in Structure B is thought to be a byre drain, however, from the size of Structure B, perhaps small animals such as sheep or goats were more likely occupants than cows or horses. The burnt mammal bones are thought to be the result of domestic cooking, but whether this was the result of a succession of meals or a single 'feast' is not known. The species could not be identified because of their highly burnt condition, but would be consistent with sheep or goat. This could this be an example of people consuming their own stock, during a time of famine.

The contribution of the soil analysis to this research is that it has highlighted the possibility and usefulness of soil analysis in the identification of human activity. It is to be hoped that through works such as Bennie (2004) and Banks & Atkinson (2000) a geochemical and geophysical fingerprint of a hearth may be developed. This would be

useful in targeting areas of potential settlement or human activity in areas where there are otherwise no visible signs on the surface.

The occupation of the site may have lasted only two or three generations sometime between the mid-15th and the mid-17th centuries. While we can observe evidence for arable farming, the enclosure of animals and some additional use of the hearth for small scale metalworking, which are consistent with a relatively self-sufficient lifestyle, the lack of more complete excavation and more refined dating methods means that we cannot identify yet any changes in the economy over the period of occupation which might have reflected the changing political situation (see Chapter 3), or suggest whether the site was seasonally or permanently occupied.

Bàrr Mór lies to the east of Poltalloch and at a higher altitude which would have provided views out over Loch Craignish and down the Sound of Jura. The occupants of this farm could have acted as 'look outs', spotting any signs of approaching danger from other clans in the west (such as the MacNeills of Barra). Two similar oval-shaped drystone structures (interpreted at the moment as shielings) occupy a westward looking hillside site at Garbh Sron (Figure 5.22). Both of these sites overlook the west and south rather than the east towards Kilmartin, perhaps they were both late-medieval 'satellite sites' around Poltalloch or the castle at Duntrune. They are clearly not 'defended' sites, their natural defence being their remoteness and ability to blend into the vegetation on the hillside, which was a mixture of sparse woodland and moorland plants. From the archaeological evidence, the date of the abandonment of Bàrr Mór as a mixed farm would be in the 17th century. This might have been a result of the incursions of Argyll during that century and so this site would be one of the few which was not re-occupied and re-built.

6.3 Historical research

Unfortunately, the absence of a name for the site has hampered the level of historical research that can be done. This site does not appear on the 1st edition OS map which is usually a good source of place-name evidence and there is no local knowledge about its name. Pont's manuscript map depicts three known sites near to the shore of Loch Craignish, 'Bennan', 'Pooltalach' and 'Ormag' (see Figure 4.7). These three sites are

known today and are marked on the 1st edition OS map in corresponding locations. Pont also indicated the presence of two other sites in the vicinity, 'Bargirgaig' and 'Kask[aillie]'. Pont clearly has Bargirgaig to the south of Pooltalach (Poltalloch).

Bleau's map of Lorn (1663) also shows only the coastal sites of 'Bennan', 'Pooltalach' and 'Ormaig', but 'Bargeirgaig' is located to the north of Poltalloch, rather than to the south. This causes some confusion as the Bleau maps are thought to have been derived from Pont's survey. Neither 'Bargeirgaig' nor 'Kask[aillie]' are depicted on any later maps. By the mid-18th century, Roy's map of the area shows 'Bordsallach' (presumably 'Poltalloch'), but not 'Bargeirgaig' or anything resembling 'Kask[aille]'. There are however, by this time, new sites called 'Stron' and 'Sallachy' in the vicinity.

It is tempting to suggest that the site of Bàrr Mór could be 'Bargeirgaig', but there is really no evidence for this except for the contemporary date and a very approximate location on Pont, which is contradicted rather than confirmed by Bleau's Atlas. There are as yet no other known sites that could be a serious candidate for the site of Bargeirgaig. The place-name Kask[aillie] is another possibility, but this name has not been found in documents that have been examined so far, and until there is some information about the size of Kask[aillie] it would be premature to suggest that this could be either Bàrr Mór or Garbh Sron. There could well be several other sites as yet undiscovered in this area.

Despite the lack of an authentic place-name it was thought worthwhile examining the documentary evidence for Bargeirgaig which might aid its identification in the field. The documentary evidence indicates that there was a settlement called Bargeirgaig which was 'earlier known as Bargáltraiff' (Campbell 1933, 117) in the vicinity of Poltalloch, opposite the island of Eilean Righ. Campbell is therefore suggesting that this site had two recognised names and that it may have been changed to Bargeirgaig in the 17th century, although he does not say what his evidence for this was. The earliest sasine is dated 1621 where it is referred to as 'Barzergeg' with two witnesses from a place of this name, called John McCallum and Malcolm M'Olphatrak, probably tenants (Campbell, 1933, 55). There is a sasine of 1632 referring to the '1d land of Bargaltraiff' (Campbell 1934, 141). Bargaltraiff was later included in the marriage agreement in

1643 between Niall Campbell (later of Duntroon) and Mary daughter of Hector M'Neill of Taynish'.

> 'Sasine of the 5d land of Ardachastell, 5d land of Achachrom, 5d land of Poltalloch, 1d land of Bennan, 1d land of Piellarie, 1d land of Bargaltraiff, all the lands called Coulknok [Cul'a'chnuic], 1d land of Crenan mor, and ½ d land of Crenan Beg, half the fishing of the Add, an annual rent of 26/8 out of the lands of Kilchoan and the superiority thereof, the bailliary of Ariskeodnish, and the 2 merk land of Raschoille and bailliary thereof, all in the lordship of Ariskeodnish….given to Niall Campbell, lawful son and apparent heir of Duncan C. of Duntroon'. (No 232, Campbell 1933, 76).

In the 17th century the farm of Barghirgaig (along with Ardachastell, Achachrom, Poltalloch, Bennan and Piellarie) forms part of the inheritance of Niall Campbell of Duntroon.

In 1685 the List of Rebels (MacTavish 1935, 8) includes a Donald Mc Caill at 'Baryergag' in the Kilmartin parish, listed in between the entries for 'Strones' (= Strone, Survey No 16) and 'Ilanrie' (= Eilean Righ) which are both close to Poltalloch. Donald McCaill is also included in the List of Fencible men in 1692, although he is not associated with any particular site (MacTavish 1935, 37). The valuation roll of 1751 and the directory of landownership *c* 1770 notes that Archibald MacCallum of Poltalloch was then the owner of 'Bargeirgaig' (Begg 1999, 23). Begg has suggested that the site of Bargeirgaig lay to the north of Poltalloch, nearer Strone and he described it as being beside a small burn and near a waterfall. He does not give a grid reference or a description of the ruin he is referring to, but from his use of the term 'the ruin' rather than 'ruins', this sounds more like a single structure. No single structure has yet been recognized during this survey in the area he describes, which is within forestry, and so it awaits re-discovery. I would suggest that the group of structures described above as Bàrr Mór is more likely to be a settlement of the status of Bargeirgaig mentioned in the Sasines, than a single structure, especially as there were two tenants, with different surnames, in occupation in 1621, suggesting a shared tenancy.

Although Bargeirgaig cannot be found on maps after the 16th century, it does survive into the 19th century as a property, as there is a reference to rent being paid from 'Bargirgaig' (along with Poltalloch, Strone & Glenan) in 1818 (Poltalloch Papers, Lochgilphead Archives, DR/2/6/2). This might suggest that Bàrr Mór is not the site of Bargeirgaig as there is no evidence from the excavation for permanent occupation in the 19th century. However, as not all the structures at Bàrr Mór have been investigated it would be premature to rule it out completely. Alternatively, this may be an earlier incarnation of Bargeirgaig which subsequently moved to another, as yet unidentified, site.

6.4 Conclusions

The excavation of this site has proved it to be a farm of late-medieval date as was suggested by the oval-shaped structures and presence of glazed pottery. Although there are other, oval-shaped structures within the research area as isolated features or as pairs (as at Garbh Sron, Loch Losgunn and Loch Glashan), no other group of structures such as seen at Bàrr Mór have been found during this research in Mid-Argyll and so this site should be considered as unusual or rare. Its survival is perhaps because of its remoteness coupled with the lack of substantial Post-medieval re-occupation. Bàrr Mór does not seem to fit into the model of settlement development suggested by previous research, which said that the replacement of turf-walled structures by stone, did not take place until the 18th or 19th centuries. Here at Bàrr Mór the radiocarbon dates indicate that these stone-built structures were built between the mid-15th and mid-17th centuries. These drystone walls were probably still not load bearing and so pairs of timber crucks would have been used to support the roof. The 'alcoves' have not been decisively interpreted as cruck slots as they were not found in all the corners. However, considering the ruinous state of the walls it is thought to be a likely explanation. The surviving alcoves were either in the corners or in the main axes of the structures, where cruck slots would have been located. It is supposed that the structures at Bàrr Mór would have had a single pair of central timber roof supports, or couples, with a hipped arrangement of three roof timbers at either end (see Figure 2.3). Such timber supports would have supported the thatch of heather or turves, with a smoke hole in the roof ridge. Unlike the Skye type of house seen in Figure 2.3, it is not thought likely that the structures at Bàrr Mór would have had windows. The Iron Age charcoal and the circular

flat area beside the settlement suggests that there was some prehistoric activity here, but there is no evidence that there had been any occupation between the prehistoric period and the late-medieval period.

The establishment of the farm at Bàrr Mór is indicated from the radiocarbon dates and the pottery to be between the mid-15th and the mid-17th centuries. This would fit broadly into the processes of settlement change as suggested by Whyte (2000, Figure 2.42). The processes of colonisation of forests, moors and moss has been observed in Scotland between the 15th and 16th centuries, while the colonisation of shielings grounds has been seen to be prior to the decline of the 14th century or to the 17th and 18th centuries. There are shielings in the vicinity of Bàrr Mór, but these are as yet undated, so we do not know if Bàrr Mór was perhaps colonising an existing shieling ground or whether these are later. The evidence for heather, turves, peat and some woodland, would suggest that Bàrr Mór represents colonisation of a landscape that was predominantly moorland and peat, but with some woodland available. The use of stone in the walling and not just for the wall footings, is thought to be earlier than seen elsewhere in Scotland, and is perhaps partly a response to the availability of stone locally.

The excavated remains indicate that this was a mixed farm. The grain was probably dried over fires within the dwellings, rather than in a specifically constructed kiln, for which there was no evidence found. Structure C may have originally been the primary dwelling. The question of whether this site was a permanent or a seasonal settlement is difficult to answer. The variety of structures and substantial drains, along with its low altitude, are suggestive of a permanent settlement. The multiple phasing of the site indicates that it was not short lived, but could have lasted only a few generations. The relatively low altitude of this site would argue against it being abandoned because of climatic deterioration, and other probably social or economic reason are more likely, such as Alistair McColla's raids of the mid 17th century, or a change of ownership. The later incarnation of Structure E and the lambing pens in Structures A and D (see Figure 6.2) belong to a Post-medieval period when the site acted as a sheep farm. The absence of any Post-medieval material, such as clay pipes, glass or pottery, suggests that the human presence here at that time was still extremely limited. It is not known from the excavated remains whether the site was abandoned immediately prior to its conversion to a sheep farm or whether it was already a ruined site.

This case study has provided detailed archaeological information about the medieval origin of a farm consisting of several oval-shaped, stone-built structures. At present it seems to be a comparatively rare type of site in Mid-Argyll, although not unique, as is shown by other oval-shaped structures such as at Garbh Sron, Loch Losgunn and Loch Glashan. Further fieldwork may reveal other sites of a similar nature surviving in the landscape, however subsequent occupation and re-building may have destroyed the earlier remains. This case study has also highlighted the difficulty of relating the archaeological remains to the historical record, especially when the place-name for the site has not been preserved. Although Bargeirgaig and Bargaltraiff are two possible names for this site we cannot assume that this is the same site as that mentioned in the sparse documentary references.

Chapter 7: Glennan, Kilmartin, Case Study 2

7.1 Introduction

The second case study is Glennan which was chosen for further study because of a particularly early documentary reference to the property dating to the 13th century and the presence of a relatively high status, possibly late 18th century tacksman's house (along with evidence for a nearby farmstead) which were thought could be the focus for medieval as well as the Post-medieval settlement. The initial field work had also identified a possibly medieval platform site nearby (see Chapter 2).

The site of Glennan (meaning little glen) is located on the south side of the B840 between Kilmartin and Ford (NGR NM8573 0106, see Figure 7.1). The place name Glennan refers to where a tributary of the River Add, opens out to form a crescent-shaped, terraced river valley (similar in nature to the Kilmartin Glen) with low hills to the north and south. This area of flat cultivatable land occupies two natural river terraces, the upper one is well drained, being glacial sand and gravel, while the lower one, a relict river meander, has been stripped of peat and drained, but is still quite boggy. Within the attached hill land to the south-east, about 1km from Glennan, there is a bowl-shaped 'upper valley' (centred on NM 865 008) with a boggy area at its centre. The nearest neighbours are the occupied farms of Eurach, to the west and Creganterve Beg, to the north.

As result of the work done here, clear evidence for extensive cultivation and shieling occupation in the hills was found, but not dated. Excavations of the tacksman's house and one of the farmstead buildings proved them to be no earlier than the late-18th century and so this particular site was thought not to be the focus for the medieval settlement. However, the geophysical surveys revealed a few anomalies nearby, particularly at the boundary between a flat river terrace and the hillside, which still have the potential to be medieval. This case study therefore confirms how difficult it is to see medieval settlement even when there is good documentary evidence, although further potential sites have been identified.

7.2 The Results of Excavations

The ruins of Glennan were found to occupy the upper terrace of the river valley (James 2003). Structure A was a roofless building with gables surviving up to 3m high, integral chimneys and six fireplaces, four on the ground floor and two in the upper roof space (see Figure 5.3). The walls were of random rubble with an earth and gravel mortar. The presence of so many integral fireplaces is indicative of relatively high status and the architectural features such as the central doorway, and symmetrically placed splayed windows are suggestive of a late-18th century tacksman's house. On the north side was another rectangular structure which was attached to Structure A by two dwarf walls (Structure B). This structure had lime-mortared walls which survived to a height of about 0.5m. At a distance of c. 50m to the north were two further structures (Structures 016 & 017) which lay at right angles to each other and survived only as low, turf-covered banks or tumble (see Figure 7.2). They were thought to be rectangular in shape although this was uncertain because of the presence of the tumble. To the west of Structure A there was a small kiln (013) and there were three other rectangular, drystone-built enclosures (006, 009, 021) in the vicinity. There was a small standing stone (010) on the east side of enclosure 009 and two prehistoric cairns (001 & 002) occupied the lower terrace. The house, enclosures and prehistoric features sat within a rectangular layout of drystone fieldwalls and boundary trees, possibly contemporary with the tacksman's house.

An examination of Pont's manuscript map of Ardskeodnish, shows the site of 'Eurach' very clearly to the right of Carnasserie Castle, and above it is possibly written the word 'glenan' (see Figure 4.5). Roy's map of the mid 18th century shows neighbouring 'Craigintarve' on the west side of the river with a site called 'Tightchair' on the east side, but with no sign of Glennan (see Figure 7.3). 'Tightchair' is thought to refer to a building further up the glen, opposite Craegenterve Beg, where there was a standing stone (now fallen). Langlands map of 1801, however, depicts a house at 'Glenan' beside the road north from Kilmartin (Figure 7.4). The 1st edition O.S. map shows 'Glennan' set within a formal layout of fields (see Figure 7.5). This examination of the historic maps has provided a tentative identification of Glennan in the late-16th century, but not again until the early 19th century, suggesting that it was perhaps not a significant farm during the 18th century.

An initial review of the Argyll Sasines revealed that 'Glennan' was mentioned from the early 17th century onwards. However, most significantly for this research, there is a very early charter dated to 1240 which mentions the granting of Glennan to Gillascop MacGilchrist by Alexander II (see details below). This site was identified early on as a site with potential medieval remains because of the early charter reference and its possible depiction on Pont. Although the existing structures were rectangular in shape and Structure A was thought to be of probable late-18th-century construction, it was not taken for granted that the other structures were also of this late date. It was hoped that through geophysical survey and excavation, some remnants of earlier phases of settlement might be detected.

An initial topographic survey of the site within the rectangular field boundaries highlighted the presence of several new features in the landscape including what is possibly a very large prehistoric cairn (005) and Post-medieval boundary bank (003) (James 2004b). The topographic survey was followed by excavation of Structure 017 in order to see whether it was a pre-18th century focus for the farm. Three areas in the vicinity of Structure A were examined by geophysical survey and some small test excavations were dug to investigate the resulting anomalies. A walkover survey of the hills to the east was carried out with a differential GPS and hand held GPS (see Figure 7.6; James 2004b; James 2005a; James 2005b). As this research was also tied in with the re-development of Glennan House (Structure A) on behalf of its new owner, a standing building survey and excavation of its interior was also carried out.

Excavation of Structure A (Glennan House)

Structure A was constructed of roughly coursed rubble with a coarse gravel and mortar matrix and excavation of its interior produced no evidence that it was built earlier than the late-18th century. The foundations of the house sat onto natural clay and there was no evidence for any earlier structure beneath. It is presumed from the positions of the fireplaces that there were at least four rooms on the ground floor, two to either side of the central doorway at the front and two rooms at the back. The eastern half of the interior had a wooden floor laid onto joists supported by dwarf walls. A thimble and several dressmakers pins were found in the south-east corner of the structure, near the window, which were thought to relate to the use of this room as a parlour for

needlework. It is thought that the stairs would have been at the back of the house, above a doorway to the rear of the building.

The interior of the building contained a secondary rough cobbled surface which was sealed by collapsed debris containing numerous pottery sherds, glass, iron objects, clay pipe fragments and fragments of slate roofing tiles. The pottery and glass was predominantly 19th-century material with nothing earlier than the late-18th century and with nothing suggesting particularly high status.

Structure B

Structure B was only partially excavated and a stone flagged floor was revealed in its southern entrance. The gap between Structures A and B was enclosed on either sides by dwarf walls, within which was deep debris, consisting of slate, stones, pottery and glass dating to the 19th and 20th centuries. A black and white photograph of this structure, probably taken in the early 20th century, shows Structure B standing to gable height and is referred to as the kitchen (John Campbell collection (Pallister 2005, 188)).

Structure 017

Although shown as roofed in the 1st edition O.S. map, Structure 017 was originally thought to relate to a pre-18th century farmstead. The excavation of its interior, however, revealed that it had been originally constructed in the 19th century as a house and byre and then occupied solely as a house into the 20th century (see Figure 7.6). The finds consisted of the base of a rotary quern, a copper alloy belt buckle and fragments of 19th and 20th century glass, pottery, iron objects and leather. A horse harness buckle dating to the 19th or 20th century (S Campbell, pers.comm.) was found among the debris from the collapsed walls.

Structures 051, 052, 053, 054 & 055

A number of slight, rectangular-shaped, terraces were visible to the south-east of Structure A, just beyond the drystone field wall, which suggested the presence of further buildings (see Figure 7.2). One of these structures (Structure 051) was investigated with a narrow trench (see Figure 7.7) and two substantial drystone walls were exposed. These formed either side of a rectangular building which was 4.5m wide and was probably about 13m long (internally). Its walls were 0.8m thick and 0.35m high and

were constructed of rounded boulders, roughly faced with a core of smaller stones. The interior of the building consisted of a rough cobbled surface which had been laid directly onto natural clay. The finds from above the cobbled floor consisted of two sherds of Post-medieval stoneware and a wrought iron buckle of 18th or 19th-century date. While the construction of this building was not directly dated, the presence of the Post-medieval material from within it strongly suggests that it was in use in the 18th or 19th centuries and that it functioned as an animal byre or stables for the occupants of Structures A and B (although no drain was seen within the small area exposed).

To the south of a stream there was another rectangular terrace (Structure 052, see Figure 7.2) around which were the slight remains of an enclosure bank (053). This area was examined by geophysical survey (see below), but was not excavated. Straddling the stream at its junction with the field wall, were tumbled stones forming a roughly square shape (054), which was not investigated at this time, but which were suggestive of a structure, perhaps a small mill. To the north of Structure 51 another possible terrace (055) was seen at the edge of the hillside. The Post-medieval farmstead was clearly not restricted to the area enclosed by the rectangular field walls.

Geophysical surveys

Three geophysical surveys were carried out in the vicinity of Structure A to see if there were any sub-surface features in the vicinity which might suggest earlier occupation (Poller 2003, see Figure 7.2). Within Area 1 (immediately to the south of the house) there were four distinctive linear features (Anomalies B, C, D & E, see Figure 7.8) which were interpreted as the remains of earlier walls or drainage features associated with the 18th and 19th century landscape. There were also small discrete anomalies which were interpreted as buried metal objects (e.g. three were grouped as Anomaly F). One of these anomalies was examined with a small trench (Trench D). A large lump of iron (possibly a spade) was found at a depth of 0.10m, revealing the cause of the anomaly. The topsoil within this trench contained numerous 19th and 20th century pottery sherds, but nothing medieval, nor were there any features which could be interpreted as potentially medieval in date.

The other two geophysical surveys (Areas 2 & 3) were carried out beyond the field wall and these confirmed the presence of rectangular structures (Hinz 2005). Area 2 lay to the south of the stream and produced a possibly circular feature (A), a roughly rectangular area of disturbance relating to the terrace 052 (B) and an area of natural geology (C) (see Figures 7.2 and 7.10). Area 3 was located to the north of the stream and east of the field wall surrounding the Glennan settlement where the trench over Structure 051 had been excavated. Here the gradiometer survey revealed two anomalies, one of which related to the rectangular structure 051 and the other to another possible structure measuring 3-5m wide (Figure 7.11).

The combination of field survey, geophysics and small scale excavation has therefore revealed a previously unrecorded group of structures to the south of Structure A. The trench across structure 051 confirmed the presence of a substantial rectangular structure which was probably of 18th or 19th century date. With the absence of any medieval dating material from any of the excavated areas it is thought likely that the other structures (055, 052 and the possible structure 054) are also of Post-medieval date.

However, the segment of a possible circular structure to the south-west of Glennan may be a prehistoric hut circle, or perhaps, more likely, a more modern fenced animal enclosure. While the morphology and date of such a structure awaits further examination, the existence of this anomaly shows that across the flat cultivated area to the south of the stream there is potential for the survival of further archaeological remains.

It is possible that, prior to Glennan House being built in the late-18th century, the focus for the farm was about 60 metres to the south, where a stream enters the flat upper terrace of the river valley. The buildings here (Structures 51, 52 and 54, see Figure 7.2) may have been constructed as early as the late-18th century and probably continued in use into the early-19th century. These old farm buildings had been demolished or reduced to foundation level by the mid-19th century when the 1st edition O.S. survey was carried out, sometime after the re-alignment of the field wall and the planting of the boundary trees as part of a designed landscape. A new farmstead was then constructed to the north-east of Glennan House (Structures 016 and 017).

The earlier settlement focus had a water supply, was close to flat cultivatable ground and was in a sheltered location. It may well have been the focus for even earlier settlement in the medieval period, although there is as yet no archaeological evidence for this. There were prehistoric sites in the vicinity as mentioned above, including two small cairns (001 & 002), a standing stone (010, which may well have moved) and a massive (possibly kerbed) cairn of rounded boulders and stones (005), but as yet there is no indication of where a medieval settlement at Glennan may have been.

7.3 The landscape context

A walkover survey was undertaken of the surrounding un-improved hill-ground to search for evidence for medieval activity beyond the extent of the Post-medieval cultivated ground. To the east of Glennan House, just beyond the 19th century field walls, the ground rises steeply out of the river valley and into the low hills which extend eastwards towards the neighbouring farm of Stroneskar in the valley of the Clachandubh Burn (see Figure 7.1). The summit of the highest hill in the vicinity of Glennan (Beinn Bhàn) is at 319m and so this landscape is relatively low lying in comparison with the Highlands and is therefore suitable for cultivation and settlement. Glennan has access to this hill ground via a track, which is marked on the 1st edition OS map (see Figure 7.5).

This area was previously known to contain a small number of archaeological sites, including a Bronze Age cremation burial (MacGregor 2000), a cup-and-ring marked rock (NM80SE21) and a shieling with an enclosure (NM80SE20) (see Figure 7.11). The shieling and enclosure consisted of a drystone built, sub-rectangular enclosure about 9m in diameter and the probable 'shieling' was a low, rectangular structure with turf covered, stone banks (Figure 7.12). These were described by the O.S. as being 'of recent date', by which they presumably meant 19th century. The walkover survey has added several new sites to the archaeological record, including several earthen banks, a possible medieval house platform (Site 68), two groups of shielings and three areas of rig and furrow (see Figure 7.11).

Possible medieval house platform (Site 68)

A platform, measuring 6.4m long by 2.8m wide, was surrounded on three sides by earth and stone upcast, up to 2m wide (see Figure 5.28 & 7.13). This platform was located on a steep slope and was open on the western, down slope, side. There was no local knowledge regarding its function and the possibility of this site being an example of a medieval house platform was considered, but unfortunately could not be examined further at this time. This site looks similar to the medieval platforms identified in Eskdale, Dumfriesshire (Corser 1982). Other possible interpretations of this feature include a cattle feeding stance or a shooting stance, which could be contemporary with Glennan House.

Earthen banks, cultivation & shielings (Site 308)

Within the hills to the south-east of Glennan there were several earthen banks, only some of which have been surveyed (see Figure 7.11). The linear banks ran along the top of the breaks of slope or were at right angles to this alignment. Other banks surrounded areas of rig and furrow. One of the areas of cultivation, in the centre of the upper glen, incorporated three small, single-celled, oval-shaped shielings (Site 308).

Shielings, Site 307 (NM 186252 701064)

High up on a ridge, overlooking the upper glen, there was a group of three shielings (Site 307). One of these structures was subdivided into two rooms while the other two structures consisted of single compartments. These structures survived as very low, turf-covered banks. The two-roomed structure was of a comparable size to Structure A at Bàrr Mór, although it appeared to have square, rather than oval-shaped, corners.

This walkover survey has shown that there is evidence for agricultural activity within the hills above the 18th/19th century landscape, that had not previously been recorded. This includes areas of rig and furrow, shielings and earthen banks. The boundary with the neighbouring farm of Stroneskar is probably along the Clachandubh burn which is followed by a 19th-century drystone field wall and the earthen banks may be earlier divisions of the pasture for stock control. Within the Glennan hill ground there are at

least three areas of cultivation. While this use of the hill ground probably relates to the period of highest population in the 19th century, it raises the possibility that a medieval use was made of these shieling grounds, perhaps as settlement sites. A more detailed analysis of the type and extent of the cultivation ridges and their relationships with the shielings, might reveal different patterns and periods of use. For instance, the shielings located at the top of the ridge (Site 307) are 40m above and 100m to the east of the nearest cultivation in the valley bottom, and might therefore be taking advantage of the hilltop position, possibly for protection and to provide a lookout. This is very different from the shielings within the bottom of the upper glen (Site 308) that are set within and surrounded by the cultivation ridges. There may well be a difference in date or function between these two groups of shielings. Nearer to Glennan House, there is a third area of cultivation, a possible house platform site and a shieling with an associated stock enclosure, all at about the same height above the valley floor (about 75m AOD). If these sites are contemporary then this would provide evidence for a mixture of arable and pastoral farming within the Glennan property, but if they are not then this raises the potential for specialisation in one economy at different times.

7.4 Historical research

Turning now to the historical sources, these were examined in order to illuminate the development of the Glennan property and to help interpret the features that have been identified.

Glennan in the medieval Period

Glennan lies within Glassary parish and was mentioned in the earliest surviving Scottish charter relating to lands in Argyll, which was written in Latin, the official language of Scottish government and dated 1240. This charter referred to Alexander II, King of Scotland's gift of the 'five penny lands of Fyncharne and others' to Gillascop MacGilchrist for 'his homage and service in Argyll' (MacPhail 1916b, 114-5, 121-4 & 227-245). These extensive lands also included the 'five penny lands [quinque denariatas] of Glennane', 'Rudol', and other lands in Cowal. In total, 51 penny lands were granted to Gillascop at this time (Easson 1987, 7) making him a significant landowner who was probably based at Fincharn Castle (Loch Awe side, about 5km

away, see Figure 4.6). Gillascop MacGilchrist's Gaelic name suggests that he was an existing landowner in the area, rather than an incoming Norman lord. Gillascop would have held the position of a local baron as he was granted lands *cum furca et fossa* (the power of pit and gallows (McPhail 1916b, 241)). The payment for this land was half a knights service 'in the host and in the matter of an aid what pertains to the full service of one Knight, and also doing Scottish Service as the barons and knights on the same…' (MacPhail 1916b). Thus the charter has been seen as a combination of the traditional Gaelic system with the new feudal tenure (Easson 1987, 7) within an area of Argyll that had probably been under the control of the crown since 1220 (see Chapter 3). MacPhail suggests that as the lands being granted to Gillascop were spread throughout the parishes of Glassary and Cowal, this showed how, in this area of Argyll, 'clan tenure was superseded by private ownership at a very early stage' (MacPhail 1916b, 121).

Little else is known about Gillascop MacGilchrist, apart from his brother's name, 'Ewen' who was also mentioned in the charter as the owner of neighbouring Craignure ('Crag Enywyr'). Ewan's son, John, was also a magnate in Argyll in 1292 (MacPhail 1916b, 136), but his heirs forfeited the lands, perhaps because they supported the wrong side in the Wars of Independence. In 1296 John Ewynsone MacGilchrist paid homage to the English king, Edward I (Calendar of Documents ii, 169, 202) which presumably took place after Edward I's defeat of John Balliol when 1500 people swore an oath of allegiance to him (Barrell 2000, 107).

Ralf of Dundee, who was possibly the son or, more likely, the son-in law of John Ewynsone MacGilchrist, acquired extensive lands in 'Glassarie' that were once held by Gillascop. He perhaps brought together the lands that had been divided between the brothers Gillascop and Ewan. He was probably able to do this because he had been a supporter of Robert the Bruce during the Wars of Independence. His daughter, Margaret, married Dugald, son of Colin Campbell of Lochaw, indicating that he was well connected with the most significant landowning family of the area (MacPhail 1916b, 116-117).

Several other medieval charters deal with lands in Glassary, but do not mention Glennan by name. A charter dated about 1315, granted a third of the lands in 'Glassery' to Dugal Cambel and his wife Margaret. This charter included 'totam terram de

Cairnfin' which McPhaill suggests is Fincharn. If this gift included the Glennan lands, then they were held from then on by the Campbells. In 1342 the lands of Dugal Campbell were forfeited in the reign of David II and lands conferred to his brother Gillespyk (McPhaill 1916b, 133).

Another charter from David II, dated 1346 (not included in the *Origines Pariochiales Scotiae,* Table 4.4), gave other lands in Glassary, consisting of 'Edyrling, Cambysenu, Garwalde the two Carvenys, Craggenure, the two Oywoldys and Calkykest …which once belonged to the deceased John, son of Ewan, and were in the king's hands by reason of the forfeiture of the heirs of the aforesaid John' to 'Gilbert of Glasstre'. In an undated charter, of about 1355, John Cambel 'Lord of Ardsceodanich' granted 'his beloved kinsman Gilbert, Lord of Glassary, for his life two penny lands and an obol land of his lands of Glasserie' (MacPhail 1916b, 137 & 142).

In 1374, the Glassary estate was acquired by Alexander Scrymgeour Constable of Dundee (MacPhail 1916b, 119) through marriage to Agnes, a descendant of Ralf of Dundee. The Glassary estate was held by their descendents until 1668 when it fell to the crown and was awarded to Charles Maitland of Halton, who became Earl of Lauderdale. Whether Glennan was part of the Scrymgeour's Glassary estate during the medieval period is not clear, as by the mid-16th century, Glennan had come into the hands (perhaps as tenants) of the MacKellor clan, who were being buried in Kilmartin graveyard by the late-15th century (RCAHMS 1992, 134). In 1564 'Gilbert McKellor of Ardorie' and his son swapped the four merklands of Glennan with the Campbell Earl of Argyll for the 15 shilling lands of Drumdarroch and the keeping of the woods of Doweart (Innes 1855a, 94).

Glennan in the 17th century

The documentary references to Glennan in the Post-medieval period become more frequent and are of interest here because they help to understand the development of the property and to interpret the structures observed in the field.

Alexander Campbell of Glennan was a younger son of Colin Mor of Kilberry, Knapdale who died in 1619 (MacMillan 1960, 42-3). In 1615, Moir Campbell, wife of Duncan

Campbell of Glennan, sought a divorce from him because of his adultery (Paton 1918, 148). In 1621 there was a sasine of the '4 merk land of Glennan in Kilmartin parish, given by Donald Maclachlan of Carnaym, as baillie, to Donald Campbell, brother of Duncan C of Glennan… on a charter ….signed 1618…'(Campbell 1933, Vol 1, No 140, 44). In 1629 there is a reference to 'Glennan' being owned by Patrick Campbell of Inverhea (Teinds subvaluation role, copied in 1802, Lochgilphead archives, CA/1/22/1).

A charter dated 1672 referred to 'Colin Campble of Glenen' and three probable tenants, 'Donald M'Illnohesadge', John Campble' and 'Archibald M'Tuttill' (MacPhail 1916b, 215). This charter related to the attempt by Charles Maitland of Hatton to acquire the feu-duties of the estate that he had been granted by Charles II after the death of John Scrymgeour which had fallen to the crown as '*ultimus haeres'*. The fact that Colin is described as being 'of Glenen' would suggest that he had his main residence there and we can also suppose that along with the main house there would have been a small settlement accommodating the other three households.

Glennan suffered during the depredations of the late 17th century as the 'Account of the Depredations committed on the Clan Campbell and their followers, during the years 1685 and 1686…' lists 14 cows, 15 horses, 24 sheep and 30 goats taken from Colin Campbell of Glennan (Lochgilphead Archives, mss dated 1816). It is likely also that all the houses were burned and the stored grain and food destroyed by the occupying forces. Glennan was clearly being run as a mixed farm with a wide range of animals as well as the arable which would have contributed to the 4 merk land valuation. The possession of 15 horses, probably a combination of work horses and riding horses, could be an indication of high status, but does not necessarily indicate a big settlement.

As a Campbell, the owner of Glennan would have been expected to join the Earl of Argyll's Rebellion of 1685 (see Chapter 3) and yet no occupant of Glennan was mentioned in the List of Rebels (MacTavish 1935). Perhaps Colin Campbell had managed not to get involved, but still suffered from the indiscriminate depredations as if he had been. The Rebellion may have prompted a break in the Campbell tenancy as the Hearth Tax of 1694 for Glennan included the following five names (and a kiln) none of which were the same as in the list of 22 years earlier (see Figure 7.14). None of these have more than one hearth which is suggestive of low status.

Dougal Mc[??]   1

Ard McKec[?]irk   1

Donald Mc [?]keard   1

Anna McBean   1

Patrick McGrior   1

Ano kiln   1

Glennan in the 18th century

However, by 1712 the Campbells were back in residence as Colin Campbell (of Glennan) died in that year (Registers of Testaments CC2/3/8, p72) and the property was acquired by his nephew Duncan Campbell of Coulgaltro (Paton 1915, 182). The farm was then tenanted by Dugald McEun, who died in 1714 (Register of Testaments CC2/3/11, 266) followed by his son, Duncan McEown, who died in 1753 (Edicts of Executry CC2/8/48, 1753).

By 1751 Glennan had been acquired by the Malcolm family (Valuation Roll, 1751) and a letter from 'Alexander Malcolm of Glennan' to John Morrison in Edinburgh indicates that he was resident there (Poltalloch Estate Accounts/Letters, Lochgilphead Archives, Poltalloch Papers, DR/2/8/8). In 1773 the property was acquired by Dugald Malcolm (ibid). He had become a merchant in Jamaica in about 1750 and had acquired a plantation there on his marriage to an heiress of the Clarks of Braeleckan (MacInnes 1998, 174). Dugald was then succeeded by his cousin Neill Malcolm in 1785 (ibid). In 1789 Anna Malcolm Ruthven (presumably a Malcolm heiress) was described as 'proprietrix of the lands of Glennan' and her spouse Donald Ruthven Esq of Glennan gave Glennan to Susanna Brown as liferent on her marriage to their son Robert Clerk Ruthven (Poltalloch Papers, DR/2/8/8). It was perhaps upon this marriage that the new house was built and the improvements to the landscape made at the end of the 18th or at the beginning of the 19th century.

Glennan in the 19th century

In 1803 Glennan had a 'heritable debt' of eight hundred pounds sterling owed to Neill Malcolm of Poltalloch (No 14, Poltalloch Papers, DR/2/8/8). Donald Ruthven had died by this time and their younger son Dugald Malcolm Ruthven, a 'merchant in Greenock' was in Jamaica, presumably involved in the family plantation business (No 15. Poltalloch Papers, DR/2/8/8).

In 1804 Dugald Malcolm Ruthven went bankrupt and John McNair esq. became trustee of the estate (Poltalloch Papers, DR/2/8/8). The property was described at that time as 'four merk lands of old extent of Glennan with houses, beggings yards, orchards, woods, fishings, parts, pendicles and pertinents of the said lands lying within the Barony of Ariskodnish, parish of Kilmartin...' (ibid). In 1805 the lands were sold by public roup to Neill Malcolm (Poltalloch Papers, DR/2/8/8) and in 1806 there is a reference to a tenant in Glennan 'Donlad MacNeill' and a Residenter 'John MacFarlane' (Poltalloch Papers, DR/2/8/8). Further tenants are referred to in the Poltalloch Papers for 1817 and 1818. In the 1841 census there are five families resident at Glennan, a total of 28 people and another at 'Glenan Cottage' (Mitchell Library). By 1851 the population had increased to about 38 people, but the 1st edition O.S. map of Glennan (surveyed 1871-2) shows the main house unroofed, the kitchen is possibly roofed and one of the farmstead buildings (Structure 017) is still roofed. A house (known in the contemporary landscape as Glennan) is depicted on the west side of the road near Craganterve, but is unnamed. This is probably 'Glenan Cottage'.

Glennan in the 20th & 21st centuries

By 1906 there is a reference to 'Glennan croft' and a 'Glennan Farm' while 'Glennan House' was unoccupied (1906 Valuation Roll, Mitchell Library). The house of 'Old Glennan' and the small pocket of land surrounding it were sold by Sir Ian Zachary Malcolm of Poltalloch in 1944 to Humphrey J Talbot. The remaining farmland of Glennan was bought by its tenant farmer, Hugh John McLachlan in 1945/6 and it was farmed from Stronesker (Mr McNair, (Stronesker Farm) pers comm.). In 1962 Glennan was inherited by Oliver Hill and then in 1995, through his wife, passed to her nephew Tom Denny from whom Hugh Willison, the present owner, bought it in 2004 (Hugh

Willison, pers comm.). A final note on the 1975 1:10,000 OS map is that a cottage is depicted to the north-east of Glennan is called Tigh a Charnain (the name shown in Roy's map) although this cottage is not old enough to have existed in the mid 18th century.

7.5 Conclusions

The spelling of the name Glennan has been remarkably consistent since at least the 13th century and it is an apt description of the farm's general location. The documentary evidence provides several references to the place-name, its owners and occasionally to its taxable value. It is referred to as being five pennylands in the 13th century and to being four merk lands in the 15th century. It is probable that, throughout the medieval period, and perhaps for several centuries before that, Glennan was a small farm, worked by about five households. Glennan formed part of the Glasserie estate which was held by a Gaelic lord, but who had close ties to the Scottish crown. In the 13th century 'Glenane' was part of the territory owned by Gillascop MacGilchrist who may have been responsible for the building of Fincharn Castle and where he probably lived. With the local lord resident at nearby Fincharn Castle, one should perhaps not expect to find a high-status medieval site at Glennan which was one of his many properties. This perhaps echoes the relationship of high and low status early-medieval ringfort sites seen in the south-west midlands of Ireland where the vicinity of high status sites was occupied only by low status sites and the middle range ringforts were further away (Stout 1997, 89). While one should not necessarily expect to find the remains of a high status house at Glennan in the medieval period, one would still hope to find evidence for lower-status houses and farm buildings. It is not until the 17th century that a Campbell is referred to as being 'of Glennan' suggesting that it had become high-status, being the main residence of a cadet branch of the Campbell clan. One would expect there to be a significant structure here in the 17th century. The prosperity of the farm reaches a peak at the end of the 18th century with the construction of a two-storied house and a farmstead (probably with money from the Malcolm family estates in Jamaica) but debt and bankruptcy see an end to this particular line of the family and the farm becomes absorbed into the neighbouring Stronesker farm.

The existence of five tenants at Glennan in the 17th century can perhaps be seen as evidence for a degree of continuity of settlement size and economy. Easson's examination of pennylands in the west of Scotland suggests that the number of men required for military service or to row the galleys was generally 1 man per pennyland and that this was paralleled with the Dalriadic 'house' (as mentioned in the *Senchus fer nAlban)* where levies were due from each individual house (Easson 1987, 4-9). Thus the five pennylands of Glennan may be a remnant of a much more ancient land tax system which was based on its ability to support five houses or family units. The presence in 1672 of Colin Campbell and three tenants could reflect a recovery of the population after a drop in the 14th century. Perhaps the relatively higher status of Colin Campbell enabled him to possess a larger household equivalent to two tenant households. Thus, in the pre-Improvement farm economy, the number of people which could be supported remained broadly consistent, although the climatic deterioration and the other factors of warfare and plague must have had an impact for certain periods of time.

As Fairhurst found at Rosal, despite the good documentary evidence for Glennan since the 13th century, there has been little success in locating any definite medieval features, although several potential sites have been identified. Initially the examination of historic maps, aerial photographs and fieldwalking provided a wide ranging view of the area and enabled the identification of several potentially medieval upstanding monuments. Secondly, the geophysical surveys targeted specific areas and revealed the existence of sub-surface features and confirmed the regular (and therefore probably anthropological nature) of other amorphous surface features. Thirdly, targeted excavation enabled the removal of some sites from the 'potential medieval' list of sites. Sites still on the list include the platform (Site 68), two groups of shielings (Sites 307 & 308) and geophysical anomalies (Figure 7.9 Anomaly A & B). Additional techniques not used here, but which might reveal settlement hot spots, would be an extensive programme of phosphate analysis and trial pitting.

In the absence of archaeological evidence for medieval settlement at Glennan, one can propose that in the medieval period, the focus for settlement would have been, as now, on the upper river terrace as this was flat, well-drained ground, above the probably boggy valley bottom. The stripping of peat from this valley bottom during the medieval and later periods probably revealed the prehistoric cairns and standing stones, just as the

prehistoric landscape was revealed within the Kilmartin Glen. Thus Glennan would have provided a suitable area for cultivation above the boggy valley bottom and pasture in the surrounding hills. The location of settlement in the medieval period could well have moved about in the landscape, perhaps in the vicinity of Structures 051 and 052, so as to maximise the amount of flat land available for cultivation and be close to a water source. The single platform site, which may be of medieval date, may have been the site of one of the five households, the others being dispersed in the landscape, perhaps in the vicinity of the shieling Sites 307 and 308.

The difficulty of detecting medieval settlement remains evident here, probably because what we are looking for were initially unsubstantial wattle and daub structures, other signifiers such as tools and utensils were made from organic materials which have decayed, the stone foundations and metal tools were probably re-cycled. The extensive areas of lazy-beds also indicate the extent of later cultivation which will have contributed to the disappearance of the medieval settlement. The possibility exists that the medieval settlement has been effectively destroyed by the Post-medieval cultivation, but the results of the geophysics suggests that there are still subsurface features which have potential. A systematic programme of test pitting coupled with more extensive geophysics could be effective in pinpointing any medieval deposits which do survive.

Chapter 8: Carnasserie, Kilmartin. Case Study 3

8.1 Introduction

Carnasserie was chosen as a case study because of the presence of a high-status medieval castle, built for the Bishop of Argyll, within a multi-period landscape which offered the opportunity to examine the relationship between the seat of an ecclesiastical lordship and the surrounding remains. The known sites in the vicinity of the castle included an 'earlier castle' or probable dun, a low bank (possibly the remains of a ringwork) within which the castle was constructed (see Figure 2.60) and a deserted, possibly Post-medieval settlement (Carnasserie Beg). At a short distance (0.35km) to the N was a second Post-medieval deserted settlement (Carnassarie Mor) and local information indicated that that there were further unrecorded shielings and enclosures in the hills beyond.

It has been suggested that Carnasserie (Gaelic = *Carn asaraidh*) takes its name from *airigh* (= a shieling) and a large cairn to the NE of the castle (Carn Ban, NM80SW 28), (Gillies 1906, 40), which indicates the pastoral nature of the farm's origins. Carnassarie lies to the north of the village of Kilmartin, west of the Kilmartin Burn and is not extensive, being bounded today by the farms of Tibbertich to the north, Upper Largie to the south, Creaganterve to the east and Ormaig to the west (see Figure 8.1). The topography of Carnasserie consists of low ridges aligned SW-NE with a maximum height of about 220m. The farm was especially suitable for fieldwork as it was kept under permanent pasture for sheep grazing and bracken was kept down with spraying which aided the visibility of archaeological remains. The surrounding farms are extensively forested. The work undertaken here consisted of initial historical research and examination of historic maps, field visits to the known sites, a walkover survey of the vicinity and a topographic survey of a group of shielings.

This work revealed a series of shielings and areas of cultivation which indicate a landscape utilised for arable and pastoral farming probably since the prehistoric period. At least one of the shielings has similarities of size and plan with the remains seen at Bàrr Mór, and so has a potential medieval date. The shielings appear to form an exclusion zone around the Carnasserie Castle, a 16th century tower house which owed its existence to a connection

with the Bishop of Argyll rather than being the possession of a local clan chief. The management of the farm was therefore run separately from the household of the high-status ecclesiastic.

8.2 Known archaeological sites with background historical research

Carnasserie castle (Site 22)

Carnasserie Castle (NM80SW2) is a tower house which is thought to have been built between 1565 and 1572 with masons from Stirlingshire hired by John Carswell, Bishop of the Isles and remodelled in the seventeenth century (RCAHMS 1992, 214-226). The castle has been discussed in detail by the Royal Commission and by Frank Walker and so only a brief description is included here (Walker 2000, 174 -177). The castle consists of a three story hall-house and a five story tower, which appear to be of continuous build. It is the most substantial, high-status, late-medieval building in the research area (see Chapter 3 & Figures 8.2). The possibility of 'earlier works' being incorporated into the base of the north tower was suggested by the Royal Commission, but any such changes in build were not described in detail (RCAHMS 1992) and are not obvious.

The earliest historical map of the area, Pont's manuscript map Number15, dated to the end of the 16th century, depicts a substantial and realistic view of the castle of 'Canastre' (see Figure 8.3), prior to the addition of larger windows. However, we know that there was a significant dwelling here before Carswell's castle was built as there are documentary records referring to Carnasserie prior to the 16th century. A charter dated 1463 was signed at 'Carnastre' by John MacLachlan of Strathlachlan in favour of one of his kinsmen and it is thought that at this time the property probably belonged to the Campbells of Lochawe (RCAHMS 1992, 224). In 1529 Carnasserie was part of a marriage settlement of the wife of the future 4th Earl of Argyll (a Campbell). John Carswell was born in Kilmartin in about 1522 and became chaplain to the 5th Earl of Argyll. In 1559 the 5th Earl,

> 'granted in blenchferm to his 'familiar servant', Master John Carswell, rector of Kilmartin, and to his heirs, lands including the eight merklands of the two 'Carnestris' with the custody of the castle of the same, an office which according to later tradition had been held by earlier members of the Carswell

family. Carswell, who used the style 'of Carnassarie', obtained a royal confirmation of this and other grants in 1565, by which time he was superintendent of Argyll in the reformed church and a substantial landowner, and two years later he also became Bishop of the Isles, with the annexed revenues of Iona Abbey' (RCAHMS 1992, 224).

It was to his patron, the Earl of Argyll, that Carswell dedicated his building work at Carnasserie in the Gaelic armorial panel '*Diet le ua nduibhne'* (= God be with Ó Duibhne). Carswell was therefore a significant landowner, as well as an ecclesiastic, who was closely associated with the Campbell Earls and whose family had been in the Kilmartin area for at least a generation. This site was therefore chosen to build his castle, because there was already a significant hall here in the possession of his family. Carswell was a supporter of Gaelic culture although his formal education had been in English and he is most famous for being the first translator of John Knox's 'Liturgy' (*Book of Common Order*) into Gaelic. Carswell's daughter married Mr Neill Campbell who later became vicar of Kilmartin and who is thought to have built Kilmartin Castle in the late-16th century (see Chapter 2). Carnasserie Castle was therefore built to reflect the personal status of the Bishop of Argyll which perhaps goes towards explaining why it only remained in the hands of the Carswell family for two generations, after which it reverted to the Campbells.

The Campbells used the castle as a stronghold and as a prison during the power struggles between rival lines of the Campbell clan. In 1594 John Campbell of Ardkinglas was imprisoned in the castle by a jailer Donald Campbell (RCAHMS 1992, 225) and in the early 17th century the Campbell heir of Inverawe was kept in Carnasserie Castle while he remained a minor as his uncle, the Tutor of Inverawe, had attempted to kill him (Campbell 2002, 142).

The Castle was granted to Dugald Campbell of Auchenbreck in 1643 by the Marquis of Argyll and, along with Carnasserie Beg, was in his hands when Alasdair MacDonald invaded Argyll in 1644-6. But there are apparently no references to any role that Carnasserie may have played in these events (RCAHMS 1992, 225). A gateway, dated 1681, marked the marriage of Sir D[uncan] Campbell. It is to this period in the 17th century that the enlargements of the windows and other alterations are thought to date. In 1690, during the rebellion of the 9th Earl of Argyll, the castle was garrisoned by the Campbells of

Auchenbreck. It was attacked by Lachlan MacLean of Torloisk (Mull), other leading MacLeans, and a neighbour Archibald MacLachlan of Creaganterve. The castle was burned and partially blown up, sixty horses were driven away and twenty of the garrison were wounded (Campbell 1916b, 343; Fraser 1964, 48; RCAHMS 1992, 225). A total of 2000 cows were stolen from the area and the 'goods and plenishing' of the [Campbells of Auchenbreck] house at Lochger were stolen. Carnasserie Castle remained as a roofless ruin thereafter.

Only small scale excavations have taken place inside Carnasserie Castle to allow for drainage works and these provide no evidence to indicate a date earlier than the 16th century for its construction (Murray 1998). Despite examination by this author, no 'earlier works' in the base of the north tower could be discerned. There is still the potential for the castle to have replaced an earlier structure, perhaps a hall-house built within an earlier ringwork, the remains of which can be seen to the north of the castle (see Figure 2.60). This hall-house may have been built by a local lord, perhaps a MacLachlan or a Campbell in the 13th century, as the MacGilchrists are thought to have done at Fincharn Castle. The hall-house at Carnasserie was then demolished and replaced with the 16th century tower house to show off the greatly enhanced status of John Carswell on his advancement to Bishop of Argyll.

Earlier castle or dun

There is also a potentially even earlier site to the north-east of the castle, in the form of fragmentary remains of an oval-shaped enclolsure consisting of an arc of stone walling (NM80SW31, see Figure 8.4). These remains could have formed a structure measuring internally 15m - 20m, with walls 2m thick. As this site has not been investigated, there is no dating evidence.

Medieval circular towers are not common in Scotland, the only upstanding one is dated to the mid-15th century at Orchardton in Dumfries & Galloway and it is not known why this shape was chosen, although an Irish influence has been suggested (Stell 1996, 114 –115). The distribution of round towers in Britain tend to be in Wales and Ireland (McNeill 2003, 96). The structure at Carnasserie is therefore more likely to be a ruined prehistoric dun, its role as a chief's stronghold perhaps continued into the Medieval period, prior to the

dominance of the Campbells, in a similar way to MacEwan's Castle in Cowal (see Chapter 3). This structure could then have been replaced successively be a ringwork, timber hall and stone hall-house as mentioned above.

Carnasserie Beg (Site 23)

As well as the castle and possible dun there is evidence for unfortified settlement in the vicinity. The first reference to a settlement at Carnasserie is in 1559 as one of the two 'Carnestris' (see above) and there is a specific reference to 'the 2 merk land of Carnastrie beg' in an Argyll Sasine dated 1618 (Campbell 1933, No.23, 7). 'Carnastre beg' is depicted by Pont in the vicinity of the castle. By 1694 Carnasserie Beg and the ruined castle were in the possession of the Campbells of Kilmartin and there were three tenants each with a single hearth (see Table 5.3). In the mid-18th century, Roy's military map depicted a square enclosed garden at Carnasserie, attached to the castle (which is smudged). There is a settlement a short distance to the west of it called Largo (see Figure 8.5) which is probably the site of Carnasserie Beg, but with the wrong name.

John Johnson's map of the Kilmartin estate, dated 1825, depicts six, unnamed, roofed structures immediately to the north and west of the castle (see Figure 4.11; AGD/957/4). Carnasserie Beg and the castle were acquired by Neill Malcolm of Poltalloch in 1829 (RCAHMS 1992, 224-5) and so there may be further references to the settlement in the Poltalloch papers (Lochgilphead Archives). By the mid 19th century, the 1st edition OS map (Argyllshire CXXXVIII) depicts the castle, but no outbuildings, nor mention of Carnasserie Beg and so the remaining structures surrounding the castle and their occupants were presumably cleared by the Malcolms sometime between 1825 and 1871-2 when the O.S. map was surveyed.

To the north and west of Carnasserie Castle there are low, turf-covered banks forming the foundations of rectangular structures that are assumed to be the remains of the settlement of Carnasserie Beg (RCAHMS 1992, 224). The RCAHMS have produced a plan of the site, but these structures are less clear on the ground now (see Figure 2.60) and were presumably once more extensive (as depicted by Johnson). The garden on the south side of the castle has been reduced in size and become rectangular in shape, probably in the 19th century, and there is no visible evidence for the ringwork bank continuing in this area.

What is illustrated well here is the speed with which structures which are shown as roofed in the early 19th century have now almost completely disappeared from view. In this case their disappearance may be less due to the their flimsy construction and more to the deliberate removal of low-status buildings near to the castle.

The existence of two settlements at Carnasserie is known from documentary sources from at least the mid-16th century, which is broadly contemporary with the construction of John Carswell's tower house, although the splitting of the settlement was probably not related to the rise in status of the castle. As the Post-medieval structures nestle close to the castle base, it has been assumed that the medieval site of Carnasserie Beg was also located near to the castle, in a similar way to the timber structures identified around the base of Threave Castle (see Chapter 2). However, it is possible that these structures have spread (after the castle was abandoned in the 17th century) from an original focus of Carnasserie Beg which was slightly further west (as suggested by Roy).

Carnasserie Mor (Site 21)

Carnasserie Mor was the second of the two 'Canestris' referred to in the mid-16th century and was depicted on Pont's map as 'Carnastre m' (see Figure 8.3). There is documentary evidence that by 1633 Carnasserie Mor was being farmed by the MacLachlan family of neighbouring 'Craiginterve' separately from the castle and Carnasserie Beg, as is shown by a sasine which refers to

> 'the 6 merk land of Carnassarie mor in Ariskeodnish, given by Donald Campbell of Stroneskir, as baillie, to John M'Lachlan, lawful son of Archibald M'L of Craiginterve….with the consent of his wife Christine Campbell, and also with the consent of Niall Carswell of Carnasserie and his wife….signed at Kilmartin before Duncan Campbell of Duntroon, Mr Niall Campbell of Ederline, rector of Glassary, and Alexander Campbell, of Kilmartin. Christine C signed at Dunoon before Hugh Boyd, lawful son of said bishop. Witness to sasine: Duncan dow Carswell in Ormaig and Archibald M'Ilmachessag in Carnasserie Mor.' (Campbell 1934, No. 456, 144).

The Carswells still had an interest in the property as it was redeemable by Niall Carswell of Carnassarie for 3,000 merks and he also reserved his turf-rights on Carnasserie Mor (Campbell 1933, No 258, 85). It would seem that at some time prior to the early 17th century the farm lands of the Carnasserie estate were separated from the castle itself. The Hearth Tax of 1694 lists eight occupants at Carnasserie Mor each with 1 hearth and one tenant, John McArthur, with two hearths 'for house and miln'. Carnasserie Mor and the mill still belonged to the MacLachlans of Craeganterve in 1751. Carnasserie Mor was never acquired by the Malcolm family and so there would be no references to it in the Poltalloch Estate papers.

Roy's map depicts what is probably Carnasserie Mor to the north-west of Carnasserie Castle although named it 'Sallachy'(see Figure 8.5). Carnasserie Mor is depicted as a group of four structures with two rectangular-shaped enclosures (which is the same size as Carnasserie Beg (Largo). It is possible that 'Largo' and 'Sallachy' are alternative names for Carnasserie Beg and Mor, but it is more likely to be a surveyor error. The two Largo's (Nether and Upper) are already depicted further south in their correct location and there is a 'Salachary' further north, towards Kintraw by the 19th century.

The 1st edition OS map, surveyed in 1871-2, shows the extent of the Carnasserie township in 1871-2 (note it is not called Carnasserie Mor here). It consisted of seven roofed, two partially roofed and one unroofed buildings and six enclosures (Argyllshire Sheet CXXXVIII, published 1875, see Figure 8.6a). On the O.S. map the township straddles both sides of a small stream and a sinuous head dyke runs through Carnasserie and the neighbouring farm of Tibertich, parallel to the contours of the valley, separating the improved land to the east from the unimproved land to the west.

This review of the historical record and maps have provided the bare bones of the history of Carnasserie. Initially the property was known for its pasturage and it might have been used by people occupying the dun in the prehistoric and perhaps the early-medieval period. In the medieval period it is possible that a ringwork was built (only the slight bank of which survives) perhaps surrounding a timber built hall. Major castles of this period were built to dominated the sea-ways and so the inland location of this site, within the Kilmartin valley, would support the idea that this site was lower down the social status, although perhaps still the seat of a local lord or chief.

This property was held from the king by the Campbell Earls of Argyll throughout the Medieval period and by the mid-15th century there was a significant dwelling, probably a stone built hall-house which could still have required the defensive bank and ditch. By the mid-16th century Carnasserie had split into two settlements, Mor and Beg. Carnasserie Beg was closer to the castle but probably did not 'nestle' around its base. The son of the keeper of the castle, John Carswell, became Bishop of Argyll which enabled him to build a tower house on land already in his families possession. The castle was therefore a reflection of his personal status (with due deference to his patron, the Earl of Argyll) rather than being a significant church property. This probably contributed to the situation by the early-17th century whereby the lands of Carnasserie Mor were being farmed separately by the secular MacLachlans, who were based at the neighbouring farm of Creagenterve.

Carnasserie Castle was held by the Campbells during the invasions of Alistair McColla in the mid-17th century, but was destroyed during the Campbell Rebellion of 1690. Thereafter Carnasserie Castle and Carnasserie Beg were in the hands of the Campbells of Kilmartin, while Carnasserie Mor and the mill remained in the hands of the MacLachans of Craegenterve.

The extent of the farm can be suggested from an examination of the historic maps and documents. The neighbouring farms of Tibbertich, Upper Largie, Creaganterve and Ormaig are all depicted on Pont's manuscript map of the late 16th century (see Table 4.1) and so they were clearly in existence at this time and 'Tibbertchit', 'Craiginterriff' and 'Ormage' can be been traced further back in documents to 1529 (see Table 4.4). So Carnasserie was bounded by these farms at least by the early 16th century which would give it an extent (based on the modern farm extents) of about 4.5 square km. It is not possible at this stage to say when these neighbouring settlements came into existence. The possibilities include them being already in existence in the early-medieval period, or created when the Campbells took possession of the barony in the 14th century or that they came into being just prior to the documentary evidence (perhaps associated with the arrival of the Carswells in Carnasserie). What can be said is that in the early 16th century the farm did not form an extensive tract of land and without John Carswell's ecclesiastic income, would not have enabled the construction of the castle.

This case study is therefore of a property which is relatively small and yet was the site of a high-status tower house associated with an ecclesiastic of high status having a family connection with the area. This is in contrast with Duntrune Castle which was built by a cadet branch of the local most powerful clan the Campbells. The Carnasserie estate (at least from the mid-16th century) may therefore not have been managed in a typical way as it was initially in the hands of an ecclesiastic whose occupation of the tower house reflected his high status, although his main interest and income were derived from his position within the church. After it reverted to the Campbells in the late 16th century the castle was used as one of their many strongholds and continued to be untypical as a centre of medieval lordship in that the castle was not maintained by the produce of its own hinterland.

8.3 Results of the survey

There were few known archaeological sites at Carnasserie prior to this research and these are shown in Table 8.1.

NMRS No	Description	Location	Comments
NM80SW23	Short cist		S of the castle
NM80SW30	Cup-marked stone		
NM80SW 46	Carnasserie Mill	NM 838011	Stone built mill by the Kilmartin Burn
NM80SW 63	Cup markings	NM 8431 0202	Tibbertich
NM80SW 34	Cairn	NM 8441 0201	Poorly preserved burial cairn
NM80SW 28	Cairn (Carn Ban)	NM 8411 0150	Prominent cairn 20 ft high (RCAHMS 1988).
NM80SW 58	Carnasserie Mor Township	NM 838 012	Carnasserie, 1 unroofed, 2 partially roofed and seven roofed buildings on 1st edition OS map.
-	Fragment of shale bracelet	-	Found by Rosemary Campbell on Carnasserie farm (now in Kilmartin Museum).

Table 8.1 All archaeological sites on Carnasserie farm prior to this research.

The site visit confirmed that the deserted settlement of Carnasserie Mor (Site 21) is one of the largest deserted settlements in the research area, consisting of 14 structures located on either side of a small stream (see Figure 8.6b). Structures A & B have three and two rooms respectively and each has a fireplace incorporated into one of the gable ends (see Figures 8.6c, 8.7 & 8.8). The fireplaces appear to be original features which would suggest that the buildings were constructed in the late 19th century. The walls are of drystone construction and the original roofing has been replaced by corrugated iron. These two structures were still occupied in the late 20th century by the uncle of the current owners and so Carnasserie Mor has not been deserted for long. There is evidence for several alterations and additions to these structures, reflecting their change of use.

Surrounding these structures are the remains of 12 other rectangular-shaped drystone structures the majority of which are shown as roofed on the 1st edition O.S. map (Figure 8.6a). These include a sheepfold with external enclosures (I) and two barns with triangular vents in the walls (E & F). There are two possible animal pens or sheds (J & L) and an unroofed enclosure (C). Structure H is a ruined structure with lime-mortared walls, which have now collapsed. There are two other possible sheds (G & K) and a low rectangular structure of unknown purpose (D). These structures (A to L) are thought to date to the late 18th and 19th century because of their square corners, high gable ends, triangular vents in the 'barns' and, in the case of Structure I, its association with sheep farming.

At the south end of the site there are the remains of two further structures (M & N) which are not depicted on the 1st edition O.S. map. These structures lie at right angles to each other on a rocky outcrop and survive only as slight, grass-covered banks, less than 0.5m high, with no surviving architectural features that would indicate what their function had been (see Figure 8.9). Structure M is 11.8 m long and 4.3m wide internally and Structure N is 5.8m long and 3.0m internally. They are thought to be potentially earlier in date than the other structures because of their more ruinous condition, coupled with the fact that they are not depicted on the 1st edition O.S. map. However, Structures M & N are still recognisably rectangular in shape, unlike the late-medieval structures found at Bàrr Mór and the work at Glennan has shown how deceptive the low, ruinous nature of structures can be when determining the age of a structure. So it is possible that these structures are still Post-medieval in date, perhaps from the late-18th or very early 19th century. They may have

gone out of use quite quickly and the stone walls robbed, or perhaps the walls were of turf or wattle.

Their location at the southern end of the site may be an earlier focus for Carnasserie Mor, situated on higher rocky ground which was unsuitable for cultivation. This would have left the lower flatter ground, to either side of the stream, available for cultivation, but was later utilised for building on. It is possible that Structures M & N are similar to those seen near the stream at Glennan (Sites 051, 052 & 055) which are also thought to be Post-medieval.

The documentary evidence indicates that that Carnasserie Mor was in existence by the mid-16th century and from the early 17th century was farmed separately by the MacLachlans at Craegenterve. The settlement was a relatively large with eight households by the late-17th century. The surviving structures all date from the high point of population expansion in the 19th century. Roy's map of the mid-18th century locates the settlement to the NW of the castle which is approximately where Carnasserie Mor still lies. There is therefore no evidence for major settlement shift, a phenomenon noted elsewhere (see Chapter 3).

Further fieldwork took place on the Carnasserie farm, in order to identify other unrecorded sites that could belong to the medieval landscape. By distinguishing what are the probable prehistoric and the Post-medieval sites, it was hoped that the remaining sites could be considered potentially medieval in date. This fieldwork consisted of a 'guided' walkover survey of the Carnasserie Farm with the owner and a topographic survey of the largest group of shielings found.

This walkover survey provided an additional 21 new sites which were previously not known in the archaeological record, which is a significant increase in density. The new sites included a natural spring, two possibly prehistoric or early-Medieval circular enclosures, a possible prehistoric hut circle, four prehistoric cup and ring mark sites, a prehistoric saddle quern, a square-shaped structure of unknown date, three clearance cairns of unknown date, a sinuous head dyke probably of medieval or Post-medieval date, nine groups of shielings which could also be medieval or Post-medieval and a modern shepherd's shelter (see Table 8.2 and Figure 8.10).

Site No.	Description	Location	Date	Comments
24	Circular enclosure	183473 701291	Prehistoric/ early-medieval?	Low earthen bank with a few large protruding stones.
241	Clearance cairn	183551 701183	Unknown	A linear cairn of small stones measuring 8m long, 3m wide and less than 0.3m high.
242	Cup marks	183460 701231	Prehistoric	A fairly flat rock at ground level with about 20 cups.
243	Cups & ring	183336 701372	Prehistoric	A sloping rock beneath a natural outcrop, with 1 cup and ring and about 20 cups.
244	Cairn & dyke, head dyke?	183444 701494	Late-medieval/Post-medieval?	A cairn with a snaking earth and stone dyke up to 0.5m high, extending to either side. The dyke is depicted on the 1st edition OS map, but it is not a 19th century field wall.
245	Circular enclosure	183563 701890	Prehistoric/ early-medieval	A circular enclosure located on a hilltop, measuring 8m internally, with a slight earth and stone bank, a hollow interior with a cairn. The bank is up to 0.2m high with a small cairn up to 1m high in the north side. The walls are difficult to discern but could be spread about 1m wide. (see Figure 8.15)
246	Four shielings	182787 701960	Medieval/Post-medieval?	A group of shielings on the southern slopes of *Sron an Tigh Dubh* (= nose (ridge) of the Black house). They survive as low grass covered walls, less than 0.3m high, with some stones visible. The largest, in the north, was oval in shape and measured about 10m long by about 4m wide overall. It had two rooms, with doorways to the south. The other structures were single celled and oval-shaped, up to 6m at their maximum extent, with one entrance to the south-west and north-west. This group of shielings were located on a slight ridge,

				on ground which sloped down gently towards the north. They were not sitting on distinctive mounds and the vegetation in the surrounding area was not particularly green. The land to the north and south was vegetated with brown rough grass indicative of more poorly drained ground.
247	Spring	182810 702078	Unknown	This spring had been artificially enhanced with the digging of a rectangular-shaped hollow (0.8m long by 0.3m wide) and deposition of a low mound. There was water in the hollow. This presumably provided the water for the shielings above.
248	Circular shieling	182638 702556	Medieval or Post-medieval	A small shieling nestles against a steep slope and consisted of a tumble of stones, with a nearly circular shape, diameter c. 4m. The stones are particularly large and angular, 0.5m to 1.0m long, probably reflecting the naturally available stone. On the south side a stone bank continues up the hill to the north-east (not shown on the 1st edition OS map).
249	Shepherds shelter	182767 702530	20th century	This semi-circular shaped, roughly built enclosure abuts a steep slope and was used as a shepherd's shelter during lambing time. It measures about 4m long and 2.5m wide. This is distinguishable from the shielings in that it is not grass covered and the walls are very poorly constructed. They are not load bearing and it was not roofed, merely acting as a shelter.
250	Hut circle or circular shieling	182940 702470	Medieval or Post-medieval	A low grass-covered, circular bank about 5m in diameter overall, with numerous large angular stones visible on the surface. The north side is a natural stone outcrop against which the structure has been constructed.

251	Square-shaped structure	183032 702711	Unknown	This structure is possibly square, measuring 4m across with straight sides and possibly square corners. The walls are turf covered and spread about 1m wide and with a maximum height of 0.5m. The structure lies on the north side of a stream, protected from the north and east.
252	Three shielings	183041 702853	Medieval or Post-medieval	A group of three shielings appear as grass and moss covered banks. The largest shieling is c 3m long and 1.5m wide internally with walls up to 1m high. The site lies on a north-east facing slope and there are peat cuttings nearby to the east.
253	Circular shieling	183239 702671	Medieval or Post-medieval	This structure has rough walls utilizing a natural boulder. It is about 5m in diameter.
254	Three shielings	183376 702712	Medieval or Post-medieval	Oval-shaped structures with walls about 0.5m high. One of the shielings has a small annex.
255	Saddle quern	183968 702135	Prehistoric	A saddle quern lies among a natural limestone outcrop. This quern could have been moved from its original location through stone clearance. There is no evidence for settlement in the immediate vicinity.
256	Cairn & Shielings?	183958 701953 (NM80SW34)	Medieval or Post-medieval	Indeterminate stone structures, possibly consisting of a cairn and shielings. Cultivation and enclosures are also noted in the vicinity. Described as a poorly preserved burial-cairn (Scott & Scott 1976).
257	Oval-shaped shieling	184026 701953	Medieval or Post-medieval	A single oval-shaped shieling with grass covered banks up to 0.3m high with a cairn/lambing pen on one side.
258	Cup mark	184305 702066	Prehistoric	A natural boulder measuring about 2m by 2m, which faces south-east. A cup is visible at ground level.
259	Cup and ring	184327 702004	Prehistoric	Cup and ring marked rock
260	Four shielings	184321 701980	Medieval or	A roughly rectangular area of cultivation

	& enclosed cultivation		Post-medieval	measuring 160m by 50 m enclosed by an earth and stone bank, with four shielings abutting the enclosure on the inside of the north bank. Shieling Site 260.1 is a rectangular structure with five courses of stones visible on the north-east corner. It measures 3.5 by 1.5m internally with walls a spread of tumble 1m wide and up to 0.7m high. The west wall is formed of the natural slope. Site 260.2 is a less substantial rectangular enclosure of stones with only 1 course visible. It measures 3.5m by 2m internally. Site 260.3 is a rectangular structure with more stones visible than the previous two. It is 4m by 1.5m internally with walls 0.5m high. Site 260.4 is a rectangular structure measuring 3.5m by 1.5m with walls up to 0.5m high.
261	Hut circle?	NM 184315 701811	Prehistoric	A possible hut circle with an internal diameter of 4m consisting of a low turf covered bank with some stones visible. It lies on a terrace on a generally steep, east facing, slope (see Figure 8.16)

Table 8.2 Sites identified at Carnasserie during a walkover survey

The new sites are found to either side of a high rocky ridge, Cnoc Creach which is generally devoid of archaeological remains (see Figure 8.10). To the north-west of Cnoc Creach there are three types of structure found which have the potential to be medieval or Post-medieval in date.

The first consists are oval-shaped structures, interpreted as shielings, found in three groups, each with 3 or 4 structures (Sites 246, 252 & 254). One of these groups (Site 246) is located at Sron an Tighe Dhuibh and includes one double celled structure and three single celled structures (see Figures 8.11, 8.12 & 8.13). The second type are isolated circular shielings which are interspersed between the groups of oval-shaped shielings. There are three examples of this type and they appear to be fairly evenly distributed (Sites 248, 250 & 253). The third type is a single example of a square structure (Site 251) which is located beside a small stream. This structure is similar to a shepherds shelter on Barra, which was thought from the pottery evidence to be earlier than the 17th or 18th centuries (Branigan 2005, 57). The location of this site at Carnasserie, beside a stream, is suggestive of a sheltered stock enclosure or perhaps a mill.

Without any dating evidence it is very difficult to suggest how these groups of structures relate to each other as they could all be broadly contemporary or be utilised successively over many centuries. There is little to suggests that any of them were in use for a considerable amount of time as they neither sit on mounds, nor is the vegetation surrounding them particularly green (features identified as possible indication of some antiquity by Roger Mercer (1980)). There was also no clear indications of cultivation in the form of rig and furrow, suggesting that this area has primarily been utilised for grazing rather than cultivation. The possibility of the circular shielings (246, 250 & 253) being prehistoric hut circles is worth considering, and it was only the roughness of their construction which prompted their interpretation as shielings.

To the south-east of Cnoc Creach (nearer the Castle) the potential medieval or Post-medieval sites were more varied as they included two circular enclosures (Sites 245 and 24 (Figure 8.15), some rather indeterminate remains which could be shielings and cairns (256), a single oval-shaped shieling (257, see Figure 8.17) and clearance cairns (241 and 244). The most substantial remains include an extensive area of cultivation with four oval shaped shielings incorporated into its enclosure wall (Site 260, see Figure 8.14). The

remains in this area include clear evidence for the existence of cultivation in the form of clearance cairns and rig and furrow as well as a small number of small structures which could be shielings or storage huts.

Towards the end of this research a walkover survey was also carried out of the areas of Carnasserie, Sron an Tigh Dubh, Barr an Daimh and Ormaig by Kilmartin Museum with local volunteers. This survey produced a total number of 80 'structures' and five 'possible structures' which included several Post-medieval sheep fanks, twinning pens, circular and oval-shaped shielings and 34 areas of rig and furrow (Regan & Webb 2007). While this survey did increase the overall number of sites, it is not thought to have discovered any significant additional potentially medieval sites.

8.4 Conclusions

The survey has examined the relationship between the late-medieval castle and the settlement sites and shows that (in contrast to the contemporary situation) the castle once sat within a much more populated landscape. The construction of the tower house and the documentary references to the two Carnasserie settlements appear to be broadly contemporary, but it is not known which of the two settlements was the original and which one split away. One could speculate that Carnasserie Mor, being the largest and most important, was the original settlement associated with, but at some distance from, the significant structure (a possible hall-house) of the 15th century (which may have had ancillary buildings around its base). There is no evidence that the site of Carnasserie Mor has shifted significantly during the medieval period, although the earlier structures may be located towards the southern end of the site, where the ground is rocky. Carnasserie Mor was farmed as a joint tenancy farm during the 17th and 18th centuries. The Improvements of the 19th century included the re-building in drystone of most of the structures at Carnasserie Mor which has destroyed or obscured any surface evidence of earlier remains. In the 20th century the farm of Carnasserie was amalgamated into a single holding.

When the tower house was built in the mid-16th century the smaller settlement of Carnasserie Beg was also established in order to serve the needs of the castle occupants. Whether it was beneath the castle walls or some distance away is not known, although in the mid-18th century (after the castle's destruction) it is depicted a short distance away.

Since then, this settlement gradually shifted closer to the walls, only to be cleared away in the 19th century by the new owners. There is no evidence therefore that settlement was clustered around the castle base until the Post-medieval period and in the medieval period the castle may well have had an exclusion zone around it.

The location of this tower-house is perhaps slightly unusual for Argyll in that it is not beside either a loch or the sea. This choice can be explained by the fact that the builder of the castle, John Carswell, was an ecclesiastic rather than a secular lord, whose position did not rely on sea power, and who probably chose this site because it had been in the hands of his father and was the place of his own birth. Oram has noted the keenness of prelates such as the Bishop of Argyll to utilise the 'architectural symbolism of lordship' (Oram 2005, 8) without expressing the associated land acquisitiveness. The majority of the farm was therefore let to the neighbouring MacLachlan clan who were resident at Craegenterve and whose primary interest would have been the income from their tenants.

The archaeological remains within the hills at Carnasserie consist of both pastoral and arable elements with the suggestion of an emphasis on the pastoral further away from the castle. This is consistent with the model of permanent settlement being concentrated around the patches of cultivatable land and the hill ground beyond being used for grazing stock (Site 260). The presence of prehistoric remains in the form of cairns, a hut circle and a saddle quern are also indicative of prehistoric settlement in the area and suggests that colonisation of the forest (see Figure 2.42) had already taken place well before the medieval period, although this was likely to consist of irregular patches. It is probable that the prehistoric fields were subsumed into and enlarged on by the medieval fields and these in turn have been obliterated by the intense cultivation of the Post-medieval rig and furrow.

The structures also exhibit a variety of morphology for which the chronological framework is scanty. There are no examples of structures with high drystone walls as were found at Bàrr Mór, which are known to be of late-medieval date (Chapter 6). However the two-celled structure at Site 246, at 10m long and 4m wide, is of similar length to, although perhaps slightly narrower than, Structure A. The walls of the two-celled structure are only 0.3m high, probably a result of a low foundation wall of stone supporting turf walls as was seen at Structure B. As has been shown this technique could date from the early-medieval period to the 19th century. The grouping of shielings some with cultivation is also

reminiscent of the findings at Glennan, the potential of which to be medieval has been suggested. The structures incorporated into an enclosing wall at Site 260 (Carnasserie) is also similar to the 'outhouse' at Rosal Complex A which Fairhurst speculated was medieval in date (Figure 2.8).

The shielings have proved easy to identify and survey, but there is a great deal of work which still needs to be done on their date and function. In the meantime it would perhaps be unwise to date all the circular features as prehistoric hut circles purely from the visible surface remains alone. There is after all very little difference between an oval-shaped shieling and a circular-shaped turf covered hut circle. The circular sites identified at Carnasserie are relatively small for hut circles being only 5m to 8m in diameter and these may well prove to be circular shielings as seen on Jura (see Figure 2.17). The great variety of shapes and sizes of shielings was also displayed by the survey of Barra (Branigan 2005, 45-47).

Future work at Carnasserie could involve greater use of aerial photography enabling particular areas to be focused on and allowing areas of cultivation to be mapped rapidly. Excavation of some of the oval shieling sites and circular hut circles would clarify their function and provide information on how the utilisation of the landscape developed.

Chapter 9: North Knapdale, Case Study 4

9.1 Introduction

This case study takes a wider view of the landscape than the previous studies in that it encompasses the west coast of North Knapdale, particularly Kilmory Knap and the Keills peninsula located on either side of Loch Sween, the east part of North Knapdale being mostly forestry plantation (see Figure 1.1). The purpose of this case study was to examine the potential for medieval settlement in a large area dominated by a significant lordship which was based at Castle Sween (one of the earliest stone castles in Scotland). The area was also served by two significant medieval chapels at Keills and Kilmory (as evidenced by the presence of several medieval carved burial slabs, see Chapter 5) and a potentially medieval re-used dun at Dun Mhurich.The only difference to the methodology used by the other case studies was a greater emphasis on the use of aerial photographs. This was undertaken to see whether the use of aerial photographs could speed up the process of identification of potential medieval sites in the landscape, so that fieldwork could be more targeted.

North Knapdale is not a rich agricultural area as it is generally rocky with few areas suitable for cultivation. Castle Sween is located on a thin coastal strip on the north-west side of a wide peninsula between Loch Sween and Loch Caolisport, known as Kilmory Knap. Inland from the low-lying coastal strip, the landscape consists of rocky ridges aligned north-east to south-west, rising up to about 300m above sea level. In between these ridges there are small inland lochs, streams and unimproved ground, largely devoid of natural woodland. The only natural woodland by the mid-18th century was along the north shore from Daltote to Drynach and in patches along the south coast (as depicted by Roys' military map). The Keills peninsula lies on the north side of Loch Sween, extending south-westwards between Loch Sween and the Sound of Jura, from Tayvallich to the island of Danna. The landscape is similar to Kilmory Knap being low-lying, with rocky ridges inland up to a height of about 100m, but the cultivated coastal strip faces south-east, the north-west coast being rocky and exposed. The Taynish peninsular is the only area where natural woodland survived in the mid-18th century.

This case study has revealed that the settlement pattern of this area consisted of small farms distributed thinly around the coastal edges since at least the 16th century. Prior to this the changes in lordship since the 13th century would have provided opportunities for modifications to be made to the tenant population and settlement pattern, but was probably still sparse and non-nucleated until the 17th or 18th century. The fieldwork has highlighted the potential presence of lesser lordships in the Keills peninsular with an absence of these in Kilmory Knap, in the vicinity of Castle Sween.

9.2 Known archaeological sites

The recorded archaeology sites are relatively sparse in this area and the medieval sites are relatively under represented considering the level of activity in the prehistoric and Post-medieval periods. The sites of prehistoric date on the Keills peninsula include several duns and forts (RCAHMS 1988, Nos 292, 245, 247, 302, 311, 301, 251, 289), cup-marked rocks, Bronze age cists, standing stones, rock shelters and kerbed cairns. On Kilmory Knap there are also several duns, forts, cairns, cup-marked rocks, caves and rock shelters which all attest to a prehistoric presence in the region. Of the duns and forts, a few have crudely built internal structures which have been interpreted as re-use in the recent (Post-medieval) past (Royal Commission 1988, Sites 300, 295, 254 & 246). Only two hut circles have been recorded, both located near the coast, one at Doide (NR77NW 24) and another possible one at Dun Rostan (NR78SW20).

The early-medieval period is represented only by ecclesiastic sites such as the early Christian crosses at Keills, Kilmory and Cladh a'Bhile and burial grounds at Kilmory, Daltote and 'Druim a Chladha' (near Castle Sween).

The medieval period is represented on the Keills peninsular primarily by Keills chapel which dates to the last quarter of the 12th century, with its early-Christian crosses, medieval grave slabs and graveyard (NR68SE2; RCAHMS 1992, 83), although around the chapel several rectangular building foundations and enclosures have been identified as the remains of a depopulated settlement (NR68SE5). The prehistoric site of Dun Mhuirich also has rectangular structures within it which indicate that it is a complex, potentially multi-period site. Other duns and forts have only crudely built shelters which are thought to be fairly modern (RCAHMS 1988 190; Royal Commission Site 311). There is a fortified

island dwellings at Eilean na Circe which lies at the head of Caol Scotnish (see Chapter 2) and a possible crannog with a rectangular structure on an island within Lochan Taynish (NW78NW14, Hill & Barrett 1976) which has potential to be a medieval island dwelling utilising an earlier prehistoric crannog site.

Kilmory Knap in the medieval period would have been dominated by Castle Sween which is thought have been built by a powerful local chieftain (Suibhne) in the late 12th century. Kilmory was chosen to be the site of a medieval chapel in the early 13th century and throughout the medieval period was a focus for aristocratic burial is shown by the presence of several medieval carved burial slabs (RCAHMS 1992, 161-172; Fisher 2001). The only other recorded medieval site is a stone quarry at Doide, which provided stone for Castle Sween and for St John's Cross on Iona and the crosses on Oronsay.

There are a few sites which have been described as being of indeterminate date and are therefore potentially medieval in date. Near Keills, these include enclosures, clearance cairns and cultivation remains at Droineach (NR78SW26, NGR NR 702 811), a group of possible oval and rectangular shaped shielings at Torr Mor (NE78NW19, NGR 745 878) and a possible building (or stone circle) at Leachive (NR78NW 8). On Taynish island the foundations of several rectangular and oval shaped buildings have been noted, which may be shielings (NR78SW6). Sites of unknown date in Kilmory Knap include a millstone quarry at Balimore (NGR NR711 746) which may be 'considerably earlier than the 19th century' (RCAHMS 1992, 483) and 'small enclosures and hut foundations' at Corran Buidhe (NR77NW 16, NR723 798).

The Post-medieval period is well represented in Kilmory Knap and Keills peninsula. There are charcoal burning platforms in Taynish (NR78NW11 & 15; Sneddon 2003) and several deserted townships as depicted on the 1st edition OS map (FESP data). There is also a corn-drying kiln (NR78NW12) 300m NE of Barnashalg standing stone. In Kilmory Knap the Post-medieval sites include a sheepfold, a shieling at Cnoc Stighseir (NR77NW14, NGR NR 7125 7652), a 17th century mill at Stronefield (NR77SW7, NGR 715 741) and a number of deserted farmsteads or townships.

This review of the known archaeological sites has shown that although there was a significant human presence here during the prehistoric period, the medieval period is

under-represented, consisting primarily of the stone built remains of Castle Sween, and the medieval chapels and burial grounds of Keills and Kilmory, a fortified dwelling at Eilean na Circe and a possible multi-period dun at Dun Mhuirich. The problem is that, as seen elsewhere in Scotland, the rural settlements of those who farmed the land controlled by the castle occupants and administered to by the chapels have not been identified. There are a few *potentially* medieval sites, including a shieling, a few 'indeterminate' sites and a possible depopulated settlement, but all of these currently lack dating evidence. The reasons for this lack of sites are probably the relative remoteness of the interior and the consequent lack of detailed survey work that has taken place here, which could therefore be ameliorated by this research programme.

9.3 Historic maps and documents

Knapdale was the ancestral lands of the MacSweens and the Gaelic lord Suibhne was by tradition the thane of Knapdale and Glasserie, a considerable area, which enabled him to build Castle Sween (see Figure 2.37, RCAHMS 1992, 258) The MacSweens were major landowners in Scotland who moved in the highest circles. Dugald, son of Suibhne, signed a charter in Paisley along with Walter Stewart the Justiciar of Scotland (RCAHMS 1992, 258). The MacSweens were ousted in the 13th century by the Stewart Earl of Menteith for reasons not recorded, but probably relates to Norman expansion at the expense of the native Gaelic lords. The MacSweens were unsuccessful in their attempted to regain their lands with the backing of the English King during the wars of Independence. Castle Sween is first referred to in documents in 1353 as 'Castle Suyn' (see Tables 4.3 & 5.5) and there is a reference to its associated farmland as the pennyland of 'Castle Swine' in 1357 (RCAHMS 1992, 259). If the connection between 1 man per pennyland (see Chapter 7) is corret then this would mean that the farmland associated with the castle was not extensive, (compared to the five pennylands of Glennan for instance) which would also support the idea that the castle was not a focus for a large population outwith the household of the lord. As heir to the Menteith lands Robert Stewart, later Robert II, inherited the estate.

The lands of Knapdale were granted by the crown to the Lords of the Isles and after the forfeiture of the Lordship in the late 15th century, Knapdale passed to the Campbell Earls of Argyll. The lesser clans, holding lands in Knapdale, included the MacNeills and the MacMillans, who were in turn keepers of the castle for the Lords of the Isles. While the

MacNeills changed loyalties at the forfeiture of the Lordship and thereby retained control of some of their lands, the MacMillans (who were closely tied to the Clan Donald) were ousted because of their hostility to the Campbells. The Campbells took their lands by force as they were met with opposition to their new ownership from many of the traditional MacDonald tenants. This loss of the traditional MacDonald lands led eventually to the rebellion by James MacDonald of Dunneyveg and his son Alistair MacColla in the 17th century. The castle acted as the primary lordly residence throughout the medieval period, the additions and alterations reflecting the requirements and status of the resident keepers.

After being burned by Alisdair McColla in 1647, the castle was re-occupied as a farmstead rather than as a lordly residence. A sasine dated 1652 refers to a mill at Castle Sween (location unknown) and to the sharing of fishing rights and responsibilities between the lord Sir Dougal Campbell of Auchinbreck and his superior, the Marquis of Argyll.

> … 'Seneschlate of Knapdale' including the 'Mill of Castleswyne, all in Knapdale, together with the custody of Castleswyne'. Also the 'office of Toiseachdeors of Glassary…..and half fishing of the river Add….. Auchinbreck and his heirs being required to maintain a boat and fishing tackle ....while Argyll and his heirs are to pay the average expense of the nets…and for the Glassary and Ardcallum said offices, the usual services, with a ten-oared ship… witness Patrick Campbell of Kilmorie, Castleswyne' (Campbell 1933, 121-22, No 346).

Although there is no direct reference to a settlement, the miller and fishermen would have required accommodation in settlements, presumably in the vicinity. The earliest useful map of settlement place-names is provided in Blaeu's Atlas dated 1654 (see Table 5.3) which was based on Pont's manuscript maps (which have not survived). This includes 'The Province of Knapdail' (see Figure 4.8 for a detail of the Keills peninsula and Figure 9.1 for Kilmory Knap). 'Castle Suyn' is depicted with a slightly different symbol to the neighbouring settlements (see Figure 9.2), reflecting the different character of the castle and its occupation.

Blaeu's Atlas depicts several settlements and clearly shows that the significant farms were all located around the coastal edge. Ten farms between Castle Sween and Loch Caolisport

were owned as a unit in the late 15th century as they formed the dowry of Erca when she married the 5th MacMillan of Knap in the late-15th century (MacMillan 1960, 13). This historical evidence is broadly consistent with Blaeu's Atlas which depicts nine settlements of Ken Loch Cheuhispurt, Eillery, Owa, Schrossselt, Innerstain, Balmoirknap, Feirnach, Ardennaeg and Castle Swyn and a chapel at Kilmore (still with a cross). It would seem probable that this whole peninsula was owned as a unit by the keepers of Castle Sween, including coastal settlements and upland pasturage, which probably resulted in a degree of consistency of economy, building techniques and farming practices.

Blaeu's map of the Keills peninsula also depicts several settlements many along the coastal edge (see Figure 4.8 and Table 5.3). There is some map evidence for the existence of fortified settlements. Two inland settlements, called Y na uaid M and Yrin na uaid B to the south of Glensavel have place-names which suggest that they may be located on islands and are therefore potentially fortified settlements perhaps of the lesser aristocracy. These are potentially two island strongholds or settlements which have divided from a single origin Yrin na uaid M[or] and B[eg]. Pont uses 'Y', 'Yle' and 'Ylen' to refer to islands, as seen in Loch Lomond (National Library of Scotland, Pont No. 17) and so the use of 'Y' and 'Yrin' here is thought also to be signifying islands. Consultation of the modern maps shows that the site of Dun Bhronaig lies in this vicinity at the northern edge of Loch Duin Calltainn. Prior to the Improvements and drainage, this loch could have been more extensive with the dun sitting as an island within it. To the south the modern maps shows another small loch inland from Tayvullin, shown on modern maps, which might be the location of 'Yrin na uaid B'.

The historical records for residences of lesser lordships within North Knapdale are few and consist of a fortified dwelling on the island of Eilean na Circe (said to be the refuge for the laird of Ob (the Campbells of Oib)) and the Robbers Den at Ardrishaig (used in the late medieval period by the MacIver and MacVicar families). The crannog at Duntaynish has no known family connection. Loch Sween is called 'Cheulis na Kerk' by Blaeu in reference to Yl Kerk' (the fortified island Eilean Circe). The inlet known today as Linne Mhuirich where Dun Mhuirich is located, is missing from Blaeu's Atlas, perhaps indicating that Pont did not travel up this particular section of the coast. Not all settlements are important enough to be named as the five unnamed sites of the island of 'Denna' shows.

By the mid 18th century Castle Sween has an enclosure to the south and is separated from a small cluster of buildings by a coastal track (see Roy's military map, Figure 9.3). The Post-medieval settlement at Castle Sween, focused a short distance from the castle, may have only been established after the burning of the castle in 1647.

Castle Sween dominated the medieval landscape of Knapdale, in that there are no other known castles in the vicinity, the nearest being Tarbet, Skipness and Dunaverty castles, all further south in Kintyre. The castle is located on the coast between two anchorages Sgeir Dubh and Traigh Bhan from where it could control sea traffic along the sound of Jura. On the landward side, there is a slightly more extensive coastal strip here than elsewhere in Knapdale, which would have provided the best cultivatable land in North Knapdale. With access to the resources of the sea, arable fields and pasture, the lords could maximise the economic potential of this area. The existence of such a large castle as Castle Sween in this area at an early period, indicates access to some considerable wealth, by the MacSweens as is supported by the historic records which records Suibhne as 'Thane of Knapdale and Glassrie' and later MacSweens as lords of much of Knapdale (RCAHMS 1992, 258).

As with the other case studies, a comparison was made between Blaeu's Atlas, Roy's military map of the mid 18th century and the 1st edition OS map in order to identify sites on the ground. An examination of the earliest documentary references (Table 4.3) and other sources such as the Argyll Sasines and List of Fencible Men enabled some observations to be made about settlement size and continuity in the late medieval and Post-medieval period.

Firstly, the majority of sites on Blaeu's Atlas can be found either on Roy's map of the mid-18th century or on the 1st edition OS maps of the mid-19th century and so represents continuity of settlement place-names from the late-16th century into the Post-medieval period. Very few of these names could be traced further back than the 16th century which is probably mainly due to a lack of historical documents from this earlier period. The exceptions were Castle Sween (1353), the island of Ulva (1351) and Barbeith (1429-1449) (see Table 4.3). There is a significant number of place-names which are recorded in the period from the mid-14th to the 16th centuries, but have since disappeared from the records (Tables 4.3 & 5.3). There are several reasons why place-name changes may have occurred including scribal error, unfamiliarity with Gaelic, change of ownership or perhaps

desertion though war, famine or disease. The sites which have disappeared include Apenad, Barmore (Danna) Skondenze, Dreissag, Barrandayb, the island of Thivinche, Ardennaeg, Innerstain, Schronsselt and Owa.

An attempt was made to link these names with later place-names. An example is that of Apenad (1351) which is similar to Ardenavad (1513) and also to Ardennaeg (depicted by Blaeu). However, none of these names are mentioned in the Argyll Sasines and they cannot be identified in the modern landscape. Without further research one could not confidently claim that they are the same place. Place-name changes in the later medieval period can be traced with more confidence. For example, Schronselt, via Stronfyll to Stonefield. A sasine dated 1632 refers to the

> '12 merk lands of Knap, in Knapdale (viz., the 2 merk land of Kilmoir, 2 merk land of Fernach, 4 merk land of Ballimore and 4 merk land of Stronfyll), given… to John Campbell, now of Knap' (Campbell 1933, No 425, 135).

The inclusion of Stronfyll after Ballimore is consistent with the location 'Schronselt' depicted by Blaeu on the south coast of the peninsula, and may be the same place. In 1643 there is a

> 'sasine of the 2 merk land of Kilmorie, 2 merk land of Fernoch, 4 merk land of Ballimore and 4 merk land of Stronsyle, all in Knapdale, given by Hector MacNeill of Caldchailzie [Gallachelly], as baillie to Patrick Campbell, now of Knap, as lawful son and nearest heir male of deceased John C. of Knap, on a precept of clare constat by the Marquess of Argyll' (No 250, Campbell 1933, 82).

Campbell particularly mentions the change of name from 'Strontill' to 'Stronfield' in various writs (Campbell 1934, 135) and in 1724 there is a reference to 'John Campbell of Stronfield, with a reservation regarding the mill of Stronfield…..four merk lands of Stronfield' (Campbell 1916b, 1).

The migration of settlement sites can be occasionally detected as at Kilbride (Kilmory Knap) which is depicted on the 1st edition OS map as a roofed settlement, just south of a

stream, the *Allt Bealach an Eich*. However about 150m upstream there is a deserted settlement of five unroofed structures and three enclosures, which is probably the site depicted by Roy and possibly also by Blaeu. There is also an example of an unnamed site, near Keills Port, disappearing from the maps since Roy's survey of the mid-18th century. This unnamed can be located fairly confidently at the back of the bay at Keills Port, a location which would provide some shelter, access to cultivated ground and the sea.

There are a small number of sites have split since the 16th century. Ardbeg is depicted as a single site by Blaeu, but has become Ardbeg and E[ast] Ardbeg by the mid-18th century. Roy also depicts two sites 'Fernach iacherack' and a 'Fernach-uacherack' rather than the single Feirnoch as in Blaeu. Kilmacharmick (which becomes Keills) is the only site in North Knapdale appears to have split into the two forms mor and beg by the late 16th ccnetury, although only one settlement symbol is actually depicted by Blaeu. Two sites depicted by Roy, Tornacleach beg and Ardfind beg, have no corresponding mor sites. In North Knapdale the splitting of sites would appear to be a rare and generally Post-medieval phenomenon.

Examination of the Hearth Tax data of 1694 shows that the settlements remained small well into the 17th century (see Table 4.1). But this data is problematic as it does not always correspond with the information in the List of Fencible men of 1692 (see Table 9.1). For example Ballemore and Fernoch have respectively 4 and 3 occupants, each with a single hearth, according to the 1694 list, but the List of Fencible men in 1692 lists 3 and 2 names respectively. This difference may not be hugely significant as the size of both settlements can be seen to be small in the 17th century, generally between 2 and 4 households, and a maximum of 6, each with a single hearth. Other sites in North Knapdale which have more than one hearth and so are probably occupied by lairds or clan chiefs include Oib (the Grahames), Tayneish (the McNeills), Ardbeg (unknown), Barbe (unknown), Dentaynish (unknown), and Kilmorrie (unknown), (see Table 4.1).

Settlements in the List of Fencible men in 1692	Name on Blaeu	No. of names in 1692	No of tenants with 1 hearth in 1694	No of tenants with 2 or more hearths in 1694
Castell Suine	Castel Suyn	7	3	1
Kilbread	Kilbrid	4	4	0
Dunoristen	Dun na Rosa	7	4	0
Daltot	Daltor	3	4	0
Stronfield	Schronselt	3	5	0
Balemore	Balmoirknap	3	4	0
Ffernoch	Feirnach	2	3	0
Kilmorie	Kilmore	1	2	1
Ardnaw	-	1	6	0
Owliva	Owa?	5	-	-
Tavnish	Taonish	2	2	1

Table 9.1 The List of Fencible men in Kilmory Knap (MacTavish 1935)

Settlements in the List of Fencible men in 1692	Name on Blaeu	No of names in1692	No of tenants with 1 hearth in 1694	No of tenants with 2or more hearths in 1694
Arenniphad-more	-	4	5	0
Glensawell	Glensavel	1	2	0
Ariniphadbege	-	2	2	0
Drumnigall	Drum na gald	3	-	-
Kilmorie	-	1	-	-
Ardbege	Ardbeg	3	-	-
Barihormage	-	2	-	-
Cossdruchude	Cossindros	4	4	0
Barlochane	Barlochen	2	-	-
Dannanicloch	-	6	-	-
Kilmorie	-	3	2	1
Kilbege	-	2	-	-
Turbiskell	-	3	-	-

Table 9.2 List of Fencible men in Keills peninsula in 1692 (MacTavish 1935)

Higher status sites are indicated by the presence of an occupant with more than one hearth as are recorded at Castell Swine, Kilmorrie and Taynish (Table 9.2). Castle Sween was by the 17th century held by the Campbells and Taynish by the MacNeills. It is more difficult to relate Kilmorie to a family name as there are at least three Kilmory place-names in North Knapdale (Kilmory Oib, Kilmory Knap and Kilmory (south of Dun Mhuirich)). The three leading families in North Knapdale in the late medieval period, the MacMillans, Campbells and the MacNeills were all incomers to Knapdale, the MacMillans in the mid-14th century and the Campbells and the MacNeills in the 15th century. They took over existing lordships and were all associated at some time with Castle Sween.

9.4 Aerial photographs

The main difference in methodology utilised in this case study was the more extensive consultation of aerial photographs prior to the walkover survey. It was hoped that additional potential sites would be identified on the aerial photographs which could then be checked during the walkover survey.

The aerial photographs consulted included black and white vertical photographs taken in 1947 and colour photographs taken in 1988 (see Appendix 5). As a result of this several areas of rig and furrow and three potential settlement sites were identified. The rig and furrow was seen particularly well along the sides of the road between Kilmory and Cosandrochaid (Kilmory Knap). The deserted settlements already identified on the 1st edition O.S. map could generally be seen clearly, but it was not possible, from this altitude, to identify additional structures in the vicinity of them. Potentially new sites identified from the aerial photographs included the following (not illustrated).

1. Coshandrochaid shieling. About 100m to the west of this farm, what looked like a two-celled rectangular structure was identified (CPE/SCOT/UK/249 4058-59). This building was above the head dyke and so could be a shieling or a shelter (NR 705 821). It is not marked on the 1st edition OS map.

2. Barr an Lochain platform. About 200 m to the east of Barr an Lochain there is an oval-shaped platform with what looks like a bank at its western edge. This platform measures about 40m N-S by 30m E-W. It does not have any structures or cultivation ridges on it (NR

706 826). Immediately to the west of this is a marshy area with a possible 'island' in the centre.

3. Balure shielings. About 350m to the north of Balure farm there is evidence for two linear marks, probably drains, and three oval shaped dark green patches beside a modern drain (Photo 51388 224). While the darker shade of green may be indicative of shielings, the possibility of their being perhaps animal feeding stations was also taken into consideration (NR 6965 8125).

Potential sites which had been identified during the map consultation phase were looked for on the appropriate aerial photographs. For example, the vicinity of the un-named site at Keills Port was examined in the aerial photographs, but no confirming evidence for any structure at the head of the bay was produced. There are however structures about 400m to the north-east of the bay, which are thought to be a 19th century farmstead (CPE/SCOT/UK/249 4061/4062). Nor were there any remains seen in the vicinity of Keills chapel where a depopulated settlement had been reported.

9.5 Walkover survey

A walkover survey was conducted along the coastal edges of Kilmory Knap from Kilmory to Kilbride and on the the Kiells peninsula from Tayvallich to Druimnagall (see Figure 1.3 & 9.12). The survey included some, but not all, of the potential medieval sites identified above. Unfortunately, by June when this survey took place, the bracken was very high and the gorse very thick which hampered visibility and accessibility to the land.

Kilmory Knap township

The medieval chapel at Kilmory with its medieval sculpture indicates that it was a high-status ecclesiastical site in the medieval period. The chapel is surrounded today by the remains of a Post-medieval township and to the north of a stream is Ardnaw farm (these are called Kilmorrie and Ardna in the Hearth tax of 1694, see also Figures 9.4 & 9.5). As this chapel was an important focus during the medieval period, it was thought worthwhile investigating whether there was any evidence for a medieval origin for the surrounding settlement. During this survey three stone and turf-walled structures (Sites 325, 326 & 327)

and two drystone, shieling-type structures (Sites 328 & 329) were identified within unimproved land.

The three low, turf covered rectangular structures were located to the north-and north-east of the chapel (see Figure 9.6). Their stone and turf walls were less than 0.3m high and they appear to have survived in the landscape because the land is used for rough grazing and has not been cultivated (see Site 325, Figure 9.7). However the antiquity of these structures is questionable as Site 326 is in the approximate location of a structure which is shown as roofed on the 1st edition O.S. map, although Site 327 is depicted as an unroofed ruin. Only Site 325 is not depicted by the O.S. and therefore has the greatest potential to be medieval in date. To the west of Kilmory there are two small, oval-shaped, shieling-type structures adjacent to the stone field banks (Sites 328 and 329, see Figure 9.6). Given the proximity of these structures to the township it is unlikely that these are associated with transhumance and so they could be interpreted as shepherds huts or storage huts, but they are of unknown date. In addition, a detailed standing building survey was carried out at Ardnaw Farm by this author (James *et al* 2006) which showed that the earliest structure visible was a late-19th century drystone structure with a high gable end and so was not medieval in date (See Figure 9.8).

The location of Kilmory township is suitable for settlement as it is next to a burn and there is a wide, south-west facing sandy bay. Port Liath lies to the north and Port Ban to the south, both of which have presumably been used as their name suggests for landing boats. There is available cultivatable land in the vicinity and the presence of the kerbed cairn (NR77NW15) and cairn (NR67NE2) confirm that there has been a human presence here since prehistoric times. A dun to the south-east (Dun A'Bhuilg NR77SW1) overlooks Kilmory Bay and a suggestion of re-use is indicated by evidence for secondary enclosures and a revetted foundation platform. The archaeological evidence so far suggests that Kilmory was an early-Christian ecclesiastical focus, which became a high-status burial ground and chapel during the medieval period, but there is no evidence so far that it was a focus for settlement prior the Hearth Tax data of the late 17th century. Kilmory graveyard continued in use after the Reformation with plain grave slabs and grave markers, while the township grew up around it.

Kilmory to Kilbride

Traveling NE up the coast from Kilmory those structures which could be identified included the following.

1. Gortan Ghobhainn (Site 330, NR 71920 79338) perhaps meaning the enclosure of the smith (Stephen Driscoll pers.comm.) consisted of three rectangular, low, stone foundations protruding from the turf (see Figure 9.9). Two structures are particularly long. This site is depicted on the 1st edition O.S. map, but not on earlier maps. Although two long structures were identified on the ground, only one is depicted on the 1st edition map, which suggests that one of these may be a little earlier.

2. At Castle Sween, the land to the east of the road as far as the head dyke was seen to have extensive areas of straight, rig and furrow about 2.5m wide which confirms that there was an extensive area of cultivatable ground in the vicinity of the castle, although the full extent of cultivated ground was probably not reached until the 19th century. This available arable land, along with the south and north facing bays, giving access to the Sound of Jura, may have contributed to the decision to locate the castle here.

3. A deserted settlement above the modern farm of Daltote (Site 331) now lies within felled and replanted forestry. A single stone-built structure was identified which had probably been re-built, as it seemed to form part of a modern cross-country course (see Figure 9.10). However, further up the hill at NR 74791 82978 a possible turf-built structure was also seen on a slight terrace, within the tree stumps (Site 332, see Figure 9.11). This structure consisted of low banks 0.2m high and 1.0m wide, which formed a roughly rectangular structure measuring about 3.5m wide and 10 m long. It was not depicted on the 1st edition OS map and so is potentially medieval, although it could be anything up to early 19th century in date.

Tayvallich to Druimnagall

The walkover survey of the area between Tayvallich and Keills specifically examined the remains of deserted settlements in order to see whether evidence for earlier structures could be detected. The sites visited included Barnashaig, North Ardbeg, South Ardbeg,

Druimnagall, Barbe and Barbreck (Survey sites 272, 283, 276, 284, 286 & 288, see Figure 9.12). At North Ardbeg, Druim na Gall, Barbreck and Barbe there was evidence, in the form of modern fixtures, that these had been occupied in the late-19th century or even into the 20th century and no earlier structures were identified in the vicinity. At Barbreck, however, (Site 288) there was evidence for a potentially earlier phase in the form of a single square structure surviving as low tumbled stone walls measuring 3m by 3m internally (Site 289), but it was thought likely to be Post-medieval in date, because of its shape.

Barnashalig

The farm of Barnashalig (or Barnashaig) consisted of three foci (see Figure 9.12). The first was the main house, steading and horse mill (Site 273, NR78NW22) which represents a significant financial investment in the mid to late19[th] century. The second was a smaller group of structures to the north of these (Site 272), and the third was a newly discovered site. The first two groups of buildings were shown as roofed on the 1st edition OS map. The oldest buildings identified within the steadings were of drystone with high gable ends and so are likely to be no earlier than the 19th century.

A new site was found to the north of Barnashalig (Site 271). This consisted of two rectangular structures at right angles to each other and a kiln (NGR NR 73115 87012, see Figure 9.13 & 9.14). One structure was 7.2m long internally and 3.0 m wide with a door to the west. This was interpreted as a dwelling, although there were no diagnostic features. The other structure was 6.10m long and 3.0m wide with opposing doors and was therefore interpreted as a barn. The walls were of drystone with a maximum height of 0.6m and appeared to have square corners. This site could be an earlier site of Barnashaig or a small holding within the main Barnashaig estate. This site is not marked on the 1st edition O.S. map and so was ruined by the mid-19th century suggesting that it is of late-18th century date or earlier. The site of Barnashaig was within an area of tree cover and no structures could be discerned from an examination of the aerial photographs of this area (CPE/SCOT/UK/249 3051-3052).

South Ardbeg

South Ardbeg (Site 276) is separated from a modern farm, called Barrahomid, by a small stream (see Figure 9.12). Roy's military map shows structures on either side of the stream but with only one name (E Ardbeg, see Figure 9.15). The existence of a settlement called 'Barihormage' in the List of Fencible Men next to the entry for 'Ardbege' confirms that there were two sites here in the late-17th century, but for some reason 'Barihormage' was not named by Roy. During the walkover survey five structures were identified at South Ardbeg which were not mapped by the 1st edition O.S. and so are likely to pre-date the 19th century (see Figure 9.12 inset, and 9.16). These are low stone foundations of rectangular-shaped structures which are likely to be at least 18th century in date. The remains at North Ardbeg (Ardbeg on Roy's map) in contrast, was built with the use of lime mortar, had high gables and integral chimneys. Here the large township of the mid-18th century as depicted by Roy must have been swept away by the Improvements of the 19th century.

Keills

At Keills there were also remains of possible turf-built structures in the vicinity of the chapel. These remains survived as low, turf-covered rectangular-shaped structures to the west and south of the chapel (see Figure 9.17). They consisted of two square structures, about 4m across internally and two rectangular structures measuring c 9m long and about 4m wide. The walls were less than 0.4m high and were constructed of stone, now turf covered. One of these structures was overlain by a rectangular enclosure that is depicted on the 1st edition OS map, providing a *terminus ante quem* of the mid-19th century for the turf structures (Figure 9.18).

Keills chapel is depicted as 'Kilmacharmick M.B.' (= mor and beg) in Blaeu's atlas suggesting that, in addition to the chapel, there were two settlements here by late-16th century. Roy's map, however, shows only one settlement of 'Kiels' occupying both sides of a stream to the east of the chapel site (see Figure 9.19). It is difficult to relate this map to the modern landscape as the area has been improved and drained and the stream is no longer apparent, but the 18th century settlement of Keills may have been close to the shore south of Keillibeg and west of the ferry at Kellimore. One could therefore suggest that the turf structures are the remains of a small settlement or farmstead clustered around the

chapel, which could date from any period from perhaps the Reformation to the 18th century.

At Keills Port (where an unnamed settlement was depicted by Roy) three slight oval-shaped mounds were found about 10m – 20 m to the S of a field wall and may possibly relate to a settlement. The most convincing mound was about 5m long and 3m wide and stood about 0.5m above the surrounding ground (see Figure 9.20). These features would need to be examined to see if they are natural or structural.

Ground proving of the sites identified on aerial photographs also took place. The possible site of a two-celled shieling at Coshandrochaid (NR 705 821) could not be found on the ground during a survey of this area. If the site was located more accurately using aerial transcription, then using GPS the field survey would be more likely to locate the site or be more certain that it does not exist. The possible shielings at Balure (NR 6965 8125) were found to be located within a particularly wet boggy area and so would be an unlikely place for shielings to be located and may relate to differential vegetation growth. The site Droineach consisting of enclosures, clearance cairns and cultivation remains (NR78SW26, NGR NR 702 811) were confirmed (Site 324). However, the proximity of these remains to the farmstead of Droineach, the randomness of their construction and the lack of any clear structures suggests that these features are contemporary with the farmstead.

The additional sites which were found during the walkover survey on the Keills peninsula included a circular shieling and possible kiln (Site 274), areas of rig and furrow (Sites 286 & 287) and a stone and earth bank (Site 290 see Figure 9.12) which hint at the potential sites to be found in this area some of which may prove to be medieval in date.

Re-used duns

Several of the duns occupying Kilmory Knap and Keills peninsula were visited to see if there was any evidence for later occupation. The summit of Dun Bhronaig (Appendix 3, Site 302 & Table 5.3) which has been identified above as a possible site of a settlement of 'Y na uaid M', has slight upstanding banks and thick vegetation on its summit, with visible structures present. This should not necessarily be interpreted as proof that this was not a settlement in the 16th century as the disappearance of evidence over time is illustrated at

Dun Beag (Appendix 3, Site 301) where there is also no evidence now for the animal pen or midden material that had been noted in earlier reports. At Dun Mor, Drumnagall (251) there is some walling on the south side up to 1m high and an earthen bank extends eastwards from the north end of the fort, but the reported small sub-rectangular enclosure was not visible.

Dun Mhurich

Dun Mhuirich (Figure 2.66) is depicted as the settlement of Dunourich on Roy's military map (Figure 9.15). This site is associated with the MacMhurich clan who were hereditary bards for the Clanranald (see Chapter 3.3). The site has potentially multi-phased remains within and in the vicinity of the dun walls. The best preserved structure (I) had square corners and was constructed of rough local stones (probably robbed from the dun walls (see Figure 9.21). No cruck-slots or other architectural features were visible. The larger structure to the east of Structure I has a tree growing inside it and is more ruinous. The other 'possible' structures, identified by the Royal Commission, occupy flat terraces around the dun and are now barely visible beneath the vegetation. The remains are best preserved within the dun, but the slighter remains outside the walls may be an indication either of their greater antiquity or of stone robbing.

Dun Mhurich may have functioned as a refuge in a similar way to the island settlement of Loch Glashan, where medieval as well as Post-medieval settlement was identified (Fairhurst 1969b). There was no evidence for cruck slots at either Loch Glashan or Dun Mhurich. The gable of the best preserved structure (I) at Dun Mhurich was flat, suggesting that it did not have a high, 'Dalriadic' gable which would be of 19th century construction. The question of how this structure could have been roofed without cruck slots for support, would be to have pad stones at each internal corner of the building, and perhaps along the sides, upon which the roof supports would have been set. This technique was used in a stone-built Norse (i.e. medieval) building at Quoygrew, Westray in Orkney, excavated by this author and others (Barrett *et al* 2001). Fairhurst says there was no evidence for the roofing method used at Loch Glashan, as neither cruck slots or post-holes were present. He does not mention the possibility of stone pads and there are none depicted on the published plan, although he would probably have noted substantial flat topped stones if they had existed in the corners and along the internal sides of the building. As at Loch Glashan the

structures at Dun Mhurich probably belong to a variety of structures broadly dating to the medieval and pre-Clearance period. This would make it a very significant, rare high-status site in North Knapdale, with a documented association with a Gaelic clan who were ousted from the area in the late 15th century and replaced by new tenants of the Campbell's choosing.

9.6 Conclusions

The evidence suggests that in the medieval period North Knapdale had a relatively sparse population which was concentrated in small farms located around the coastal edge, with access to the available arable and to fishing grounds. The rocky interior was primarily utilised for summer grazing and for the other resources it contained, including peat wood for fuel and hunting for small animals and birds for food. The area was initially dominated by the MacSween Gaelic lordship, but the MacSweens were ousted by the Norman Menteiths, who may have introduced some changes to the estate management. More significant changes were made when the MacDonald lordship was forfeited and a hostile takeover by the Campbells introduced a host of new tenant farmers.

Castle Sween, located on the Kilmory peninsular, was centre of the lordship. A certain number of retainers and servants could have been resident within the castle walls and it is quite probable that some supporters occupied modest houses within the nearby settlements, but it was not a focus for settlement. The origin of the settlement just outside the castle walls has yet to be traced back further than the mid-18th century and it probably dates to after the castle was destroyed in 1647. Around the castle there is also a lack of lesser fortified sites. The only small potentially fortified sites identified so far are at Dun Mhuirich, Eilean na Circe and possibly Dun Bhronaig and the crannog on Lochan Taynish, which are all on the Keills peninsula. This is another possible example of where the more important sites are surrounded by the least important and the sites of middling status are ranged around the periphery of the territory. In contrast, each peninsula is served by a medieval chapel and burial ground, which act as a focus for the display of militaristic gravestones, celebrating the aristocratic concerns of the hunt, the galley and the knights sword.

This case study has identified a few place-names of medieval settlements dating back to the 14th century, but has confirmed their presence on the ground. There are several sites which have their origins in at least the 16th century and which display a high degree of continuity of land organisation from then until the desertions of the 19th century. These farms were located so as to take advantage of the coastal arable lands, and would also have had access to the unpopulated hill ground and the marine resources. These farms could therefore have been largely self-sufficient with little surplus for trade above their dues to the overlord.

The present remains on these sites are dominated by the Improved 19th century buildings, but there are a few sites, such as South Ardbeg where potentially earlier structures have been seen. These consist of the low stone foundations of rectangular structures, the superstructure of which could have been stone or a combination of stone and turf, or just turf. Other settlements are known only from their place-names in 17th century documents. Turf and stone built structures in the vicinity of Keills and Kilmory chapels attest to the use of local, easily available materials. These structures are extremely slight upstanding remains, which could easily be destroyed by cultivation, forestry or later construction. While it is tempting to date these structures to the medieval period, the evidence so far suggests that some may be as late as the early 19th century as they are depicted on the 1st edition O.S. maps. The possible turf structure at Daltote however, could well be medieval in date as it is not depicted on any maps. In addition this field survey has identified potentially earlier settlement sites, areas of cultivation, earth and stone banks, kilns and shielings which all attest to a sparse, dispersed, rural settlement pattern, with a mixed pastoral and arable economy in North Knapdale.

Chapter 10 Discussion and Conclusions

This research has contributed to the understanding of several interrelated aspects of medieval rural settlement in Mid-Argyll including chronology, architecture, social organisation, agriculture, economy and material culture.

Chronology

Although by the beginning of the 15th century the population numbers are thought to have been recovering from a downward turn in the 14th century and resulted in the re-colonisation of old ground and strengthened links with Gaelic Ireland by the 16th century, increased political instability, fighting and feuding from the late-15th and 16th centuries could have had an effect on the nature and survival of rural settlement. Colonisation of new ground would have resulted from population pressure as the 16th century progressed.

In Mid-Argyll there is a lack of physical evidence for settlement in the earlier period from the 12th to the 16th century, the main contribution being place-names derived from the historical records, but few could be accurately located today. This lack of physical evidence has limited what can be said regarding the model of advance and retreat between the 12th and 14th centuries. A greater number of early place-names was identified from the Glassary parish than either Kilmartin or North Knapdale. This may reflect a more frequent use of charters in this area, perhaps due to its geographical proximity to the Lowlands, where feudal charters were in more general use at this time. Yet the historical and map-based research has highlighted the contrasting high degree of continuity of place-names in the rural landscape of Mid-Argyll from the 16th to the 19th centuries, when the Campbell clan and their supporters were the predominant landholders in the area.

Each case study has contributed some detail towards the chronological framework. The excavations at Bàrr Mór brought to light an example of a late-medieval farm which had been established in an area of woodland and moor in the mid-15th to mid-17th centuries, possibly on the site of earlier, prehistoric, occupation. This site was in use as a farm for a relatively short period of time, being cleared or abandoned before the 18th century, after

which it was then used as temporary shepherd's shelter. There was no evidence that it had been re-occupied in the modern period.

The historical work at Glennan has highlighted the development of the property since the 12th century and suggested that it could have been occupied by five households throughout the medieval period. It only achieved a degree of status when it became the property of a Campbell in the 17th century who described himself as being 'of Glennan'. The excavations however, found that the two-storied house was no earlier than the late-18th century, probably constructed by a cadet member of the Malcolm clan with the profits from a plantation in Jamaica. The excavations have mainly illuminated the later, Post-medieval history of the site, which showed it to be a joint-tenancy farm occupied until the early 20th century.

At Carnasserie the historical research has revealed that the earliest documentary references to a significant structure at this site (perhaps a hall-house surrounded by a bank and ditch) are from the mid-15th century. A possible dun immediately to the north of the ditch indicates a potential continuity of occupation on this site from the prehistoric period. The tower house was built in the late-16th century on the site of the earlier hall-house, and this was broadly contemporary with the first references to two settlements at Carnasserie. Carnasserie Mor was depicted by Pont and Roy, but the surviving architecture is 19th century in date. There are potentially earlier structures (perhaps 18th or early 19th century) at the south end of the current site, but no potentially medieval structures were recognised from the surface remains. Carnasserie Beg was also depicted by Pont and Roy in the vicinity of the Castle. It may have shifted closer to the castle during the 18th century, only to be cleared away in the 19th century.

The work in North Knapdale has provided documentary and map evidence for the distribution and size of settlements in the late-medieval period when they were small and located primarily around the coastal strip. The majority of these place-names can still be found (with the assistance of the 1st edition O.S. maps) in the contemporary landscape in the vicinity of their late-medieval locations. This indicates a high degree of continuity of farms from the late-16th to the 19th century, after which many were amalgamated into single farms or were cleared. The period between the mid-15th to the 16th centuries (after the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles) had been a period of population change and

political unrest as the Campbell domination of Mid-Argyll spread into North Knapdale and MacDonald tenants were replaced by Campbell supporters. This may well have resulted in changes to farm names as the new tenants made an attempt to break with the past.

In general, the fieldwork has discovered a great variety of structures within the landscape which are probably a result of the superimposition of structures associated with changing economic patterns over a long period of time. As Ward (1997) has suggested for the Brecon Beacons in Wales, we are probably seeing medieval expansion of permanent settlement into the hills, followed by a gap as they retreated into the sheltered glens during the Little Ice Age, overlain by a second advance of pattern of permanent settlement and associated seasonal shielings during the subsequent centuries.

Architecture

On the basis of this research it is possible to outline the main differences between medieval and Post-medieval architecture, but also to highlight some of the difficulties in recognising medieval architecture from the shape of the structures alone. The architecture of the 19th century Improvements is generally characterised by drystone walls, square corners, integral chimneys, high gables, windows and a thatched roof supported on a cruck frame. Excavated examples of medieval houses at Ben Lawers and Pitcarmick have shown them to be turf-walled structures of oval or sub-rectangular shape, often with central doorways (Atkinson *et al* 2004; RCAHMS 1990). Norse structures in Barra have been seen to be oval-shape, with massively thick earth (turf) walls and stone facings (Sharples 2005). Apart from these clear groups there are many structures which appear to share certain characteristics of more than one group. For example, 18th or early 19th century Improvement buildings could be made of dry stone, have rounded corners, flat gables for a hip-ended roof and central fireplaces. The Post-medieval houses in the Outer Hebrides also had thick earth walls lined with stone and were oval in shape. What can be identified here is the overlap between structures which served different functions, belonged to a different chronological period and reflected regional preferences. In addition a small number of building platform sites, upon which timber or turf structures once stood, similar to ones found in Wales (Gresham 1954).

Although it is thought that the Improving landlords were the first to discourage the use of turf as a building material, this research has shown that dry stone was already being used as a building material in rural settlements in the late-medieval period as in Structure A at Bàrr Mór (although turf walls were still evident for Structure B, at the same time). Also, the presence of turf and stone and turf structures, such as at Keills and Kilmory, were still roofed in the mid-19th century and so the presence of turf walls is not necessarily an indication of antiquity.

The oval-shaped, drystone structures found at Bàrr Mór are rare in Mid-Argyll, the only other examples of similar structures were found singly or in pairs. But it is not unique to this area, a similar group of oval-shaped structures and enclosure has been identified at Broughdearg, Perthshire (see Figure 2.55). These oval-shaped structures, may be a rare type of settlement in this area, and therefore be unrepresentative of the medieval settlement here, or more likely, these structures are a rare survival of a once more prevalent type, having been destroyed by later buildings works or robbed for building stone.

Many simple structures found in the hills of Mid-Argyll have been identified as shielings. They have a particularly varied morphology, being oval, round or even square in shape, sometimes double-celled and utilising stone and turf or just turf as a construction material. These have generally been dated to anything from the medieval period to the 19th century. Temporary shielings are often difficult to differentiate from the more permanent structures when they are at low altitudes, as at Glennan, Carnasserie and Kilmory. Such sites are likely to be outhouses or storage huts although they may have been used as occasional dwellings.

The morphological variability of shielings has been mentioned above. The shape of a structure would have been related to its 'constructional techniques'. Light walls of wickerwork would have gained stability from being in a circular shape (unless it also incorporated larger structural timbers) and a structure using jointed timbers would have suited a rectangular shape (Lynn 1978, 37). Turf walls, having a wide wall base, would have been more inherently stable than a wickerwork wall and so, in the absence of larger structural timbers, would not have been restricted to a circular shape. An oval-shaped structure of turf would therefore combine the advantage of an increased floor space with the minimal need for large roof timbers and bracing end supports. Thus the shape of

structures would have been related to the availability and choice of materials which were probably locally sourced. Only high-status inhabitants could have afforded to pay for the felling and cutting of mature trees for pre-dominantly timber buildings.

Whether people had the knowledge and tools for joinery will also have influenced what choices were made in the structural shape and materials used. In Ireland, there seems to have been a replacement of circular structures by rectangular ones by the end of the 10th century, which may have been related to the spread of technological developments in joinery associated with church building (Lynn 1978, 37; Lynn 1996, 83-85). In Scotland, early churches were said to have been built of 'hewn oak' (*Hist Ecc* iii, 25) and so the spread of Christianity would have been linked with a spread of skilled workmen from whom joinery techniques could have been learned by the wider population. The use of timber in medieval buildings in Scotland has probably been under estimated because of its poor survival rate in the cold wet environment. During the medieval period, as society became more under the control of the king and other powerful lords, rather than being in the hands of local clans, and so access to valuable resources, such as timber, would have become more restricted.

Medieval Scots, like the 12th century Welsh, probably 'content[ed] themselves with wattle huts on the edge of the forest, put up with little labour or expense, but strong enough to last a year or so' (Gerald of Wales, translation 1978, 252). This speed of construction and lack of 'investment' would have been an advantage during times of clan warfare and raiding, when homes, with their thatched roofs and timber crucks, could easily be burned down.

Settlement organisation

In Mid-Argyll it has been shown that a small number of castles (including a ruined castle with an unknown history) and tower houses were occupied by the major clan chiefs and it has been shown that an equally small number of fortified island sites were occupied by the middle ranking clan chiefs and followers. Some middle ranking sites are known to have been destroyed. The MacTavish's house at Dunardry was destroyed by the building of the Crinan Canal at the end of the 18th century and the Malcolm's principle residence at Poltalloch was deliberately demolished in the late-18th century to make way for the construction of a new mansion (later called Old Poltalloch). Seemingly small settlements,

as found at Raslie and Ormaig, consisting of two or more rectangular structures could be late-medieval unfortified residences, as both have associations with cadet branches of the Campbells. Other sites which are of relatively high status in the 17th century, as evidenced by the presence of occupants with more than one hearth, are site with the potential to be occupied by middle ranking lords in the medieval period.

The most numerous structures found in Mid-Argyll include the seasonal shielings and single structures which were presumably occupied by the rest of society which consisted of tenant farmers, cottars and the landless labourers. However, these presumably do not represent the complete range of settlement types as there are so few examples of small permanent farms, like Bàrr Mór, which in all probability were the most numerous settlement type. Their absence in the archaeological record is seen partly as a product of the use of organic materials coupled with settlement shift which resulted in the recycling of materials (including stone for field walls) and subsequent cultivation and destruction of many old settlement sites.

It is thought that settlement shift was a significant process during the medieval period. With buildings made of perishable organic material and earthen floors (ideal homes for vermin) there would have been a need to replace old and decaying houses and to improve hygiene by moving to a new location and building afresh, perhaps every few years. Soil exhaustion in pre-Improvement times, would also have prompted the moving of settlements sites as associated fields were abandoned and new sites cultivated. Such mobility was identified by Dodgshon (1993) in Lewis and has been illustrated during this research from the map evidence at Fearnoch. Only when there is a physical and topographic restriction to a location, such as an island, or where a landlord has restricted tenants access to land for settlement, might one expect farm buildings to be superimposed over one another. The landlord's encouragement to build in stone was primarily to prevent the stripping of increasingly valuable pasture and perhaps also to introduce a greater degree of social control through the imposition of the landlords choice of settlement location.

There is no evidence for the clustering of medieval settlement around higher status sites such as castles or churches in Mid-Argyll (as is seen in parts of Ireland and England) until at least the Post-Medieval period, as work at Carnasserie Castle, Fincharn Castle,

Kilmartin church, Kilmory chapel and Keills chapel as shown. At the castle sites the immediate family, supporters and servants were presumably accommodated within the castles or hall-houses or perhaps in outbuildings (the remains of which are not visible). At the chapels the only accommodation required would have been for the priests and perhaps any servants. The late date at which the clustering is observed could be related to the loss of status at the castle sites (such as after the burning of Carnasserie Castle) or to the change of status of chapels at after the Reformation when the ownership of church lands was appropriated by secular lords.

The process of settlement nucleation which has been seen elsewhere in Scotland from the medieval period is difficult to identify in Mid-Argyll. In general, the evidence suggests that the farms remained as small, dispersed settlements until the population boom of the 19th century. This resulted in ever increasing numbers of people being accommodated in the existing farms and hence only the *appearance* of nucleation, as there was not a contemporary abandonment of other sites.

Agriculture, economy and material culture

The medieval evidence for settlement consists predominantly of farm names which relate to areas of arable farm land that were the original base for taxation and did not refer to specific settlements in a specific location. The low density of settlements would correspond with a non-intensive mixed pastoral economy, with plenty of unenclosed hill land available for summer grazing for stock. The poor nature of the terrain in Mid-Argyll and the non-intensive nature of the farming techniques used might explain why there may have been a broadly consistent number of households per farm recorded between the medieval period and the 17th century as suggested at Glennan. This does not take into account the variations which may have occurred as a result of wars and the Plague, but any such changes would be difficult to detect archaeologically if the population quickly recovered in a few decades.

A process of change in the rural economy that can be seen in the pre-Improvement period include an increase in population after the set back of the 14th century which would have led to a gradual increase in farming intensity and colonisation into woodlands and moorland. Trade of cattle with the Lowlands and England which is recorded in the late-

medieval period, also led to the ever increasing commercialisation and specialisation of stock rearing associated with the droving trade.

There has been the suggestion from work undertaken on mammal bones in the Outer Hebrides that an increased dependence on pastoralism may have been a result of warfare and political instability during the medieval period (Sharples 2005). Unfortunately mammal bones are generally absent from sites in Argyll because of the acid soils, Dunadd being a rare exception. It is probable that mixed farming was practised throughout the medieval period, with varying proportions of arable and pastoral farming. This mix depended on several factors, such as the amount of labour available, animal epidemics, plague as well as climatic changes and disruption by warfare. Because of the cool wet climate, there was not enough pasture in Scotland to provide winter as well as summer pasture for stock and so some arable farming was always necessary to provide winter feed for the animals. This would have prevented people from becoming nomadic pastoralists, as occurred in parts of Gaelic Ireland during the late-medieval times of stress and turmoil.

The excavation at Bàrr Mór has revealed a small late-medieval farm practicing a mixed pastoral and arable economy as evidenced by the presence of dwellings, a byre, carbonised grain and stock enclosures. This site is thought to represent the establishment of a new farm colonising perhaps the site of a prehistoric hut circle. The material culture of this farm was extremely scanty, comprising a single sherd of green glazed medieval pottery and two sherds of a foreign import along with few fragments of slag and metalwork. The tools and utensils used were likely to be made of organic materials, bone and wood which have not survived. The evidence suggests that the farm went out of use after a relatively short time, perhaps a few generations, but there is little to indicate why this occurred. There is no archaeological evidence indicating that the structures were burned during in the political unrest of the mid 17th century, but rather they collapsed and so their abandonment may have been associated with a change of economy, perhaps an early experimental introduction of sheep farming by the Malcolms. The site was then used as a shepherds shelter and enclosure and the absence of industrially made ceramics, glass and tobacco pipes suggests that it had been abandoned and forgotten completely by the mid-19th century. This perhaps reflects its rather remote location within the Poltalloch estate and may be contemporary with the abandonment of the partly built Old Poltalloch House in the

early 19th century because of the death of, the then owner, George Malcolm in Jamaica (James 2005c).

The most common structure discovered during the surveys at Carnasserie, North Knapdale and elsewhere in the research area were the various small shielings, sometimes found singly but more often in small groups. These all attest to the seasonal use of the hill pasture for the grazing of stock. Without excavation there is no chronological framework for these structures, but although shielings were used from the early-medieval period onwards, the majority are likely to belong to the period of highest population pressure in the 19th century, the earlier ones possibly being subsumed beneath later farms or beneath cultivation. There has been no clear evidence for the re-use of shielings on mounds as was found in the north of Scotland.

The excavations at Glennan, within a river valley routeway from Kilmartin to Loch Awe, in contrast to Bàrr Mór, produced a large amount of 19th and 20th century pottery and glass which placed its occupation in the modern period. The historical research has shown that it was held as a joint farm and occupied by up to 38 people in the mid-19th century. The archaeological evidence revealed dwellings and a byre and the artefacts included a quern stone and a horse harness, all indicative of a mixed farming community. The site of the earlier medieval farm is as yet unknown, but is likely to have been at the boundary of the hill ground and the valley bottom, beside a stream, with perhaps outlying farm buildings, belonging to other joint tenants within the higher valley to the east.

The material culture retrieved from these low-status mixed farms contrasts noticeably with those found at the high-status site of Castle Sween which contained artefacts associated with a military presence (weapons and armour) and leisure pursuits (a harp peg and gaming pieces) as well as domestic material (wheel-thrown pottery and numerous metal knives), (Ewart & Triscott 1996). This technology was clearly in the hands of the elite and rarely filtered down to the rural population. It is thought that this reflects subsistence level economy of the majority of the population who herded the stock, milked the cows, churned the butter, and toiled in the fields in order to produce enough surplus to feed themselves, pay their rents, keep them over the winter and provide seeds for the following year. There was no need for official markets within such a self-sufficient economy, cattle being driven

away on the hoof, and other pastoral products either consumed at or channelled through the high-status sites.

The potential for medieval sites in the Scottish landscape

So in regard to medieval rural settlement what are we looking for, where is it likely to survive and how can we find it? To understand the medieval settlement pattern we need to recognise all the elements in the settlement hierarchy, which include the castles, strongholds, tacksmen's houses, winter farmsteads and summer shielings. The extensive field walking undertaken during this research has recorded numerous sites which could fulfil some of these roles and which could be of medieval date. However, as Branigan's (2005) work on Barra has shown, the visible morphology of structures prior to excavation can often be very misleading in terms of shape, date and function. Invasive exploration of these structures is needed if the truly medieval ones are to be identified.

Unlike some areas of the Outer and Inner Hebrides and the Scottish Lowlands, medieval rural settlements have not been found in Mid-Argyll by the presence of pottery scatters. While this may be partly due to the lack of ploughed fields or coastal erosion which would bring pottery to the surface, it is also likely that the western mainland was largely aceramic in the medieval period, utilising organic materials such as bone, leather and wood for containers and utensils, which have not survived within the acid soils. One could also argue that poorly made Craggan ware, which was found on the mainland at Loch Glashan, would not survive well within a soil once it has been cultivated.

Tell-like sites, such as the Udal (Crawford & Switsur 1977), also seem to be largely absent from mainland Argyll. However there may be some re-use of lowlying dun and forts as at Dun Mhuirich, where rectangular structures lie within the prehistoric dun. Cropmarks have, so far, added little to the discovery of new medieval sites in Argyll, which is partly because of the climate and nature of the landscape, in that only a small proportion of the land is under cultivation, the high rainfall prevents the creating of parch marks and the numerous rocky outcrops or bracken disguise even upstanding remains from view. There has also been a lack of modern aerial survey of the limited areas which would be suitable.

Substantial stone built structures have been found on Medieval sites in a lowland environment at Archerfield (Hindmarch 2006) and Springwood Park (Dixon 1998), but the more recently excavated sites at Nether Gogar (James 2008) and Laigh Newton (James 2007) show that not all medieval remains in the Scottish Lowlands are so substantial. At Nether Gogar, near Edinburgh, there was a corn-drying kiln, several linear ditches, an extensive cobbled surface and medieval pottery. But, within the limits of the 25m wide development corridor at least, no dwellings or barns were identified. At Laigh Newton in Ayrshire, more extensive excavations revealed several sunken, oval-shaped structures which would have had turf walls, containing hearths and medieval pottery, post-holes and remnants of stone walls which have been badly damaged by ploughing (James 2007). Here the structures were interpreted as the remains of turf and timber dwellings. Both Nether Gogar and Laigh Newton were uncovered during commercial development in areas where no existing surface remains or evidence from aerial photographs provided prior evidence for the existence of medieval remains. Nether Gogar was, however, known to have existed from historical documents. Field survey in the Lowlands, where cultivation since the medieval period has been intense, would be of limited use in finding medieval settlement if it was not for the pottery scatters that are usually associated with them. In Argyll, there may well have been less intense cultivation, but what has taken place would have been in the areas where medieval settlement is most likely to have been located. This, in addition to the lack of pottery and open plan archaeological excavation, associated with commercial development, has hampered the identification of medieval settlement so far.

Choice of settlement location is likely to have taken altitude, aspect, closeness to water and drainage into account. Having level ground seems not to have been important in the later period although terraces have sometimes been cut into hillsides perhaps in the late-medieval period as at Glennan and Achaind, just outside Kilmartin. Winter settlement may well also have been located at the boundary of the best cultivatable land and the hill pasture, providing access to both. The survival of settlement remains will have been affected by the 19th century high tide of cultivation. Above this level, it is possible that remains of medieval settlement will be better preserved in the form of turf walled structures or building terraces.

Flood plains are unlikely places for medieval settlement and cultivation because, prior to the Improvements, they would generally have been peat, bog or marsh covered. That is not

to say that they were not utilised for their range of natural resources, such as fish, fowl, reeds and peat. A rare example of a development on a gravel river terrace in Kilmartin at Upper Largie found remains of prehistoric ritual and funerary activities and a timber circle, but no evidence for medieval activity (Barclay *et al* 1983, Radley 1993, Terry 1997, Ellis 2000). The terrace had been covered by peat growth since the late prehistoric period and while this had preserved the earlier prehistoric remains, it meant that the land was not available for settlement or cultivation in the medieval period. Settlement would probably have been located higher up the valley sides or on higher terraces which have not, unfortunately, been subject to any extensive archaeological scrutiny. Another excavation at Bruach an Druimein, Kilmartin, was a poorly resourced rescue excavation undertaken in the 1960s (Abernethy 2002a). The excavations concentrated on the most obvious remains under very difficult circumstances and the handful of medieval pottery retrieved, were largely unstratified. The presence of the medieval sherds was interpreted as the result of manuring of fields with midden containing occupation debris during the medieval period. The excavators noted the presence of 'paved surfaces and amorphous features', which might have represented the occupied structures, but their potential to be medieval remains could not be realised under the circumstances of the rescue excavation.

Settlement landscape dynamics & historical processes

This research has discovered numerous stone built deserted settlements within the landscape of Mid-Argyll which attest to the huge investment into the agricultural economy undertaken by landowners in the 19th century. These were predominantly nucleated joint-tenancy farms supporting several families. They were generally self-sufficient, although the hilly nature North Knapdale encouraged specialisation in cattle for the droving trade (Cregeen 1959). The fact that so many of these settlements are now deserted is a result of commercial decisions by the landowners to maximise their income from the land, turning to sheep and cattle production, that made the need for a large workforce redundant. Some joint tenancy farms were turned into individual holdings and these are still occupied by the present inhabitants.

Although the upstanding structures in these deserted settlements are 19th century in date, the historic maps and documents have shown that the majority of the place-names existed in the landscape by the late-16th century. This research therefore looked for evidence of

this late-medieval settlement at these deserted settlement sites and found a few examples where there were earlier structures, such as at Carnasserie Mor, Blarantibbert and South Ardbeg (see Table 5.4). These have the potential to be anything from medieval to late 18th century in date. In general, there was limited physical evidence for multi-period sites among these deserted settlements.

Place-name evidence also indicated that settlement was dynamic within the landscape in the pre-Improvement period. The splitting of settlements is shown by the use of 'mor' and 'beg', or 'nether' and 'over' suffixes. Other references imply that splitting has taken place such as 'the two Carvenys' and 'the two Oywoldys' as in a charter of David II, dated 1346 (MacPhail 1916b). Presumably a single farm was divided up to create two smaller, more intensively farmed properties, which could support more people. The historic map and documentary evidence generally indicate that this process had already begun by the mid-14th century and, judging by the use of the English language, continued into the 18th and 19th centuries. The pressure to split was presumably result of population pressure (Dodgshon 1980, 1993; Whyte 1981).

Evidence was also found of settlement shift where probably earlier structures were seen within a few hundred metres of a deserted settlement. In one example, Fearnoch, it was possible to trace four successive settlement locations with the same name. This shift may be a result of several factors, including changes to property ownership, changes to the economy of the farm or structural improvements. Therefore, while continuity of farm names from the 16th to the 19th century has been observed, settlement shift has meant that continuity of habitation at a particular site has not.

Some deserted farm sites were found within areas dominated by shielings and these may represent the conversion of shieling grounds to permanent farms, a process seen elsewhere in Scotland in the Post-medieval period. This process has been observed from the late-medieval period, as at Bàrr Mór, to the 19th century, as at Corlach.

The many shielings observed within the hills attest to short-distance transhumance taking place within Mid-Argyll. Each farm needed access to summer pastures and because of the hilly but relatively low-lying nature of Argyll, such areas of pasture were never far away from the home farm. It has not been possible to date these shielings and so it is not clear

whether these represent medieval or Post-medieval seasonal occupation, although shielings were going out of use in the Highlands by the late 18th century (Bil 1990; White 2000). The varying sizes, shapes and numbers of rooms within the shielings does suggest a variety of functions or perhaps different dates. Therefore there is great potential for medieval shielings to be numbered among the later ones. The shieling grounds also tend to be above the 19th century 'high tide' of intensive cultivation, so that there is a good chance that medieval sites have survived among them.

In contrast to the scarce physical evidence for rural settlement, there is clear evidence for high status medieval castles and hall-houses. If the current historical and architectural evidence is correct, then these castles and hall-houses were constructed by local Gaelic clan chiefs, with close connections to the Scottish crown. This is in contrast to Gaelic Ireland where it seems to have been the Anglo-Norman incomers who built stone castles. In Mid-Argyll, the high status of the castles is maintained throughout the medieval period with the addition of tower houses providing more comfortable accommodation and they were still used as strongholds into the 17th century. Kilmartin Castle and Carnasserie Castle were different in that they were constructed by newly elevated ecclesiastics and were not constructed so as to dominate the seaways. This research has highlighted the possibility of other castles in the research area including a possible early hall-house with surrounding ditch and bank at Carnasserie and a ruined tower house at Torran.

The middle ranking chiefs are thought to have occupied small fortified houses and strongholds. This research has identified a few island, crannog and dun sites which have evidence for rectangular or sub-rectangular stone buildings that may belong to the medieval period, such as Loch Glashan, Eilean na Circe, Lochan Taynish, and Loch Leathan (see Table 2.1). Such sites were often associated with local clan chiefs in the documentary records and some were still used as refuges in the 17th century. Their preservation in the landscape is partly because of the stone element used and also because they are specifically located away from cultivated ground, on islands and hilltops. This then begs the question of whether there were once many more sites of substantial houses which were located within cultivated ground, that have been lost. This research has located a small number of substantial rectangular structures which could be remnants of such a group, such as at Raslie West, Ormaig and Auchachrome (see Table 5.5).

This would suggest that there was a degree of continuity of settlement type from the early-medieval into the medieval period for both the lower and the middle ranking clan members, although those at the highest echelons sought to maintain their power and influence by emulating the Anglo-Norman architectural style.

As there is still currently a lack of strong evidence for settlement in the medieval period and a paucity of historical records before the 16th century, it is not generally possible to see what effect climatic deterioration, wars, plague, and famine would have had on settlement in the 14th century. However, where there historical evidence, as at one site, Glennan, the records suggest that the size of the farm remained stable throughout the pre-Improvement period.

Review of methodology

The research initially utilised the techniques of archaeological survey and historical geography to provide a broad overview of the research area. The historic research was carried out between the various periods of fieldwork, and each aided the progress of the other.

The historical research could not be comprehensive for all the many hundreds of sites in the Mid-Argyll area and so a selective number of sites were looked at in more detail, guided by the remains found on the ground. Once a site was selected, such as Bennan, then a more detailed history of the tenants could be brought together from the records for the period from the 17th to the 20th century. A single reference to the site in 1422 indicates that this had also been a farm in the medieval period (see Chapter 5).

There are several problems with utilising historic data. Firstly the historic data is extremely sparse prior to the 16th century and consists of references to the actions of kings, queens and clan chiefs, events of national importance, battles and castles. There are very few charters which include local place-names, such as the rare example of Alexander II's gift of the five penny lands of Fyncharne to Gillascop MacGilchrist which included 'Glennane' and 'Rudol'. A charter of David II, dated 1346 includes several names some of which can be located through historic map work such as 'Edyrling, Garwalde and Craggenure', but also other names which cannot, such as 'Cambysenu, the two Carvenys, the two Oywoldys

and Calkykest'. Until these sites can be located or linked with other historic records these place-names are of little use.

The historic records which do exist for the 16th and 17th centuries are records of land grants, hearth tax records, lists of rebels names or of men available for defence. These records were written down for a variety of specific purposes that did not include a desire to record everyday life in rural Scotland. These records are therefore very selective in their content, biased and in the case of the *'Account of the Depridations'* possibly even fraudulent. Thus they require great care when attempting to reconcile them firstly with each other and secondly with the field remains.

When the historic records refer to specific events, such as the Irish invasion of Argyll in the 17th century, evidence for such events could be searched for in the landscape. But what evidence would such events leave? One would expect that the complete destruction of settlements within 18 parishes and the murder of over 900 men only 350 years ago, would leave some archaeological trace in the form of burials or the occurrence of burnt horizons at settlement sites, however neither of these have yet been observed. There does not seem to be even any folk memory of such an event, which contrasts strongly with the Clearances, stories of which continue to be told around the fireside (pers comm Dolly MacDonald).

The historic maps, particularly the 1st edition OS maps, have been extremely useful in locating sites in the landscape. But one of the problems encountered with reconciling the map information includes how to interpret the absence of a site on a map, when it has already been depicted on an earlier and perhaps even a later map. This does not necessarily mean that it has disappeared. It is more likely that it was not considered important enough by the cartographer to depict.

There can be problems when reconciling the different data sets from the survey and historical research. For example, there may be a lack of correspondence between the data sets. There are sites with no associated historical data because the site name is not known, as with the castle at Torran and at Bàrr Mór. There is also historical data for sites which cannot now be located. However, such a lack of correspondence provides an impetus to direct the research into resolving the perceived discontinuity. Also, if there has been

settlement shift and splitting it may not always be clear which settlement is being referred to in documents, especially as the spelling of place-names can continually change. Rarely have shielings be mentioned in historic documents. There may also be a lack of chronological correspondence, especially as the records do not become common until the 17th century. One alternative approach could have been to choose an area which has earlier, more comprehensive historical records. Such areas could include that covered by the Campbell of Breadalbane Estate Papers (Davis & Watson 2007).

Once the broad overview of Kilmartin and Kilmichael parishes had been achieved, then the intensive techniques of geophysics, topographic survey and archaeological excavation were brought to bear on three of the case studies. Other techniques could have been introduced at this time, including aerial photographs and soil analysis, and in retrospect these could well have proved useful.

The technique of geophysics is an extremely useful technique for detecting sub-surface features (called anomalies) that have become masked by cultivation. Both types of geophysics can detect disturbed ground, but the magnetometry is especially good for detecting hearths and metal objects, while resistivity is good for subsurface walls or ditches. Generally both techniques are used together to maximise the results (pers. comm. Tessa Poller). Geophysics is affected by geology and by waterlogged soils both of which can mask weak anomalies. At Glennan the technique was used successfully to confirm the relative isolation of Glennan House and also detected the presence of 'spikes' which turned out to be large metal lumps, possible remains of a circular structure, and several rectangular features to the south, near the stream, one of which had already been found through excavation. This enabled other similar anomalies to be identified as structures in the vicinity with more confidence. At Glennan, the geophysics clearly worked and probably should have been used more extensively across the cultivated valley floor and the other, possibly circular, anomalies investigated further. At Torran, the conditions at the time of the geophysical survey were extremely wet and it was thought at the time that this might have affected the results. It would have been useful to return to this site and try again under different weather conditions, and over a larger area, to confirm whether the isolation of the castle was real. The Argyll landscape is rocky and rugged with numerous outcrops of bedrock which generally not suitable for geophysical surveys, this, coupled with the wet climate, suggest that this technique should be used selectively.

The analysis of aerial photographs was introduced towards the end of the project for North Knapdale, after much of the work on Kilmartin and Kilmichael Glassary was well underway. It had been assumed that the rocky, roughly vegetated landscape of Argyll would not be suitable for the identifications of cropmarks, which are more visible in cultivated fields. The flatter more cultivated areas along the coastal edge of North Knapdale were therefore considered a better testing ground. This technique has also been shown to be of use when mapping areas of rig and furrow (RCAHMS 2001) and was considered useful for searching and mapping specific areas, where perhaps medieval settlement is suspected or has already been identified. Unfortunately, this work in North Knapdale did produce several potential sites, but when checked on the ground none proved to be of particular interest. As a tool for finding medieval settlement in Argyll this technique is as yet unproven, but it would probably be worthwhile undertaking over extensive areas of upland which would be difficult to cover by foot and for mapping areas of cultivation. The survey work at Kilmory and Glennan could have benefited from the mapping of cultivation and field boundaries from aerial photographs.

Archaeological excavation is considered by this author to be the most useful tool for investigating the character and date of settlement structures, in that it can reveal subsurface morphological details and provide artefacts or material for radiocarbon dating, as was shown at Bàrr Mór. At Glennan also, the excavations confirmed that the laird's house was not occupied before the late 18th century and that the neighbouring farmstead, rather than being an earlier settlement, was actually built in the 20th century, something which was not obvious from the surface. A slight platform near to the stream was investigated, and this revealed a stone built, Post-medieval rectangular structure. Excavation is time consuming and expensive to undertake and so should generally be targeted either with the assistance of upstanding remains, geophysical anomalies or perhaps the identification of 'hot spots' though soil analysis. Only by utilising excavation can the chronological framework of identified sites be confirmed, which is what would be required for areas surveyed in so much detail by the Royal Commission (2008) and for their settlement model to be tested.

The combination of techniques utilised here has successfully identified a late-medieval farm and suggested several potentially medieval sites. These could be targeted with more detailed analysis, such as excavation. This study started with a strongly empirical approach, as this was considered necessary in order to provide data that could be discussed

and analysed. However, this has not just been a data collecting exercise as certain themes have been highlighted which could be followed up by further research. One of these themes is clanship, which was the underpinning social system of Mid-Argyll in the medieval period. The social practices associated with clanship, such as the lack of primogeniture, may have had an effect on settlement morphology. Another theme is continuity of settlement. There is a clear difference between continuity of site occupation, which has been observed at the high status castles, with what has been observed at the other end of the social scale where continuity of farm names has not involved continuity of site occupation. The middle ranking clan chiefs, possibly occupying early-medieval crannogs, duns and fortified islands, had mostly abandoned such sites by the end of the medieval period, except for a few examples which were used as refuges. As tacksmen they occupied houses which were possibly very similar to the other rural structures, except for perhaps possessing more than one hearth. Another theme is mobility, where the processes of settlement shift, settlement splitting, seasonal transhumance and problems of landlessness have been identified.

Future work could therefore expand on these themes bringing out a consideration of how, when and which people moved within the Gaelic cultural landscape, also looking at clan territorial expansion and contraction. It could also incorporate other themes such as the management of woodland and marine resources, and how they were accessed and utilised within the physical and cultural boundaries of the farm and clan territories. Other disciplines which could be incorporated into this research include palynology (Housley *et al* 2004) and Gaelic literary sources (MacGregor 2006) to provide a understanding of how and where people occupied, utilised and were shaped by, the medieval landscape.

11: References

Abbreviations

BAR - British Archaeology Reports

Discovery Excav Scot – Discovery and Excavation in Scotland

Glasgow Archaeol J - Glasgow Archaeological Journal

J Roy Soc Antiq Ireland - Journal of the Society of Antiquities of Ireland

Medieval Archaeol- Medieval Archaeology

Post Med Arch – Post Medieval Archaeology

Proc Soc Antiq Scot – Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Scot Arch Rev – Scottish Archaeological Review

Scot Archaeol Forum – Scottish Archaeology Forum

Scot Geog Mag - Scottish Geographic Magazine

Scot Hist Rev – Scottish Historical Review

Scott Studies - Scottish Studies

Trans American Geophys Union – Transactions of the American Geophysical Union

Ulster J of Archaeol – Ulster Journal of Archaeology

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Medieval Rural Settlement:
A Study of Mid-Argyll, Scotland

Two Volumes
Volume 2

Heather Frances James
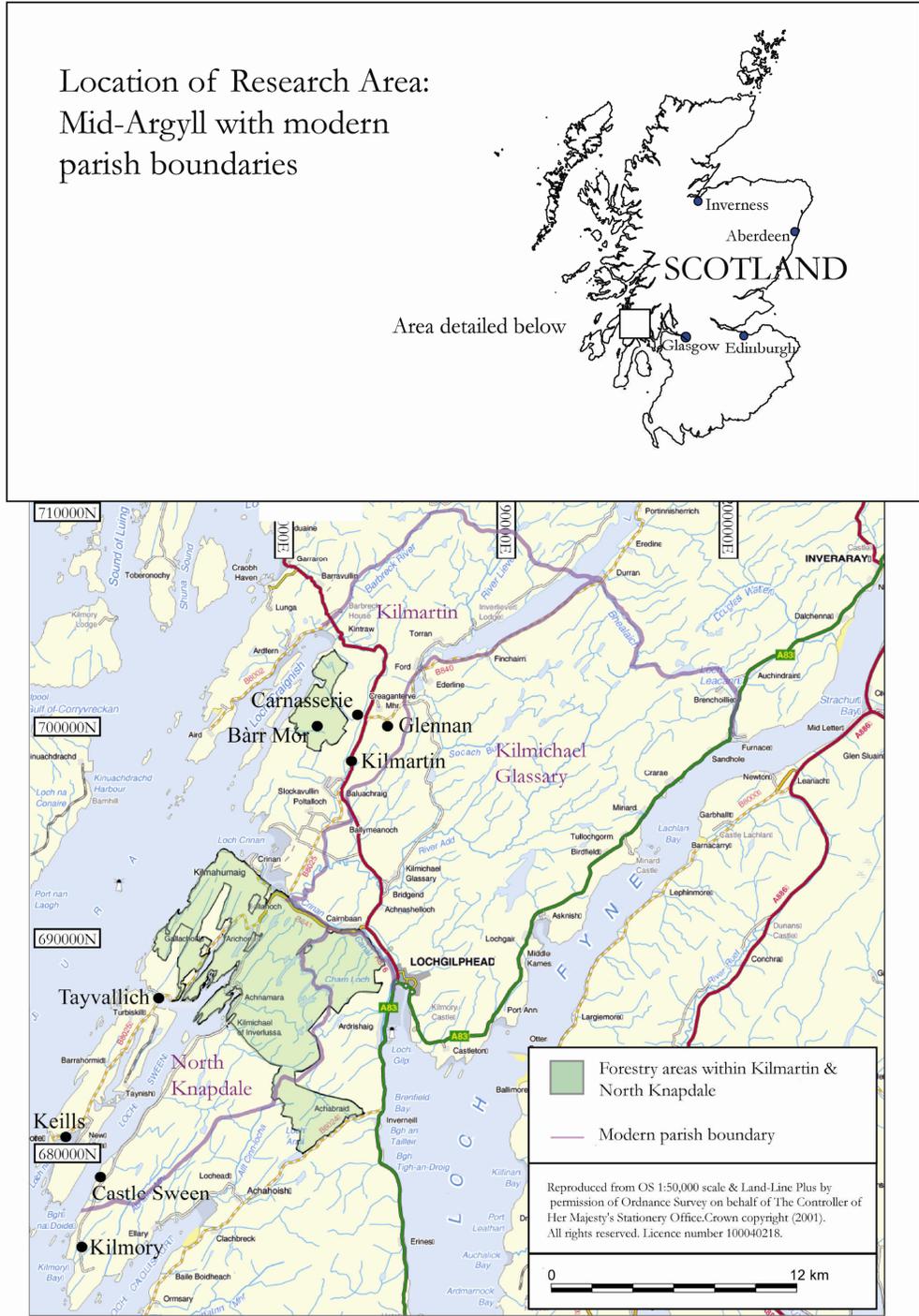
Figure 1.1 Location of mid-Argyll showing parishes of Kilmartin,
North Knapdale and Kilmichael Glassary.

Figure 1.2 The Highlands in about 1400 (Bannerman 1977)
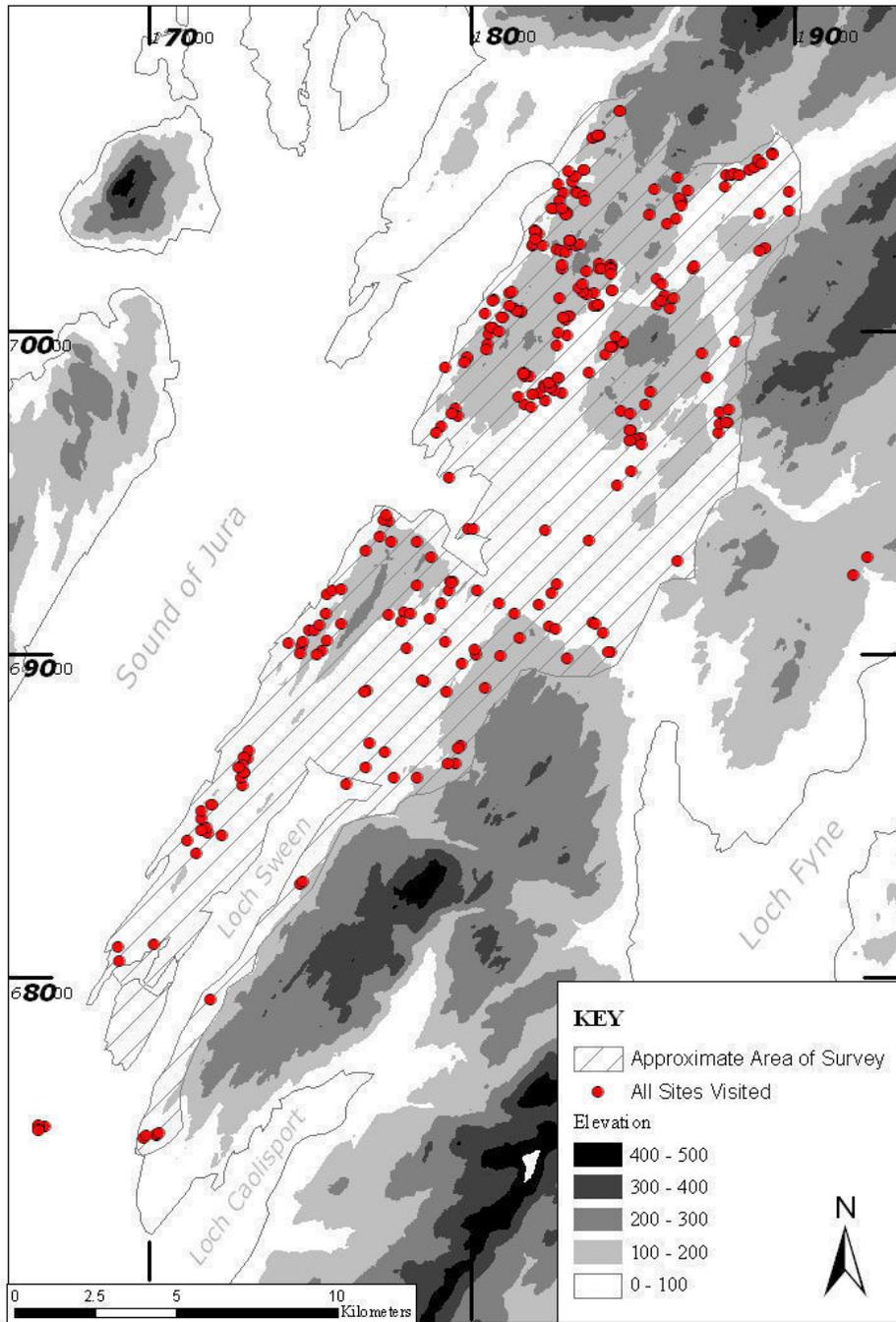
Figure 1.3 Location of all sites visited during this research (derived from Digimap)

MOLRS Sites

Archaeological Site Recording and Monitoring Sheet

Site No:		Date	Parish
Site Name:		NMRS No:	WoSAS Pin:
NGR: N__ E. N.		Satellites available, (if using GPS):	
Scheduled YES NO		Listed YES NO	
Landowner		Planning Applications	

Documentary References

Early Map References

Description from first edition O.S. map

Location (Height above sea level)	Aspect -
DESCRIPTION OF SITE (present day) **Upstanding walls/Turf ruins**	Field system Kiln
Number of structures	Enclosure? Dimensions
Structure Plan shape	**Structure** Plan shape
Dimensions (plan)	Dimensions (plan)
Dimensions (height)	Dimensions (height
Wall construction	Wall construction
Doors/Windows	Doors/Windows
Architectural Features	Architectural Features
Interpretation	Interpretation
Relationships	Farmstead layout
Associated settlements & evidence of access between them	

Figure 1.4 Pro-forma sheet for recording sites (front)

347

Sketch

Current vegetation cover / land use

Recommendations	Suggested Date		
Recorded By (initials and date)	**Photos** Film No	Frame No	Film No	Frame No

Figure 1.5 Pro-forma sheet for recording sites (back)

348
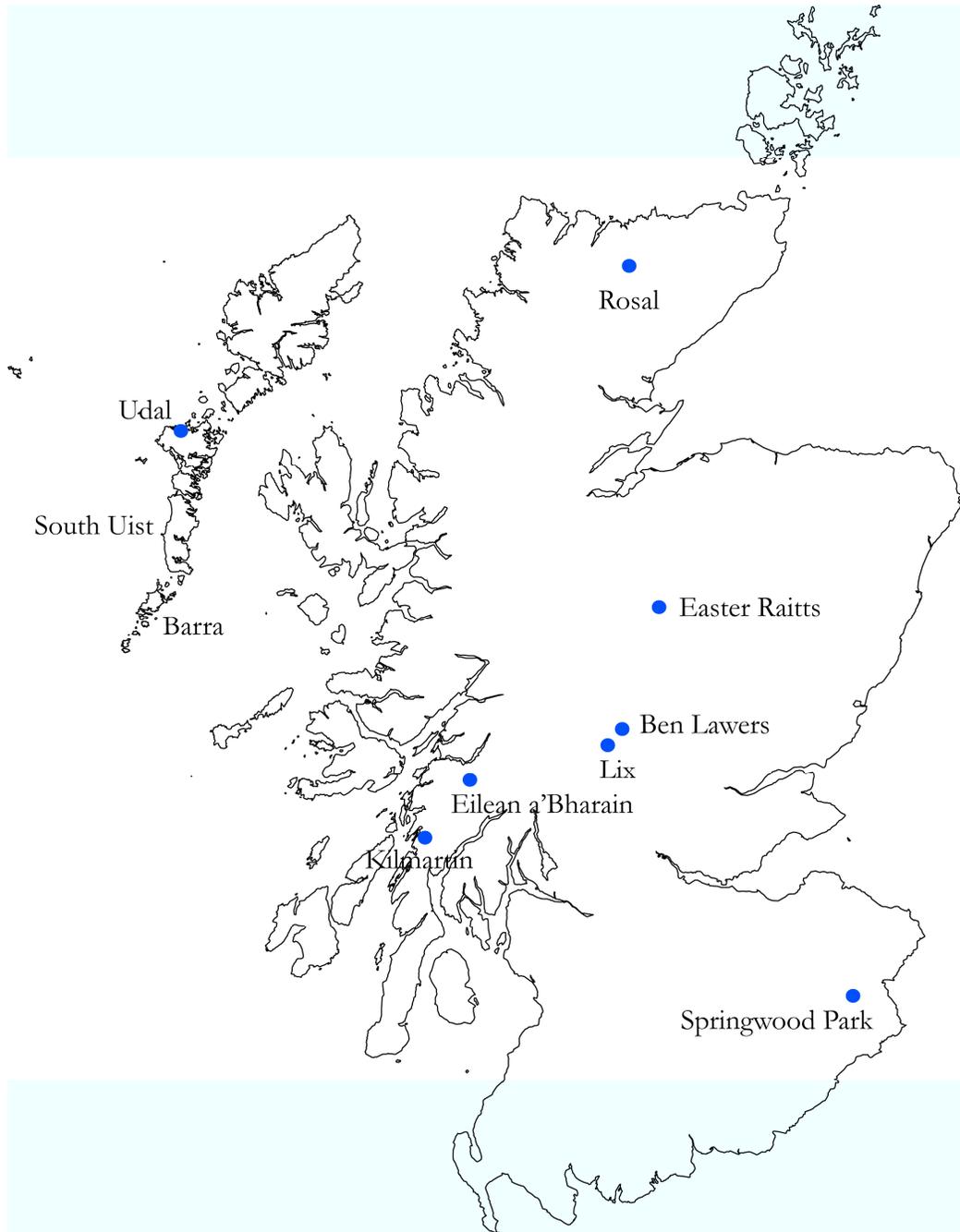
Figure 1.6 Significant sites mentioned in the text

Figure 4.1 Pont Manuscript Map No. 15 *Argyll north of the Crinan Canal.*
Late 16th century (National Library of Scotland).
North is to the top

Figure 4.2 Pont 15, detail. Loch Lean (Loch Leathan) with two fortified islands.

Figure 4.3 Pont 15, detail of Loch Gunnif and fortified island or crannog.
'Lehrna Molt' is in the bottom right corner.

Figure 4.4 Pont No. 15, detail showing Dunadd (Note that N is to the left)

Figure 4.5 Pont 15, detail of Kilmartin church (with cross),
Kilmartin Castle and Carnasserie Castle (N is to the top).
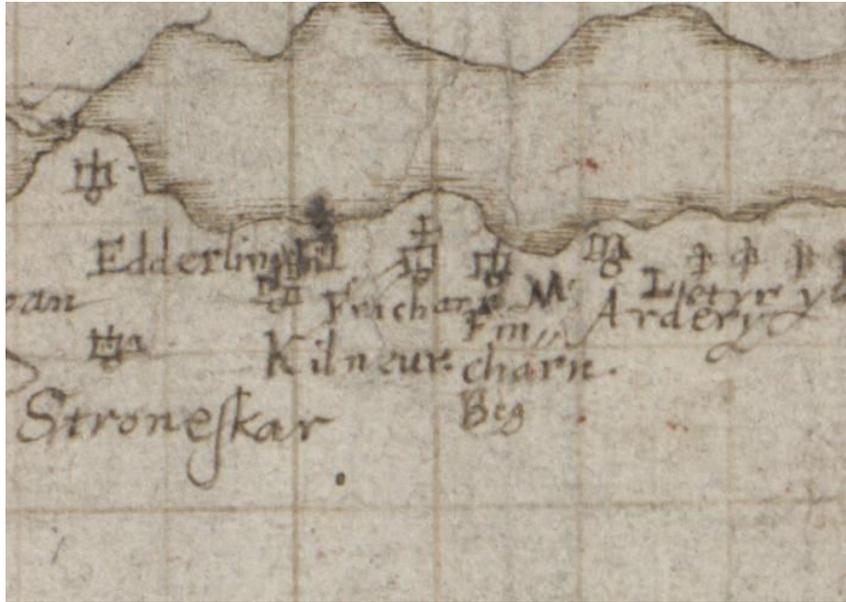
Figure 4.6 Pont manuscript map No. 14, *Mid-Argyll, from Dunoon to Inverary and Loch Awe*, late 16th century, detail of Fincharn Castle, Fincharn Beg and Fincharn M[or].

Figure 4.7 Pont map No.15 detail, Duntrune Castle (Duntruy) bottom left

Figure 4.8 Bleau's Atlas, *The Province of Knapdail which is accounted a member of Argyll. Auct. Timoth. Pont* 1684 (National Library of Scotland).

Figure 4.9 Roy's Military Map of the Tayvallich Peninsular, showing Keills, Coshandrochit, Ulva, Barnlochan and Taynish. Mid 18th century.

Figure 4.10 *Plan of the proposed Crinan Canal* by John Rennie 1792,
Detail of Dell and Dunardry (British Library Maps K top 48.79.)
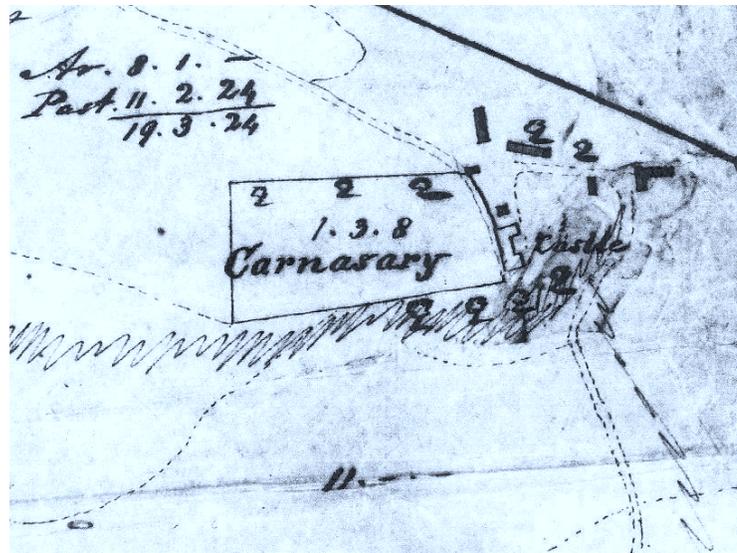
Figure 4.11 *Plan of Kilmartin estate*, John Johnson 1825.
Detail of Carnasserie Castle and Carnasserie Beg (although not named as such).
North is to the right.
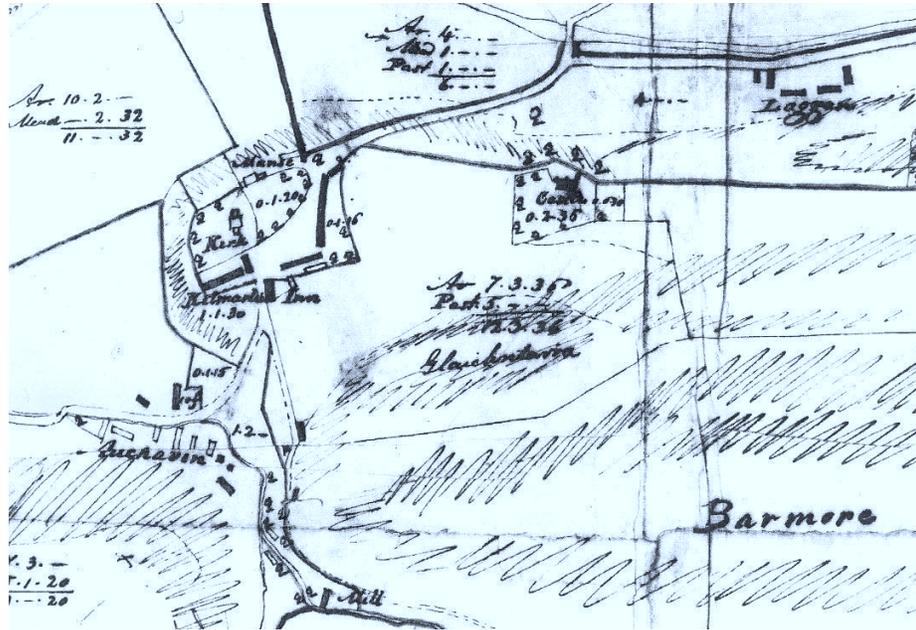
Figure 4.12 *Plan of Kilmartin estate*, John Johnson 1825.
Detail of Kilmartin village, Kilmartin Castle and
Auchavin (unroofed) in the bottom left, Laggan (roofed) top right.
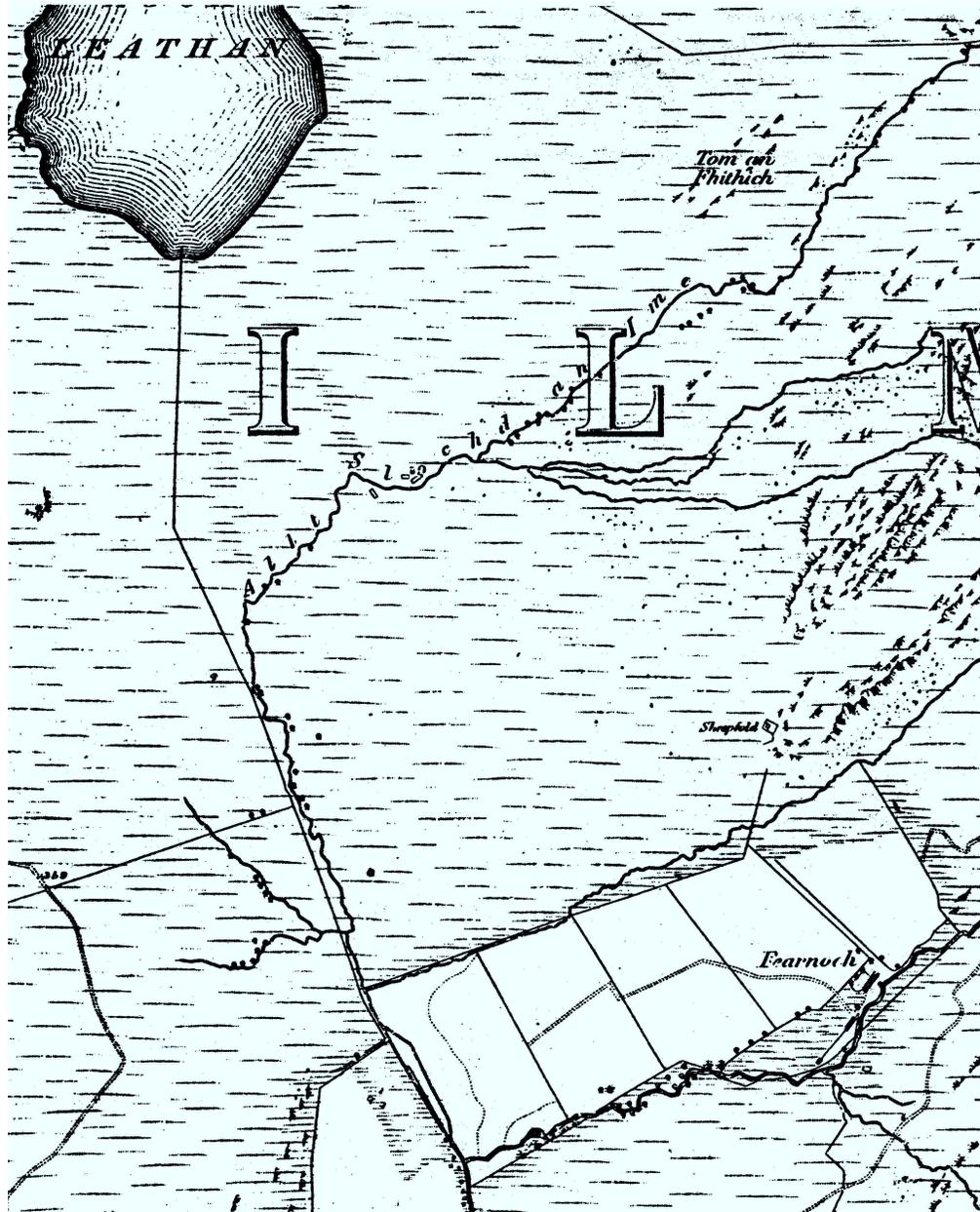
Figure 4.13 First edition O.S. map of Argyll Sheet CL (surveyed 1870).
A deserted settlement lies on along the *Allt Slochd an Ime*
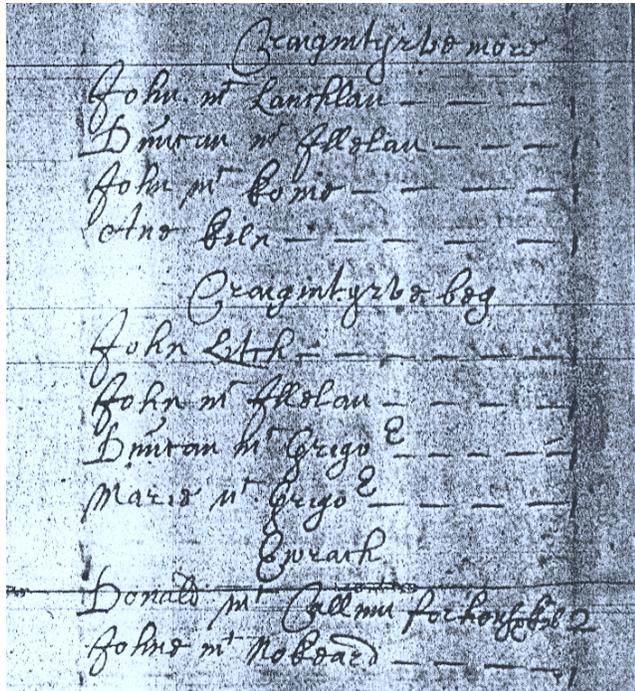
Figure 4.14 Extract from the Hearth Tax (1694) for Kilmartin parish (SRO. E69/3/1)
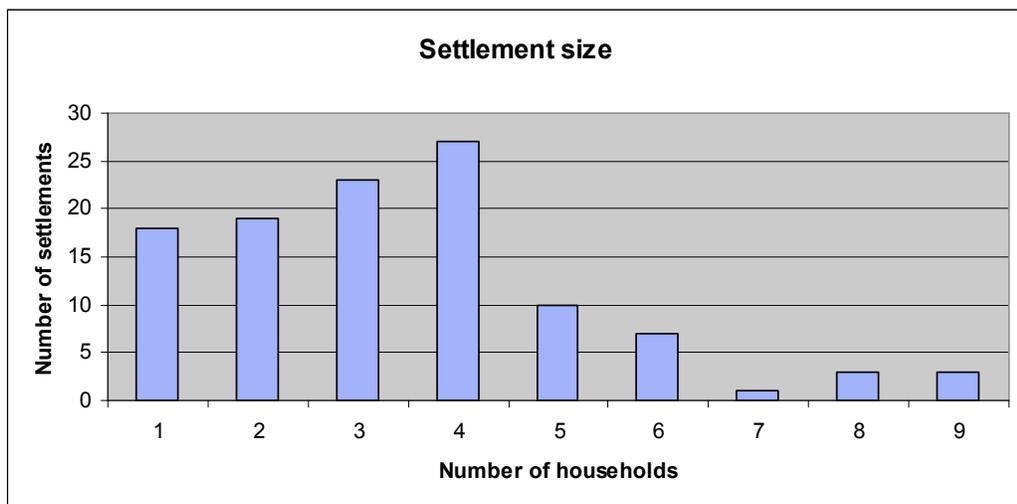
Figure 4.15 Size & Number of settlements derived from Table 4.1 (an extract of the Hearth Tax of 1694).

Figure 4.16 Derren Loch depicted on the shore of Loch Glashan
(note that North is to the left and the axis of the loch is wrong).

Figure 4.17 Derinloch depicted on Roy's Military map
on the north shore of Loch Glashan.
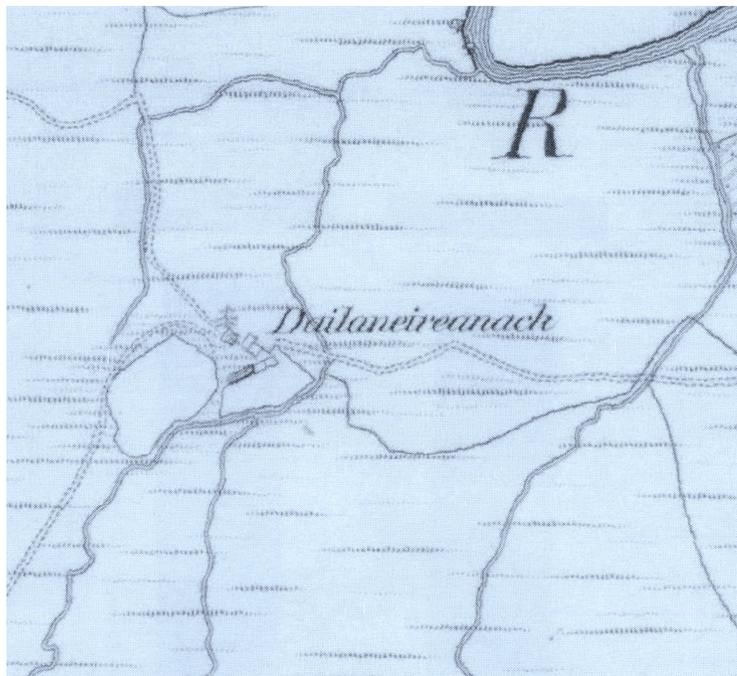
Figure 4.18 'Dailaneireanach' as depicted on the 1st edition OS map.
The location is now closer to the River Add than the loch.
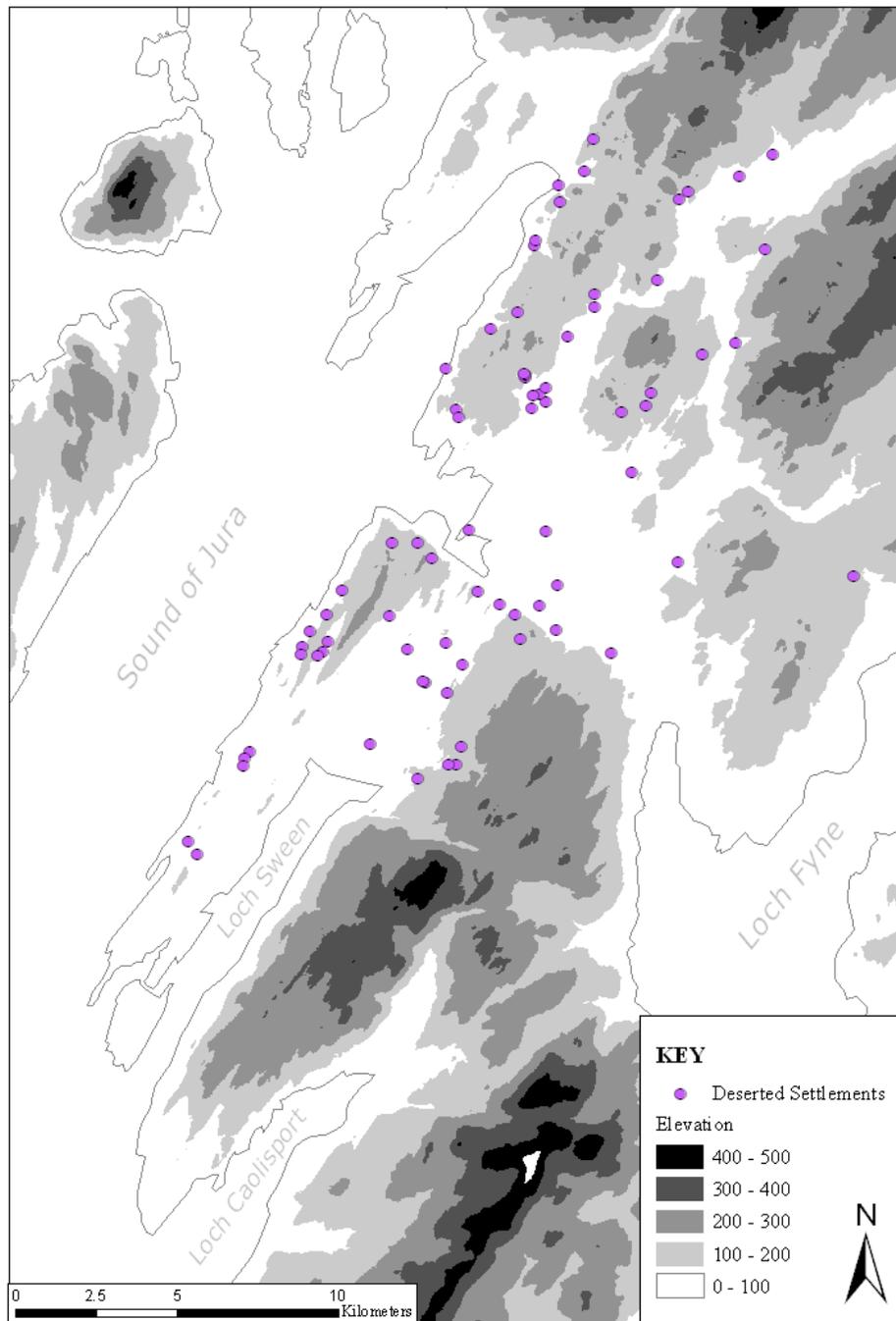
Figure 5.1 Location of deserted settlements visited during research

Figure 5.2 Craegenterve Mansion with fireplace

Figure 5.3 Glennan, north facing gable with integral fireplaces

Figure 5.4 Barn with triangular vents and opposing doorways at Arichonan

Figure 5.5 Barn with triangular vents and opposing doorways at Blarantibert

Figure 5.6 Gleann Sabhail 2, byre with central drain

Figure 5.7 Kilnbarn at Garbhallt

Figure 5.8 Bennan, farmstead with a linear layout

Figure 5.9 Cruck slots and crucks *in situ* at Tigh-an-Sluichd

Figure 5.10 Arichonan Structure A1 gable with protruding stones
for attaching the thatch

162 Loch Losgunn

N

D
C
B
enclosure
A

0   50 m

conifer
tree

A

ts
pd
ts
B

ts
C
ts

Key
pd : possible door
ts : tree stump

sketch drawings not to scale

0   10 m
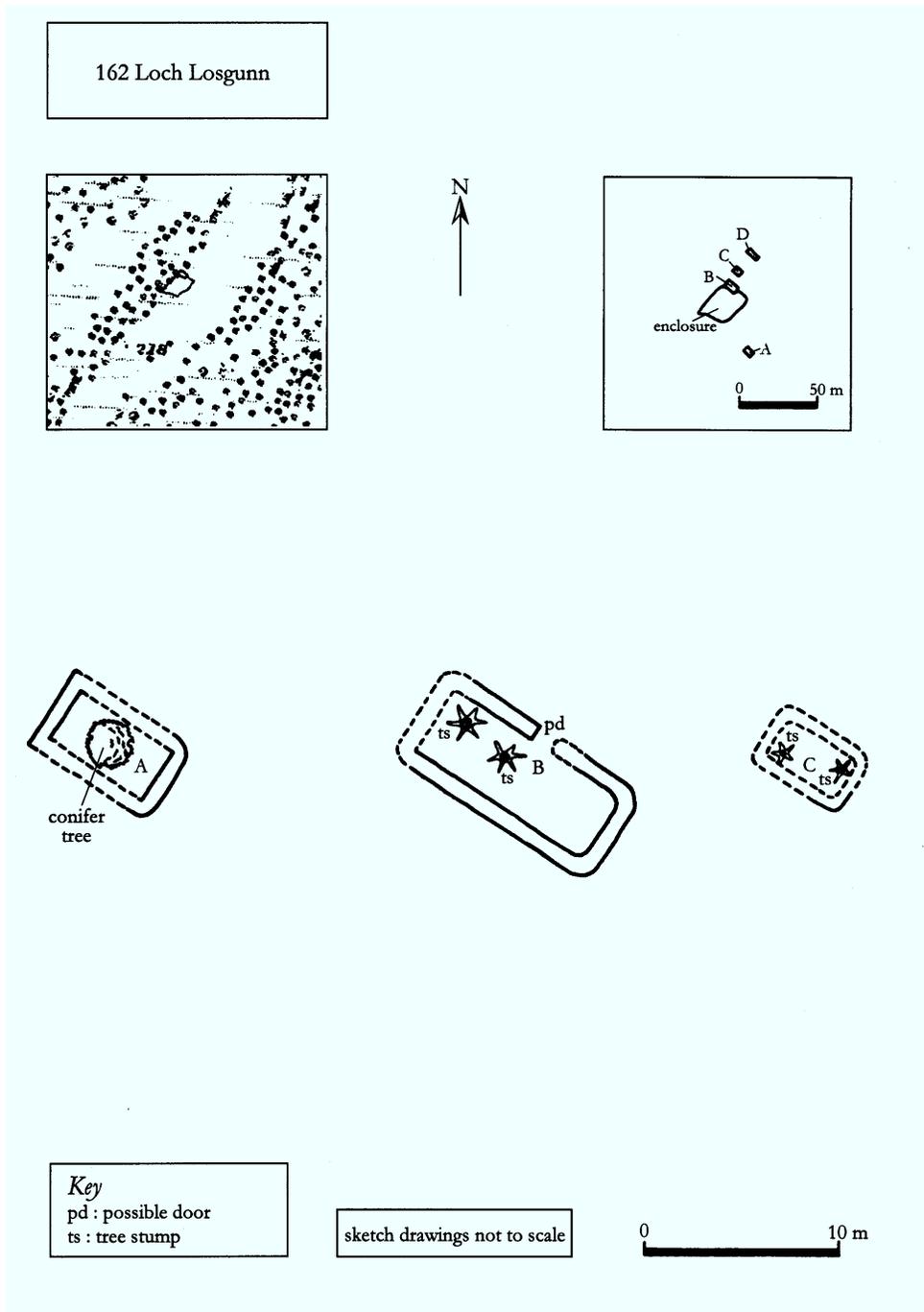
Figure 5.11 Loch Losgunn as depicted on 1st edition OS map, as surveyed
and sketch drawings of structures

Figure 5.12 Raslie West, low foundations of two rectangular structures
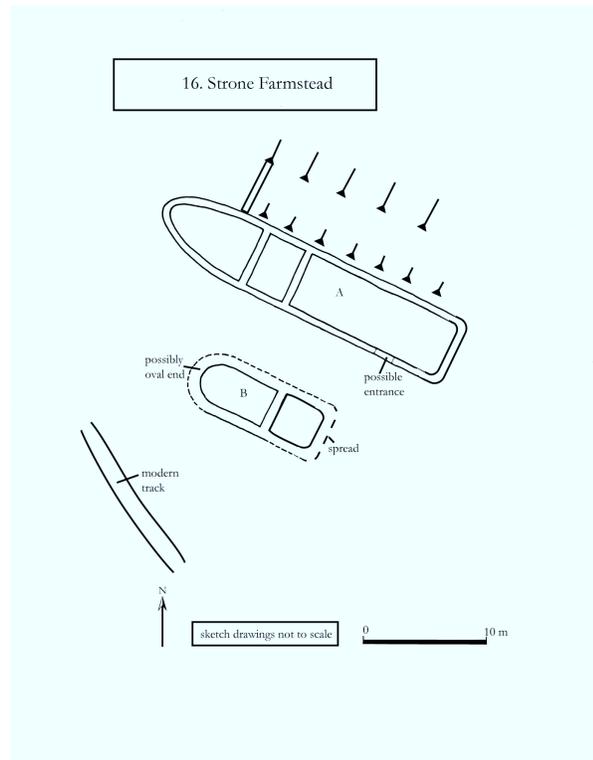
Figure 5.13 Sketch plan of Strone
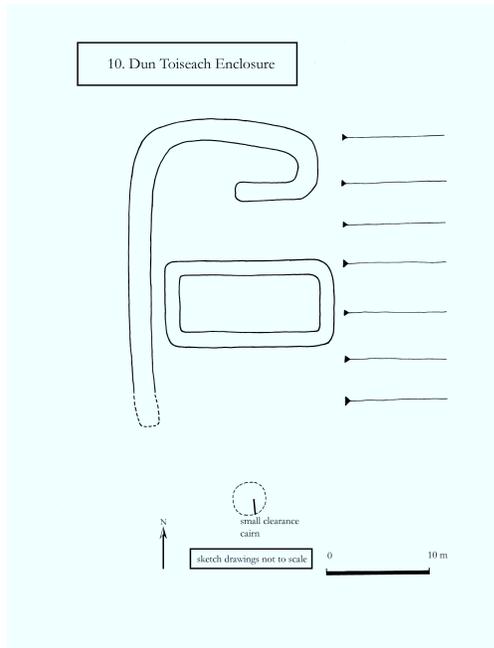
Figure 5.14 Sketch plan of Dun Toiseach Enclosure
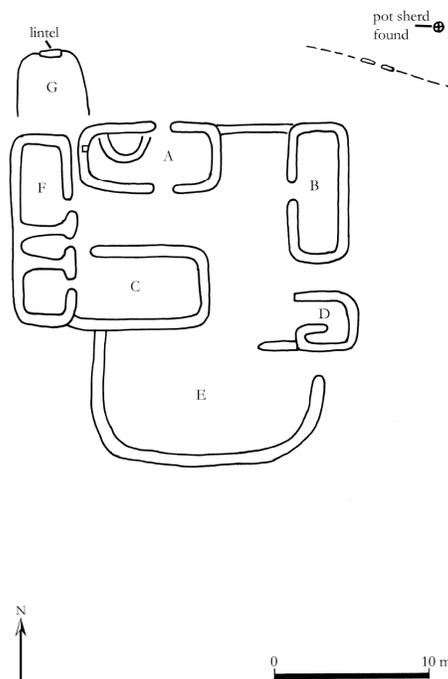
Figure 5.15 Sketch plan of Bàrr Mór
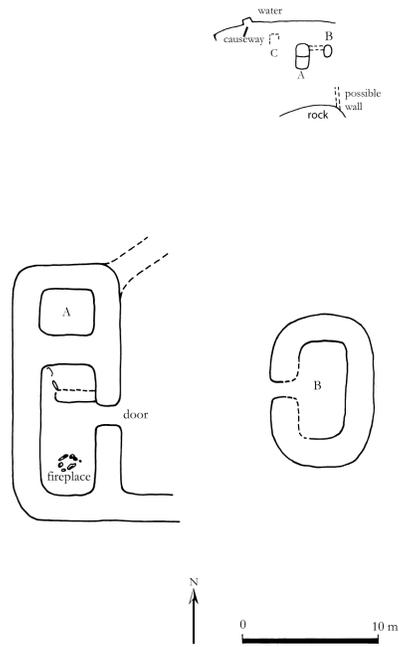
Figure 5.16 Sketch plan of Loch Glashan

Figure 5.17 Loch Glashan Structures A & B on the shore

44. Bennan

Key
w : window
fp : fireplace
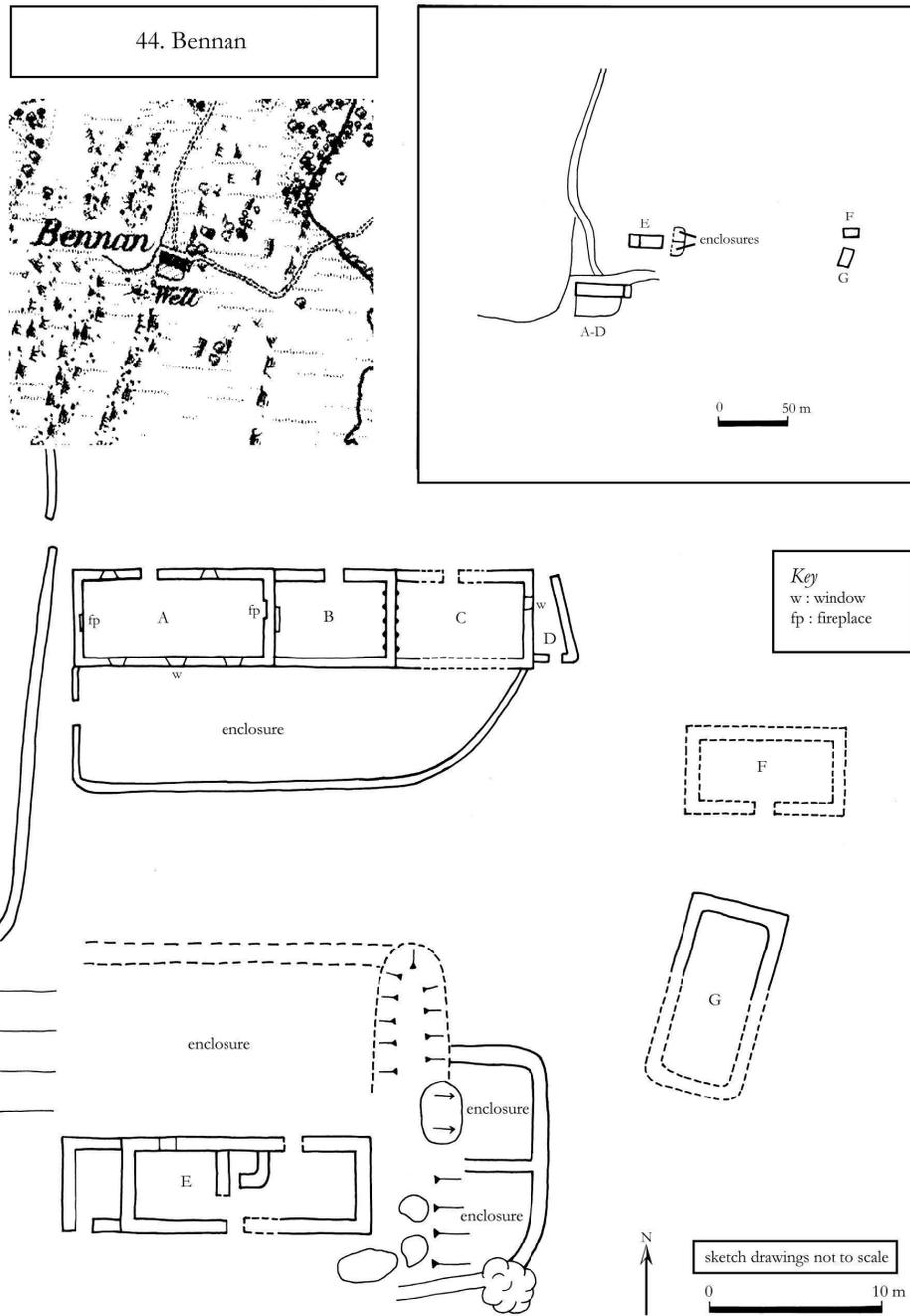
Figure 5.18 Bennan as depicted on the 1st edition OS map,
as surveyed, and sketch plans of structures

99 Barnluasgan

86 Dounie Shieling

34 Barr Mor Shieling 1

35 Barr Mor Shieling 2

45 Druim Bhuidhe Lambing pen

38 Barr Mor Shieling 3

47 Shieling south of Barr Sailleach

0   10m
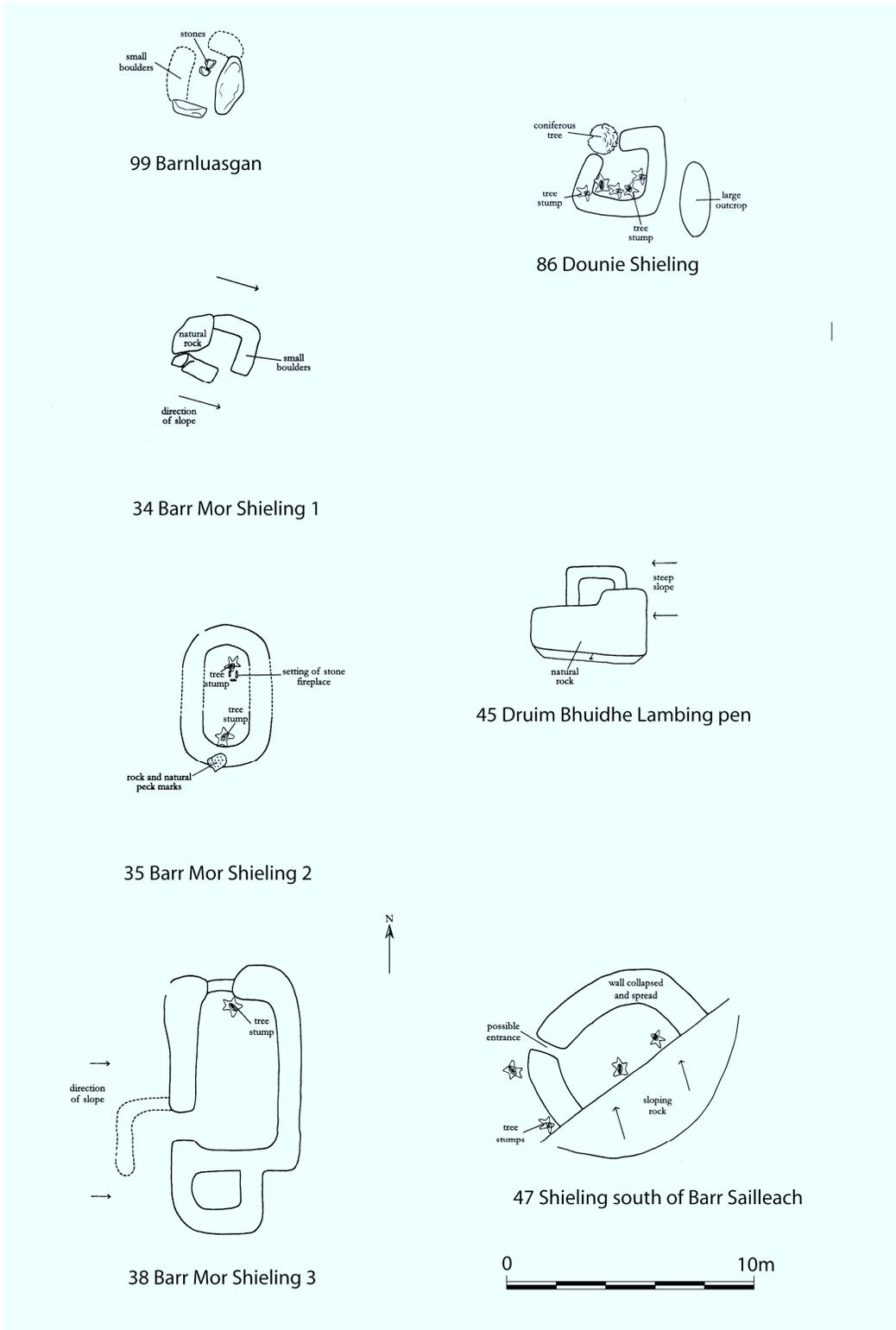
Figure 5.19 Sketch plans of some of the
shielings found during this research
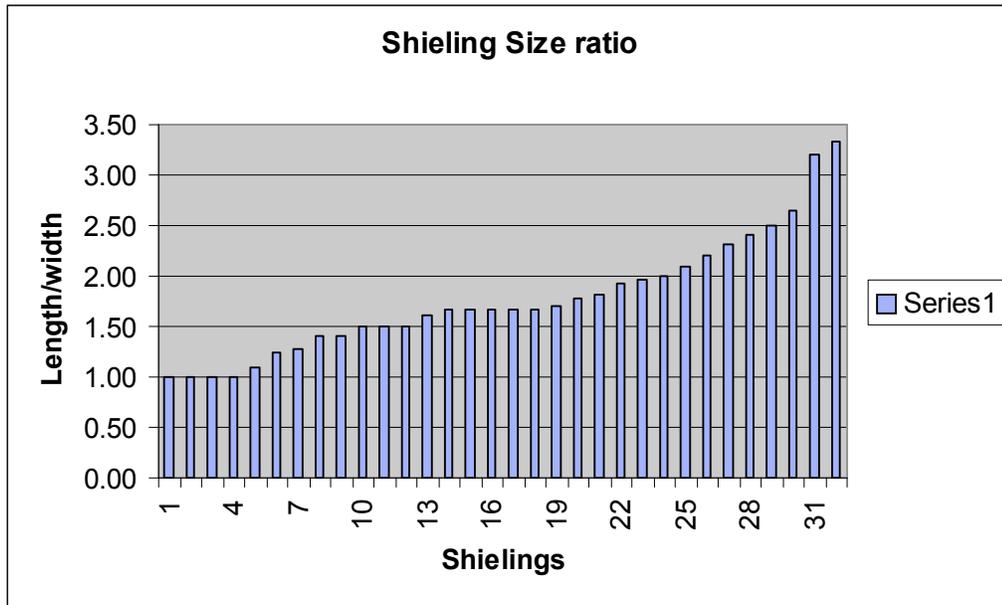
Figure 5.20 Graph showing the length/width ratio of 32 shielings recorded during this research. In this graph when y = 1.00 the shieling is either circular or square in shape. When y = 3.00 the shieling is long and thin, ie rectangular or oval shape.

Figure 5.21 Druim Buidhe, a probable lambing pen

Figure 5.22 Garbh Sron shieling with substantial drystone walls
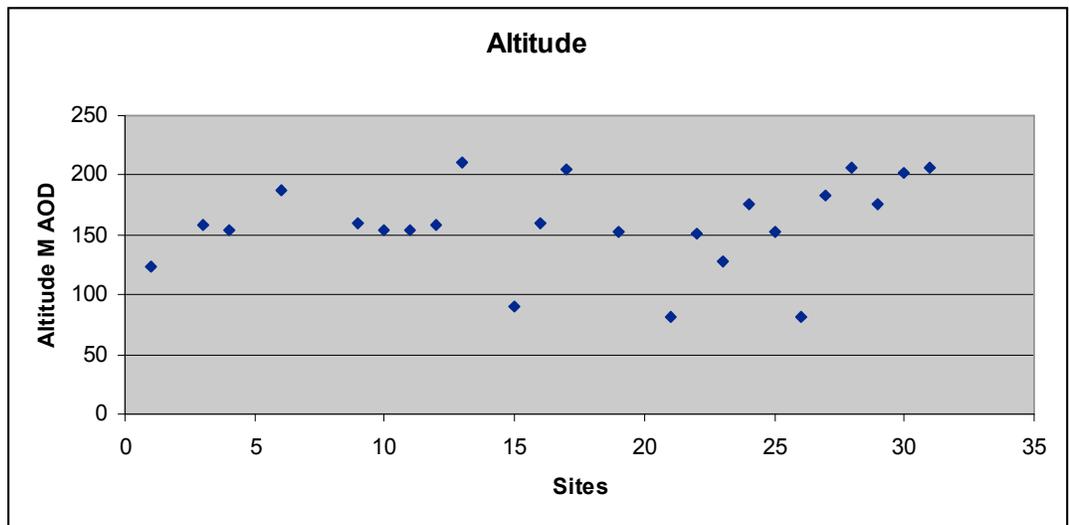
Figure 5.23 Altitude in metres of 32 shieling sites
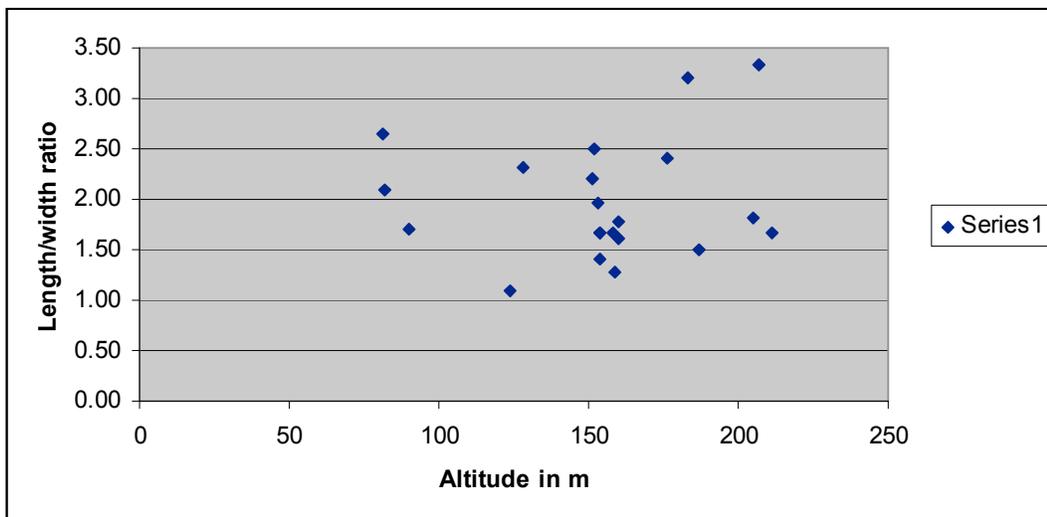
Figure 5.24 Comparison of shieling length/width ratio and their altitudes in metres.
There are no clear groupings and so no particular relationship
between altitude and shape has been revealed.

Figure 5.25 Carnasserie shielings & cultivation

Figure 5.26 Corlach shieling, with a lambing pen in the top left corner
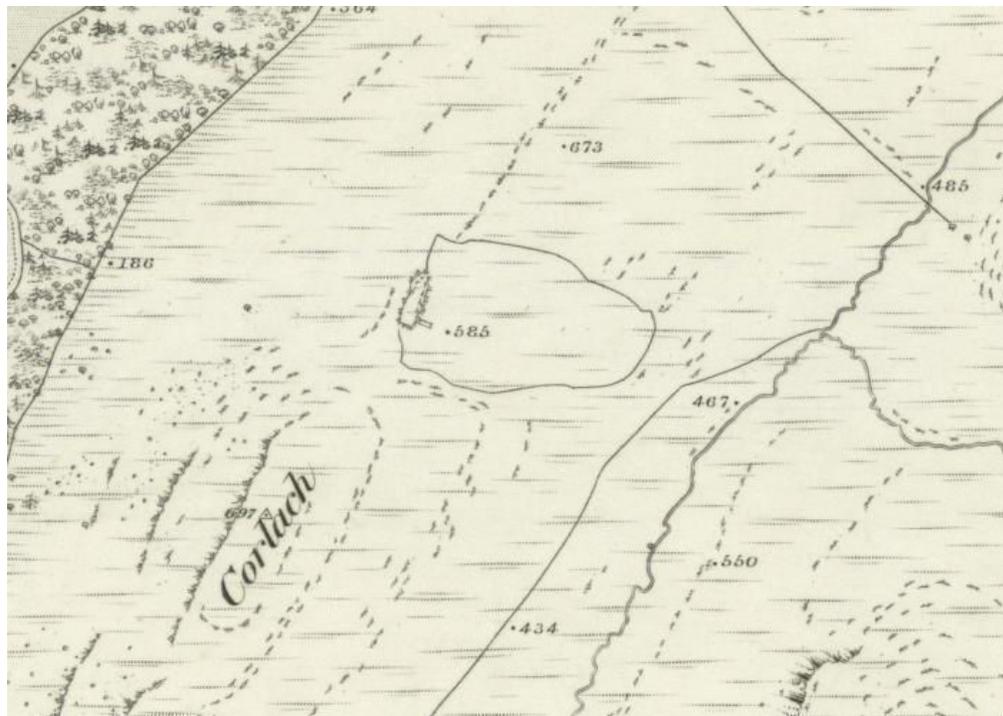
Figure 5.27 Corlach on the 1st edition OS map (Argyllshire Sheet CXXXVIII).
Rectangular shieling is shown as unroofed within irregular-shaped enclosure

Direction of Slope

N

0   5m
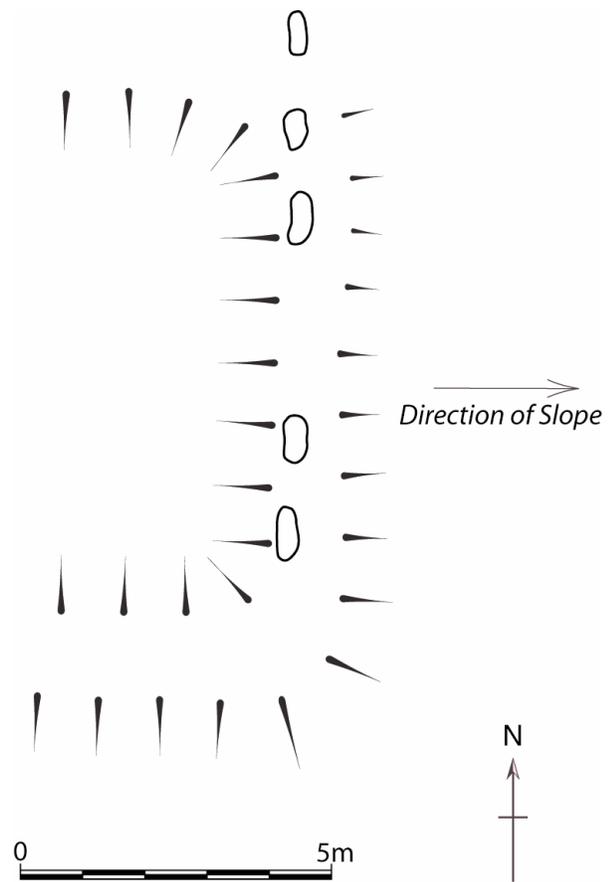
Figure 5.28 Glennan platform (Site 68), sketch plan
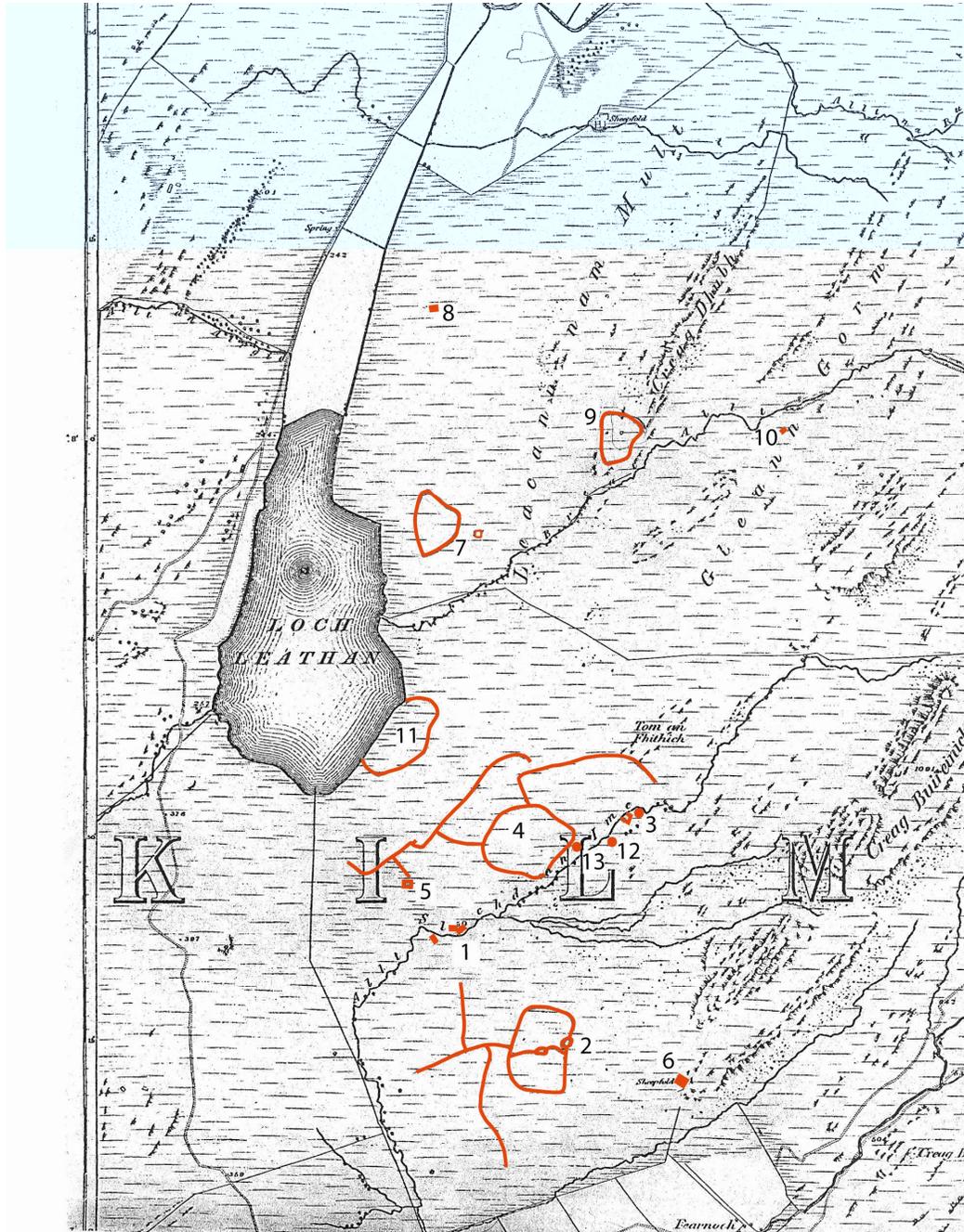
1	Site 279 - Deserted settlement	8	Rectangular structure
2	Site 281 - Two enclosures and two structures	9	Large enclosure
3	Shieling	10	Rectangular structure
4	Large enclosure	11	Large enclosure
5	Rectangular structure	12	Large enclosure
6	Sheepfold	13	Shieling
7	Rectangular structure & large enclosure		

Figure 5.29 Features seen on aerial photographs shown
over 1st edition OS map of Fearnoch.

Figure 5.30 Caol Chaoruinn, Torran (RCAHMS 1992, 214)
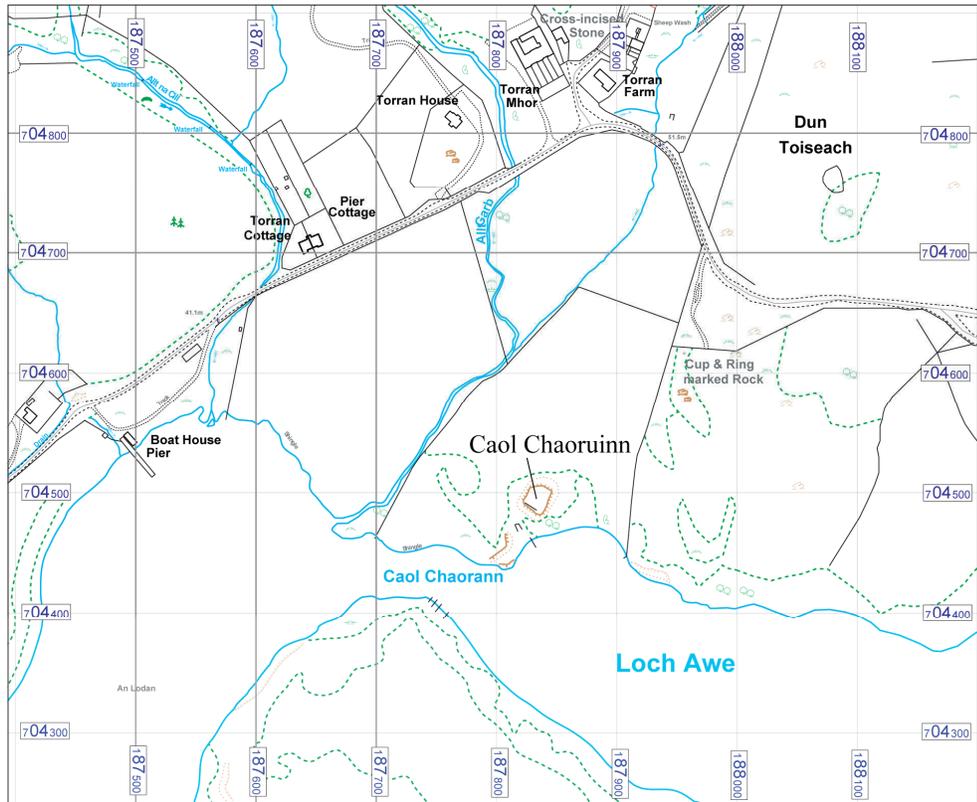
Figure 5.31 Location of Caol Chaoruinn

Additional Resistivity Survey

Enclosure

Terrace

Loch Awe

Jetty

Caol Chaoruinn Ruins

Area of Geophysical Survey

Gradiometer Survey

704 500 mN

704 400 mN

187 900 mE

187 800 mE
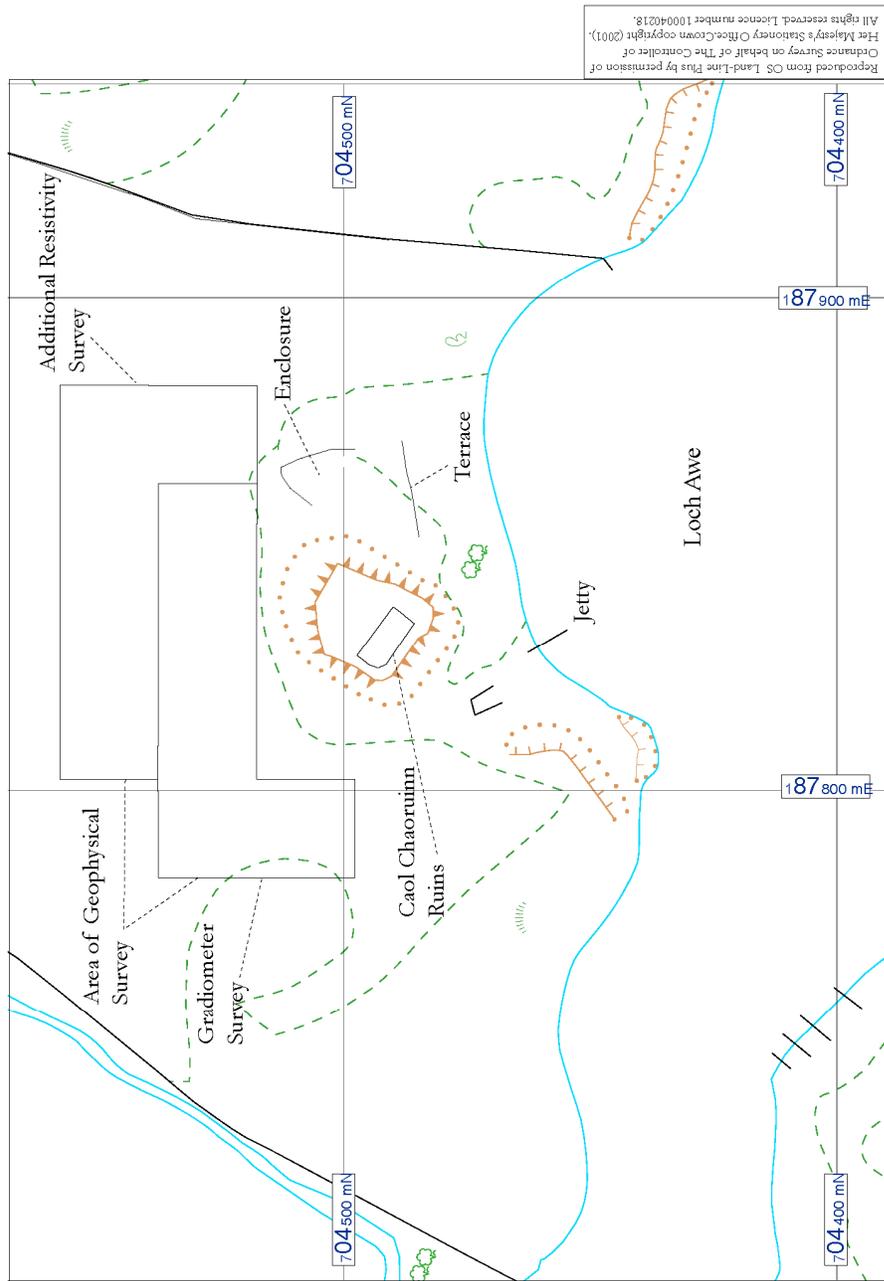
Figure 5.32 Area covered by Geophysical surveys at Caol Chaoruinn
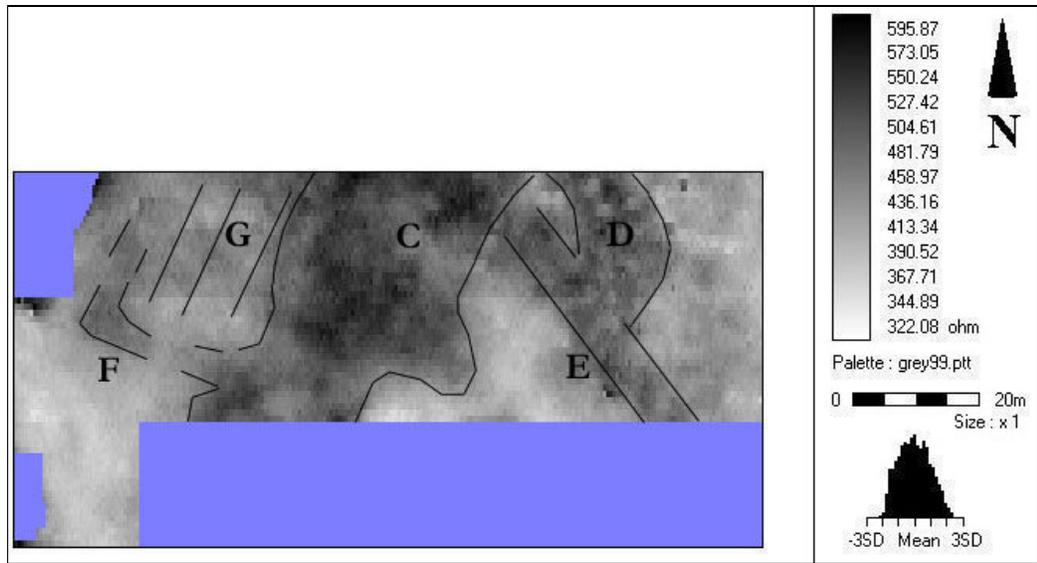
Figure 5.33 Interpretation of Resistivity survey at Caol Chaoruinn (Poller 2004)

Figure 5.34 O'Neill Inauguration in about 1600
(Dartmouth Map no. 25, National Maritime Museum, Dublin).

Figure 5.35 Bruach na Cuirte, S of Slockavullin

Figure 5.36 Kilmartin Churchyard gravestone

Figure 5.37 Galley on carved gravestone
at Kilmichael Glassary (RCAHMS 1992, 144)

Figure 5.38 Galley on carved stone Kilmory Knap (RCAHMS 1992, 165)

Figure 5.39 Effigy of Sir Duncan Campbell, Kilmun (Boardman 2006, Plate 3)
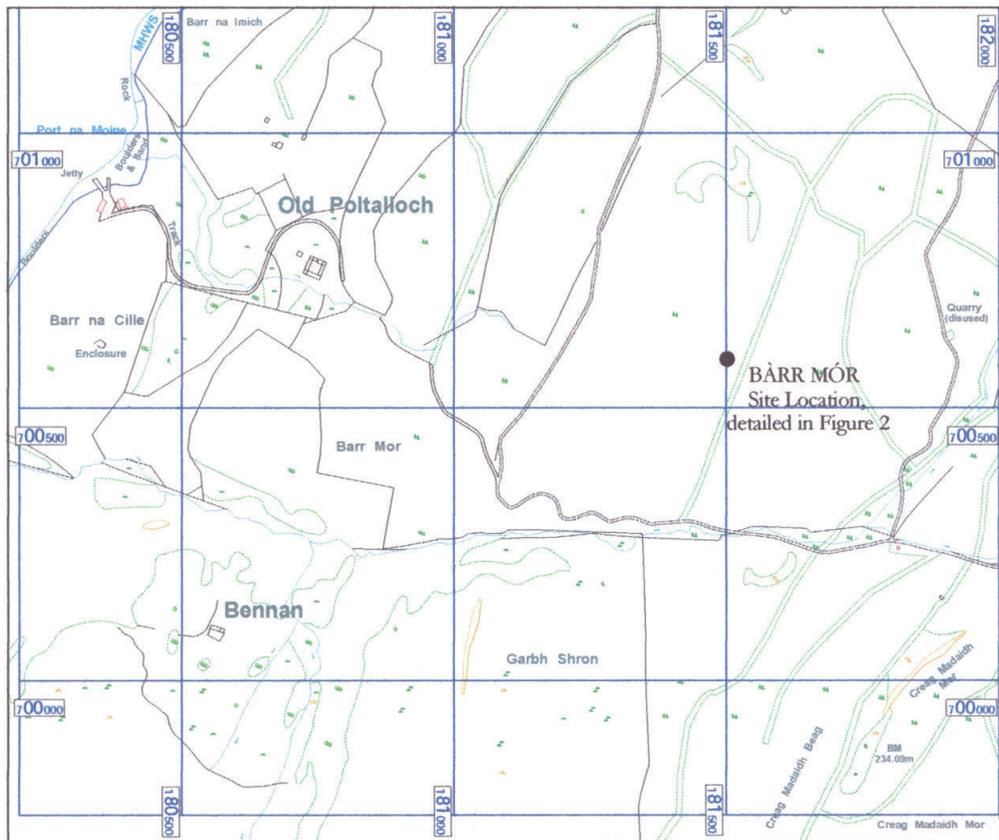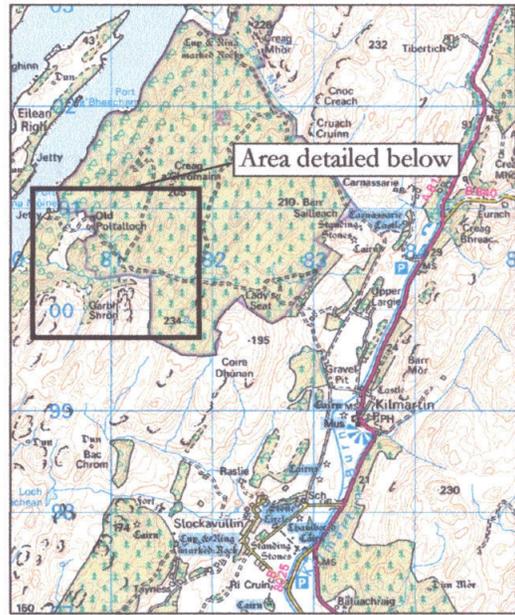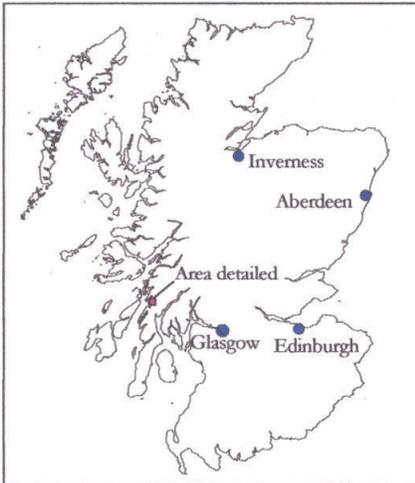
Figure 6.1 Bàrr Mór location plan
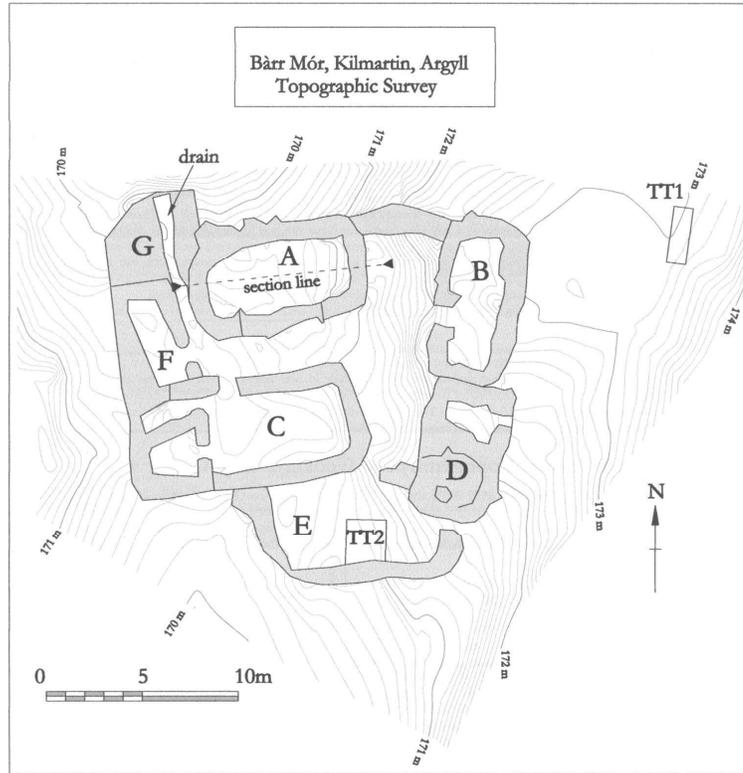
Figure 6.2 Bàrr Mór topographic survey

Figure 6.3 Bàrr Mór site with moss removed
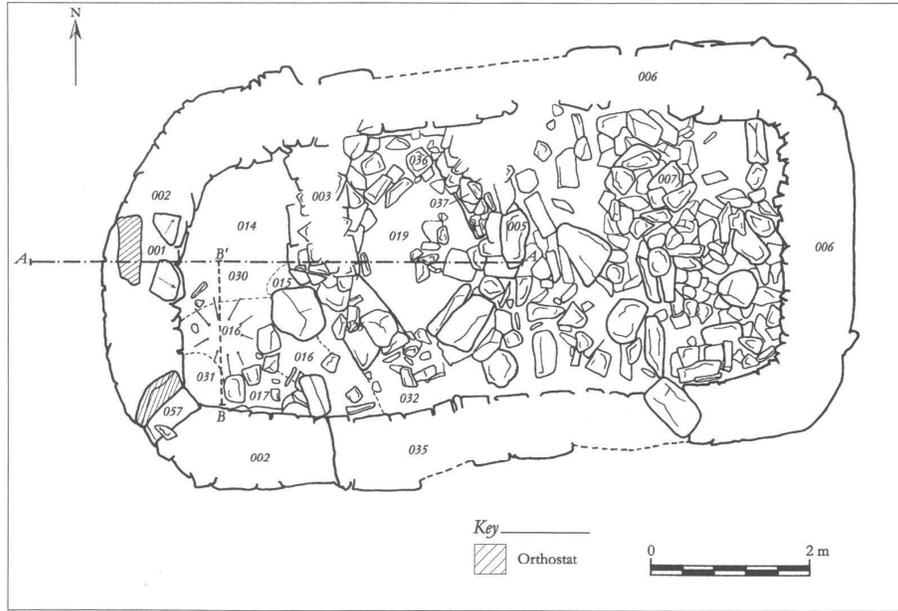
Figure 6.4 Bàrr Mór Structure A plan

Figure 6.5 Bàrr Mór Structure A from the east
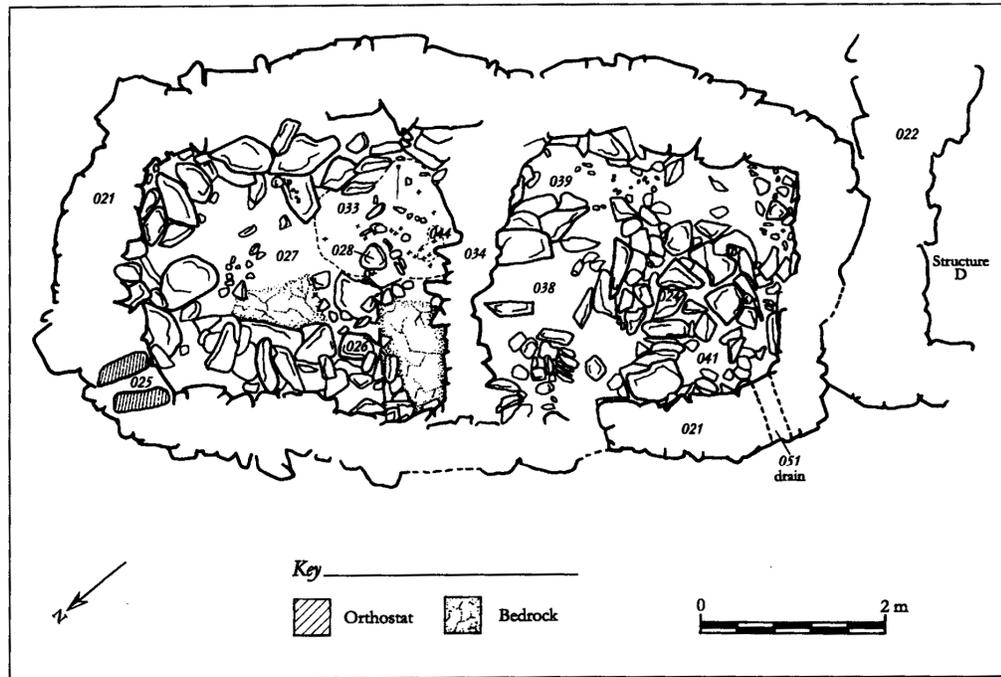
Figure 6.6 Bàrr Mór Structure B plan

Figure 6.7 Bàrr Mór Structure A, hearth (016)
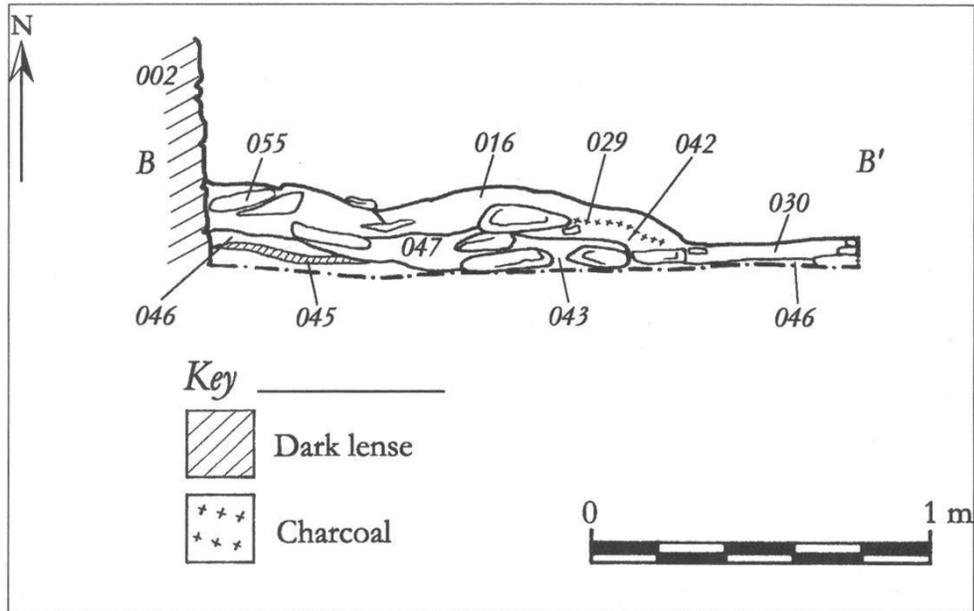
Figure 6.8 Bàrr Mór Structure A, hearth section

Figure 6.9 Bàrr Mór non ceramic finds

Figure 6.10 Bàrr Mór Structure B, cobbles (026)

Figure 6.11 Bàrr Mór, 16th/17th century French pottery found within Structure B

Figure 7.1 Glennan location
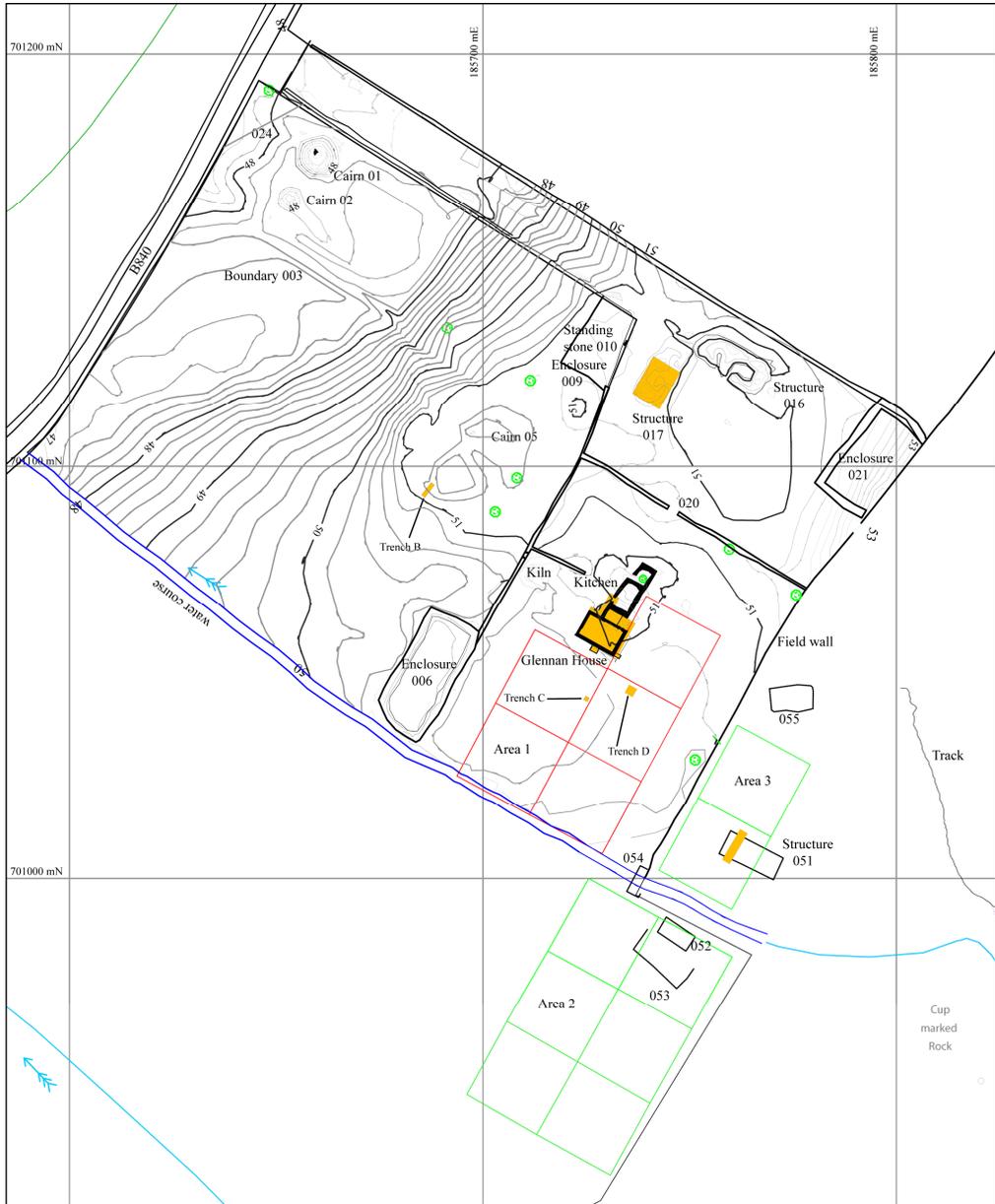
Figure 7.2 Glennan topographic survey. Grids for Geophysical
surveys shown in red (Poller 2003) and green (Hinz 2005).

Figure 7.3 Roy's Military map of the Glennan area.
Craegenterve (the farm opposite Glennan) is at the top of the map. A farm called
'Tightchair' is shown in the approximate location of Glennan.

Figure 7.4 'Glenan'. George Langlands 1801 *This map of Argyllshire* (National Library
of Scotland)
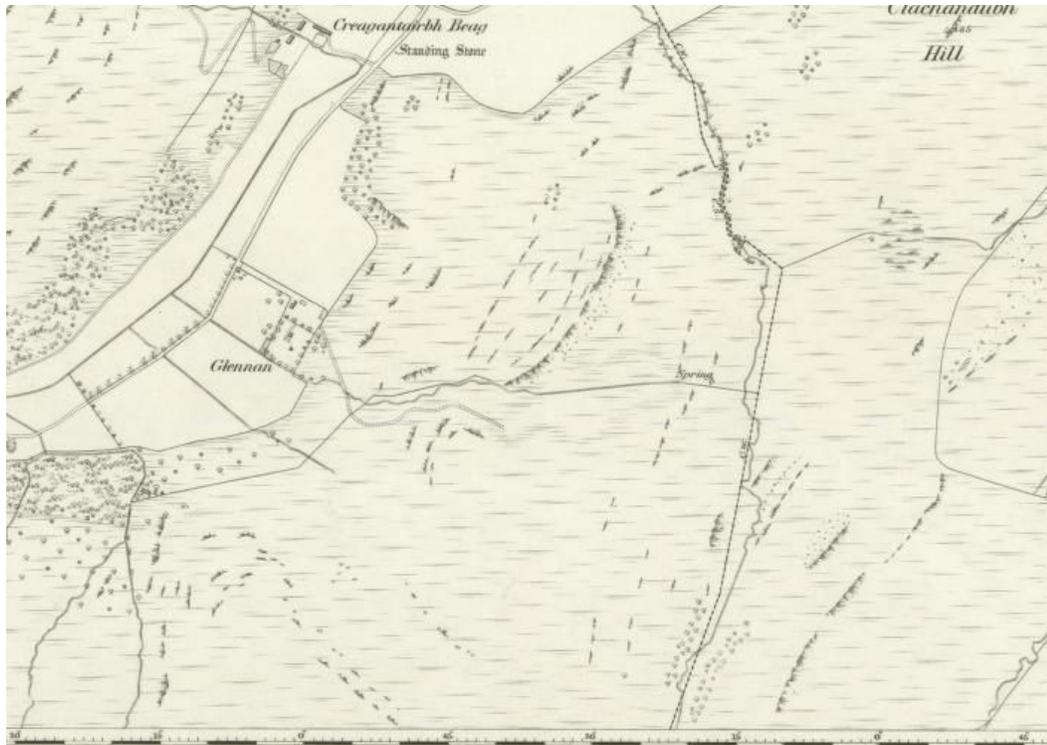
Figure 7.5 Glennan. 1st edition OS map of Argyllshire.

Figure 7.6 Glennan, Structure 017 after the rubble was removed

Figure 7.7 Glennan, Structure 051 exposed in a narrow trench.
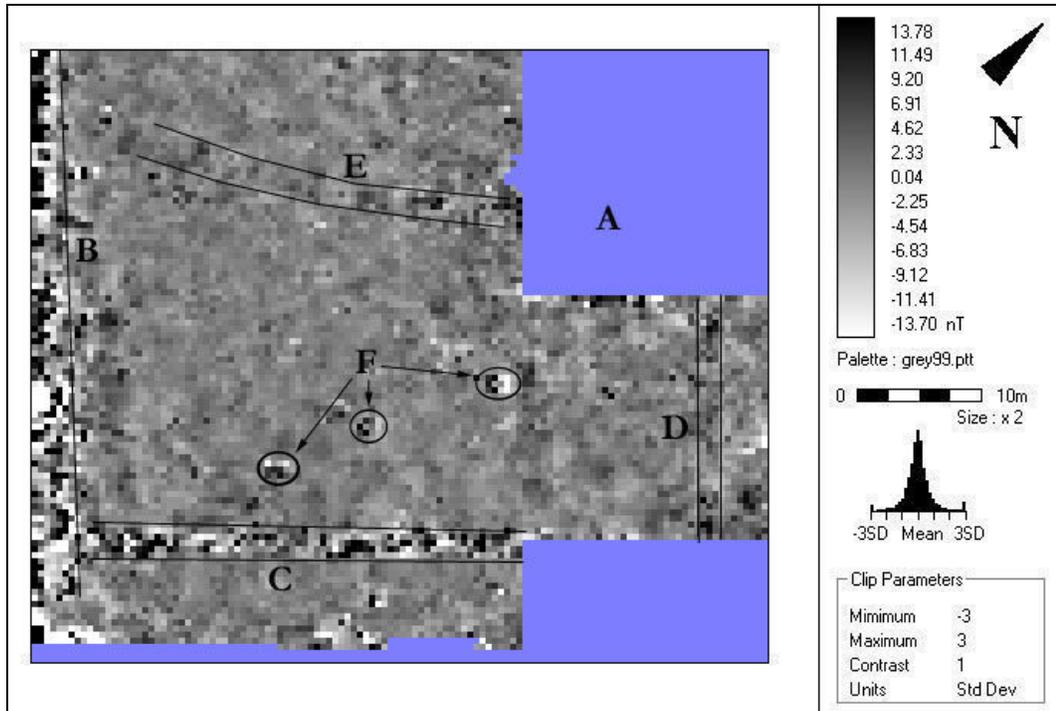
Figure 7.8 Glennan, Gradiometer Survey of Area 1 (Poller 2003)
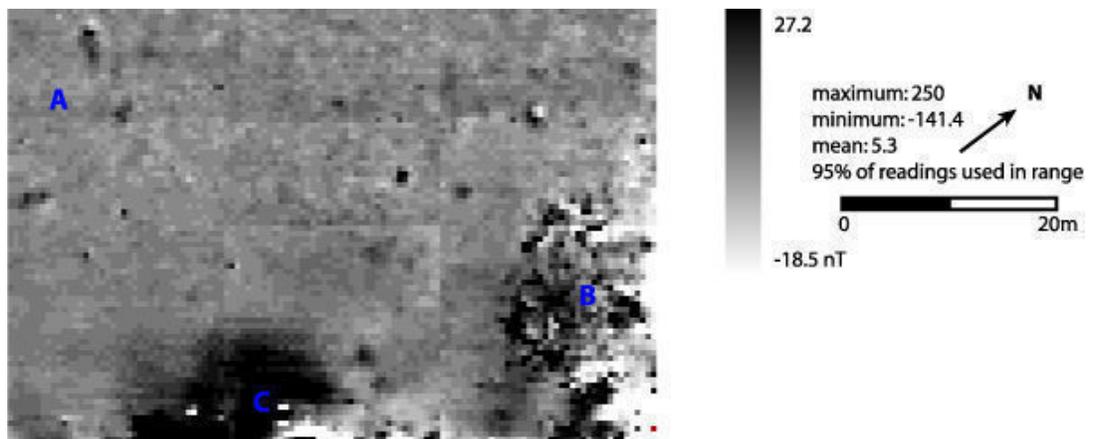
A: A segment of a circular feature with a diameter of about 20m, was seen in the south-west corner.

B: The south-east corner showed a high degree of disturbance which contained some linear features, relating to Structures 052 and 053). Some of the strong readings were thought to be from buried metallic debris, similar to pieces which were removed prior to the survey.

C: High magnetic readings along the southern boundary corresponded with a rock outcrop and were interpreted as the result of the natural geology.

Figure 7.9 Glennan, Gradiometer survey of Area 2 (Hinz 2005)

447
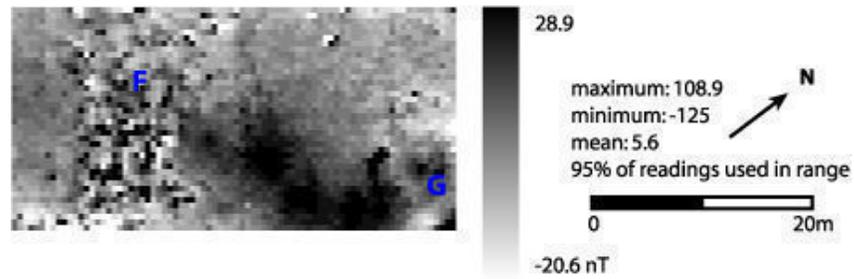
F: An area of disturbance, relating to Structure 051, similar in appearance to B above, perhaps associated with a stony subsoil or burning. The backfilled trench was not particularly prominent, probably because it was so shallow.

G: Near the north edge was a linear feature and the feint signature of a rectilinear structure.

Figure 7.10 Glennan, Gradiometer survey of Area 3 (Hinz 2005)

449

Glenman

Shielings Site 307

Shielings & cultivation
Site 308

Platform Site 68

Cup and ring

Shieling and enclosure

701000

700500

186500

186000

Key

Structures

Areas of rig and furrow

Track

Earthen banks

Stone field banks and walls
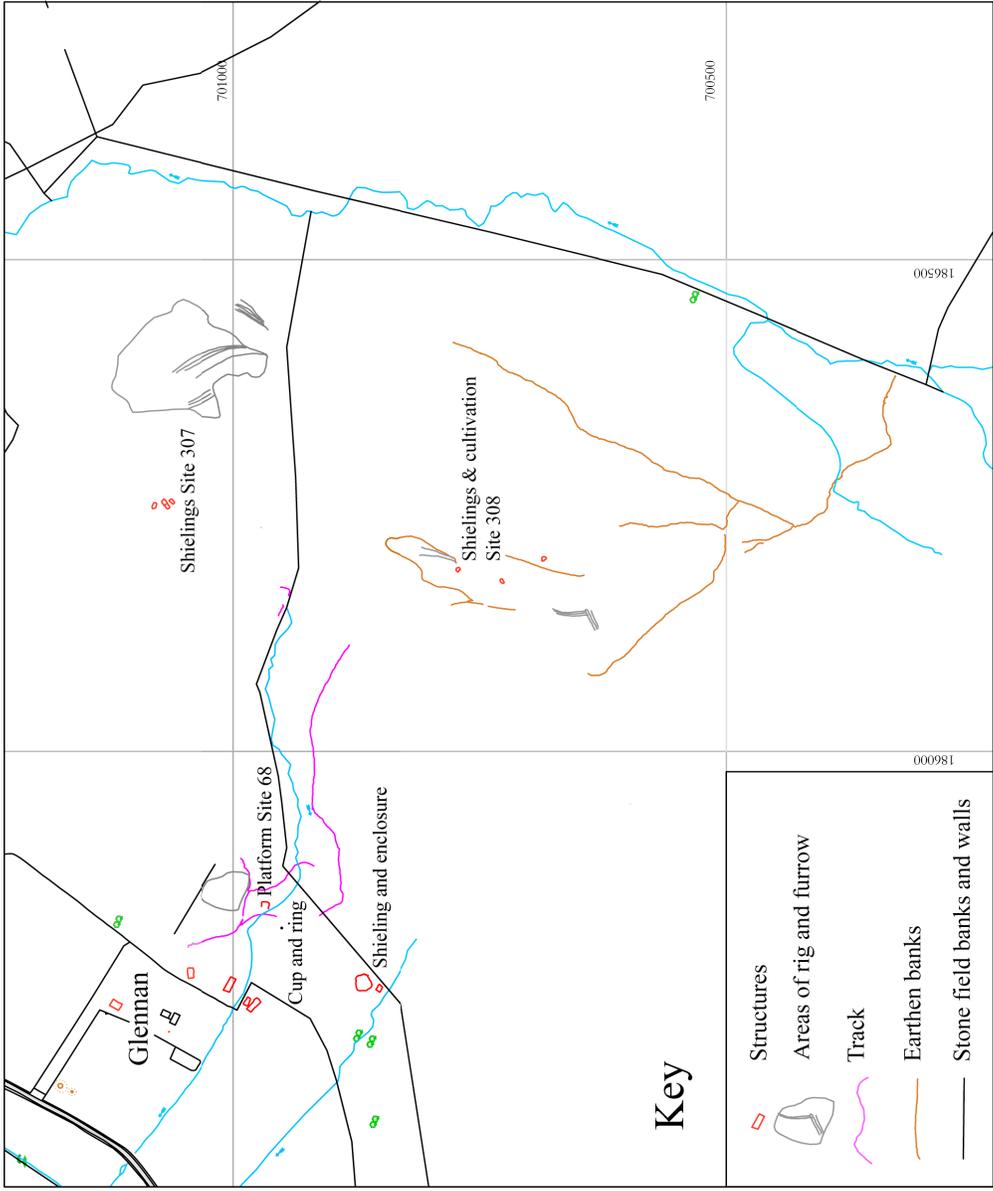
Figure 7.11 DGPS survey

Figure 7.12 Glennan, enclosure & shieling (NM80SE 20)

Figure 7.13 Glennan, Platform Site 68

Figure 7.14 Extract from Hearth Tax 1694 (SRO E69/3/1).

Figure 8.1 Location of Carnasserie (taken from the OS 1:10,000 map)

Figure 8.2 Carnasserie Castle from the south (RCAHMS)
Compare this with Pont's image Figure 8.4
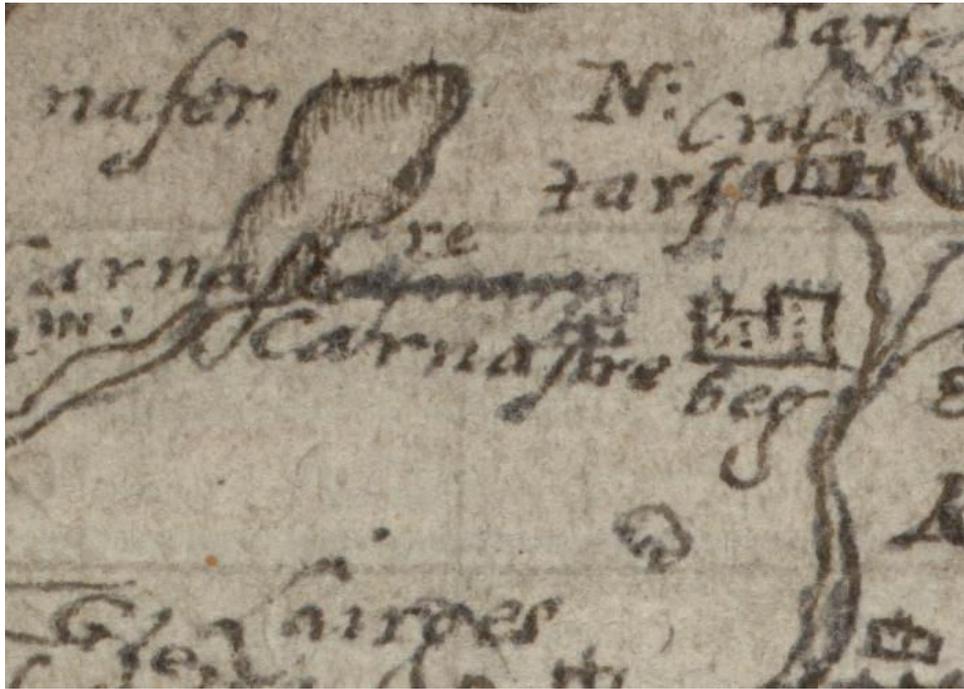
Figure 8.3 Carnasserie Castle by Pont (National Library of Scotland)

Figure 8.4 Carnasserie, earlier castle or possible dun seen from Carnasserie Castle
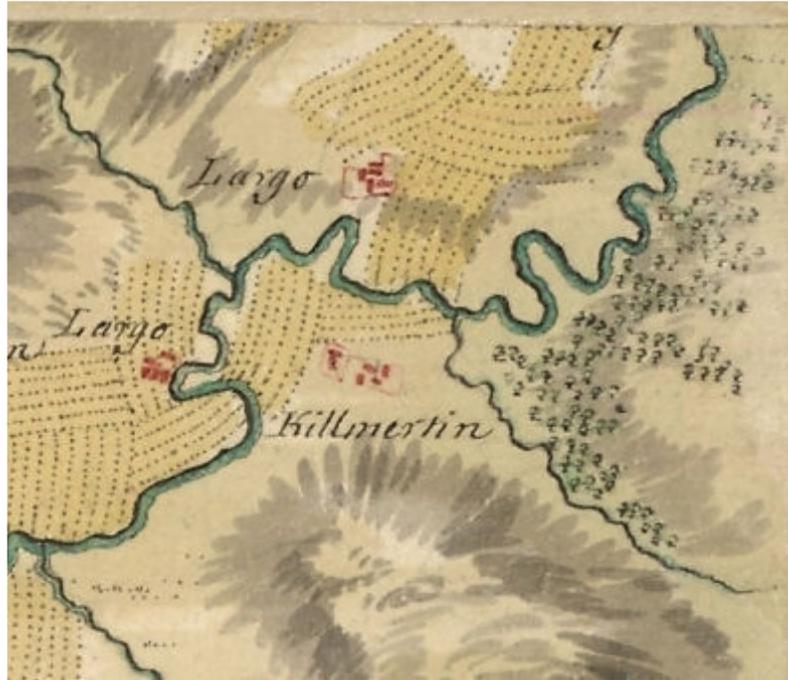
Figure 8.5 Carnasserie Castle, Roy's Military map
('Castle Carnassary' place name is on the join of two sheets and the castle
itself is a red smudge at the top center of the square garden enclosed by trees)

21. Carnasserie Mor

Key
w : window
fp : fireplace

sketch drawings not to scale

enclosure

stone
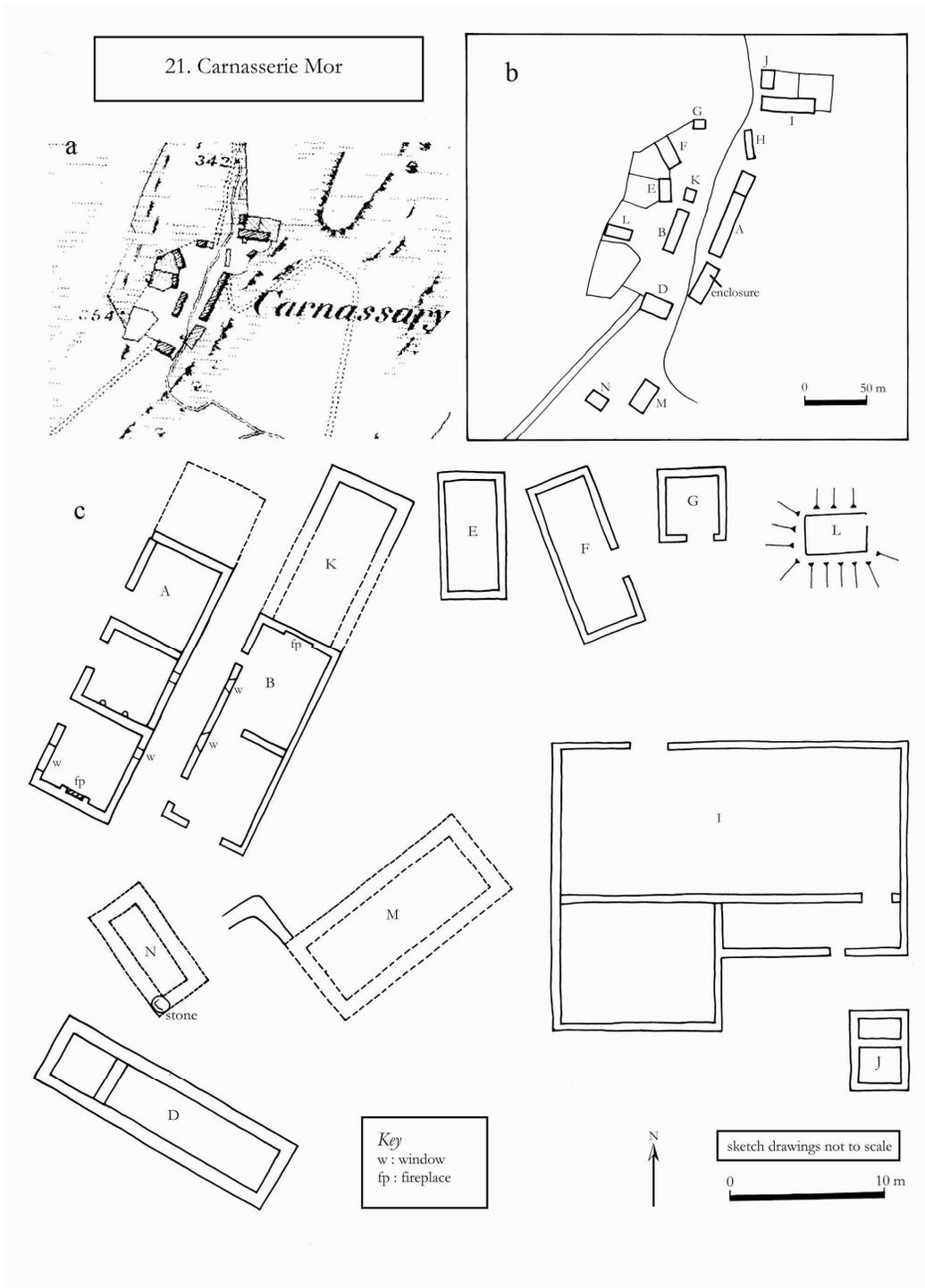
Figure 8.6 Carnassary (Carnasserie Mor) 1st edition OS map of Argyllshire
Sheet CXXXVIII, 1875 and sketch survey of surviving structures

Figure 8.7 Carnasserie Mor, Structures A & B

Figure 8.8 Carnasserie Mor, Structure A

Figure 8.9 Carnasserie Mor, Structure M

Site Number	Description	Site Number	Description
20	cup and ring marks	249	Shepherds shelter
21	Carnasserie mor deserted farmstead	250	Hut circle/circular shieling
24	homestead	251	square shieling
25	Craegenterve Mansion	252	three shielings
26	Craegenterve Mill	253	possible shieling
241	cairn	254	three shielings
242	cup marked rock	255	saddle quern
243	cup & ring marked rock	256	cairns and shieling
244	head dyke	257	oval-shaped shieling
245	circular enclosure	258	cup marked rock
246	four shielings	259	cup & ring marked rock
247	spring	260	four shielings & cultivation
248	Circular shieling & lambing pen	261	possible hut circle

Figure 8.10 Key to Sites
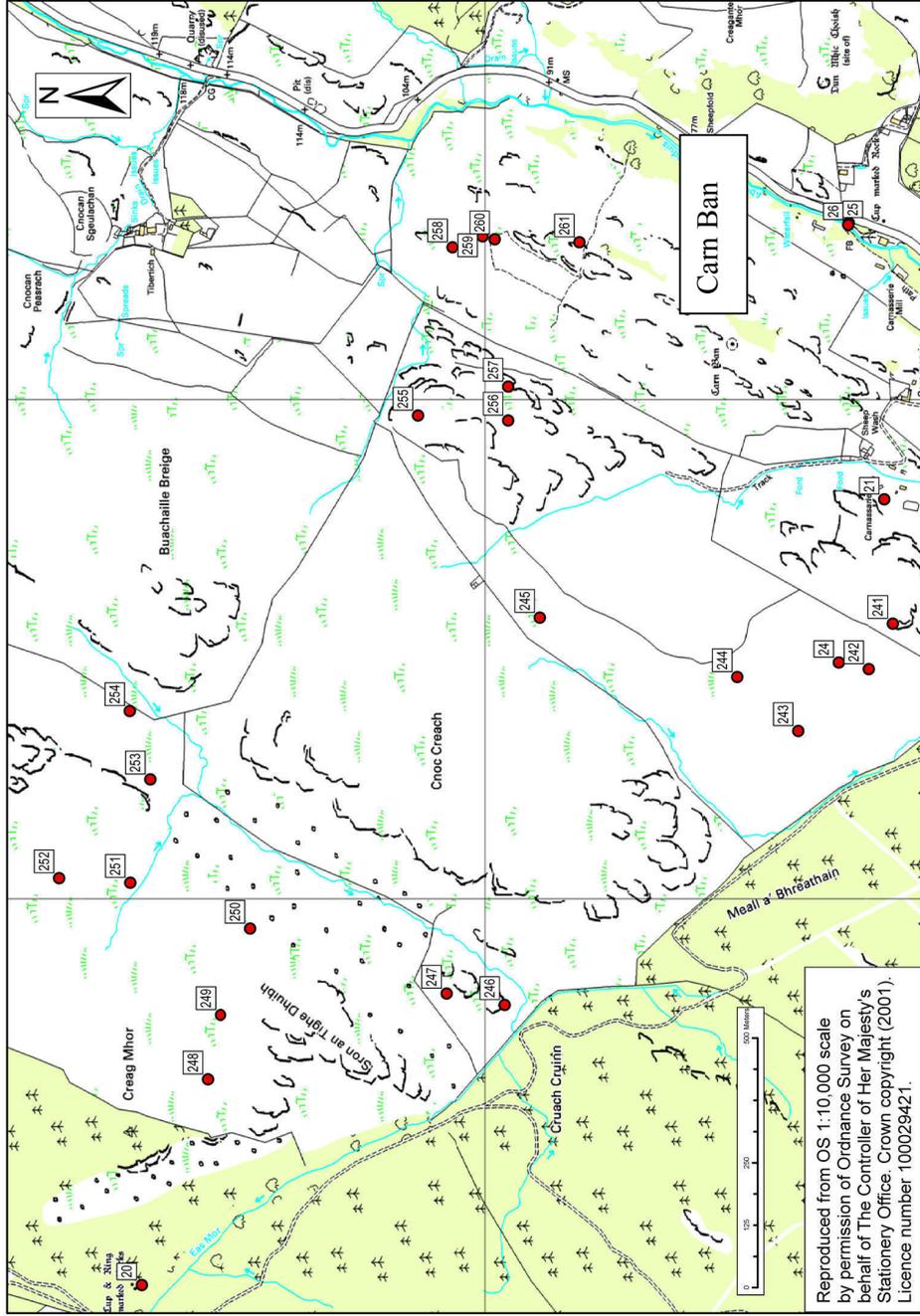
Figure 8.10 Carnassserie, field survey plan

Figure 8.11 Carnasserie, shieling site 246, broad landscape

Figure 8.12 Carnasserie, shieling site 246
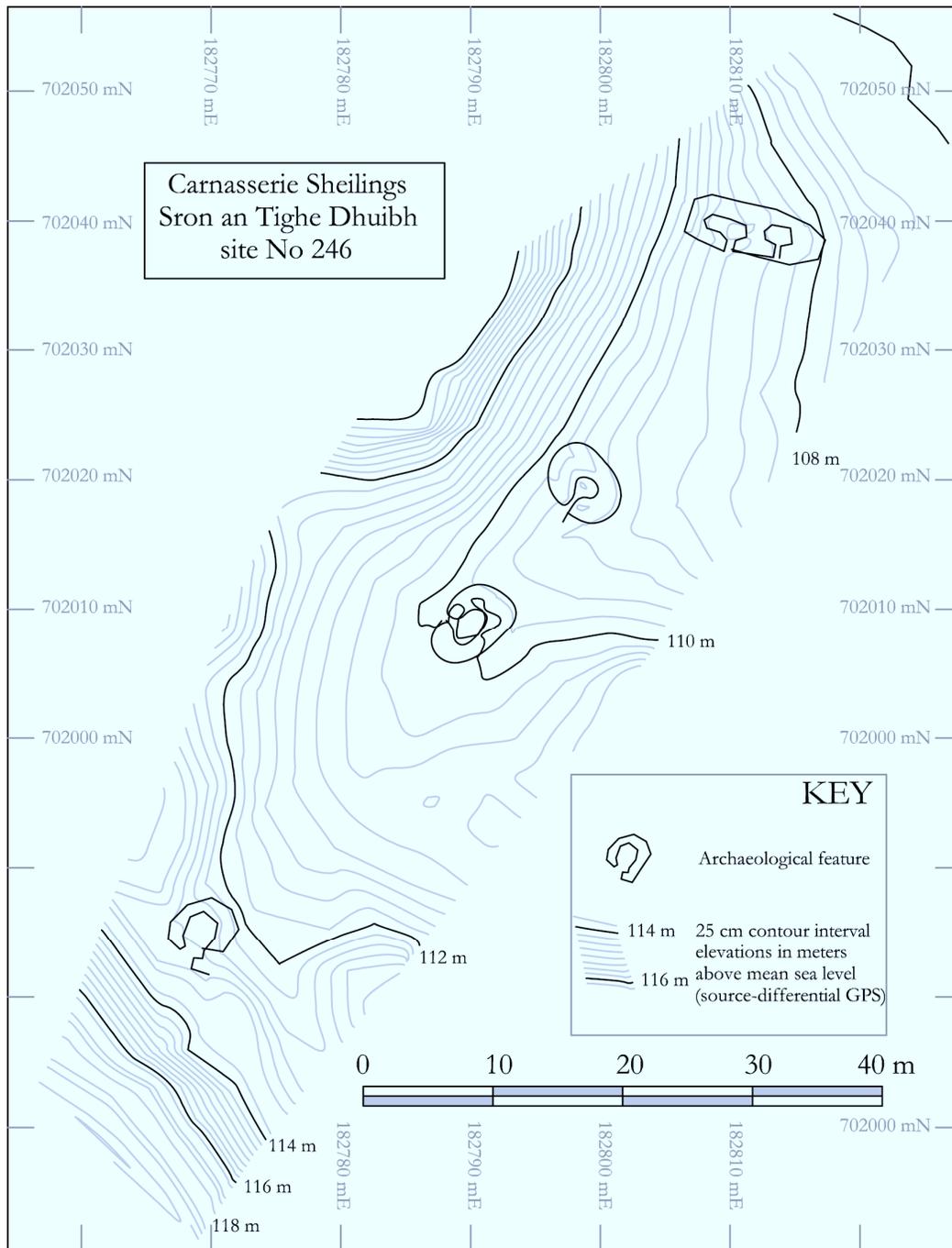
Figure 8.13 Carnasserie shielings Site 246, topographic survey

Figure 8.14 Carnasserie. Site 260, a large enclosure
which incorporates four oval-shaped structures

Figure 8.15 Carnasserie. Site 245, a hill-top circular enclosure

Figure 8.16 Carnasserie. Site 261, a circular
structure, possibly a hut circle

Figure 8.17 Carnasserie. Site 257, oval-shaped shieling

Figure 9.1 North Knapdale detail from Blaeu's Atlas, *The Province of Knapdail which is accounted a member of Argyll,* dated 1654.

Figure 9.2 Detail of Castle Sween (*Castel Suyn*) from Blaeu's Atlas, *The Province of Knapdail which is accounted a member of Argyll,* dated 1654

Figure 9.3 Roy Military Survey of Scotland, 1747-1755
(National Library of Scotland). Detail of Castle Sween.

Figure 9.4 Roy Military Survey of Scotland, 1747-1755
(National Library of Scotland). Detail of Kilmory

Figure 9.5 19th century photograph of Kilmory township (RCAHMS).
Ardnaw Farm is in the middle, behind the horse and figure.

Figure 9.5 19th century photograph of Kilmory township (RCAHMS).
Ardnaw Farm is in the middle, behind the horse and figure.

Key

- Structures
- Areas of rig and furrow
- Surveyed stone wall
- Earthen banks
- Mapped stone field banks

Kilmory Cairn

stack yard

Ardnaw Farm

Site 325

Site 326

A
B
C
D
E

Site 327

Shieling 328

Kilmory Chapel

Shieling 329

Dun Fhuarlit
(Cairn)

675300 mN

675200 mN

675100 mN

675000 mN

675200 mN

675100 mN

675200 mN

675000 mN

170100 mE

170200 mE

170300 mE

169900 mE

170000 mE

170100 mE

170200 mE

170300 mE

Figure 9.6 Kilmory and Ardnaw survey

Figure 9.7 Kilmory, turf-built structure (Site 325). The location
is by slightly greener patch in the centre of the picture.
The chapel is in the background to the left.

Figure 9.8 Ardnaw Farm, Structure E, late 19th century in date.

Figure 9.9 Gortan Ghobhainn, three structures survived
as low stone walls protruding from the turf

Figure 9.10 Daltote, re-built deserted structure (Site 331)

Figure 9.11 Daltote, possible rectangular turf-built structure
within felled forestry (Site 332)

Figure 9.12 Sites on the Tayvallich peninsular, North Knapdale

Figure 9.12 Key

270	Barnashalig bridge	284	Drimnagall farmstead
271	Barnashalig deserted farmstead	285	Barbae deserted settlement
272	Barnashalig deserted farmstead	286	Dun Mor rig & furrow
273	Barnashalig steading & horse mill	287	Dun Mor rig & furrow
274	Barnashalig shieling & hut circle	288	Barbreak, low tumbled walls of a small square structure
275	Upper Fernoch farmstead	289	Barbreak, low tumbled walls of a small square structure
276	South Ardbeg deserted farmstead	290	Upper Fearnoch stone & earth bank
283	North Ardbeg deserted farmstead	299	Dùn Mhuirich, re-used dun

A3 pull out for Figure 9.12
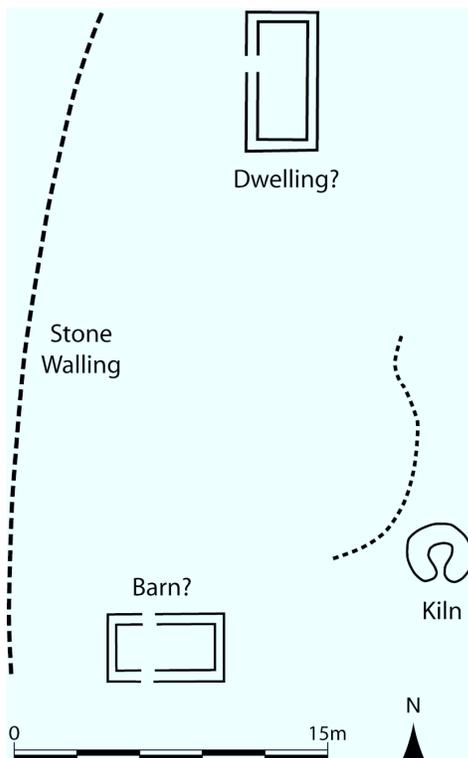
Figure 9.13 Barnashalig new site (271), two rectangular structures and a kiln

Figure 9.14 Barnashalig new site (271), possible dwelling

Figure 9.15 Roy Military Survey of Scotland, 1747-1755
(National Library of Scotland). Detail of Tayvallich peninsular

Figure 9.16 South Ardbeg, Site 276, Structure G.
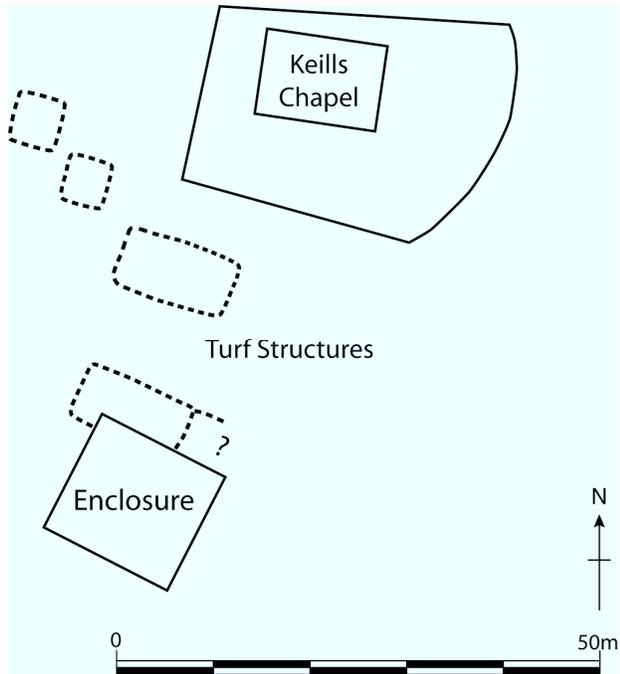
Figure 9.17 Keills Chapel and turf-built structures

Figure 9.18 Keills, turf-built structure beneath later drystone enclosure

Figure 9.19 Roy Military Survey of Scotland, 1747-1755
(National Library of Scotland). Detail of Keills

Figure 9.20 Keills Port, slight mound in the vicinity
of settlement shown on Roy's military map.

Figure 9.21 Dun Mhuirich, drystone walls of Structure I

Appendix 1- Gazetteer of sites

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
1	Barbreck	deserted farmstead	183494	705016	NM80NW47
2	Corlach	deserted farmstead	183755	706022	NM80NW65
3	Corlach	shieling	183888	706067	
4	Corlach	shieling	183953	706079	
5	Corlach	structure?	183934	706077	
6	Barbreck	limekiln	184582	706869	
7	Dun Toiseach	structure	188601	705008	NM80NE15
8	Dun Toiseach	clearance cairn	188793	705137	
9	Dun Toiseach	clearance cairn	188779	705113	
10	Dun Toiseach	enclosures	188870	705264	
11	Angel Well (Tobar Na H'Aingeil)	well	188887	705333	
12	Inverliver	cairn	189007	705215	NM80NE2
13	Inverliver	deserted farmstead	189332	705542	NM80NE3
14	Inverliver	kiln	189303	705490	NM80NE6
15	Strone	cottage	181879	702682	NM80SW44
16	Strone	deserted farmstead	181950	702736	
17	Cnocan Dubha, Ormaig	structure	181982	703140	NM80SW57
18	Ormaig	enclosure ? & clearance cairn	182080	703042	
19	Ormaig	clearance cairn	181978	703113	
20	Ormaig	cup and ring mark	182226	702688	NM80SW8
21	Carnasserie Mor	deserted farmstead	183800	701200	NM80SW58
22	Carnasserie Castle	castle	183900	700800	NM80SW2
23	Carnasserie Beg	deserted farmstead	183800	700800	
24	Carnasserie	homestead	183473	701291	
25	Creaganterve	mansion	184354	701271	
26	Carnasserie Mill (or Craiganterve Mill).	mill	184350	701272	NM80SW46
27	Kintraw	fort	183210	704831	NM80SW33
28	Cruachan	cultivation	183107	704673	
29	Creag Nam Fitheach	track	182864	704316	

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
30	Cruachan	deserted farmstead	182668	704597	NM80SW55
31	Lochan Druim An Rathaid	deserted farmstead	182745	704052	NM80SW56
32	Lochan Druim An Rathaid	field wall	182573	703820	
33	Lochan Druim An Rathaid	cairn	182552	703839	NM80SW12
34	Barr Mor	shieling	181515	700621	
35	Barr Mor	shieling	180980	700445	
36	Barr Mor	structure?	180933	700462	
37	Ormaig,	walling	181352	700730	
38	Barr Mor,	shieling	181523	700662	
39	Barr Mor,	deserted farmstead	181397	700656	
40	Lochan Druim Buidhe	sheepfold	182859	700440	
41	Barr Mor,	cairn	181176	700796	
42	Poltalloch,	walling	181187	701223	
43	Ormaig	walling	182940	700360	
44	Bennan	deserted farmstead	180594	700125	
45	Druim Buidhe	shelter	182740	701050	
46	South of Barr Sailleach,	structure? (circular)	183060	700500	
47	South of Barr Sailleach,	shieling	183000	700500	
48	Ormaig, (Lochan Druim Buidhe)	structure & pit	182865	700468	
49	Garbhallt	deserted farmstead	189100	702600	NM80SE74
50	Dun Toiseach,	stone bank	188029	704877	
51	Dun Toiseach,	clearance cairn?	188139	704924	
52	Torran,	cross-incised stone	187901	704876	NM80SE37
53	MacIntyre's Cottage (Dun Toiseach)	deserted farmstead	188290	704850	NM80SE71
54	Ford,	clearance cairn	186444	704019	
55	Ford,	clearance cairn?	186487	704018	
56	Ford,	clearance cairn	186492	704092	
57	Ford,	clearance cairn	186447	704108	
58	Dun Dubh,	deserted farmstead	186410	704150	NM80SE69
59	Dun Dubh,	deserted farmstead	186711	704396	NM80SE70
60	Dun Chonallaich,	enclosure	185510	703630	NM80SE67

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
61	Ath Mhic Mhairtein,	structure	185685	704420	
62	Ford,	rig & furrow	186063	703342	
63	Ford,	turf & stone dyke	186358	703525	
64	Glennan	deserted farmstead	185730	701660	NM80SE65
65	Creaganterve Beg,	stone & earth bank	185896	700986	
66	Creaganterve Beg,	stone and earth bank	185978	701135	
67	Creaganterve Beg,	enclosures	185761	700850	NM80SE20
68	Glennan	rectangular platform	185852	700961	
69	Ardifuar North	deserted farmstead	179511	697630	NR79NE12
70	Old Ardifuar	deserted farmstead	179605	697381	NR79NE12
71	Ardnackaig 1,	deserted farmstead	174750	690278	NR79SW3
72	Ardnackaig 2	deserted farmstead	174714	690061	NR79SW4
73	Winterton	deserted farmstead	179900	693900	
74	Arichonan	deserted farmstead	177450	691240	NR79SE23
75	Arichonan	structure	177910	691322	
76	Glen Layvon (Glengalvan Mill)	mill	177827	691062	NR79SE55
77	Gartnagreanoch	deserted farmstead	179205	690419	NR79SE60
78	Kilmory Oib	deserted farmstead	178000	690200	NR79SE40
79	Crinan	deserted farmstead	177504	693486	NR79SE58
80	Kilmahumaig croft	deserted farmstead	178314	693495	
81	Barr Ban (South Leachnaban)	homestead/hut circle	178321	692154	NR79SE31
82	Crinan	deserted farmstead	178747	693014	NR79SE59
83	Dounie	mansion	175540	691890	
84	Dounie	barn	175696	692012	
85	Dounie	deserted farmstead	175966	692054	NR79SE24
86	Dounie	shieling	177428	694129	
87	Gleann Sabhail 1	deserted farmstead	175528	690440	NR79SE50
88	Gleann Sabhail 2	deserted farmstead	175367	690145	NR79SE51
89	Gleann Sabhail 3	deserted farmstead	175227	690010	NR79SE52
90	Tigh-an-t-Sluichd	deserted farmstead	174987	690767	NR79SE53
91	Tigh-an-t-Sluichd,	enclosure?	175157	690784	

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
92	Tigh-an-t-Sluichd,	earth bank	175304	690922	
93	Tigh-an-t-Sluichd,	field wall	174787	690419	
94	Barbae Dounie	deserted farmstead	175516	691278	NR79SE49
95	Barnluasgan	homestead	179087	691615	NR79SE5
96	Barnluasgan	enclosure	179320	692011	NR79SE4
97	Barnluasgan	enclosure	179412	692262	NR79SE3
98	Barnluasgan	hut circle	179361	692291	NR79SE2
99	Barnluasgan	pen	179391	692231	NR79SE39
100	Ardnoe	cairn	177278	694197	
101	Ardnoe	shieling	177381	694346	
102	Rock Island Road	structure?	175968	690975	
103	Bennan	shieling	180530	699940	
104	Bennan	shieling	180490	699606	
105	Bennan	shieling	180476	699451	
106	Baroile	deserted farmstead	184941	695701	
107	Ballygowan,	earthern banks	181650	697750	
108	Ballibrad 'Barn' (Bailebrad)	barn	184171	699324	
109	Ballibrad	shieling	184339	699558	
110	Ballibrad	shieling	184325	699533	
111	Cnoc an-Aingil	rig & furrow	184898	696980	
112	Cnoc an-Aingil	rig & furrow	184909	696641	
113	Cnoc an-Aingil	rig & furrow	184898	696980	
114	Kilbride	rig & furrow	184909	696641	
115	Cnoc Na H-Eilde	deserted farmstead	184628	697564	NR89NW121
116	Slockavullin	deserted farmstead	182271	697894	
117	Auchachrome (East)	deserted farmstead	182100	698100	
118	Raslie (West)	deserted farmstead	182245	698361	
119	Raslie Burn (Raslie Cottage)	deserted farmstead	182280	698310	
120	Raslie,	earth bank	182414	698424	
121	Raslie	cup marked rock	182455	698405	
122	Barnasload Plantation	tower ?	182700	698600	NR89NW92

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
123	Glenmoine,	earthern head dyke	182643	699588	
124	Glenmoine	deserted farmstead	182960	699890	
125	Barnasload Plantation,	structure	182510	698447	
126	Auchachrome (West)	deserted farmstead	181875	698065	NR89NW19
127	Auchachrome	deserted farmstead	181853	697658	
128	Raslie Burn, West	deserted farmstead	181600	698700	NR89NW91
129	Raslie Burn East	deserted farmstead	181666	698613	NR89NW91
130	Ormaig	(natural stone)	182689	699999	
131	Kilbride	shieling	185223	696712	
132	Kilbride,	arc of stones	185066	696686	
133	Achayerran	deserted farmstead	185392	697750	NR89NE22
134	Cnoc Na H-Eilde 1	deserted farmstead	185539	698141	NR89NE29
135	Socach	deserted farmstead	188150	699720	
136	Crinan	kiln	180055	693918	
137	Dunans,	site of cross-slab & structure	180130	690005	NR89SW12
138	Clach na beithir,	arch & altar site (destroyed)	180087	690185	
139	Tighean Leacainn	deserted farmstead (destroyed)	182422	690897	
140	Dunans (Dunardry)	deserted farmstead	181497	690522	NR89SW46
141	Achantheanbhaile	deserted farmstead	181341	691295	NR89SW62
142	Bardarroch	deserted farmstead	180858	691589	NR89SW59
143	Blarantibert	deserted farmstead	180190	692010	NR89SW37
144	Craigglass	deserted farmstead	184300	690100	
145	Craigglass	sheepfold	184225	690097	
146	Daill	deserted farmstead	182600	690800	
147	Tighantraigh	deserted farmstead	182286	693862	
148	Uillian	deserted farmstead	186400	692900	NR89SE23
149	Loch Glashan	deserted farmstead	191809	692472	
150	Kilmichael of Inverlussa,	burial ground	177600	686200	NR78NE5
151	Balure	deserted farmstead	178300	686204	NR78NE23
152	Lagan	deserted farmstead	179652	687172	NR78NE24
153	Lagan	limekiln	179589	687106	

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
154	Laganruere	deserted farmstead	179516	686615	NR78NE25
155	Gariob	deserted farmstead	178554	689187	NR78NE28
156	Gariob	deserted farmstead	178473	689200	
157	Ardglass	structure	177328	686982	
158	Ardgalass 2	structure	176717	686532	
159	Oib Greim	deserted farmstead	176842	687271	NR78NE22
160	Barnagad Burn	deserted farmstead	179253	686639	NR78NE26
161	Lochan Buic	deserted farmstead	179223	688846	NR78NE30
162	Loch Losgunn (possibly 'Barinloskin')	deserted farmstead	179725	689744	NR78NE29
163	Loch na Bric (Creag a-bhuachaille)	structure (destroyed)	180414	688997	
164	Oakfield	bloomery mound	182947	689910	NR88NW4
165	Meall Buidhe	structures (quarry)	183750	691000	
166	Meall Buidhe	earth bank	183850	690950	
167	High Barnakill	enclosure	182480	691920	NR89SW13
168	High Barnakill	deserted farmstead	182650	692200	NR89SW44
169	Barnakill	deserted farmstead	182110	691570	
170	Old Poltalloch	ruined mansion	180700	701000	NM80SW38
171	Old Poltalloch	kiln	180668	700991	
172	Barr na Cille	enclosure	180426	700595	NM80SW11
173	Poltalloch	walling	181250	701250	
174	Nether Largie	kiln	182820	698120	
175	Slockavullin	enclosure	182554	698176	NR89NW77
176	Raslie	enclosure	181820	698638	NR89NW70
177	Raslie	deserted farmstead	181670	698700	
178	Raslie	deserted farmstead	181600	698730	NR89NW91
179	Loch Leathan	structure	187300	698600	
180	Barmolloch	deserted farmstead	187130	699360	NR89NE30
181	Clachandubh	limekiln	186870	701960	
182	Kilneuair	church & burial ground	188910	703680	NM80SE3
183	Gocumgo, Clachandubh	battle mound	186900	702040	NM80SE1
184	Fincharn	castle	189830	704360	NM80SE2

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
185	Ford	homestead	186500	703930	NM80SE46
186	Eilean Mhor	enclosure	166800	675400	
187	Eilean Mhor	enclosure	166600	675400	
188	Eilean Mhor	kiln	166600	675450	
189	Eilean Mhor	kiln	166600	675300	
190	Eilean Mhor	structure	166600	675300	
191	Eilean Mhor	structure	166600	675280	
192	Bennan	structure	180670	700145	
193	Bennan	structure	180670	700140	
194	Bennan	structure	180620	700130	
195	Brenphort	sheep pen	179848	699173	
196	Brenphort	structure	179848	699223	
197	Brenphort	structure	179804	699052	
198	Brenphort	deserted farmstead	179200	698900	NR79NE30
199	Garbhallt	limekiln	189830	703770	
200	Garbhallt	kiln	189100	702600	NM80SE74
201	Garbhallt	rig & furrow	188917	702535	
202	Caol Chaoruinn, Torran	tower house	187830	704490	NM80SE36
203	Carnasserie	dun?	183920	700870	NM80SW31
204	Ballibrad	head dyke	184662	699675	
205	Ballibrad	head dyke	184666	699698	
206	Ballibrad	rig & furrow	184466	699866	
207	Ballibrad	shieling	184339	699558	
208	Ballibrad	shieling	184325	699533	
209	St Bride's Chapel	chapel	185090	696680	NR89NE1
210	Kilbride	shieling	185223	696712	
211	Kilbride	arc of stones	185066	696686	
212	Kilbride	lambing pen?	184919	697485	
213	Kilbride	rig & furrow	184898	696980	
214	Kilbride	rig & furrow	184909	696641	
215	Old Ardufuir	structure	179395	697459	

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
216	Ardufuir	structure	179081	697092	
217	Ormaig	clearance cairn	181978	703113	
218	Kintraw	fort	183210	704830	NM80SW33
219	Kintraw	structure	183494	705016	
220	Kintraw	structure	183755	706022	
221	Kintraw	structure	183888	706067	
222	Kintraw	shieling	183953	706079	
223	Kintraw	shieling?	183934	706077	
224	Kintraw	limekiln	184582	706869	
225	Torran	stone dyke	188029	704877	
226	Torran	upright stones x3	188139	704924	
227	Dun Dubh	dun	186400	704790	NM80SE7
228	Lochan Druim an Rathaid	shieling	182500	703830	
229	Raslie	fieldbank	182414	698424	
230	Raslie	fieldbank	182423	698363	
231	Raslie	fieldbank	182453	698291	
232	Raslie	kiln?	182424	698429	
233	Raslie Burn	sheepfold	181601	698719	
234	Baroile	rig & furrow	184505	695267	
235	Carn Ban	cairn?	184058	690691	NM80SW28
236	Olb Greim	cairn	176148	686005	
237	Blarantibert	limekiln	180891	689977	
238	Kilmory	structure	176770	688881	
239	Kimory	stucture	176702	688847	
240	Arichonan	hut circle	177181	693661	
241	Carnasserie	cairn	183551	701183	
242	Carnasserie	cup marked rock	183460	701231	
243	Carnasserie	cup & ring marked rock	183336	701372	
244	Carnasserie	head dyke	183444	701494	
245	Carnasserie	enclosure	183563	701890	
246	Carnasserie	shielings	182787	701960	

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
247	Carnasserie	spring & well	182810	702078	
248	Carnasserie	shieling & lambing pen	182638	702556	
249	Carnasserie	lambing pen	182767	702530	
250	Carnasserie	shieling/hut circle	182940	702470	
251	Carnasserie	shieling square	183032	702711	
252	Carnasserie	shielings x3	183041	702853	
253	Carnasserie	shieling?	183239	702671	
254	Carnasserie	shielings x3	183376	702712	
255	Carnasserie	saddle quern	183968	702135	
256	Carnasserie	shieling	183958	701953	
257	Carnasserie	shieling	184026	701953	
258	Carnasserie	cup marked rock	184305	702066	
259	Carnasserie	cup & ring marked rock	184327	702004	
260	Carnasserie	shielings & cultivation	184321	701980	
261	Carnasserie	hut circle?	184315	701811	
262	Ormaig	deserted farmstead	181985	702884	
263	Kilbride	tacksman's house	185260	696530	
264	Garbh Shron	shieling	180845	700003	
265	Creag nam Fitheach	shieling	183249	704346	
266	Creag nam Fitheach	shieling	183291	704311	
267	Creag nam Fitheach	rig & furrow	183472	704211	
268	Creag nam Fitheach	sheep pens x2	183514	704080	
269	Duntrune	castle	179300	695500	NR79NE3
270	Barnashalig	bridge	173057	686804	
271	Barnashalig	deserted farmstead	173115	687012	
272	Barnishaig	deserted farmstead	172970	686837	
273	Barnishaig	deserted farmstead	172900	686600	NR78NW22
274	Barnishaig	shieling & hut circle	172947	686343	
275	Upper Fernoch	farmstead	172936	685976	
276	South Ardbeg	deserted farmstead	171505	683853	
277	Fearnoch	turf structure	187660	696893	

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
278	Feamoch	turf banks	187705	697166	
279	Feamoch	deserted settlement	187700	697500	
280	Feamoch	structure	187985	697614	
281	Feamoch	enclosure	187947	697199	
282	Feamoch	structure	187870	697183	
283	North Ardbeg	deserted farmstead	171205	684270	
284	Drimnagall	farmstead	171863	684474	
285	Barbae	deserted settlement	171802	684649	NR78SW37
286	Dun Mor	rig & furrow	171656	684915	
287	Dun Mor	rig & furrow	171628	685172	
288	Barbreak	building	171955	685357	NR78NW31
289	Barbreak	building	171979	685358	
290	Upper Fearnoch	stone & earth bank	172870	686212	
291	Achaind	deserted settlement	183650	698750	
292	Carnasserie Cottage	oval enclosure	183920	700870	NM80SW31
293	Ardifuir 1	dun	178900	696900	NR79NE2
294	Barnluasgan dun	dun	178710	691130	NR79SE17
295	Castle Dounie	dun	176740	693230	NR79SE13
296	Druim an Dùin	dun	178110	691300	NR79SE1
297	Dùn Beag, Ardnackaig	dun	174340	690350	NR79SW1
298	Dùn Beag, Drimnagall	dun	171660	684580	NR78SW8
299	Dùn Mhuirich	dun	172280	684410	NR78SW3
300	Dùn Toiseach	dun	188290	704850	NM80SE71
301	Loch Glashan	dun	192270	693010	NR99SW8
302	Dùn Chuain	dun	184160	690990	NM89SW21
303	Ballygowan	fort	181470	698010	NR89NW20
304	Dunadd	fort	183650	693560	NR89SW1
305	Kintraw	fort	183000	705000	NM80NW31
306	Barnasload Plantation	structure	182700	698600	NR89NW92
307	Glennan	shielings	186252	701064	
308	Glennan	shielings	186160	700730	

Site	Name	Description	Easting	Northing	NMRS Number
309	Glennan	building	185895	701493	
310	Lochan Druim an Rathaid	shieling	182870	703696	
311	Lochan Druim an Rathaid	shieling	182890	703694	
312	Lochan Druim an Rathaid	shieling	182917	703706	
313	Lochan Druim an Rathaid	shieling	182921	703723	
314	Lochan Druim an Rathaid	shieling	182946	703683	
315	Lochan Druim an Rathaid	mortar in rock	182930	703641	
316	Lochan Druim an Rathaid	shieling	182804	703822	
317	Barr an Daimh	shieling	183037	702850	
318	Barr an Daimh	shieling	183044	702844	
319	Barr an Daimh	shieling	183035	702840	
320	Barr an Daimh	shieling	183035	702829	
321	Barr an Daimh	shieling	183053	702833	
322	Keills	structures 4	169114	680505	
323	Keills Port	mounds 3	169054	680947	
324	Droineach	enclosure	170180	681025	
325	Kilmory	turf structure	170264	675116	
326	Kilmory	turf structure	170273	675166	
327	Kilmory	turf structure	170316	675182	
328	Kilmory	stone enclosure/shieling	169953	675113	
329	Kilmory	stone structure	169875	675056	
330	Gortan Ghobhainn	deserted settlement	171920	679338	
331	Daltote	deserted settlement	174703	682914	
332	Daltote	terrace/turf structure?	174791	682978	
333	Barnashaig	shieling	172951	686351	
334	Barnashaig	hut circle	172947	686351	
335	Dun Bhronaig	dun	172800	686500	NR78NW3

Appendix 2: Shielings found during the fieldwork.

Site No	Name	Shape	Length	Width	Incorporating a rock outcrop?	Height AOD
2	Corlach Farmstead	rectangular	8.0	2.5		183 m
3	Corlach	rectangular	6.0	2.5		176 m
4	Corlach	oval	3.0	2.0		187 m
5	Corlach	rectangular	3.0	2.0		183 m
34	Bàrr Mór Shieling 1	sub-rectangular	1.5	1.2	Yes	-
35	Bàrr Mór Shieling 2	oval	4.4	1.9		128 m
38	Bàrr Mór Shieling 3	rectangular	6.2	3.4		205 m
45	Druim Buidhe	oval	1.4	1.0	Yes	-
47	S of Barr Sailleach	Semi-circular	5.0	2.6	Yes	-
86	Dounie Shieling	sub-rectangular	3.6	3.3		124 m
99	Barnluasgan Pen	rectangular	2.3	1.1	Yes	82 m
101	Ardnoe Shieling	sub-rectangular	6.9	2.6		81 m
103	Bennan Shieling 1	semi-circular	3.3	1.5	Yes	151 m
104	Bennan Shieling 2	oval	2.3	1.8		159 m
105	Bennan Shieling 3	oval	5.7	2.9		153 m
109	Ballibrad Shieling 1	oval	3.4	2.1		160 m
110	Ballibrad Shieling 2	oval	4.0	2.25		160 m
131	Kilbride	rectangular	2.9	1.7		90 m
264	Garbh Sron A	sub-rectangular	7.0	5.0		154 m
264	Garbh Sron B	sub-rectangular	5.0	3.0		154 m
264	Garbh Sron C	sub-rectangular	5.0	3.0		154 m
265	Creag nam Fitheach	oval ?	Not measured	Not measured		206 m
266	Creag nam Fitheach	oval?	Not measured	Not measured		202 m
268	Creag nam Fitheach sheep pens	circular	Not measured	Not measured		176 m
274	Barrnahsaig	circular	3.0	3.0		
316	Lochan an Druin an Rathaid 6	oval	3.0	2.0		c 152m
310	Lochan an Druin an Rathaid 1	oval	4.0	2.0		c 152m
311	Lochan an Druin an Rathaid 2	square	4.0	4.0		151 m
312	Lochan an Druin an Rathaid 3	oval	5.0	2.0		152 m
313	Lochan an Druin an Rathaid 4	oval	3.0	2.0		c 152m
314	Lochan an Druin an Rathaid 5	oval	5.0	3.0		158 m
317	Barr an Daimh 1	oval	2.5	1.5		211 m
318	Barr an Daimh 2	circular	1.5	1.5		c 210 m
319	Barr an Daimh 3	circular	1.5	1.5		c 210 m
320	Barr an Daimh 4	oval	2.5	1.5		c 210 m
321	Barr an Daimh 5	oval	5.0	1.5		207 m

Appendix 3: Duns noted in RCAHMS 1988.

RC No. (RCAHMS 1988)	Survey No	Name	NMRS	Location	Comments noted by RCAHMS
246 (p 148)	Not visited	Dun a' Bhuilg	NR77SW1	NR70387479	Secondary enclosures and a reveted foundation platform.
266 (p169-170)	Not visited	A' Chrannag (S Knapdale)	NR77NW6	NR 727759	'Two… level platforms may possibly have served as the stances of timber houses; the two crudely built, stone-founded structures….on the shelf below the dun…are probably of quite recent date'. 'Marker cairns of comparatively recent origin.'
270 (p171-172)	293	Ardifuir 1	NR79NE2	NR789969	Excavated 1904, cleared out 4 to 5 feet of 'debris'. No structural features noted. Stone artefacts are undiagnostic but probably prehistoric although a fragment of E-ware is early-Medieval.
271 (p173)	Not visited	Ardifuir 2	NR79NE9	NR791973	Rectangular 'outworks' and walls on lower terraces.
272 (p173)	Not visited	Baile Mór	NR89SW32	NR844938	No interior features noted
273 (p173)	Not visited	Ballymeanoch	NR89NW22	NR843962	No interior features noted.
275 (p174)	Not visited	Bàrr Crom	BR89NW23	NR807986	'..stock-pens…lie at the foot of the knoll.' Also a 'recent enclosure' immediately outside the entrance to the dun.
285 (p177-178)	295	Castle Dounie	NR79SE13	NR767932	'The interior of the dun is featureless.'
289 (p179)	Not visited	Cosandrochaid (Dun Mac Samhain)	NR78SW17	NR708827	No interior features noted.
290 (p179)	Not visited	Creag a'Mhadaidh	NM80SW4	NM822002	In the interior 'an arc of recent walling abuts the dun wall'.
291 (p179-80)	Not visited	Creag Dhubh, Leckuary		NR884952	The dun has been severely robbed. No interior features noted.
292 (p	Not	Cruach	NR78NW20	NR726875	'A rude shelter or animal pen' occupies the entrance.

180)	visited	a'Bharra			
293 (p180-181)	296	Druim an Dùin	NR781913	NR79SE1	Excavators noted in 1904-5 an 'arc of secondary walling' blocking an entrance, possibly 'in antiquity'. The artefacts retrieved consisted of 'a handled steatite 'cup', the upper half of a rotary quern, another quern-stone and several other stone objects' (RCAHMS 1998, 181).
294 (p181-2)	Not visited	Dùn a'Bhealaich, Ellary (S Knapdale)	NR732760		Dùn is 'overlain by stretches of a recent turf & stone field wall'.
295 (p182)	Not visited	Dùn a' Chaistell	NR713779	NR77NW7	'Several small structures have been built against the inner face of the wall ...but their date is not known. ...The E side is overlain by a ruined field wall'.
299 (p184)	Not visited	Dùn Beag, Ardnackaig	NR743903	NR79SW1	Small rectangular foundation reported by Campbell & Sandeman (1961-2, 47, No 325) but could not be not confirmed by the Royal Commission. The locally known place-name is *Achadh Cnoc na Faire* = 'field of the lookout hillock' (ibid, 47).
300 (p184-5)	Not visited	Dùn Beag, Castle Sween	NR717794	NR77NW13	Interior is 'choked with stony debris, some of which may represent ruins of minor enclosures of no great age.' Abutted by recent field boundaries.
301 (p185)	298	Dùn Beag, Drimmagall	NR716845	NR78SW8	A small collapsed shelter or animal pen. Flint pebbles, shells & bone were seen in 1960. No evidence for these now.
302 (p185)	302	Dùn Bhronaig	NR728865	NR78NW3	Stone robbing evident. No structures noted.
303 p185-6)		Dùn Chuain	NR841910	NR89SW21	No interior features noted.
306 (p187)	Not visited	Dùn Dubh, Ford	NM864048	NM80SE7	Approach blocked by 'comparatively recent' wall. Evidence of a 'rude shleter' in the entrance. Overlying & outside the wall are a number of recent animal pens.
309 (p187-8)	Not visited	Dùn Mhic Choish	NM846013	NM80SW26	No interior features noted.
311 (p189-190)	299	Dùn Mhuirich	NR722844	NR78SW3	Two rectangular drystone structures within the dun, three other less well preserved structures in the vicinity. A series of wharves and jetties are situated on the shore
312 (p190)	Not visited	Dùn Mór, Dunamuck	NR843924	NR89SW23	'Subrectangular animal-pen of recent date overlies the wall.'
313 (p190-191)	Not visited	Dùn Mór, Dunchraigaig	NR841972	NR89NW17	19th century path & ramps to a viewpoint. Marker cairn & possible internal structure (now a rubble spread).
314 (p191)	Not visited	Dùn na Nighinn	NM849028	NM80SW27	Entrance reconstructed 'in antiquity'. Recent walling blocks entrance

315 (p191-192)	Not visited	Dùn Rostan	NR78SW1	NR736809	No interior features noted.
315 (p193)	300	Dùn Toiseach	NM80SE71	NM880147	Recent fieldwalls & a modern cairn. Terracing noted by M Nicke
320 (p194)	Not visited	Eilean Righ 1	NM80SW5	NM803021	'The interior was featureless apart from a backfilled trench, which was excavated in 1982. No structural features were uncovered during the excavation, but evidence of burning was noted, and among the finds were an iron knife, a penannular bronze ring, a stone spindle-whorl and a blue glass bead'.
321 (p194-5)	Not visited	Eilean Righ 2	NM80SW6	NM800014	Oval structure against wall, possibly not contemporary with the dun.
322 (p195)	301	Loch Glashan	NR99SW8	NR922930	'Several later enclosures & shelters' seen against the interior and over wall. Excavated & found 1 glass bead (Gilmour & Henderson 2003).
323 (p195)	Not visited	Loch Michean	NR89NW19	NR801986	'Modern pen' in the entrance, two recent enclosures and three possible shieling huts to the N.
326 (p196-7_)	Not visited	Torbhlaran Torr A' Bhlarain	NR89SE9	NR866942	Heavily robbed. No internal features visible. Site is possibly near to find spot of early-Christian bell-shrine, chain and possibly a pectoral-cross (discovered in 1814)
327 (p197)	Not visited	Tùr a' Bhodaich	NM80NW11	NM844059	19th century 'herdsmens bothy' in the entrance, a stone built corbelled structure over the wall and slight traces of other structures in the interior.

Appendix 4: Forts noted in RCAHMS 1988.

RC No. (RCAHMS 1988)	Survey No	Name	NMRS No.	Location	'Recent' structures as noted by RCAHMS
232 (p143)	Not visited	Allt an Dubhair	NR99MW4	NR947975	No interior features noted.
235 (p144)	303	Ballygowan	NR89NW20	NR814980	Rig & furrow surrounds the fort & a recent field-bank to the NE.
240 (p145)	Not visited	Binneinn Mór	NR89NE9	NR859958	There is a 'level shelf' at the SW end, otherwise the interior is of rocky outcrops.
243 (p147)	Not visited	Creag a' Chapuill	NM80SE16	NM855024	Three 'modern sheep-shelters' near the entrance on the inside of the fort.
245 (p148)	Not visited	Dùn a' Bhealaich	NR78NW4	NR738871	Crossed by a modern boundary wall.
246	Not visited	Dun a Bhuilg	NR77SW 1	NR70387479	Interior features include a revetted foundation-platform, a secondary enclosure and a crudely built shelter
247 (p149)	Not visited	Dùn a'Chogaidh	NR78NW5	NR745877	A lower enclosure perhaps constructed 'after the abandonment of the fort'.
248 (149-159)	304	Dunadd	NR89SW1	NR837935	Rectangular foundations on lower terrace. Excavated 1903 & 1980-1 (Lane & Campbell 2000). Medieval mammal bones found. Rotary querns found.
249 (p259)	Not visited	Dùn Buidhe	NR88NW1	NR801893	No interior features noted.
250 (p160-161)	Not visited	Dùn Chonallaich	NM80SE15	NM854036	Early-medieval gaming board found. Modern reconstructed 'round-house' on the summit, lower slopes have subrectangular structures of 'no great age'.
251 (p161-162)		Dùn Mór, Drimmagall	NR78SW10	NR715847	There is a small sub-rectangular enclosure abutting the outside of the wall, but the sub-rectangular enclosure is not visible.
253 (p162-163)	Not visited	Dùn na Ban-òige	NM80SW15	NM837049	Buildings, pens, fieldwalls & stone clearance 'of recent date' in the interior.
254 (p163)	Not visited	Dùn na Doide (S Knapdale)	NR77NW17	NR704769	Modern flagpole stood in the interior 'until quite recently'.

256 (p164)	Not visited	Dùn na Maraig	NR89SE10	NR852907	'Below the fort wall .. a natural terrace is partly enclosed by a rough outwork.' The approach is bordered by upright stone blocks.
257 (p164-165)	Not visited	Duntroon	NR89NW10	NR802959	Excavated in 1904. 'Large quantities of charred wood', but no structures found. Stone finds include 36 saddle querns.
261 (p167)	Not visited	Kilmichael Glassary (Creagan Breac)	NR89SE16	NR855946	No interior features noted.
262 (p167)	305	Kintraw	NM80NW31 (see also 35 & 36)	NM832048	There is 'low grassy scarp..which may indicate the site of a timber building'.
263 (p167-169)	Not visited	Rubha Cladh Eòin	NR78NE7	NR761860	Promontory fort, planted with conifers
264 (p169)	Not visited	Sidhean Buidhe	NR77SW5	NR721743	A headland is blocked off by a wall 2m wide and up to 2.3m high. A 'pen' overlies the wall and a small rectangular structure outside the wall are of 'recent' origin.

Appendix 5 Aerial Photographs consulted at the National Monuments Record, RCAHMS, Edinburgh.

<u>Keills – Tayvallich</u>
CPE/Scot/UK 249: 4052 – 4063, 3062 – 3048
51488: 014 – 016
51388: 225 – 223

<u>Kilmory – Castle Sween</u>
CPE/Scot/UK 249: 3081-3087, 4081 – 4087
61288: 049 – 048, 095 – 099

<u>Fearnoch (NR 875 974)</u>
CPE/Scot/UK 194: 4139 – 4143 (11/10/46, 1:10,000)
58/A/438: 5073 – 5069 (27/3/50, 1:10,000)
82/RAF/870 F22: 0190 – 0185, F21: 0190-0185 (17/3/54, 1:10,000)
OS/70/187: 162-166 (3/6/1970, 1:7500)

<u>Ormaig</u>
82/RAF/ 8701 F21: 0017 – 0018