



Nieke, Margaret R. (1984) *Settlement patterns in the Atlantic province of Scotland in the 1st millennium A.D. : a study of Argyll*. PhD thesis.

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/2466/>

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE ATLANTIC PROVINCE
OF SCOTLAND IN THE 1ST MILLENNIUM A.D.:

A STUDY OF ARGYLL

VOLUME 2

Margaret R. Nieke

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of
Arts University of Glasgow.

July 1984

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality



Plate 1 Dun Ollaigh, Oban, Argyll.
(photograph courtesy of S.T.Driscoll, January 1984)

VOLUME TWOPage No.CONTENTS

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| Table of Contents | i |
| Figures | ii |
| Plates | v |
| Introduction to Volume Two | 1 |
| <u>Kintyre Case Study</u> | 7 |
| <u>Mull Case Study</u> | 49 |
| <u>Tiree Case Study</u> | 88 |
| <u>Islay Case Study</u> | 114 |
| <u>Mid Argyll Case Study</u> | 160 |
| Bibliography | 200 |

VOLUME TWO

| <u>FIGURES</u> | <u>Page No.</u> |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. The location of the Case Study Areas. | 4 |
| 2. The territorial extent of the Kingdom of Dalriada. | 2 |
| 3. The Kintyre peninsula. | 8 |
| 4. The geology of Kintyre. | 10 |
| 5. The location of land with arable potential in Kintyre. | 14 |
| 6. The location of the defended settlements of Kintyre. | 18 |
| 7. Settlement past and present in the valley of Glen Barr Water, Kintyre. | 22 |
| 8. " " Glen Lussa, Kintyre. | 23 |
| 9. The location of the Early Historic Fortification of Tairpert Boittir. | 25 |
| 10. The location of the Early Historic Fortification of Aberte. | 28 |
| 11. The site of Sròn Uamha and Dun Skeig, Kintyre. | 30 |
| 12. The location of the <u>Kil-</u> place names of Kintyre. | 36 |
| 13. Additional sites with dedications to possible Early Christian Saints in Kintyre. | 37 |
| 14. The location of possible Early Christian stones and structures in Kintyre. | 38 |
| 15. Present and past settlements and land-use in Glen Hervie, Kintyre. | 47 |
| 16. The location of deserted settlements noted by Gailey. | 50 |
| 17. The island of Mull. | 53 |
| 18. The location of land with arable potential on Mull. | 55 |
| 19. The location of the defended settlements of Mull. | 61 |
| 20. Cnoc na Sròine Dun and its associated enclosure. | 65 |

| | <u>Page No.</u> |
|--|-----------------|
| 21. Bronze brooch from Mull. | 66 |
| 22. Bronze brooches from Mull. | 68 |
| 23. Dùn na Muirgheidh Fort, Mull. | 77 |
| 24. The location of the <u>Kil-</u> place names of Mull. | 78 |
| 25. Additional sites with possible dedications to Early Christian Saints on Mull. | 79 |
| 26. Place names containing Scandinavian elements on Mull. | 80 |
| 27. Other place names containing Scandinavian elements on Mull. | 82 |
| 28. The location of deserted settlements on Mull. | 84 |
| 29. The location of land with arable potential on Tiree. | 89 |
| 30. The location of the defended settlements of Tiree. | 92 |
| 31. Additional Duns noted by Beveridge. | 94 |
| 32. The sites of 'inland' dwellings noted by Beveridge. | 100 |
| 33. The location of possible Early Christian structures and stones on Tiree. | 102 |
| 33a. The location of <u>Kil-</u> place names on Tiree. | 105 |
| 34. Additional sites with possible dedications to early Christian Saints on Tiree. | 106 |
| 35. Place names containing Scandinavian elements on Tiree. | 109 |
| 36. The Island of Islay. | 115 |
| 37. The geology of Islay. | 116 |
| 38. The location of land with arable potential on Islay. | 119 |
| 39. The location of the defended settlements on Islay. | 123 |
| 41. Sketch of Dun Nosbridge, Islay. | 129 |

| | <u>Page No.</u> |
|--|-----------------|
| 42. The possible location of the 'townships' or 'districts' noted in the <u>Senchus Fer nAlban</u> . | 134 |
| 43. The location of hut circles and excavated settlement sites on Islay. | 139 |
| 44. The location of possible Early Christian monastic sites on Islay. | 140 |
| 45. The location of the <u>Kil-</u> place names of Islay. | 142 |
| 46. Early Christian stones on Islay. | 143 |
| 47. Place names containing Scandinavian elements on Islay. | 151 |
| 48. Additional place names containing Scandinavian elements on Islay. | 152 |
| 49. Mid Argyll. | 161 |
| 50. The location of land with arable potential in Mid Argyll. | 164 |
| 51. The location of the defended settlements of Mid Argyll. | 166 |
| 52. Dun Mhulig , Mid Argyll. | 172 |
| 53. Druim an Duin , Mid Argyll. | 176 |
| 54. Ardifuar , Mid Argyll. | 178 |
| 55. The location of the <u>Kil-</u> place names of Argyll. | 108 |
| 56. Additional sites with possible dedications to early Christian Saints in Argyll. | 189 |
| 57. The location of possible Early Christian stones in Mid Argyll. | 190 |

PLATES

| | | |
|----------|---|--------------|
| Plate 1 | - Dun Ollaigh Oban Argyll. | Frontisplate |
| Plate 2 | - The Gigha balance and weights. | 42 |
| Plate 3 | - Crannog Caisteal Eòghainn a'Chinn Bhig Loch Sguabain Mull. | 57 |
| Plate 4 | - Dùn nan Gall Broch Mull. | 62 |
| Plate 5 | - Dùn na Muirgheidh fort Mull. | 69 |
| Plate 6 | - The modern Abbey of Iona. | 71 |
| Plate 7 | - Dun Chonnallaich Mid Argyll. | 170 |
| Plate 8 | - Dun Toiseich Mid Argyll. | 174 |
| Plate 9 | - Dun Toiseich Mid Argyll - illustrating external terrace | 175 |
| Plate 10 | - Dunadd Mid Argyll. | 184 |
| Plate 11 | - Crannog in Loch Ederline Mid Argyll | 181 |
| Plate 12 | - Kiells High Cross Mid Argyll. | 192 |
| Plate 13 | - Keills chapel Mid Argyll. | 193 |
| Plate 14 | - The Barnakil stone now in Poltalloch Estate Churchyard. Mid Argyll. | 195 |
| Plate 15 | - Dun Chroisprig Islay. | 125 |
| Plate 16 | - Gleann Gaoithe stone Islay. | 144 |
| Plate 17 | - Kildalton High Cross, Islay. | 146 |
| Plate 18 | - Kildalton High Cross, Islay. | 147 |

Introduction to Volume Two

Volume One of the present volume has examined the history of Argyll during the 1st Millennium A.D., and also the archaeological evidence for settlement and activity during this period. Major themes of discussion included analyses of the manner in which the Early Historic Kingdom of Dalriada was established within the area, how the Dalriadic Kings may have maintained control over the area, the establishment of Christianity and its implications, and finally the Norse impact on the area. Analysis of the archaeological evidence considered the range of sites in occupation and use in the period placing particular emphasis on the problems inherent in our present understanding of the nature of these sites.

It is clear that the territory held by the Kings of Dalriada was extensive, covering areas of both mainland and islands (Fig. 2). Analysis of the available evidence indicates that the settlement history was not the same over the whole of the area, and instead must be related to local environmental factors, and local social and political circumstances. Similarly while a generalized view of the history of Argyll in the first Millennium A.D. can be drawn together in the manner presented in Volume 1, discussion of smaller areas within the Kingdom reveal local histories at variance with this overall view. The impact of the various major political events described in Volume 1 varied from area to area, being dependent on a variety of local circumstances.

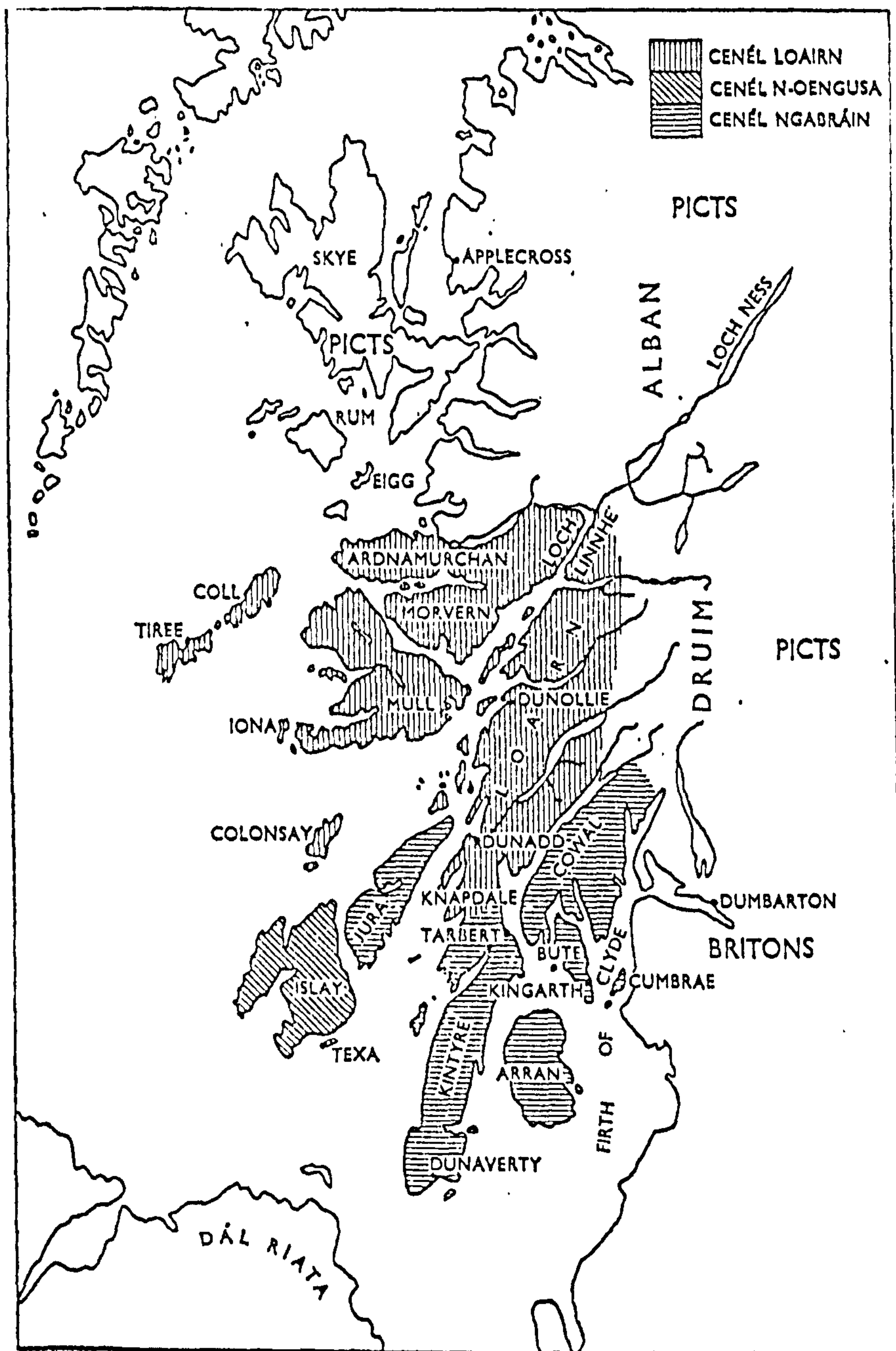


Fig.2 The territorial extent of the Kingdom of Dalriada. (from Bannerman 1974)

To illustrate these problems more clearly Volume 2 presents five case studies of areas within Argyll. The areas chosen for this analysis were Kintyre, Mull, Tiree, Islay and Mid-Argyll (Fig. 1). Of these Kintyre and Mid-Argyll, both in mainland Argyll lie at the heart of the Early Historic Kingdom and were controlled by the two major lineages of Dalriada, the Cenél nGabraín and the Cenél Loairn. These areas are likely to have formed the major territorial holdings of the Kings, and hence it is likely that their authority was strongest in such areas.

Mull and Tiree lie nearer the northern extent of Dalriadic Territory. Both may have been controlled by the Cenél Loairn but it is questionable whether their authority over these areas was as strong as that on the mainland. The control of these areas on the northern periphery of the Kingdom may have been particularly important in view of the Pictish territories which extended northwards from here. Indeed Dalriadic control over these areas may have been disputed by Pictish Kings. Desire to maintain control over Mull and Tiree may have led to the early Kings granting lands there to the Early Church upon which the latter established monasteries. In so doing these areas may have been controlled for the Christian Kings of Dalriada, and incursions of heathen Picts prevented. The most important of these monasteries was Iona, which was important not only within Dalriada, but Northern Britain as a whole. The establishment of a community on Iona may have had a major impact on nearby Mull, and it is possible that the monastic community held



Fig. 1 The location of Case Study areas.

extensive lands on the island, or else had rights to agricultural produce from a large area. The small island of Tiree supported a dense concentration of monastic centres and may then also have controlled most of the island.

The island of Islay formed a distinct unit of the Kingdom of Dalriada controlled by one of the three major lineages of the Kingdom, the Cené1 n0engusa. This group probably formed an independent unit until the 9th century. when they may have become the centre of a larger island lordship. Hence Islay formed a clearly defined geographical unit within which to examine the pattern of settlement, and the manner in which this lineage may have controlled the island.

Within all these areas a network of settlements including large defended sites such as Dunadd, and many smaller duns and crannogs may have been in occupation. Some local variations in the number and nature of these sites does occur from area to area, as is well illustrated in the following studies. In addition to these defended sites a variety of other less substantially constructed sites may also have been in occupation.

The events of the 9th century had differing impacts on the various areas making up Dalriada. The expansion in the area of interest of the Kings of Dalriada probably further weakened the control they exercised over peripheral areas such as Mull, Islay and Tiree. This situation was ^aexacerbated by the arrival of the Norse in the area, and the fact that many of the religious establishments in such

regions may have been decimated by Viking raiding. This may have opened the way for Norse settlement in these areas. Changing circumstances led the Kings of Dalriada to institute some political reorganization in Argyll in the 9th century to deal with some of these problems. A lordship may have been established on the islands, which was to develop its greatest power in the 12th century and later. The leaders of this were powerful enough to maintain their control over the area in defiance of rival claims by the Norwegian crown.

On the mainland, major royal sites like Dunadd may have been abandoned, but the rise of local lineages appears to have maintained political control over the area and hence prevented Norse infiltration.

During the medieval and later periods the pattern of settlement and land exploitation varied over time from area to area. In particular the effects of the improving activities of landowners in the 17th and 18th centuries varied from area to area. These differences are discussed in some of the following studies. Such latter patterns of settlement and landholding must be understood since they provide important keys to understanding earlier patterns, or in some instances the destruction of these earlier patterns.

In presenting the following case-studies various specific problems still needing resolution are highlighted and where possible avenues for further research are suggested. Overall, however, they illustrate the potential for further study of the Kingdom of Dalriada indicated by various regions and sites.

Case Study: Kintyre

The Kintyre peninsula is a long narrow arm of Argyll which extends south-westwards towards Ireland (Fig. 3). During the Early Historic Period Kintyre was occupied by the Cenél nGabrain. Indeed the area may have been the first area of Argyll over which the Dalriadic incomers established themselves. Until the late 7th century this lineage was the most important one within Dalriada, later however their ascendancy was eclipsed by the rise of the Cenél Loairn. Within Kintyre^{lie} two major defended sites, Aberte and Tairpert Boittir. In addition to these many duns and crannogs may have been in occupation.

In the 9th century the movement of Cináed MacÁlpin King of Dalriada and a member of the Cenél nGabraín to the east may have led to some political reorganization within the peninsula. At this time some of the defended sites may have been abandoned. The inability of the Norse to penetrate the area, however, implies that the political hierarchy of control did not collapse.

While Kintyre may have been the main holding of the Cenél nGabraín it would appear that their authority initially also extended over the Cowal peninsula, Bute, Arran and other small islands in the Firth of Clyde (Bannerman 1974, 111-115). By the early 8th century, a new group, the Cenél Comgaill appear to have taken control of Cowal (cf. Chapter Four). Cenél nGabraín territory may also have extended northwards to include part of Knapdale. Formerly it had been generally accepted that the site of Dunadd was the

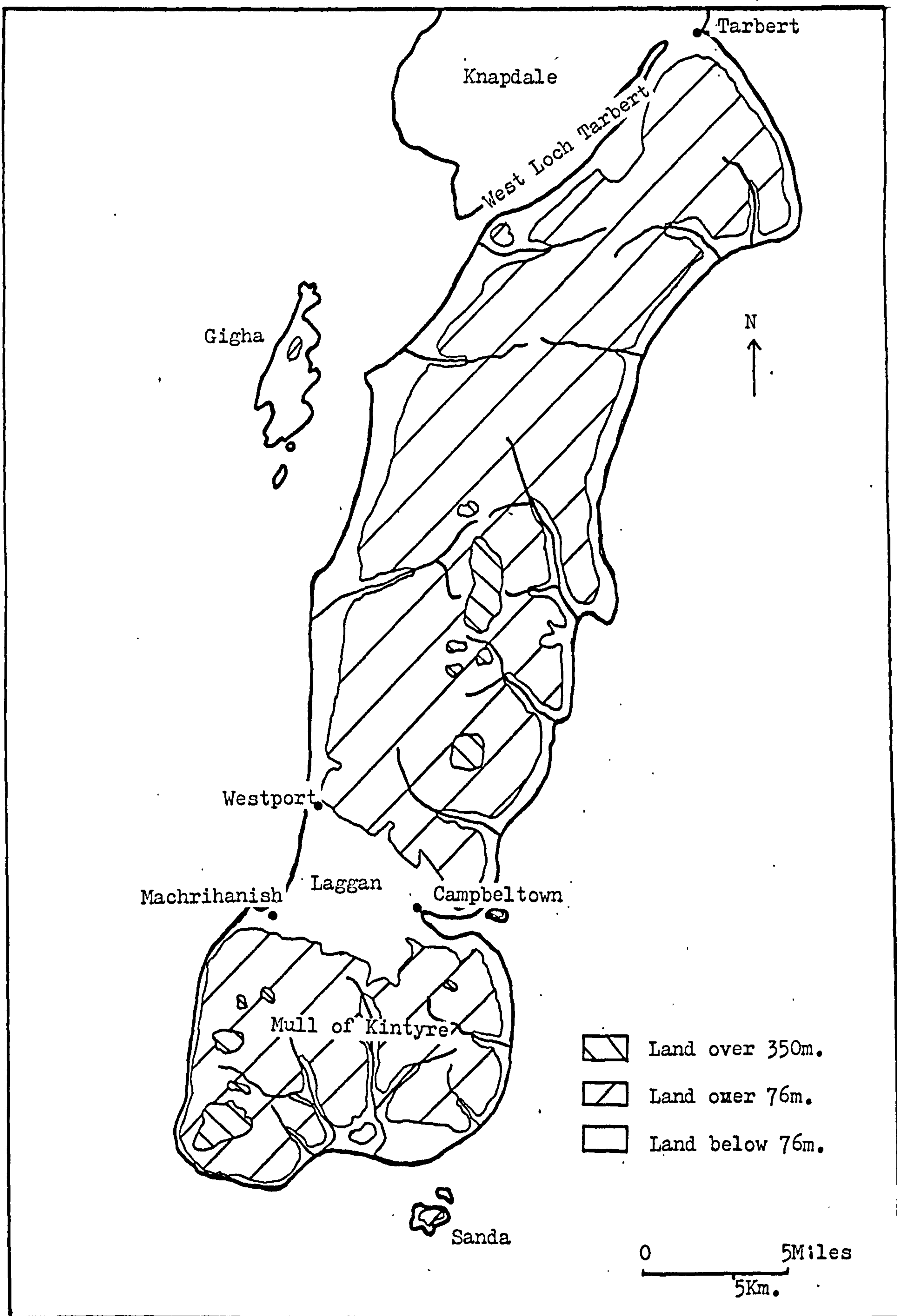


Fig.3 The Kintyre peninsula.

chief seat of the Cenél nGabráin. As Bannerman points out, however, annalistic references could be taken to indicate that Dunadd was a Cenél Loairn stronghold (1974, 113). If this is the case, the boundary between the two Cenéla must have lain somewhere between Dunadd and Kintyre.

The following case study is restricted to an analysis of the Kintyre peninsula south of West Loch Tarbert. The main reason for the choice of this restricted geographical extent, which does not equate with the complete territorial holdings of the Cenél nGabráin, was the fact that the R.C.A.H.M.S. treated it as a discrete area for the purpose of their field survey of Argyll. The availability of detailed plans and descriptions for this area allowed the sites to be analysed and compared in some detail.

The peninsula of Kintyre projects south-southwest from the mainland of Argyll to which it is connected by only a narrow isthmus of land at Tarbert in the North. It is 65 km long, varying in breadth from 9 km. to 15 km. for much of its length, but broadening out to form a larger terminal block measuring 15 km. by 18 km. which is known as the Mull. Geologically the peninsula is composed mainly of metamorphic Dalradian and Moinean rocks (Fig. 4). Other deposits also exist, of which the limestones, coal measures and sandstones are of particular importance. These types of deposit are uncommon in the highlands, and have been used to demonstrate the transitional character of the peninsula, which is neither true highland, nor lowland (Whittow 1979, 198). The metamorphic rocks form a spine which runs down the peninsula as

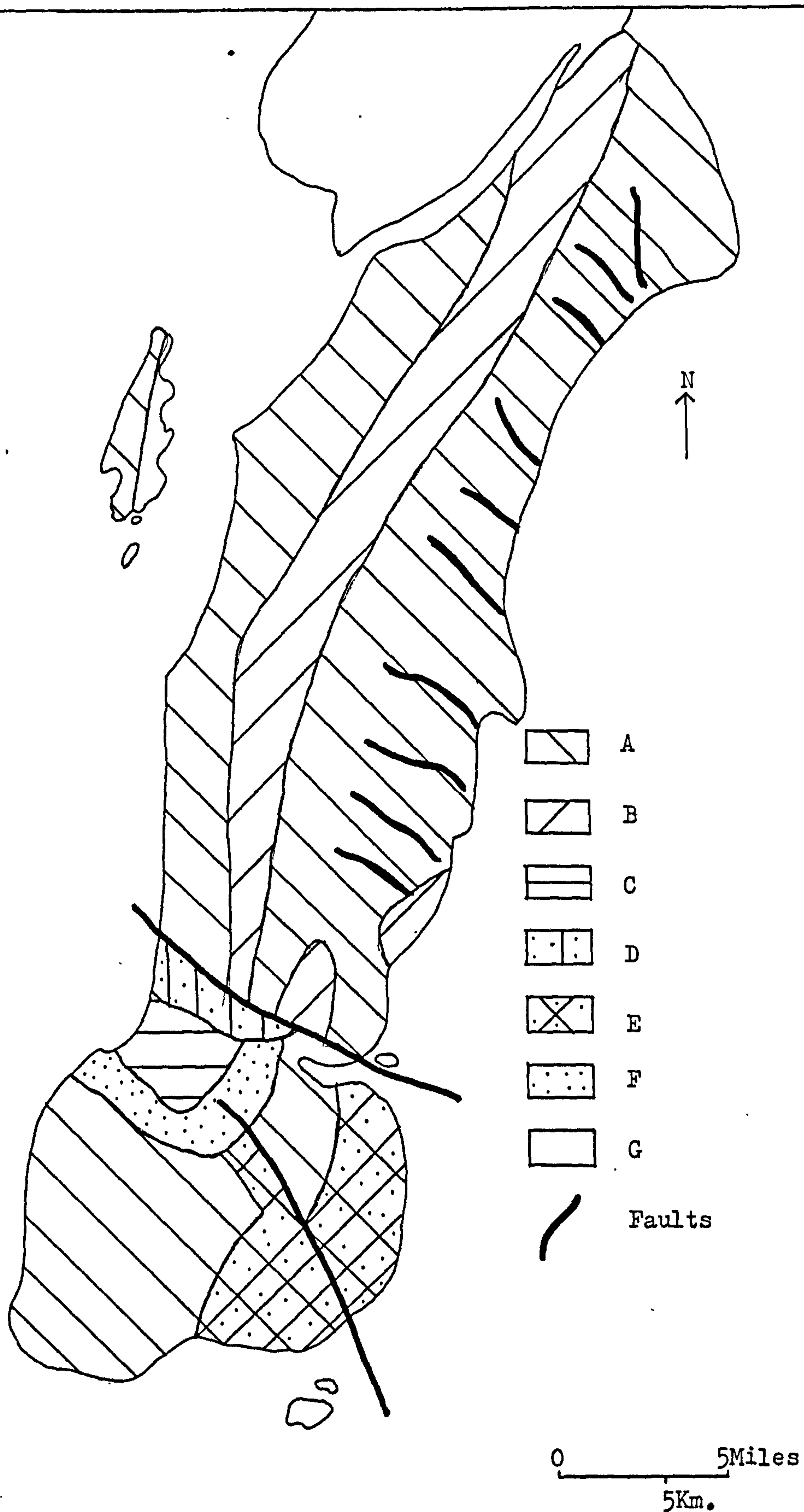


Fig.4 The Geology of Kintyre.

(from maps of the Institute of Geological Sciences.)

- A Moine and Dalradian schists and slates.
- B Dalradian limestones.
- C Ordovician and Silurian greywackes, shales
and mudstones.
- D Coal measures.
- E Old red sandstone.
- F Lavas of Ordovician, Devonian, Carboniferous
and Tertiary age.
- G Dalradian Quartz.

Key to Geology of Kintyre map.

far as a line roughly between Westport in the west and Campbeltown in the east. This range of highland is characterised by its numerous summits; the majority lying between 250 and 350 m, with the highest rising to 455 m (Beinn a Tuirc NGR NR 752 362). Between these summits lie extensive areas of peat-covered land, several small lochs and some areas of bog (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 1-3). Much of the drainage in this area flows in an eastwards direction.

To the south of this area of highland lies a triangular area of land stretching between Westport and Machrihanish in the east, and Campbeltown loch in the west, which is known as the Laggan (McClement 1927). This is a generally flat plain consisting of blown sand and alluvium underlain mainly by Ordovician and Silurian shales and mudstones, and coal measures. This area is today used for agricultural purposes, but it seems that in former times prior to drainage it was very wet. This would explain the presence of a crannog there excavated in 1892 (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 94). The most southerly block of Kintyre, the Mull is again an area of upland, the highest of the hills overlooking the west coast, and rising to between 350 and 450 m. In total 72% of the area of the peninsula is occupied by land over 76 m in height; 2% of the peninsula lies at heights above 350 m.

The climate of the peninsula is generally mild, due mainly to the moderating influence of the sea, and in particular the warm Gulf Stream drift current which flows up the west coast. The average temperature based on an analysis of a 30 year period between 1931 and 1960 is 9.5°C with a

range between 4.9°C and 14.7°C (Macaulay Institute, 1982, 6). McClement notes that climatically the peninsula is milder than other areas of Argyll, including the neighbouring island of Arran (1927). Rainfall varies with altitude, the average for the whole peninsula being in the order of 1524 mm per annum, spread over the twelve months.

The soils of the peninsula are generally poor, the majority being acidic podsol, often poorly drained (Macaulay Institute 1982; Vol. 6). The interior is peat covered, and hence was classified by the land survey of 1925 as rough grazing. Areas of arable land do exist, however. Figure 5 illustrates the extent of soil associations with "arable potential" based on the Macaulay Institute classification. This illustrates that most low land suited for such purposes lies along the coast, and along the main valleys. This, of course, must be treated with some caution in any attempt to consider the extent of former arable cultivation in the peninsula (cf. Chapter Three). In particular some of the areas indicated on this map have only been used for cultivation relatively recently. That in the Laggan area, for example, has only become possible as a result of extensive drainage. The latter post-dates the 18th century. Along the west coast some of the raised beaches created by isostatic uplift may also only recently have become suitable for cultivation. Gailey has argued that these were often marshy and needed drainage and reclamation before they could be profitably used for agricultural purposes (1961, 14-16). This did not occur until the 18th century.

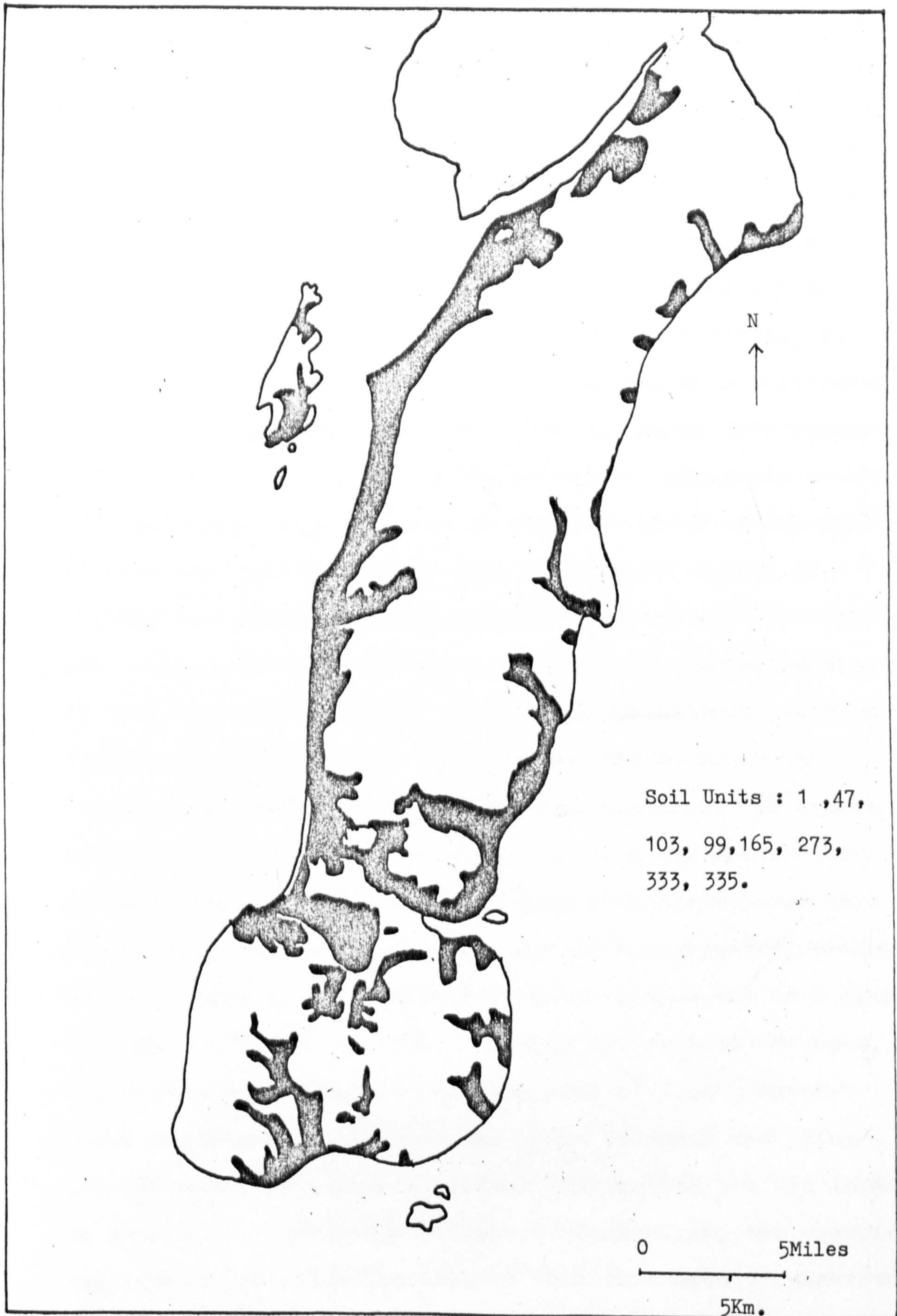


Fig. 5 The Location of Land with Arable Potential in Kintyre.
(After Macaulay Institute 1982; 6)

It is also clear that former patterns of arable cultivation were much more extensive than is suggested by Figure 5. McClement suggested that in the 1920's cultivation extended to heights varying between 200-400 ft. throughout the peninsula as a whole (1927). Gailey, however, has indicated that the limit of cultivation could have been much higher than this. In the valley of Glenehervie, for example, most of the land below 450 ft. had been cultivated in runrig (1961, 102) (Fig. 15). In the early 19th century this valley was inhabited by 20 families. Similarly around the settlement of Balmavicar on the west coast of the Mull (NGR NR 592 095) Gailey was able to indicate traces of cultivation extending up the slopes to heights of 700-750 ft. Considering the peninsula as a whole Gailey indicated that in some instances deserted settlements themselves could be found at heights of up to 700' (1961, 170-3) hence the Balmavicar example is not an isolated instance. Of course some of these higher settlements and areas of cultivation may well have been uneconomic. Many probably related to a period when population pressure was at its greatest, prior to the clearances and emigration which marked the late 18th century. Analysis of these, though, can at least be used to provide an extreme view of the area of land formerly under cultivation. Many of the areas in which Gailey was able to indicate traces of former cultivation are not located on Figure 5. Taking the example of Balmavicar, for example, the arable potential map implies that this area is unsuited to cultivation. This well illustrates the problems inherent

in the use of modern soil classifications for the recreation of former agricultural patterns (cf. Chapter Three).

The present agricultural landscape of Kintyre owes much to the enclosure movement, and the transition to sheep farming which was occurring from the mid 19th century (Gailey 1961). This led to the clearance of large areas, the abandonment of many small settlements, and the amalgamation of large areas of land to form extensive sheep walks. Of particular interest is the documented "plantation" of people of lowland stock into the area by the Duke of Argyll in the 17th century (Gailey 1961). This came about as a result of the improving activities of the Duke who considered that such lowlanders may bring with them new agricultural techniques. It is to this period that many of the large lowland type farms of Kintyre owe their origins, these are particularly noticeable in the area around Campbeltown. The establishment of these large units led to the destruction and reorganization of the former system of agricultural exploitation which had been based upon numerous small farms. Large areas of land were drained and cleared of loose stone to create large enclosed fields suited to improved pasture. This is the only area of Argyll in which improvements were conducted with such fervour, and it is the only area in which such extensive and large farms are encountered. This must be borne in mind in the present study since the extent of destruction of former patterns of settlement and land exploitation is likely to have been more extensive in Kintyre than in other areas of Argyll. Former settlements less substantially constructed than the defended ones are particularly more likely to have been destroyed without trace.

Another reason for the growth of large farm units in Kintyre is the fact that the Kintyre is much more productive in agricultural terms than the rest of Argyll. The agricultural atlas of Scotland indicates that over 4500 acres were under tillage in 1972, a significantly larger area than anywhere else in Argyll (Coppock 1976, 50). In addition to arable agriculture, the peninsula is also well suited to stock raising. This is well illustrated by the large herds of dairy cattle kept there (Coppock 1976, 95; 128). While there is no evidence that such specialised dairying was being practised in the Early Historic Period, it does serve to indicate the richness of pasture there. In relation to this agricultural wealth, Gailey makes the point that an analysis of farm values by district indicates that Kintyre and parts of Cowal were more valuable in the 18th and 19th centuries than other areas of Argyll (1961, 55).

Kintyre has evidence for human activity from early times. Mesolithic occupation is indicated by flint scatters particularly in the area around Campbeltown (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 4). Neolithic and Bronze Age settlement and activity is indicated by the numerous chambered cairns, cist burials and standing stones of the peninsula. It is, however, on the evidence for Iron Age and later occupation and activity that the present work will concentrate. This is indicated mainly by the numerous defended settlements which have been located there (Fig. 6). The majority of these sites are located within the coastal areas of the peninsula where land is of lower altitude, and where the majority of land

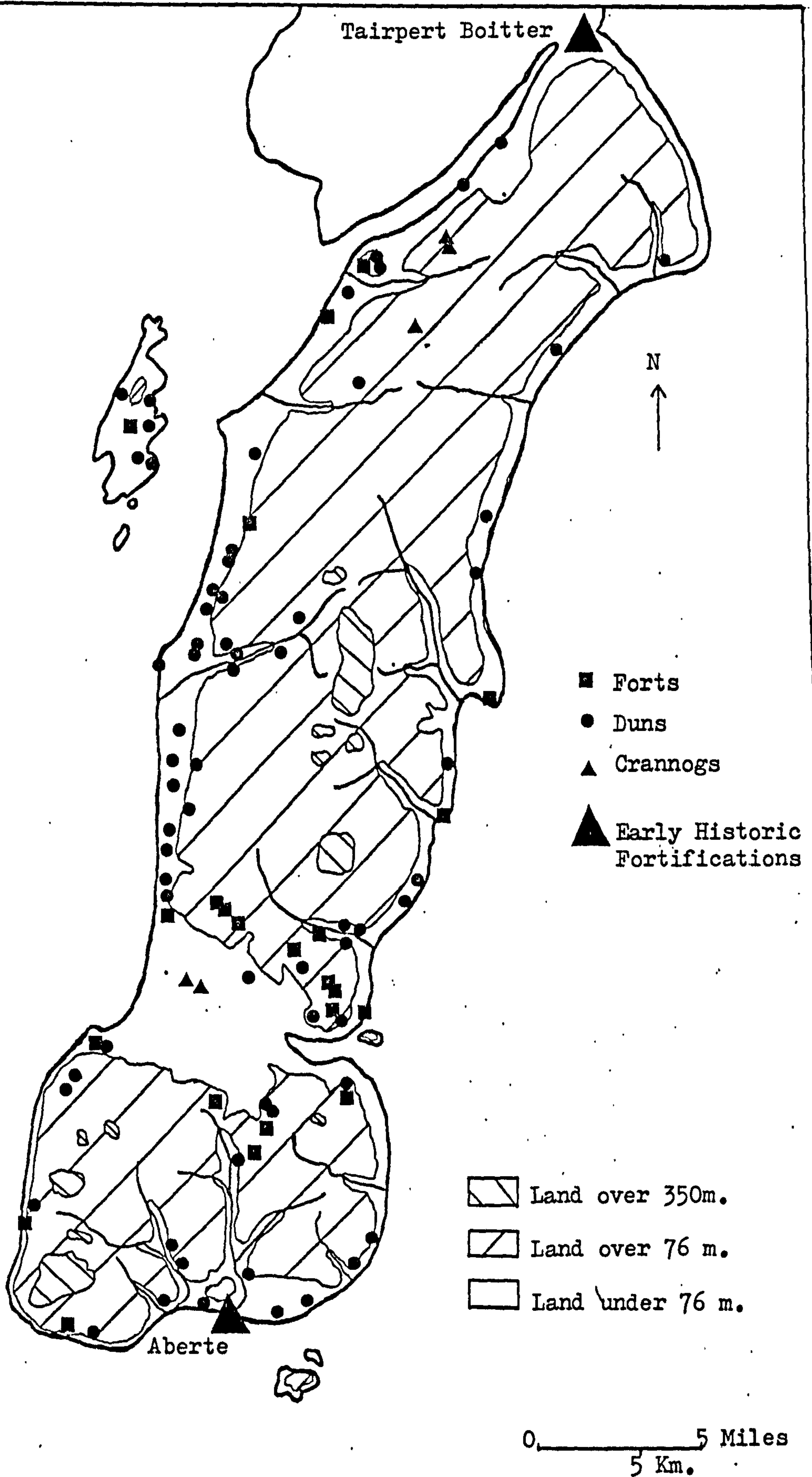


Fig. 6 The Location of the defended Settlements of Kintyre.

(after R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971)

suited to arable cultivation is located. Such sites would also have been well placed to exploit sea-resources, and to use the sea for communication. In the south of the peninsula a group of 'inland' sites also exists on the lower hills and slopes overlooking the Laggan area. Of these sites the most noticeable are the group of seven hillforts located to the north of this area. The site of Balloch Hillfort lies to the south of the Laggan. Partial excavation of this site suggested that it had been in use between the 6th and 1st centuries B.C. (Peltenburg 1982; Chapter Six). The latter is the only fort in Kintyre which has been examined by excavation.

Little can be said of the hillforts of Kintyre to supplement general discussion contained within Chapter Six. Of these sites that of Cnoc Araich is the largest, and is distinct both in terms of size and construction from the other sites of the peninsula. Earlier discussion indicated that it had formerly been interpreted as an Oppidum or tribal centre associated with the Epidii tribe whom Ptolemy locates here. The application of the term Oppidum to forts in Northern Britain, however, can now be seen to be suspect. Hence while it is clear that Cnoc Araich differs from other hillfort sites, it is difficult on present evidence to explain this.

Smaller defended sites classified as duns are particularly frequent in Kintyre, with over 60 examples having been recorded. The distribution of these throughout the peninsula does illustrate a contrast with the larger hillforts. Many

Duns are located along the east and west coasts. While larger hillforts are also found in these areas, the duns are much more numerous, particularly along the west coast. The precise reasons for this difference are difficult to explain. It may relate to the nature and size of settlement unit associated with these sites. If hillforts were associated with large communities, then such sites might be located within areas where they had access to sufficient land to maintain such a community. In contrast smaller duns, being inhabited with smaller social units may have associated with smaller areas of land. Hence the narrow coastal plain along the west coast of Kintyre may have been more easily exploited by dun-dwellers. Such suggestion, however, may present an over-simplistic view of the nature of such communities, and the extent of their involvement in agricultural production. In particular if duns could be associated with a network of client settlements, then exploitation of the land was still being undertaken by a sizeable community. Also the above suggestion infers contemporaneity of occupation of hillforts and duns which cannot be proven to have been the case. Indeed various evidence can be cited to suggest this was not so. At three sites, Dun Skeig, Cullan Doon and Belfield duns are located on sites formerly occupied by hillforts, suggesting replacement of the larger sites by smaller duns. The chronological framework suggested for dun occupation and usage may also indicate the increasing importance of such settlements during the first millennium A.D.

Of particular interest to analysis of dun settlements is the grouping of several sites within small valleys of the

Kintyre peninsula. The latter do not appear to have formed major routeways; and hence the best explanation for the location of duns within them would be that the latter were closely involved in the agricultural exploitation of such areas. The best examples of this are the valleys of the Glen Barr water (Fig. 7) and Glen Lussa (Fig. 8). The use of this type of location could be used to support the view that duns were defended homesteads, the inhabitants of which had interests in agricultural exploitation of the land.

During the Early Historic Period it is clear that at least some of the duns of Kintyre were in occupation. Excavation at several sites has provided evidence of this. This includes fragments of E-ware from Kildalloig Dun (Thomas 1981) a bronze penannular brooch from Kildonan Dun (Fairhurst 1939) and glass beads from Dún Fhinn and Dun Ugadale.⁽¹⁾ It has been argued that the nature of dun settlements, and the type of artefactual material recovered from them implies they were the homesteads of persons of high social status who had access to royal sites within the Kingdom. Access to items such as E-ware vessels may have been controlled by the Kings through such royal sites. Of particular interest here is recent suggestion that the Kildonan brooch may have been produced at Dunadd, and that such brooches may have been used to display social status.

Since Kintyre formed the main territorial holding of the Cenél nGabraín it would seem of importance to attempt to locate royal sites within the area, and discuss them in greater depth. This would be of importance not only to an

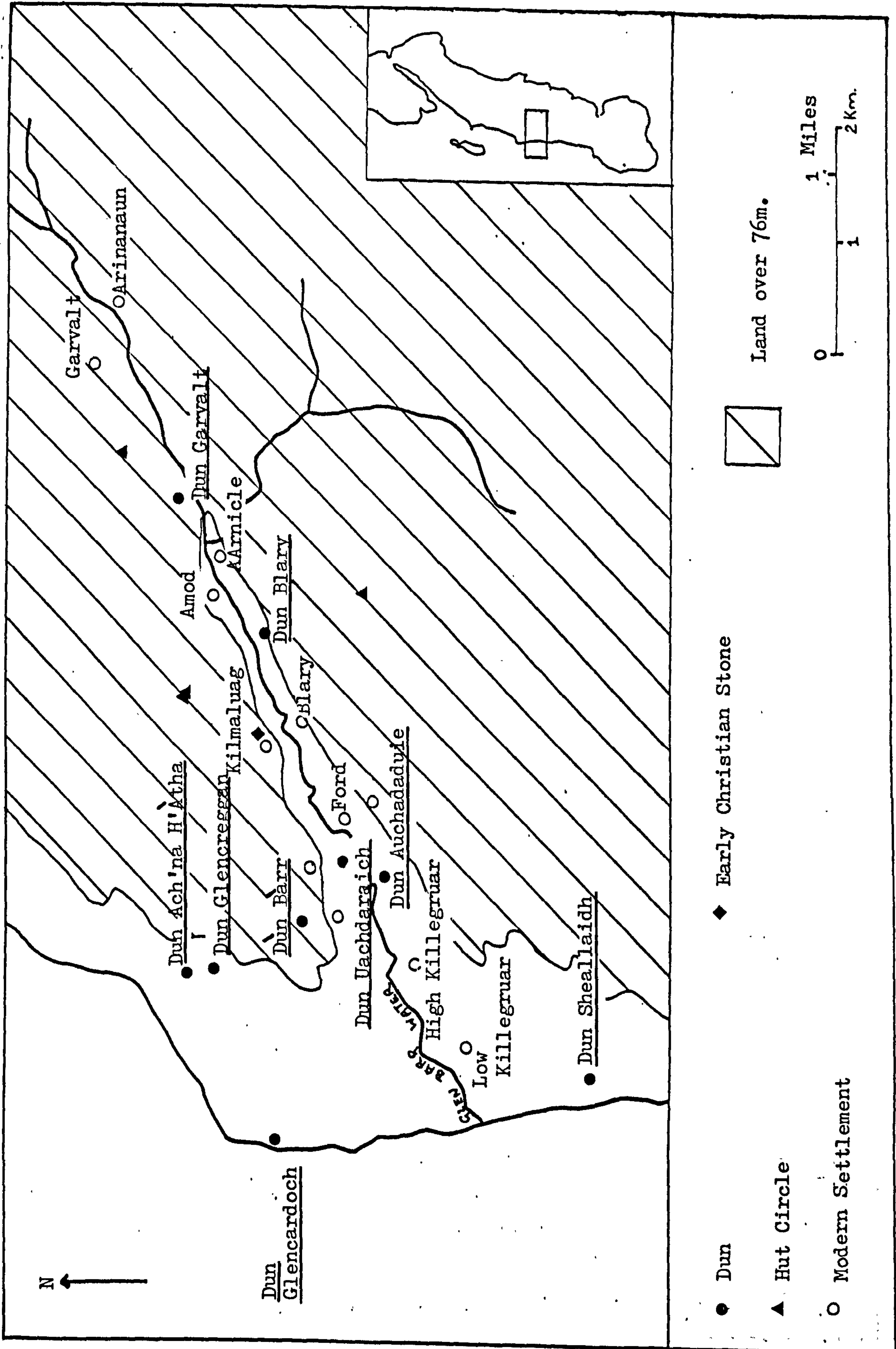


Fig. 7 Settlements, Past and Present in Glen Barr, Kintyre.

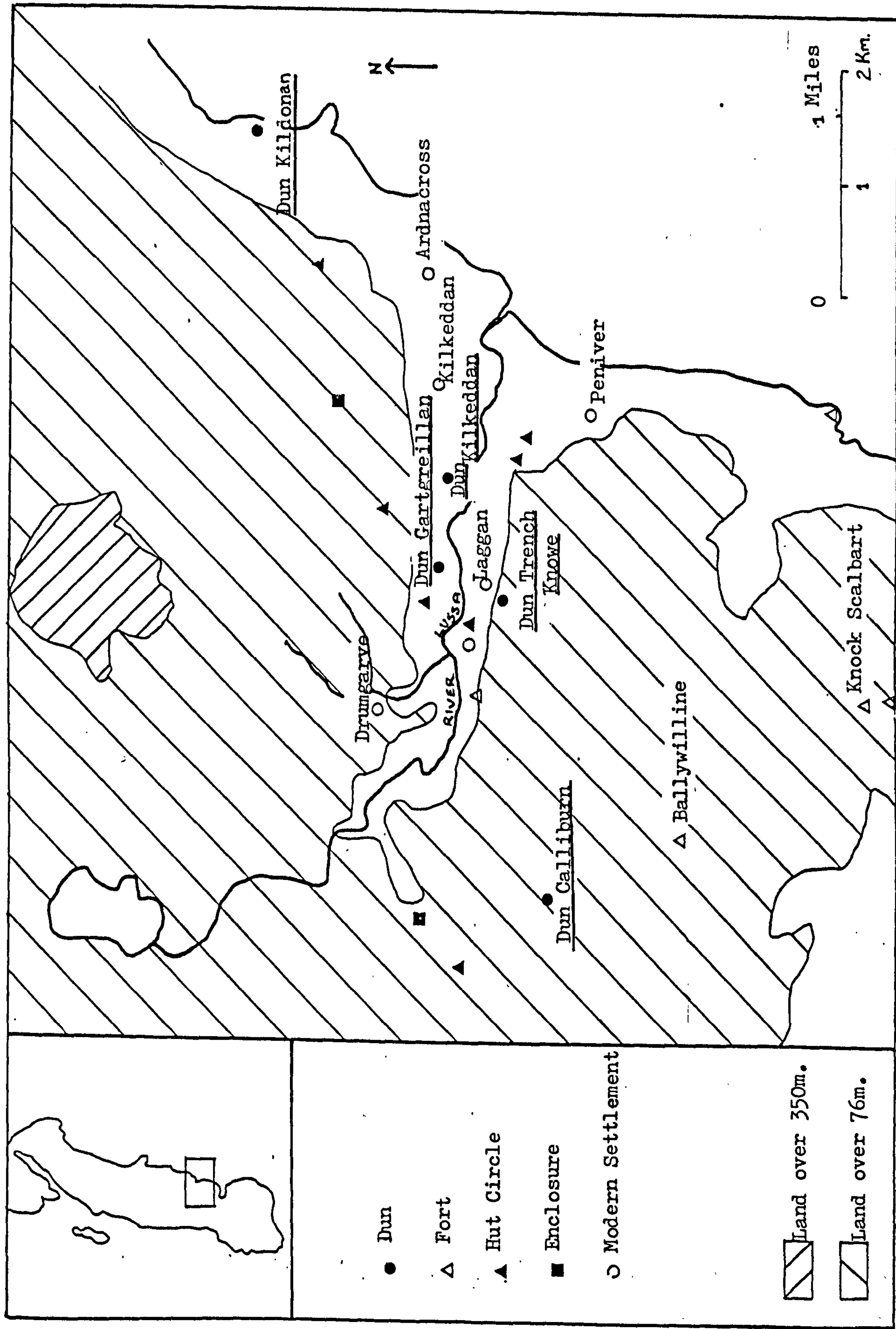


Fig. 8 The Location of Settlements. Past and Present in Glen Lussa, Kintyre.

understanding of the Cenél nGabraín, but also of the Kingdom of Dalriada as a whole. Within the area the existence of two Early Historic Fortifications has been suggested. In the north Tairpert Boittir was probably located at Tarbert, Loch Fyne (cf. Chapter Ten). The precise location of the site has not been identified. It may lie beneath the later medieval castle there (Alcock 1981). It is strategically placed on the isthmus which divides Kintyre from Knapdale (Fig. 9). Here the site could control overland communication between the two areas, but also (and probably more importantly) it could control use of the portage between East and West Loch Tarbert. Use of the latter would have allowed much more rapid sea-borne communication between the Firth of Clyde and the Atlantic coast. The 'Tairpert' element of the recorded name indicates that it was, indeed, an important portage point from an early date.

While of strategic importance, Tairpert Boittir may not have been well suited to a role as collection centre for royal tribute, a function which it was argued earlier was of major importance to the Early Historic Kings. Examination of the "hinterland" of Tairpert Boittir reveals that much of it is occupied by inhospitable upland areas which would not have supported large populations. This would seem to be reflected in the paucity of defended settlements in the area.

In contrast, Aberte, if correctly identified with the headland of Dunaverty, would seem more suited to play an important role as a collection point for royal tribute as the surrounding land is more suited to settlement and agricul-

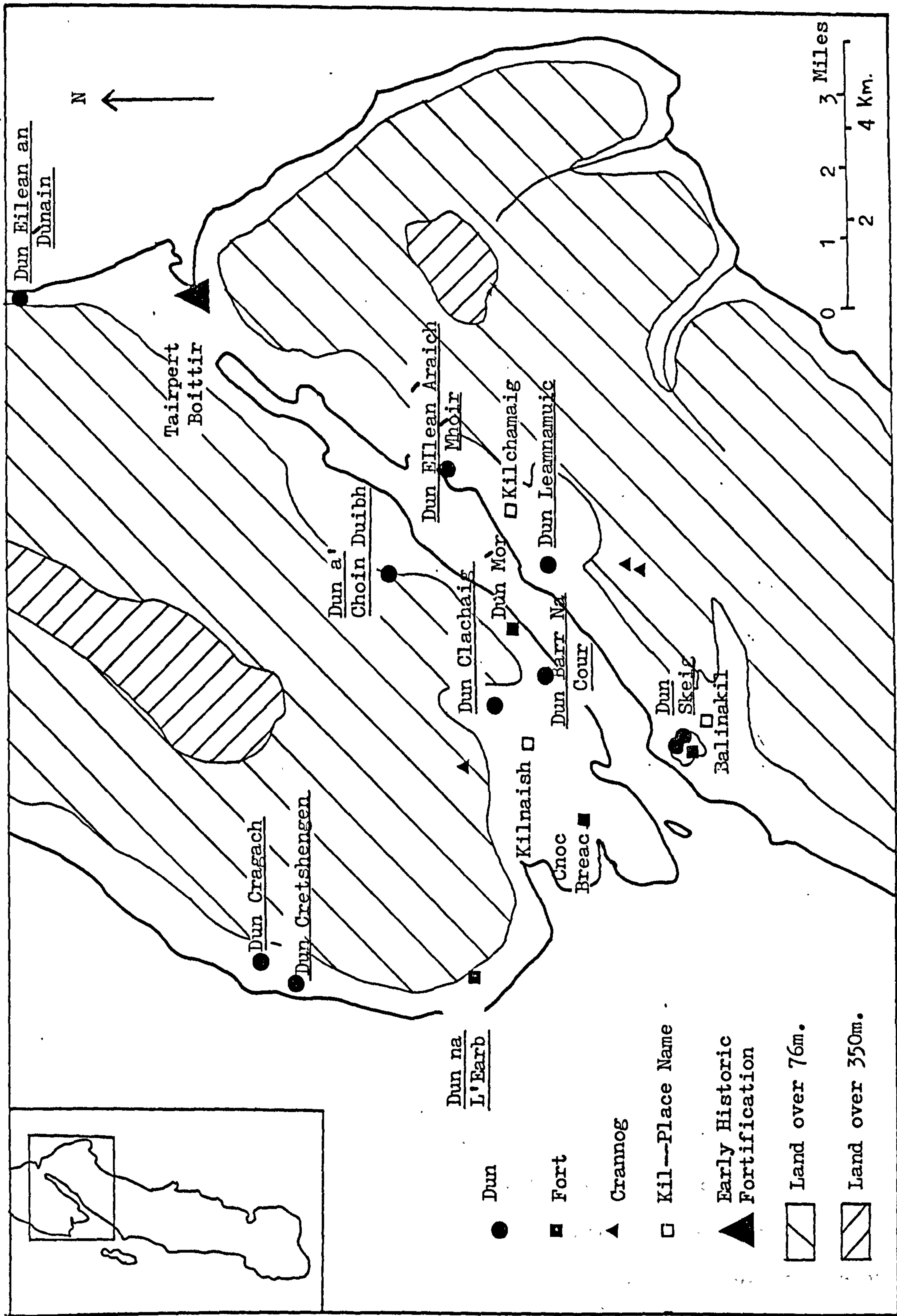


Fig. 9 The Location of the Early Historic Fortification of Tairpert Boittir.

tural production. This is illustrated by the numerous defended sites found within its vicinity (Fig. 10). It is of interest that Aberte lies near to the site of Cnoc Araich, the largest hillfort in Kintyre. While there are many problems inherent in any attempt to analyse the latter site, if it was the major defended site in Kintyre the close location of the two sites may suggest some form of connection. The movement to Aberte may reflect the growing importance of smaller dun-type settlements, and the necessity of being close to the sea for external contact. Such continuity in the location of a major centre could have been related to the manner in which the Dalriadic dynasty established itself within the area. If this was achieved by a process of infiltration, as suggested earlier (Chapter Fourteen) continuity of major power centres may initially, at least, have been of major importance.

If the establishment of Dalriada did occur as a result of a piecemeal acquisition of Argyll with the Cenél nGabrain being initially the most important group within the Kingdom, then the first major royal centres within Dalriada may have been established within Kintyre. In view of the close proximity of the Mull of Kintyre to Ireland, Aberte might have been well suited to such a function. It must be pointed out, however, that the only documentary reference to the site is for 712 A.D. (Anderson 1922, 213) and we do not know whether it existed prior to this date.

A major problem associated with the identification of Dunaverty as an early major royal centre relates to its location on the Mull coastline. This area is a notoriously

dangerous one for shipping since the Atlantic Sea currents are forced to divide here to flow around the peninsula, creating an area of strongly turbulent water. This situation is often ex^aacerbated by the frequent westerly winds which help blow the body of water onto the coastline more rapidly. The danger of this area for shipping probably led to the development of use of the portage point at Tarbert further north. Early Dalriadic Kings would have been very reliant upon sea-borne communications with Ireland and the rest of Argyll, hence such considerations may have precluded the development of Dunaverty as a major centre.

While considering major defended sites within Kintyre it is of importance to discuss two other sites. The first is the small stone-built fort of Sròn Uamha which is, like Aberte, located on the Mull of Kintyre (Fig. 10). It is difficult to estimate the size of this site precisely since it is located on adjacent to a precipitous cliff, and it would seem likely that it has partially collapsed into the sea. It would seem, though, to be smaller than other hillfort sites in Kintyre. Its massive construction also makes it distinct. As well as the massive enclosing wall of the main fort, two external walls exist, each similarly of massive proportions (Fig. 11). The distance between these walls is less than 10 m. and the area enclosed thus would have been difficult to use effectively. The two external walls do, however, make the site much more visually impressive. The site of Dùn na Muirghaidh on Mull with its massively constructed outer walls is somewhat similar to this site.

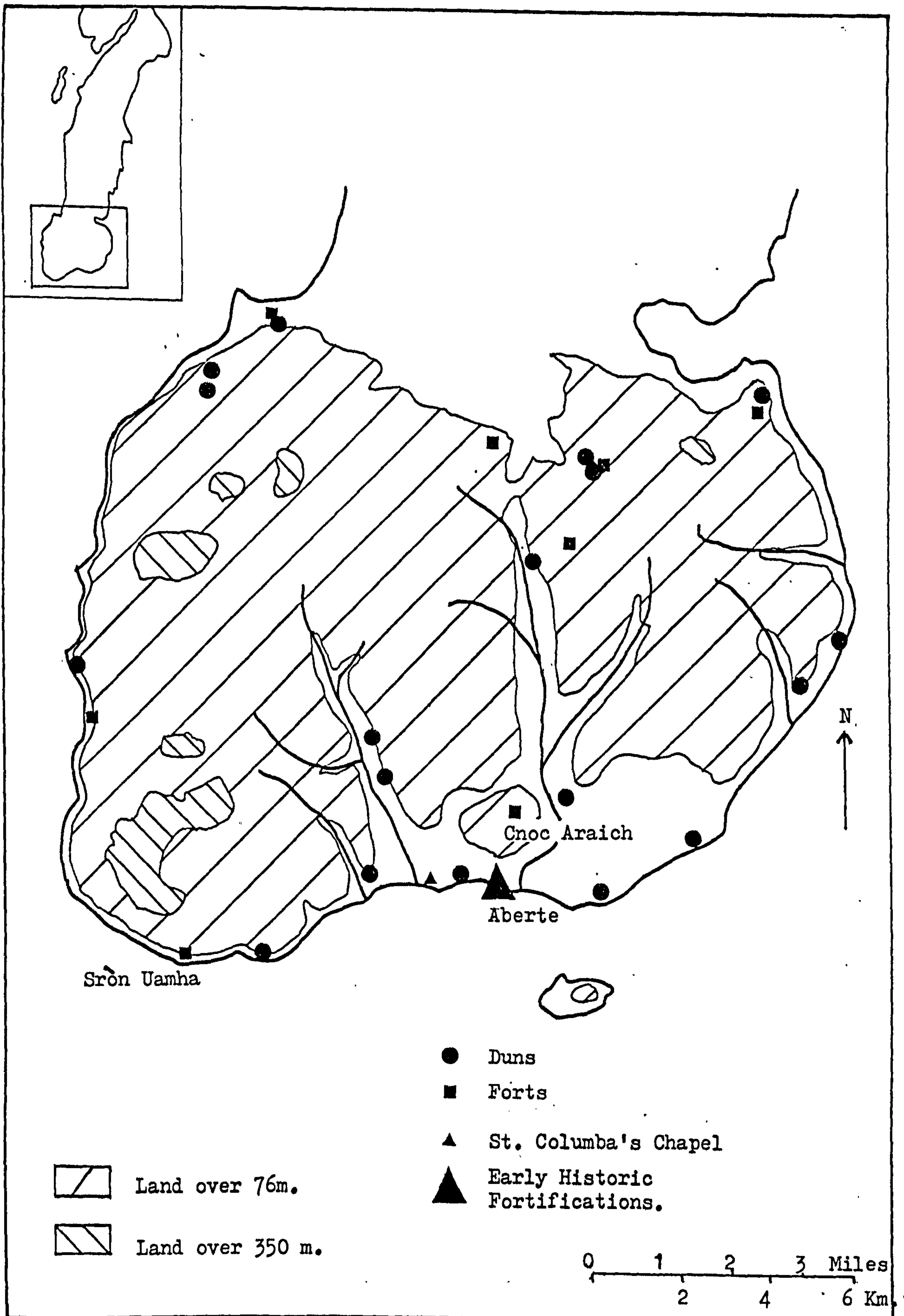
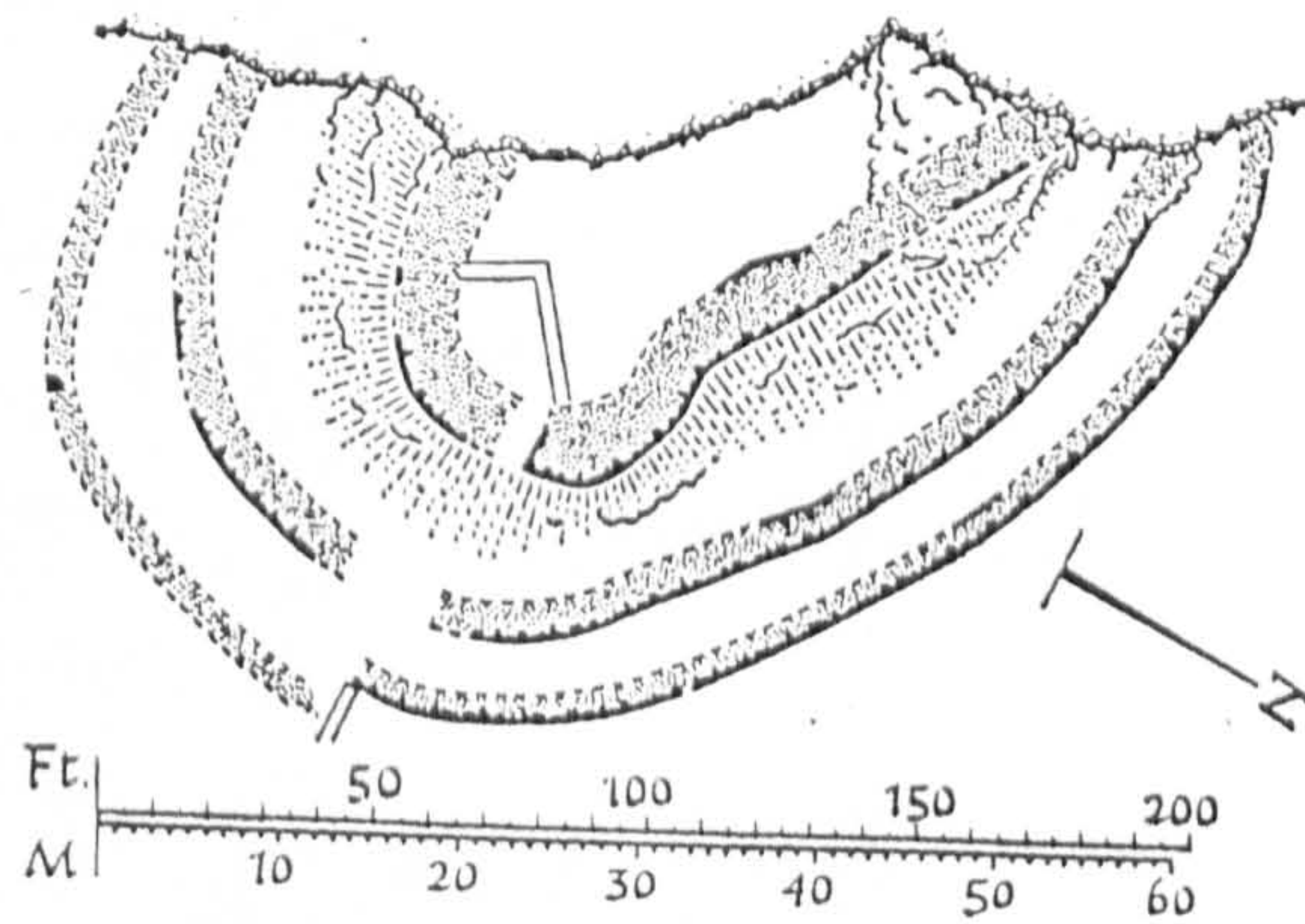


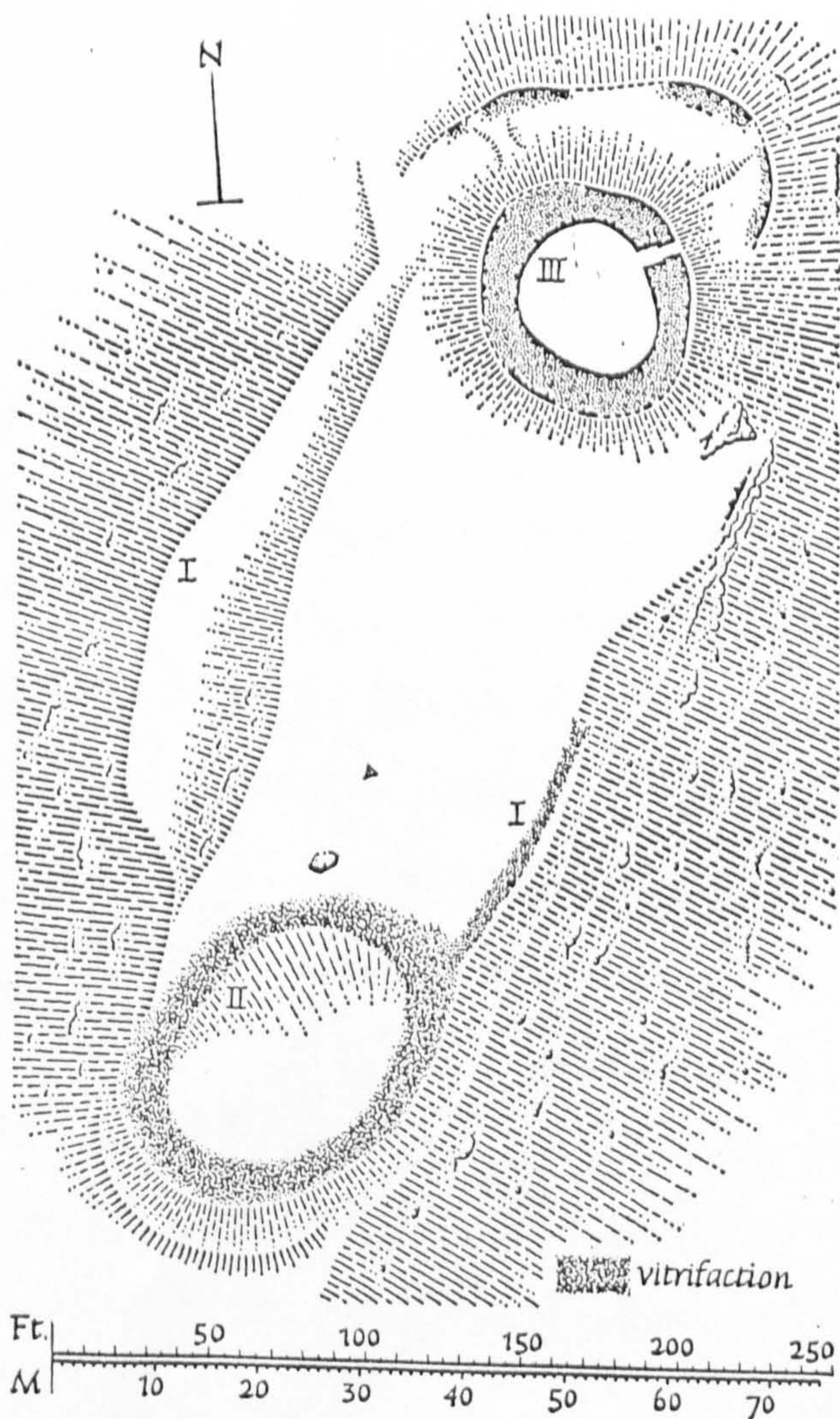
Fig.10 The Location of the Early Historic Fortification of Aberte.

Dùn na Muirgheidh was suggested earlier (Chapter Ten) to be a possible example of an Early Historic Fortification. It would be difficult to see Sròn Uamha fitting such a role. Like Aberte it lies on the dangerous Mull coastline of Kintyre, and access to the sea is difficult from the site anyway because of the precipitous cliffs around this section of the coastline. Also Sròn Uamha is one of the most isolated of the defended sites of Kintyre, since it is surrounded by inhospitable highland which is largely devoid of former traces of settlement. The massive construction of the site suggests it was of some importance, at present however, it must remain an enigma.

The second site worthy of discussion is that of Dun Skeig in the north of the peninsula at the mouth of West Loch Tarbert (Figs. 9 and 11). This site is located on the highest point of this area of Kintyre, on a clearly defined hilltop. It not only dominates a large inland area of the peninsula, but also the sea-ward approaches to west Loch Tarbert. The archaeological remains of the site are of interest since they suggest a longevity of use of the site. The primary structure on the site was a stone-walled fort. This was later replaced by a large stone-walled dun. The latter had timber-laced walls, and was eventually heavily burnt leaving its remains heavily vitrified. Subsequently a smaller stone-walled dun was also constructed upon the site, incorporating within it some of the vitrified stone from the earlier site.



Fort, Sròn Uamha



Fort and duns, Dùn Skeig

Fig.11 The sites of Sròn Uamha and Dun Skeig, Kintyre.

Dun Skeig would have provided an ideal residence for a local ruler, the dominant position of the site must have made it a prestigious location. Inland it overlooks a large area of good agricultural land which supports several settlements. Within this area several other duns and crannogs have been identified. The location may also have been of strategic importance controlling access into West Loch Tarbert.

Rather than seeking a single royal centre within Kintyre, it would seem likely that several sites like those mentioned above were in use. Because of the nature of the peninsula it may be reasonable to expect there to have been at least two major centres, one in the south and one further north at which tribute raised from the local area could be collected and consumed. Just as the Kings of Dalriada were probably peripatetic and moved around the whole of the Kingdom, so also the leaders of the Cenél nGabráin probably also moved around their territories in a similar manner.⁽²⁾

Within Kintyre there is much evidence which may illustrate the establishment of the early church in the 1st millennium A.D., although no sites have been excavated and it is hence difficult to date them closely within the period. Because of the close link which developed between Columba and the Kings of Dalriada - who were of the Cenél nGabráin in the mid 6th century the existence of major early ecclesiastical centres might be anticipated within the region. Iona lies particularly distant from Kintyre, and in order for the early ecclesiastics to develop their position and influence within Dalriada, it

was probably necessary to establish an ecclesiastical site much nearer the Cenél nGabráin.

One annalistic reference may indicate the existence of a monastery in Kintyre. King Domangart (d.506 A.D.) may have entered a monastery prior to this death (Anderson 1980, 137-8). Anderson argues that the appellation of Domangart as "of Kintyre" may be taken to indicate a life in religion.

Whether such a monastery existed at this early date is, however, questionable since it pre-dates the Columban establishment of Iona. The annal was probably recorded retrospectively possibly at a time when such an establishment did exist.

Similar annalistic evidence also implies that Aedan, grandson of Domangart also died in a monastery in the peninsula, (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 45; Anderson 1980, 138) although it must be said that no mention of any such monastery is made in Adomnan's Life of Columba. The most favourable site for such a monastery would seem to be the Island of Gigha off the west coast which would be typical of the sort of island locations frequently acquired by the early church. Possibly early stones and rock-carvings have been found on the island (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 156) and the later development of the medieval parish of Gigha might support any suggestion that the island had an ancient religious importance. No archaeological trace of such a monastic site has, however, been traced. The only surviving documentary evidence which may locate a monastic establishment infers a site on the mainland of Kintyre. Tradition contained within the Chronicle

of Fordun records the burial of King Aedan at Kilkerran (Anderson 1980, 149). This document may have been first recorded between 1384 and 1387 (Anderson 1922, lvii). This may infer that a monastery existed there, although there is no archaeological corroborating evidence for such suggestion. The only indication of possible early Christian activity on the site is an incised stone bearing a ring-headed cross (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 125). Because of the ringed head on the cross this stone is unlikely to pre-date the 8th century A.D. (cf. Chapter Twelve).

Of particular interest to an analysis of the early church in Kintyre would be the identification of sites adjacent to the 'Royal' sites mentioned previously. These might be anticipated in view of the close link between the church and the Cenéi nGabráin, and since the latter group was initially the most important within the Kingdom any sites established within Kintyre may have been among the earliest sites in Dalriada.

Analysis of the available evidence indicates that no early Christian sites are found in the immediate vicinity of Tairpirt Boittir. Adjacent to Aberte, however, are two sites. On the mainland to the west lies a chapel and burial ground associated with St. Columba. This church first comes on record at the beginning of the 14th century, and the earliest structural remains have been ascribed by the R.C.A.H.M.S. to the 13th century (1971, 147-51). Adjacent to the chapel lies a stone with the carved impression of a pair of footprints upon it, said traditionally to be those of the Saint himself.

Of these one impression is known to have been carved in 1856 (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 150-1). A similar stone exists within the Early Historic Fortification of Dunadd, and the use of such stones in inauguration rituals has already been discussed (Chapter Ten). In the present context the location of such a stone adjacent to an early Christian site must be further examined. Adomnan's Life of Columba illustrates that Columba became involved in the ordination of Aedan as King of Dalriada. The establishment and control of such rituals may have been of importance to the early Church, helping it maintain and further establish its position within Dalriada. This may explain the location of such an inauguration centre adjacent to an early Christian site. If a chapel existed on the site, the ceremony occurred outside this structure. This would conform with the impression of an open-air ceremony suggested by the Dunadd stone. Holding it outside in such a manner would allow a large gathering of people to become involved. If this suggestion as to the use of the stone is correct then it must surely infer the importance of the site of Aberte, as a major centre for the rulers of the Cenél nGabraín.

The other site possibly associated with Dunaverty is that of Sanda, a small island to the south. Upon this small and rocky island a small chapel is located, and possibly early stones have been found (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 151-3). This is a type of island location frequently used by the early Church. Such an uninhabited island with its limited agricultural potential may have been easy for the

leaders of the Cené1 nGabráin to^{grant to} the Church, since there may have been few other claims to it. The use of a small deserted island like Sanda may have illustrated that the church was not fully of this world.

Another important early Christian site may have been located at Clachan in the north of Kintyre. A Kil- place name from the area may indicate an early site, while two possibly early stones are located within the burial ground (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 108-110). Of particular interest is the location of the site at the foot of the hill upon which the fort and dun of Dun Skeig are located. If a connection did exist between the two sites this would infer that Dun Skeig was occupied into the Early Historic Period, and it may also suggest the importance of the site.

Elsewhere throughout Kintyre a widespread acceptance of Christianity may be indicated by the various Kil- place names, sites dedicated to early saints, and possibly early stones. (Figs. 12,13,14).

During the period between 500 A.D. and 843 A.D. several documentary records may refer to events within Kintyre. In 574 A.D. the Annals of Tigernach record the battle of Delgu in which Duncan son of Conall and other allies of the sons of Gabráin fell (Anderson 1922, 78-9). The annals do not make clear the nature of this conflict, but it may indicate internal conflict within the Cené1 nGabráin. The Annals of Tigernach record the death of Conall King of Dalriada (Duncan's father) in the same year (Anderson 1922, 75). He was the nephew of the preceding King Gabrán and on Conall's death it seems conflict may have broken out between

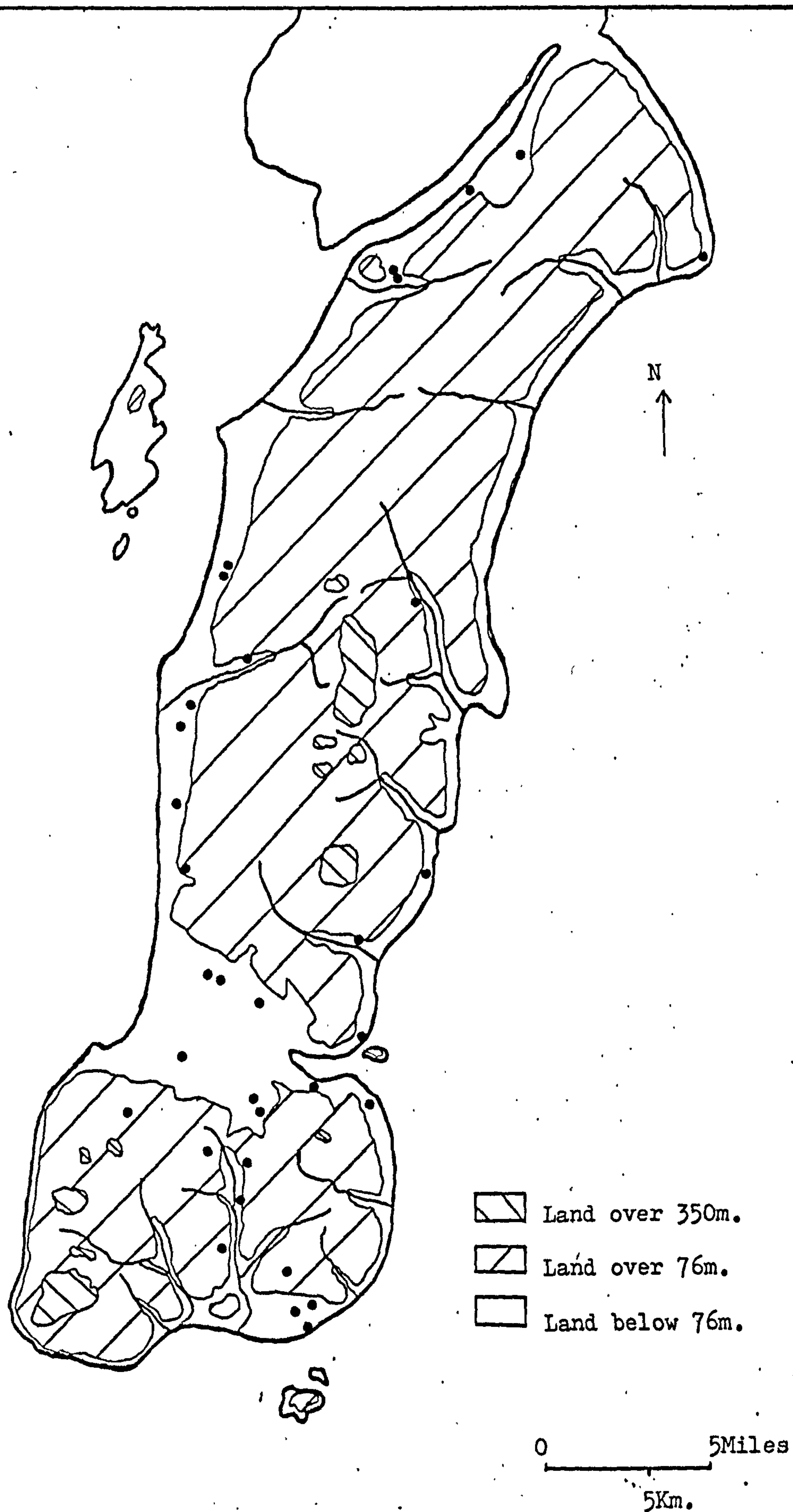


Fig.12 The Location of Kil--Place Names in Kintyre.
(from 1:50,000 O.S.maps)

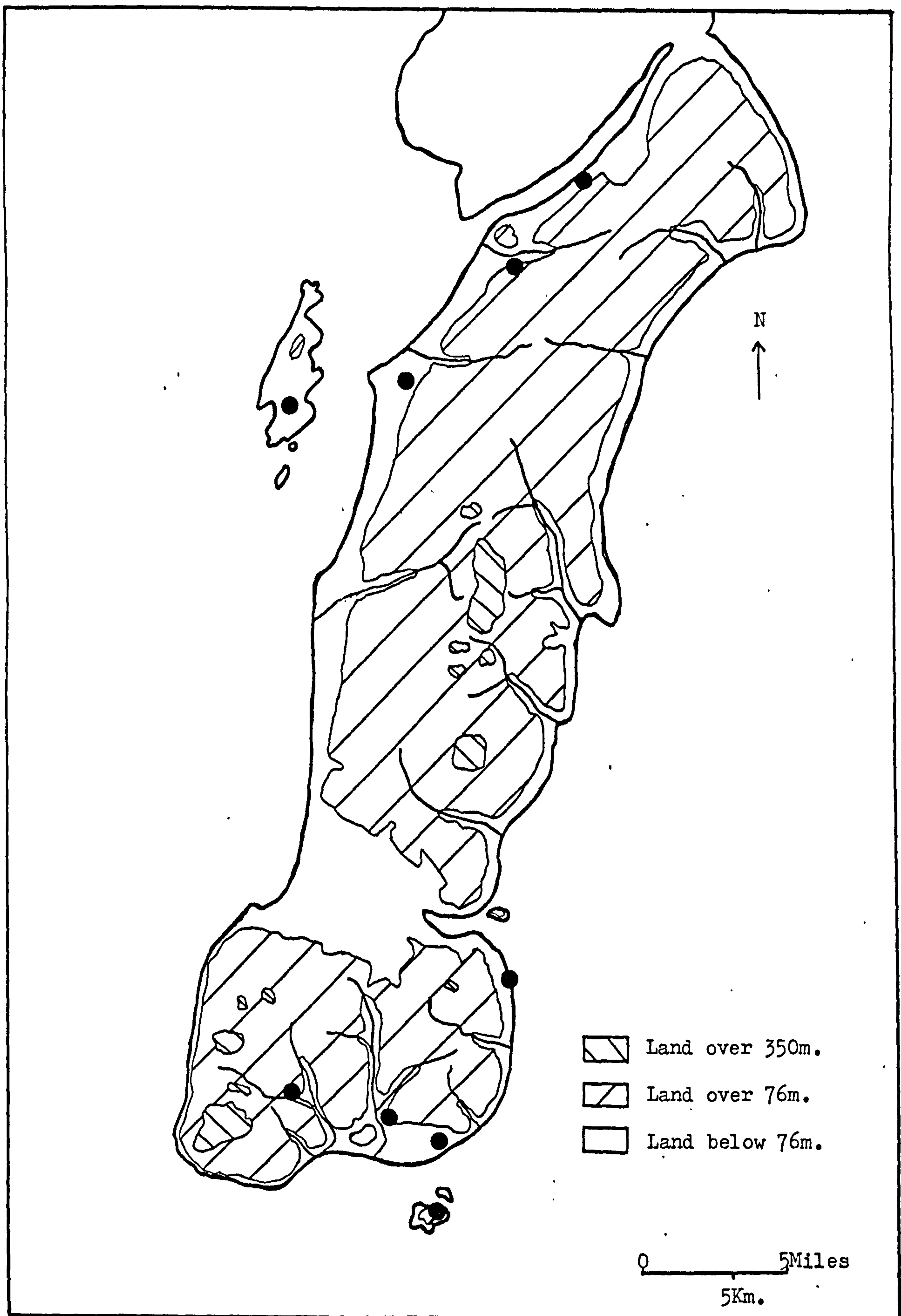


Fig.13 Additional sites with possible dedications to Early Christian saints in Kintyre. (after R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971)

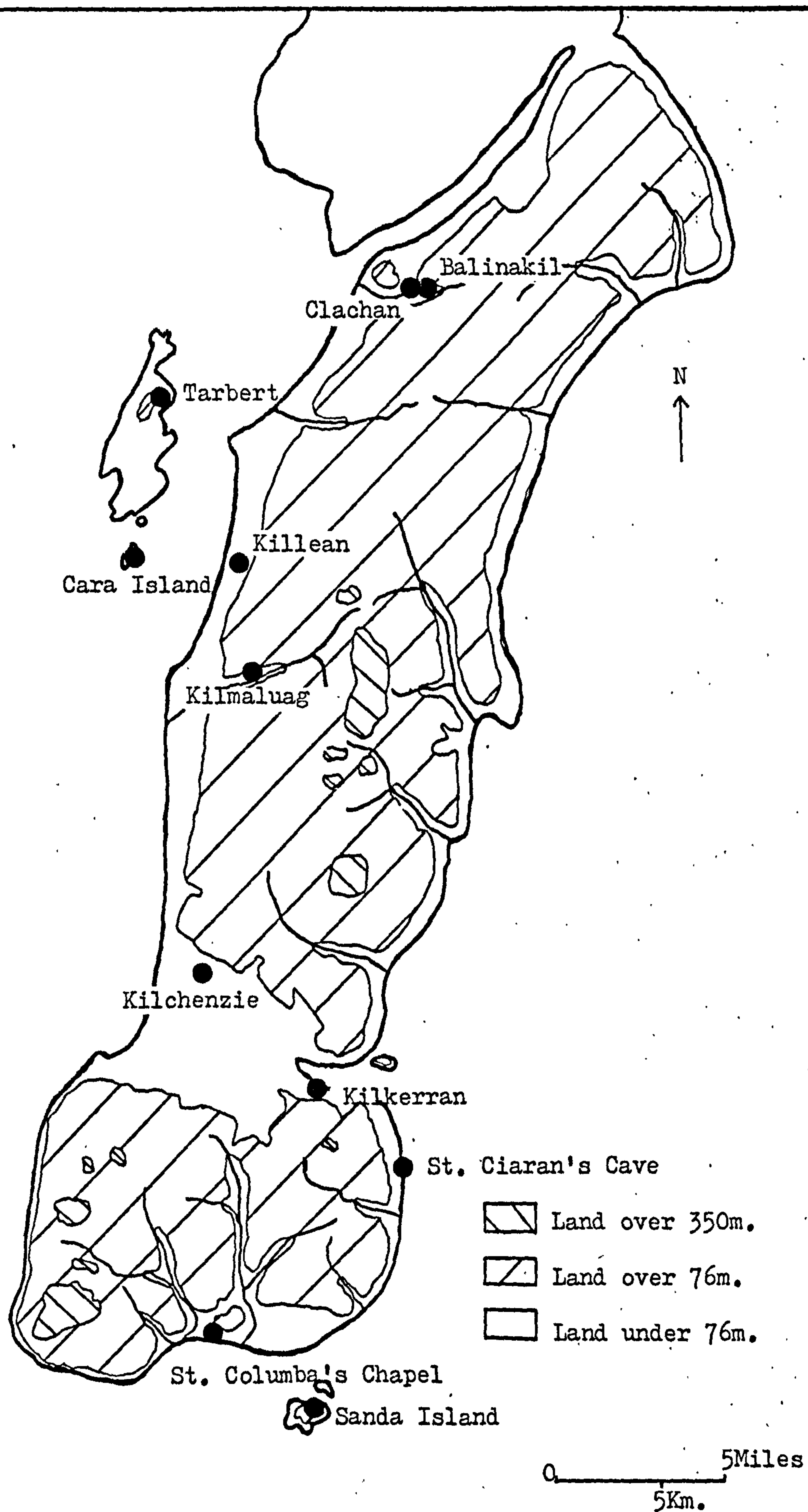


Fig. 14 The location of possible Early Christian stones and structures
in Kintyre. (from R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971)

his sons and those of Gabrán. The latter may have felt that they had previously been cheated of the Kingship. This idea of conflict is supported by the fact that genealogies indicate that it was a son of Gabrán, Aedán who succeeded Conall to the throne (Anderson 1980, 228-9).

In 681 A.D. the Annals of Tigernach record the death of Conall Cael, son of Duncan of Kintyre (Anderson 1922, 190). Variants on this indicate that he may have met a violent death, although no further details are provided. Finally in 807 A.D. the Annals of Ulster record the slaughter of Conall, Tadc's son, by Conall son of Aedán. This occurred in Kintyre (Anderson 1922, 259). Anderson notes that the Duan Albanach appears to suggest that both Conalls reigned for a while in Dalriada (1922, 259) although this is the only reference to this. If it is correct it may again imply conflict in Dalriada though it is impossible to say whether this related to the whole Kingdom or just the Cenél nGabráin.

The leaders of the Cenél nGabráin were Kings of Dalriada until the late 7th century when the Cenél Loairn rose to power. In the 9th century, however, the Cenél nGabráin rose to power again, and it was under their leader, King Cináed . Mac Alpin that Dalriada and Pictland were finally unified. Since Cináed was of the Cenél nGabráin it would seem likely that this group was the most closely involved in the transference of power to the east. The evidence for this period is, however, difficult to piece together. Possibly Cináed was accompanied to the east by a personal retinue which consisted largely of Cenél nGabráin leaders, and if Cináed was in a position to grant his followers land

in the east the Cené1 nGabráin may have been more favoured than other groups.

Within Kintyre excavations at the dun of Kildalloig indicated that it had been abandoned in the Early Historic Period (Bigwood 1966, R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 87-8). At Kildonan the site also seems to have been abandoned in the ninth century, although it was reoccupied around 300 years later (Fairhurst 1937). A similar situation may be reflected at Ugadale Dun (Fairhurst 1956). Exactly why such sites were abandoned at this time is difficult to assess, but it may in some way be related to the transference of power to the east. Unfortunately none of the suggested royal sites has been investigated by excavation, and hence we have no indication of how they were used, and whether they like Dunadd may have been abandoned at this period.

While some form of reorganisation may have occurred in Kintyre in the ninth century, which may have led to the abandonment of some defended sites, it is clear that the hierarchy of control within the area did not collapse. This is indicated by the paucity of evidence for Norse settlement and activity in the peninsula. If the events of the ninth century had weakened control over Kintyre it might be anticipated that the Norse would easily have made inroads into the area. In fact this appears not to have been the case. Nicholaisen's place-name analysis suggests that none of the names of the Kintyre peninsula contain Scandinavian elements. Of course this may reflect a re-Gaelicisation of the area after the Norse finally left, but the suggestion of limited Norse presence could also be

supported by the virtual absence of any other evidence for Norse presence in the peninsula. The only archaeological evidence for a Norse presence is a probable burial from Gigha (Anderson 1939; 17). The burial is of interest since the body was accompanied by a bronze balance and a group of weights (Plate 2). This may indicate that this Norwegian had been engaged in trading activity along the western coast of Scotland (cf. Chapter Sixteen). The burial is the only evidence for Norse activity on Gigha. Indeed it may reflect only the burial of a body on the island, and need not necessarily indicate settlement there. On the other hand if early Christian religious sites existed on the island it is possible that they may have been attacked by Viking raiders; hence opening the island for Norse settlement. There is, however, no corroborating evidence for such suggestion.

Some documentary evidence does exist which indicates that the Norse did attempt to claim Kintyre as part of their territories in the West of Scotland. At the close of the 11th century a major Norwegian expedition to western Scotland occurred led by the Norwegian King Magnus Barelegs (Duncan and Brown 1957). Magnus tried to demarcate his territory by sailing around it. During this activity an event recorded within the Orkneyinga Saga is said to have occurred. In order to claim Kintyre, Magnus is supposed to have had himself drawn across the narrow portage point at Tarbert sitting at the prow of his boat (Pálsson and Edwards 1978, 86). In doing so he attempted to claim that Kintyre south of this point was an island and hence could be seen as Norwegian



Plate 2 The Gigha balance and weights.

(photograph courtesy of Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow)

territory. As a result of this circumnavigation of the west coast, the first known agreement between the Scottish and Norwegian Kings delineating the territories held by each was reached (Duncan and Brown 1957). In relation to Kintyre, however, there is no corroborating evidence to support the incident at Tarbert, and while the Norwegians may have attempted to lay claim to Kintyre it is clear that any such attempt failed. Duncan and Brown illustrate this by an examination of the extent of the diocese of Sodor. The latter was founded by the Norse around 1100 A.D., it extended over Bute, Arran, the Cumbraes and Gigha, but not Kintyre.

While the Norse may have been unable to claim Kintyre, it is clear that the Scottish Kings also lost direct control over the area. From the mid 12th century documentary sources indicate that the area was part of the territories held by the lords of the Isles. On the death of Somerled in the 12th century Kintyre and Islay were given to one of his sons. It is unclear exactly how early the Lords of the Isles were able to claim authority over Kintyre. Earlier discussion within the present work argued that the Lordship of the Isles may have had its origins in regroupings of political power within Dalriada in the 9th century. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that Kintyre was involved in the reorganisations which occurred then. It was not until 1266 that the Scottish crown regained some authority in the area. It was then that the Norse finally relinquished any claims to territorial holdings in the west of Scotland.

As a result of this the Scottish Kings established a series of Sheriffdoms in the west, one of which was based in Kintyre (Duncan and Brown 1957). Despite this, however, the Lords of the Isles continued to hold some power in the area until the 15th century.

Medieval settlement in Kintyre has been recorded at Kildonan Dun (Fairhurst 1939) Ugadale Dun (Fairhurst 1956) and the crannog of Lochan Duighaill (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 94-5). Some wheel-thrown pottery from Dùn Fhinn may also indicate medieval activity there (Bigwood 1966). The evidence from each of these sites, though, is scanty and they do not allow the reconstruction of the settlement pattern of the medieval period in Kintyre. Gailey located the remnants of many former settlements in the peninsula in his fieldwork (Fig. 15a). He argued that these were abandoned as a result of the agricultural improvements which were occurring from the 1730's in Kintyre (1961). He would argue that few of the sites would pre-date this period and many may not pre-date 1800 (1961, 97). It is clear that many of these sites exhibit several phases of reconstruction and are similar to sites on Islay for which Alcock and Alcock tentatively suggested a lengthy chronology of occupation and use (cf. Chapters Eleven and Sixteen). As such these sites might provide a key to a clearer understanding of former settlement sites in Kintyre. This might be particularly the case in the Mull of Kintyre which was converted into a sheep walk in the 19th century (Gailey 1961, 61). This led to the

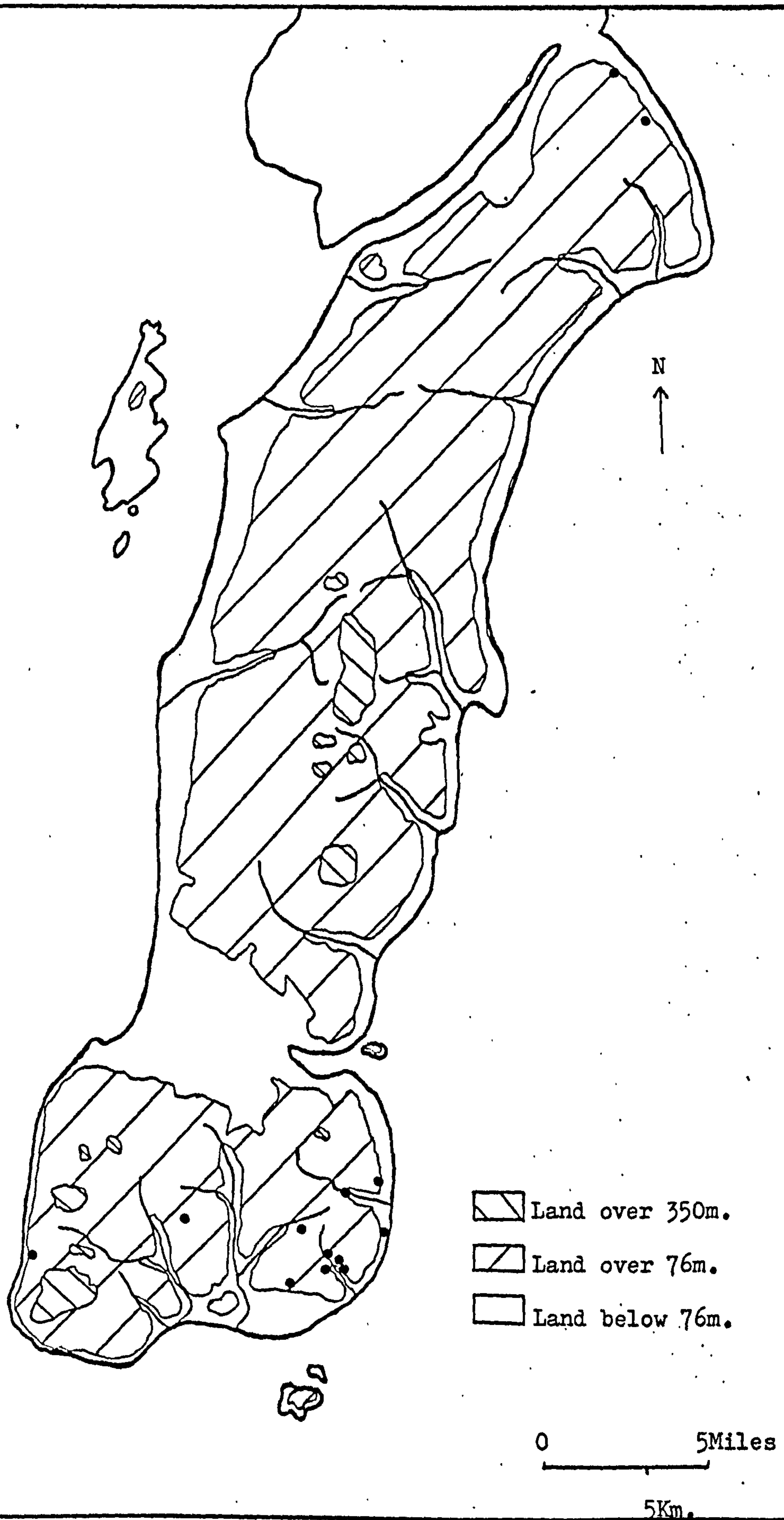


Fig. 15a The Location of Deserted Settlements noted by Gailey(1961)

abandonment of many former settlement sites. The Mull might provide the most profitable area within the peninsula in which to examine former settlement sites and patterns of land exploitation; since it was not subjected to the large scale improving practices of the lowlanders.

Analysis of the location of deserted settlements does provide an indication of former extensive patterns of land exploitation. A good example of this is the valley of Glenhervie in the south of the peninsula. Gailey illustrates that at the beginning of the 19th century seven groups of houses were inhabited in the glen, probably supporting twenty families (1961, 102). At this period most of the land below 450 ft. was cultivated in runrig (Fig. 15). During the period between 1818 and 1853 the whole of the valley of Glenhervie and its tributary glens became a single tenancy in the form of a sheep farm. Today only two settlements in the valley are occupied. Within the area examined by Gailey only one defended site - a dun - has been identified (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971, 86). The location of a single site in the area may support the suggestion that these sites may have been associated with a network of client settlements from which large areas of land could be cultivated and controlled. Unfortunately continued exploitation of the land within the valley as well as the improving activities of later inhabitants would appear to have destroyed all trace of earlier settlement sites.

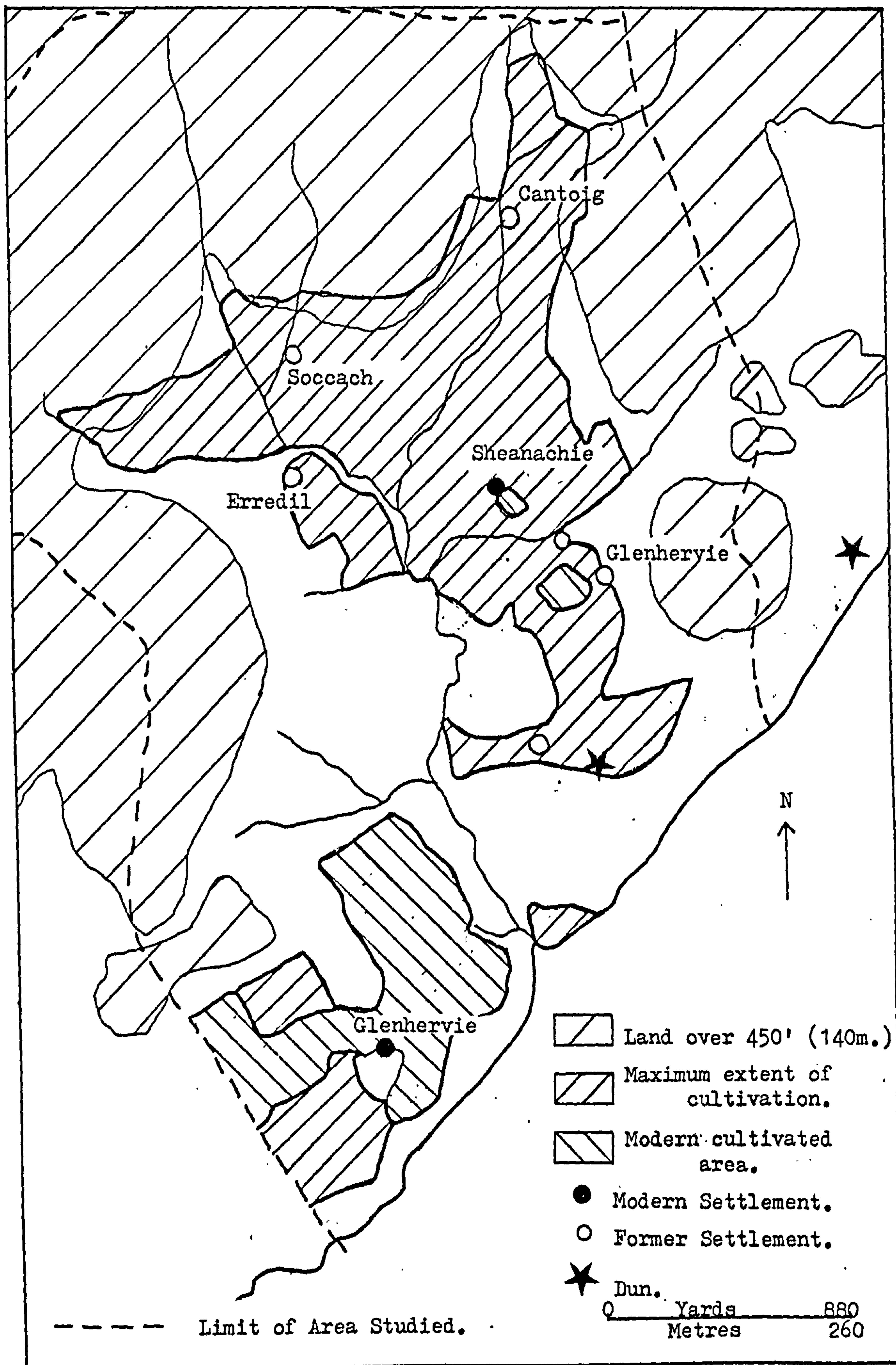


Fig.15 Present and Past Settlements and Land use in Glen Hervie.
(after Gailey 1961)

Kintyre Case Study: Footnotes.

(1) This evidence is discussed in greater depth in Chapters Seven and Fifteen.

(2) Of course up until the late 7th century the leaders of the Cené1 nGabráin were also Kings of Dalriada.

Case Study: The Island of Mull

The Island of Mull is the largest of the Inner Hebridean islands, and lies in the north of Argyll (Fig. 16). During the Early Historic Period Mull formed part of the territory of the Cenél Loairn. With the establishment of the monastic community on Iona, an island just west of Mull, the main centre for Christianity within Dalriada was established. The island was chosen as the basis for a case study for a variety of reasons.⁽¹⁾ The island was not an independent political unit as was Islay, and hence offers a contrast to the latter. Geologically the island differs from most of the rest of Argyll, and it was considered that this may have had a discernable impact upon the settlement pattern and land-use of the island. While the island lies towards the fringes of the territory controlled by the Kings of Dalriada, the location of Iona nearby makes it one of the most important areas of the Kingdom. One aim of the following study is to examine the possible relationship between the Iona community and Mull.

Geologically, Mull is formed largely of Tertiary igneous rocks, unlike most of the rest of Argyll which is formed largely of metamorphosed sedimentary rocks (Whittow 1979, 235). As a result of this the land-forms of Mull are more akin to those of Skye and Rhum further north, than to Islay and Jura to the south. The island can be divided into three main areas. The first is the north-western 'arm', the area north of Loch na Keal. This area is marked by a plateau surface which has been modified by ice to form a series of

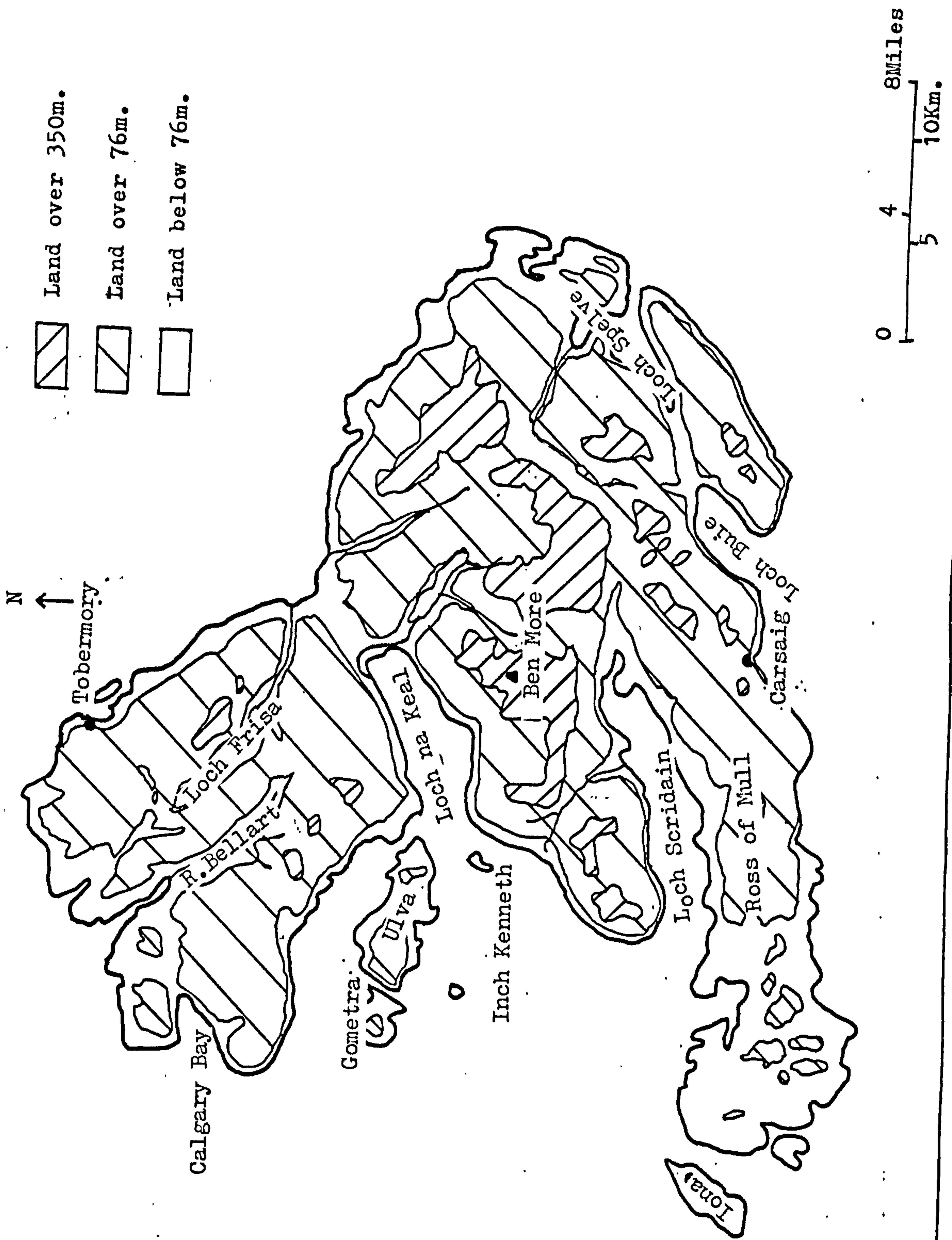


Fig. 16 The Island of Mull.

summits, the highest of which rises to over 400 m. Two major over-deepened valleys trend north-west to south-east, one is occupied by Loch Frisa, the other by the River Bellart. Along the west and south-west coast of this area a level shelf is located. This stands more than 30 m above the sea (Whittow 1979, 237). This is an example of a raised beach line. Generally the coastline of this northern peninsula is rugged and marked by cliff lines and shoals of rock. The only large bays are those of Calgary and Loch a Chunhainn, Tobermory and that offered by Loch na Keal itself.

To the south of this lies the central block of the island which consists of a much more dramatic scenery. It is a distinctly mountainous area, dominated by Ben More which rises to almost 1000 m. The latter mountain is surrounded by numerous lower summits which together have severely restricted and prohibited human activity over most of the area.

The third major part of the island, the Ross of Mull extends westwards from the central block. Geologically it is also composed of tertiary igneous rocks, but the landscape here is much less rugged, being marked by a series of low summits, the highest of which rise to just over 370 m. The western end of the arm is marked by a block of Caledonian granite which forms an area of peat-covered moorland.

Analysis of the geomorphology of the island offers one explanation of why Mull did not develop as an independent island entity. The central block of highland makes overland communication between the northern and southern arms of the island difficult. Such communication is limited largely to lengthy routeways around the coast, which thereby use the

lower fringes of the upland massif. Of course sea-borne transport may have been more important in early times, and hence the central area of mountains could easily have been by-passed. The use of such sea-borne communication however, would also have hindered the development of Mull as an independent unit. The reason for this is that the island lies very close to the mainland of Argyll, in particular the Ardnamurchan peninsula. Hence it would have been as easy to reach the mainland as it was other parts of Mull.

In theory the igneous rocks of which Mull is formed could weather to produce good fertile soils, useful for agricultural purposes. In practice, however, the slope profile, climate and drainage characteristics of the upland terrain has precluded such development over much of the island. Figure 17 presents a map of soil associations which have arable potential (after The Macaulay Institute 1982, Vol. 4). The best soils on the island are concentrated in the north and south of the island, in each case being particularly prevalent alongside the coast, on the lower fringes of the upland areas. In the north they have also developed on the raised beach areas. There are several small pockets of very good land on the island. Whittow notes an area in the south-east between Loch Buie and Loch Spelve where rocks have eroded to produce a good soil in a glacially carved valley. This material is also supplemented by glacial deposits (Whittow 1979, 246-7) and the fertility of the area has gained it the title of the "Garden of Mull". Another such area is located around Carsaig on the south-east coast of the island where a combination of basaltic lavas and Mesozoic rocks

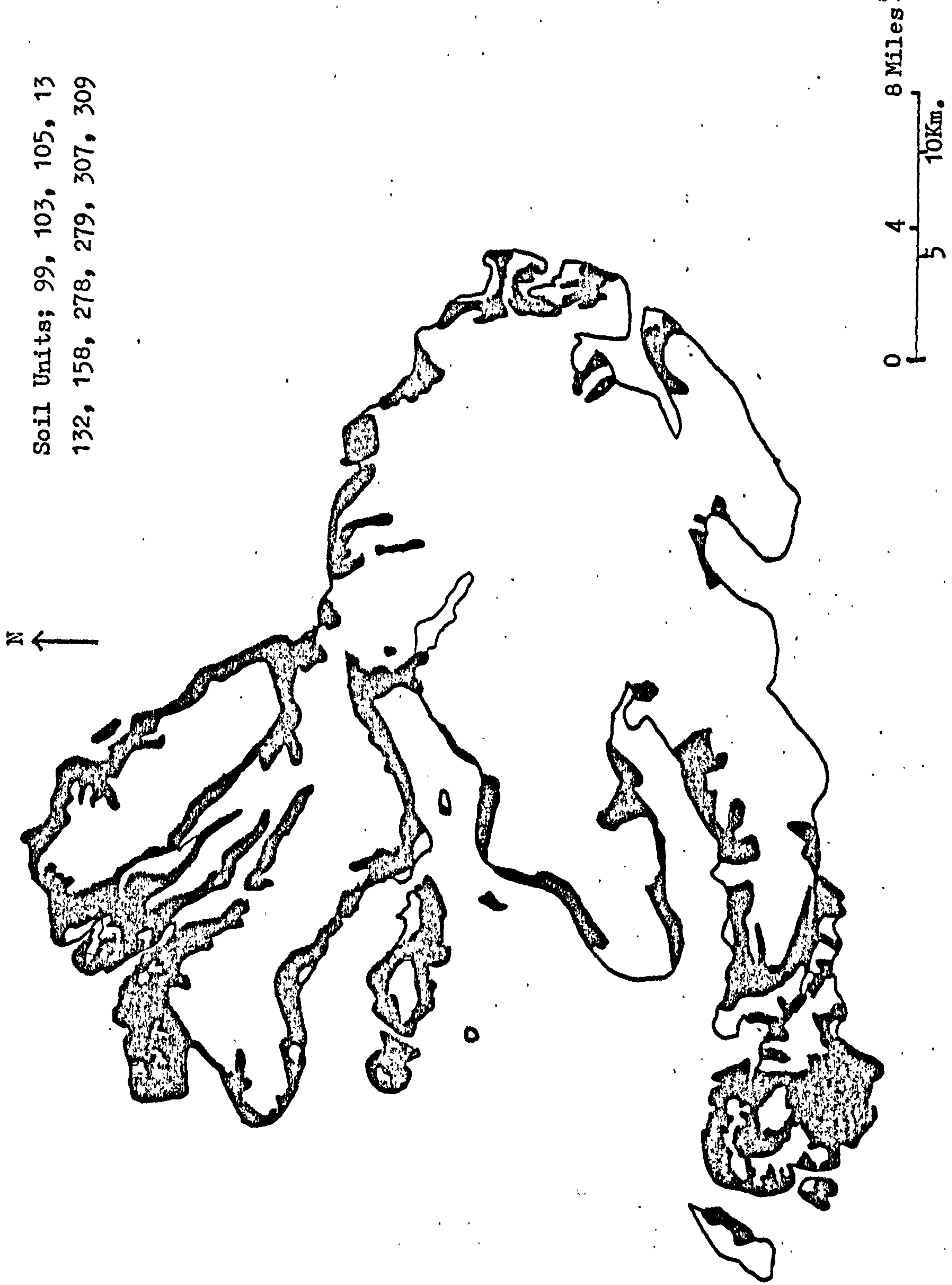


Fig. 17 The Location of Land with Arable Potential on Mull.
(After Macaulay Institute 1982 ; 4)

have formed a tiny pocket of rich calcareous soil (Whittow 1979, 247). As elsewhere in Argyll the map presented here probably does not indicate the full extent of lands which have formerly been cultivated.

In the case of Mull, analysis of ^{The} Old Statistical Accounts indicate that while cultivation was occurring in the island in the 18th century, it was severely limited by the poor quality of soils. Most land is described as harsh, and suited only to rough pasture.

Climatically Mull can be compared with the rest of Argyll, having a mild climate due to the modifying influence of the sea. Because of the presence of the highland areas of the island rainfall is much heavier than elsewhere. Around Ben more, for example, precipitation can rise to 2500 mm per annum.

As elsewhere in Argyll human activity is attested on Mull from the Mesolithic period onwards (cf. R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980). The island was known to the Romans and was included in the work of Ptolemy, and within the Ravenna cosmography. In both sources it is named as Malaios Insula. This has been argued to be a British name meaning hill-island (Rivet and Smith 1979, 409). Nothing other than the name was, however, recorded in these early sources.

Defended settlements, forts, duns, brochs and crannogs are numerous on the island (Fig. 18). The two main concentrations of such settlements lie in the north and south-west of the island respectively. This is not really surprising since these are the two main areas most conducive to settlement, and provide the largest areas of land suited to agricultural

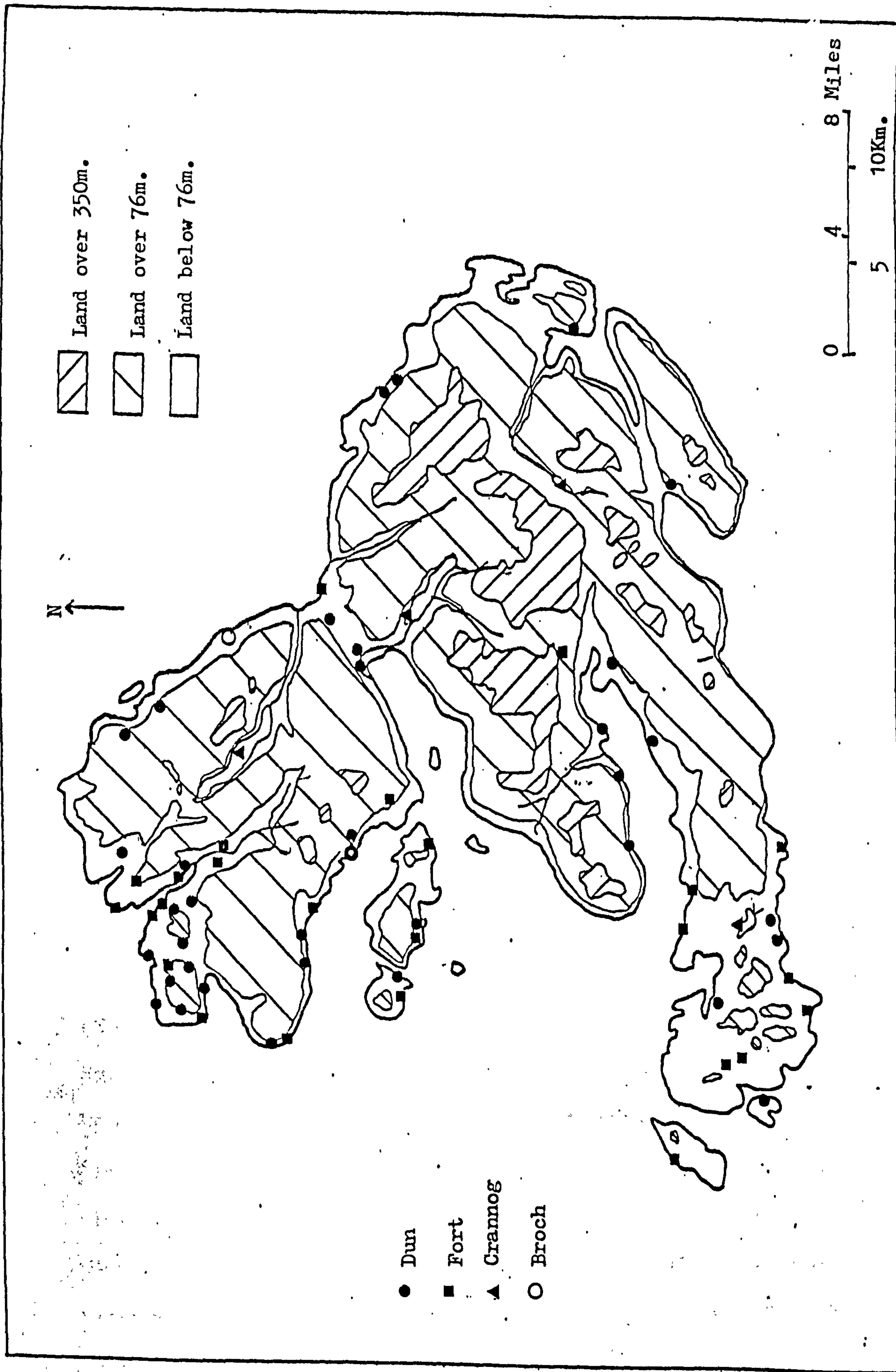


Fig.18 The Location of the Defended Settlements of Mull.

(from R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980)

purposes. Dating of the majority of these sites must be based upon analogy with the rest of Argyll. Only three sites have been excavated at all. Partial excavation of the entranceway to the fort of Creag a' Chaisteil provided evidence for internal timber buildings with wattle and daub walls, but no dating evidence. The fort of Dùn Cúl Bhuirg on Iona has been subjected to several small excavations between 1957 and 1968. The results of these were never fully published by the excavators, and only a summary account of the site exists (Ritchie and Lane 1980). The only dating evidence from the site is based upon hand-made pottery for which Lane suggests a date between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D.

The only dun which has been partially examined is that of An Caisteal which produced no dating evidence (Fairhurst 1962). The problems associated with the excavator's interpretation of this site as a defensive platform rather than a defended homestead were discussed earlier in the present work. (Chapter Seven).

The crannogs of Mull are of interest since several have documentary references to occupation in the medieval period. The site of Caisteal Eoghainn à Chinn Bhig, Loch Squabain (Plate 3) has recorded occupation in the mid 16th century (Munro 1961; 61) as has the site of Loch Bà. The Loch Squabain site is traditionally associated with the local house of Lochbuie. The crannogs of Eilean Analaig, Loch Spelve and Eilean Bàn, Loch Frisa both have masonry walls upon them, and may also have been occupied during the medieval period. In the absence of excavation of these crannog sites their origins cannot be ascertained. The



Plate 3 Crannog Caisteal Eoghainn a' Chinn Bhig, Loch Sguabain, Mull. (Nieke August 1981)

connection of some with important local lineages of the medieval period is of interest. It may be that they formed the centre of estates in the manner recently suggested by Crawford (1983). If this was the case, further examination of them might provide an important key to understanding the medieval settlement pattern of the island.

The location of the forts of Mull is worthy of further comment since of the 24 known examples, 14 (i.e. 58%) occupy promontory locations, many of which are defended only by a single wall which was drawn across the headland. Such promontory sites are more frequent on Mull than is generally the case in Argyll. Without excavation it is difficult to ascertain the significance of this. It may reflect an economy more closely tied to exploitation of sea-resources. Alternatively it may be that such coastal promontories, which are a common feature of the Mull coastline provided more prestigious locations than inland hills. The latter are often difficult to distinguish one from another.

The largest fort on the island is the site of Sloc a Mhuilt which has an area of over 1 hectare. It is clear, however, that much of the interior of this site was occupied by bedrock outcrops, which would have restricted the usable area within the enclosure. Hence it may not have been much different to the majority of other sites on the island, the size of which is similar to those of the rest of Argyll (cf. Chapter Six).

The duns of Mull are generally comparable with sites in the rest of Argyll in terms of their constructional details

and the types of location used, although a greater proportion of the sites exhibit the use of architectural features such as intramural cells and stairways, and complex entrance features (cf. Chapter Seven). The explanation for this offered earlier was that Mull lay towards the northern limits of the main dun distributions, and nearer areas in which broch-type architecture predominates. Because of this a certain intermixing of architectural traditions as seen here might be anticipated. Another noticeable feature of the duns of Mull is their small size, since 55% of the sites have an area of under 99 sq. m. The only other area where dun-sites are similarly of small size is on the island of Tiree. Without excavation it is difficult to assess why these sites are so small. Earlier discussion noted that the size of sites could relate to a variety of factors including whether the site was fully roofed or not, the size of community inhabiting it, and their social status. It is possible that their small size may be indicative of the limited availability of cultivable land on the island. This, however, may be an over simplistic argument, particularly if it is correct to interpret these sites as being maintained by a network of client settlements. Were amounts of cultivable land limited it might be anticipated that sites such as duns would be similar to those of other areas, but their distribution would be less dense. An alternative suggestion would be that, being located on the northern fringes of Dalriada, the inhabitants of such sites were not as closely involved in the exchange systems which were helping maintain the mainland

groups, and hence settlements here were less wealthy.

Fourteen of the 33 (i.e. 42%) of the dun sites of Mull have external outworks of some kind. In some instances these form short lines protecting or sheltering the entranceway to a site, as at Dùn Scobuill. Elsewhere they may define outer working areas as possibly at Dun Tòrr a' Chaisteil, Dùn Haun and Dùn Bhuirg. While considering outworks the most interesting are those associated with the site of Cnoc na Sròine, which is the largest dun site on the island (Fig. 19). Adjacent to the dun lies a stone wall enclosing an area of approximately 3200 sq. m. (80 m by 40 m). The relationship of this outer enclosed area to the dun cannot be clearly demonstrated without excavation, but the fact that it swings in direction next to the dun, rather than attempting to enclose all of the hilltop has been taken to imply it may be contemporary with the dun. If this is indeed the case then further comment is required. A possible explanation of this enclosure, which is by far the largest associated with any dun in Argyll, would be that it formed a cattle enclosure. As cattle were often used as an expression of wealth, the maintenance of a large herd would imply the inhabitants were of high social status. A major problem with such an explanation, though, would be that it does not explain why such large enclosures are not^{more} commonly associated with defended sites.

Two sites on Mull have been classified by the R.C.A.H.M.S. as brochs (1980, 21-3; 90-1; 94). Of these the site of Dun nan Gall (Plate 4) exhibits a number of typical supposed broch features, including door checks, a bar hole, intramural

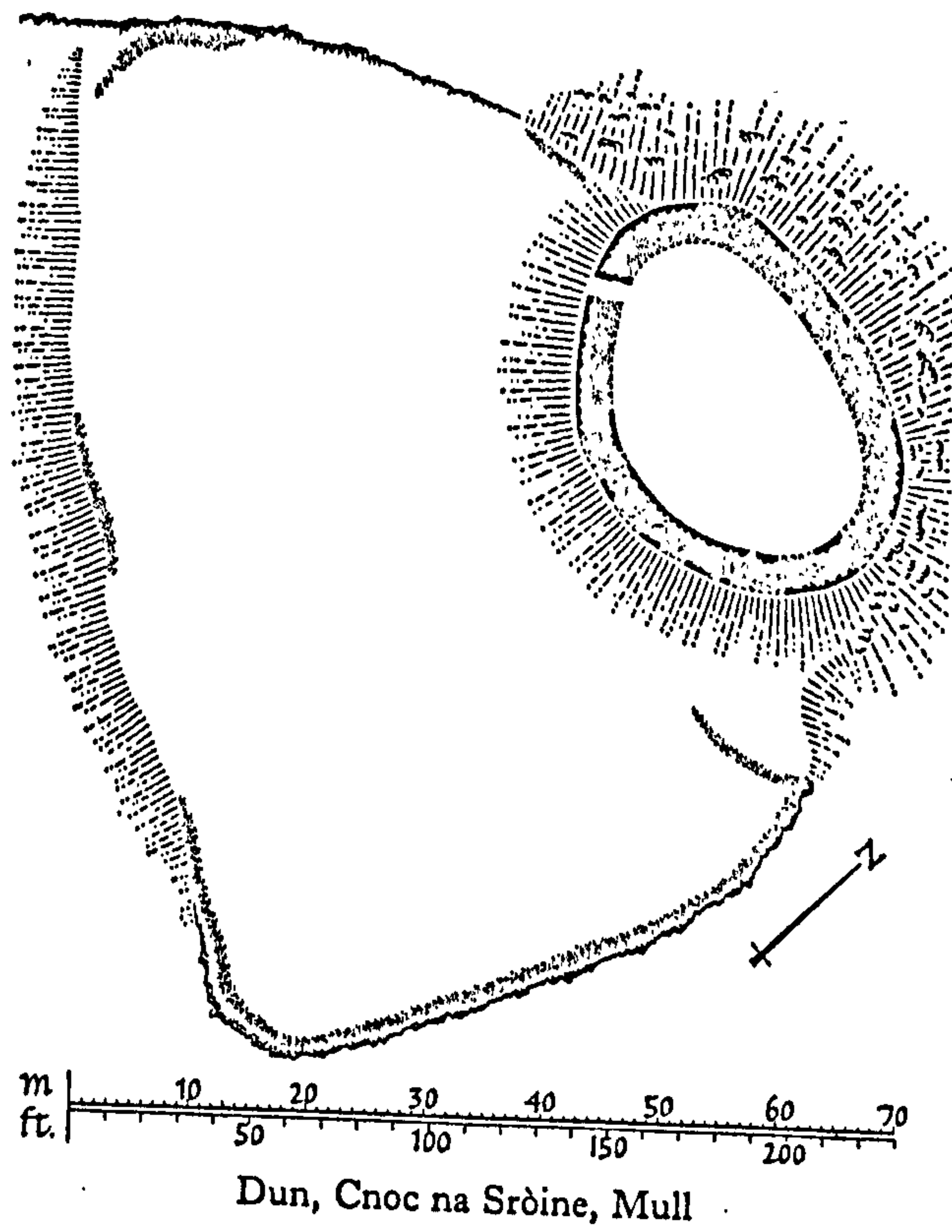


Fig. 19 Cnoc na Sròine dun and its associated enclosure.

(from R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980)



Plate 4 Dùn nan Gall Broch, Mull. (Nieke August 1981)

stairway, an intramural gallery with several entrances from the interior, and a scarcement level. The site of Ardnacross is heavily overgrown by turf, but features such as door-checks and an intramural gallery are visible. While these sites are slightly more complex architecturally than other sites on the island, they are not really dissimilar from the duns of An Sean Dùn and Dùn Aisgain (cf. Chapter Eight). Hence it is questionable to what extent such sites are really distinct from the mass of duns.

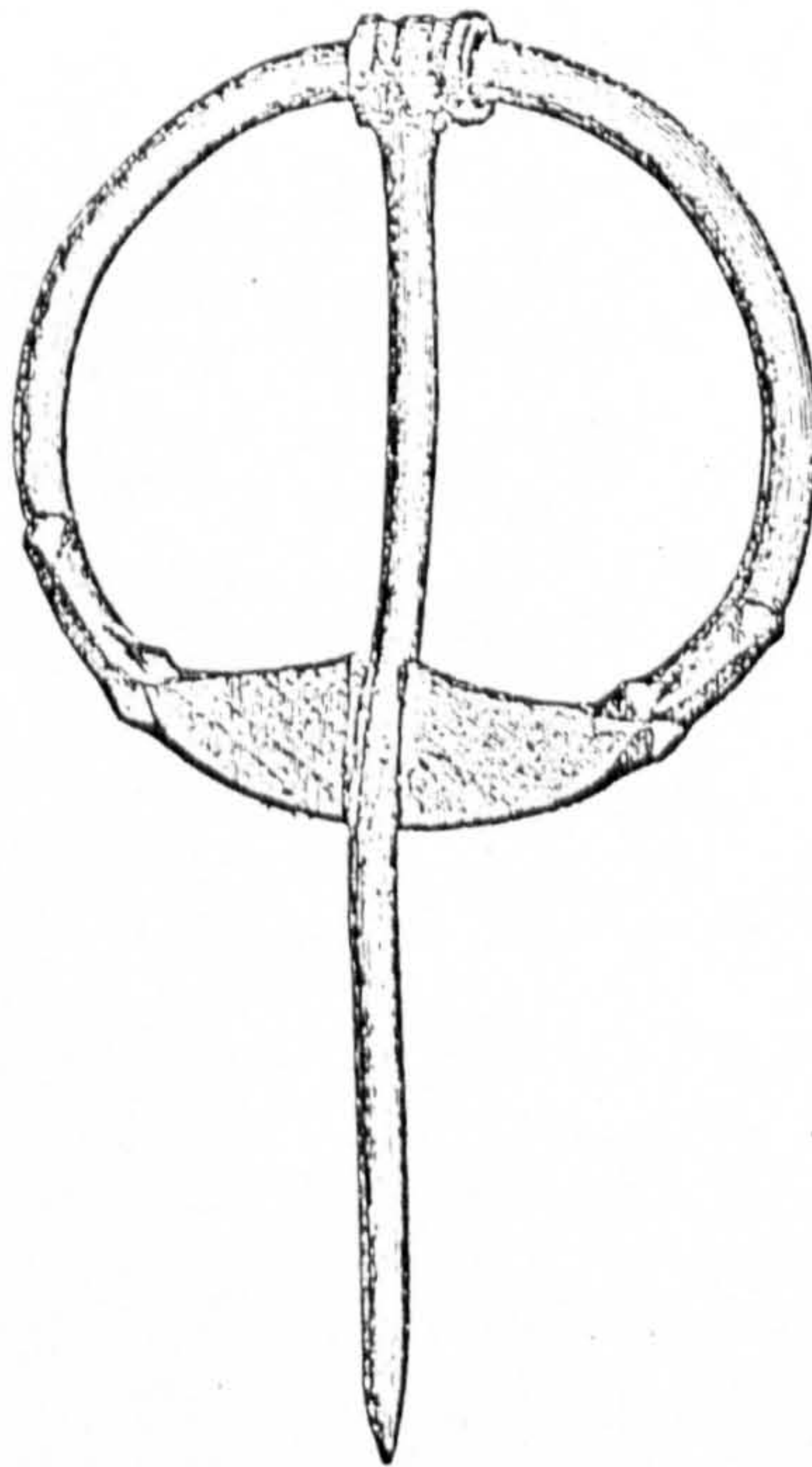
By analogy with the rest of Argyll the large hillforts may have been occupied at the beginning of the 1st millennium A.D. Subsequently smaller settlement sites, such as duns and crannogs may have become more important, and many of the latter sites may have been occupied during the Early Historic Period.

During the historically documented period between 500 A.D. and the mid 9th century we know very little about Mull, apart from a few comments contained within Adomnan's Life of Columba. No recorded place, event or personage of importance can really be associated with the island. Bannerman argues that the island formed part of the territory of the Cenél Loairn. This assertion was based on the suggestion that islands further north, including Tiree and Coll, and part of Ardnamurchan lay within the Kingdom. Hence it seemed likely that Mull, which lay between the Cenél Loairn holdings on the mainland, and these islands, also belonged to them. As noted earlier, the civil survey contained within the Senchus Fer nAlban subdivides the 'tige' held by the Cenél

Loairn among its leaders (cf. Chapter Thirteen). Unfortunately, however, none of these can be associated with Mull, and hence the detailed analysis of the content of the document undertaken for the Islay study cannot be provided for Mull.

The absence of references to Mull within documentary sources is somewhat surprising when it is considered that the majority of these were probably compiled within the Iona scriptorium. This being the case, it might be considered that local events and people might be more specifically noted within the documentary record being produced. Of course the Iona community were most closely involved with the rulers of the Kingdom, who were probably based on the mainland in Lorn, Mid-Argyll or Kintyre, and documents such as the Senchus Fer nAlban (presuming that it was compiled on Iona) were being produced for these groups. Even so the absence of references to local surroundings is strange. It may reflect a deliberate policy on the part of the Iona community not to acknowledge any local group within the documentary sources they were producing.

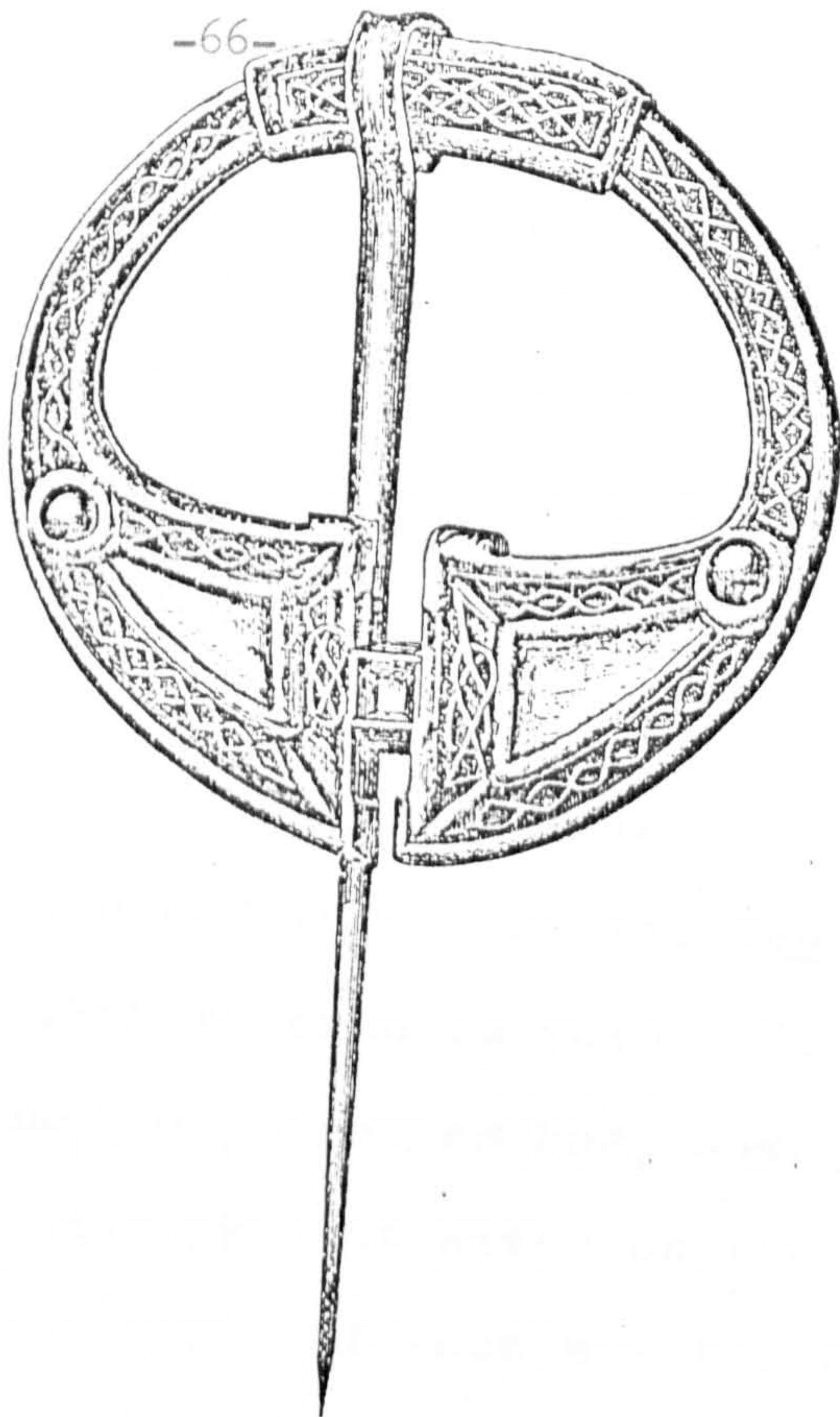
The archaeological evidence for activity on the Island (excluding Iona) is limited. The only artefactual evidence is a bronze penannular brooch from an unknown location (Anderson 1881, 15) (Fig. 20). This is a fairly simple ^{of zoomorphic form,} brooch which probably dates to the 6th century A.D. (H.B. Duncan, pers. comm.). Two other penannular brooches are also recorded from Mull; (Anderson 1881, 12; 14) (Fig. 21) unfortunately the provenance of these two brooches is also unknown. The two brooches are stylistically of later date



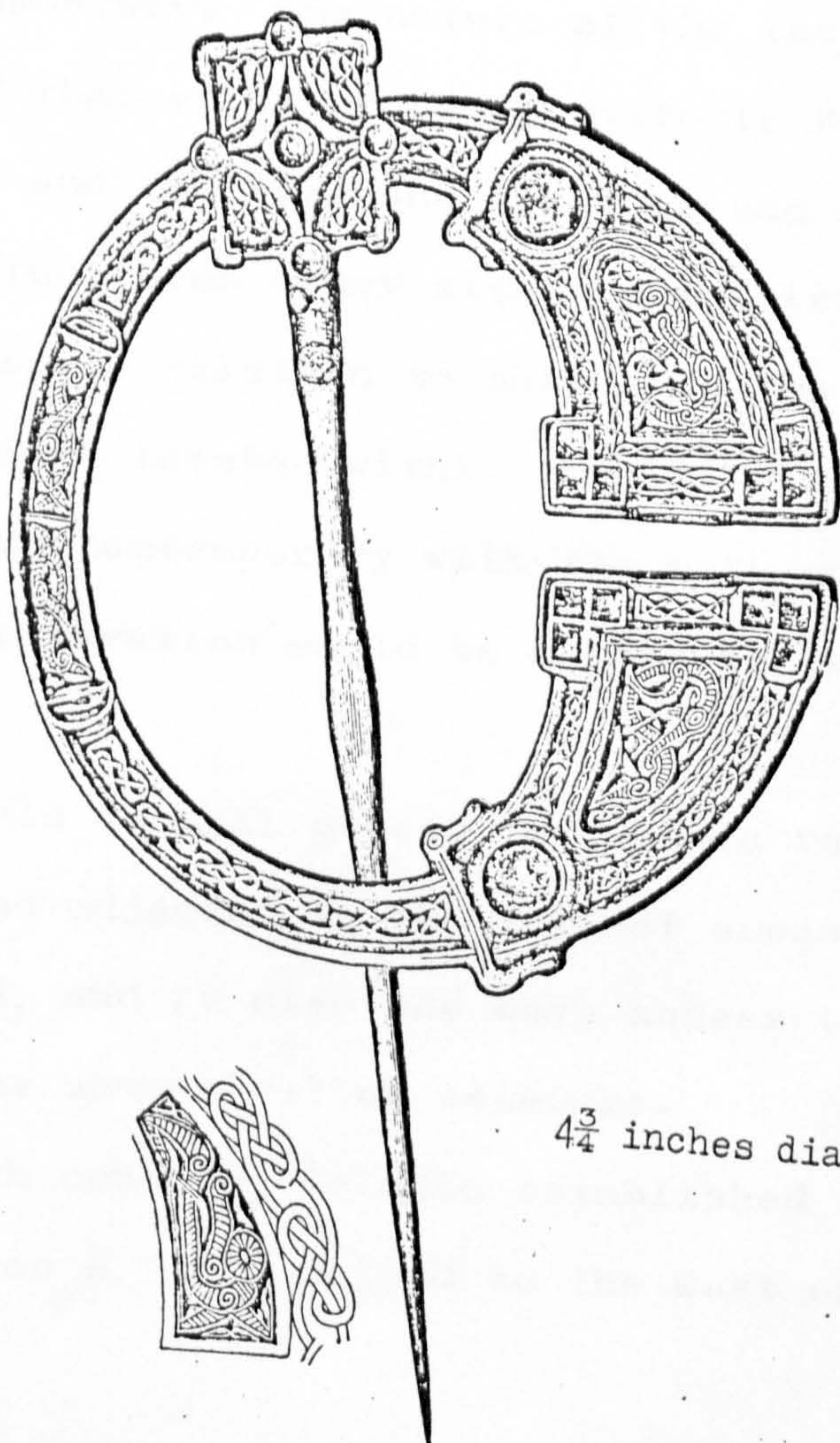
(2½ inches diameter).

Fig. 20 Bronze brooch from Mull.

(from Anderson 1881)



-Bronze Brooch found in Mull (actual size).



$4\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter.

Fig. 21 Bronze brooches from Mull. (from Anderson 1881)

than the example discussed above. Both probably date to the 8th or 9th centuries (H.B. Duncan and A.M. Lane, pers. comm.) and are examples of a distinctly Celtic style of brooch.

By analogy with the rest of Dalriada at least one Royal Fortification might be anticipated on the island to provide a centre at which Kings and rulers of the Cenél Loairn could collect and consume tribute owed to them. None of the sites recorded within documentary sources has, however, been identified on Mull. Analysis of sites on the ground does suggest one possible example of such a site, this being Dùn na Muirgheidh on the Ross of Mull (Fig. 22; Plate 5). This is a small stone-walled fort with outworks located on a low coastal promontory. The nature of the location used is reminiscent of that of other Early Historic Fortifications (cf. Chapter Ten) and its size and location and structural form does make it distinct from other sites on the island. Of particular interest in relation to this site are two sub-rectangular buildings located within the interior of the site which might be contemporary with the main enclosing wall. Of course excavation would be needed to test such assumption.

This site would be well placed for such a royal site, since it is located adjacent to the largest areas of agricultural land on the island, and it also has easy access to the sea, and hence sea-borne communication networks.

In the mid 6th century, Columba established the monastic community of Iona on a small island to the west of the Ross

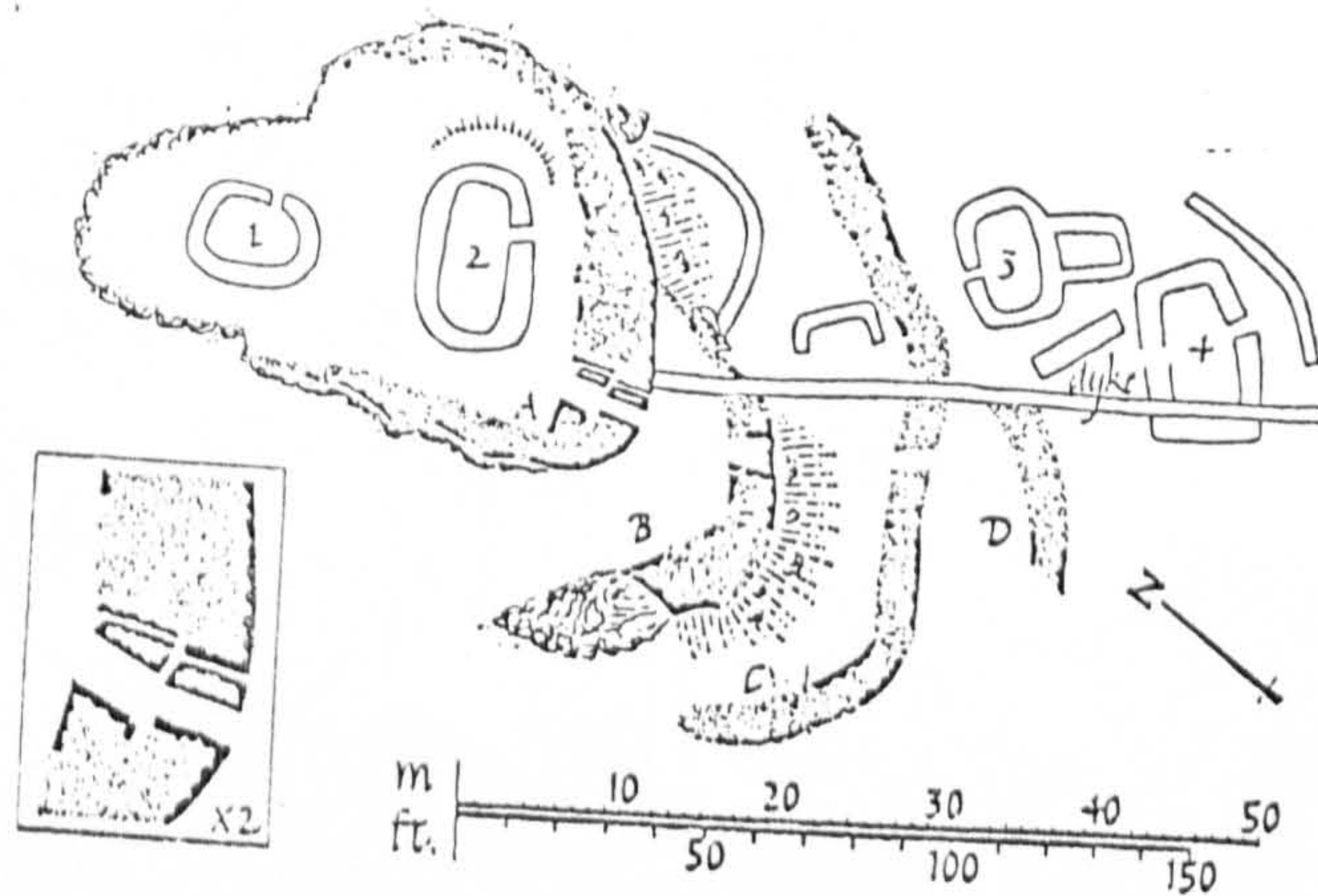


Fig. 22 Fort, Dùn na Muirgheidh, Mull.

(from R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980)



Plate 5 Dùn na Muirgheidh fort, Mull. (Nieke August 1981)

of Mull (Plate 6). In the present analysis it is not proposed to discuss the archaeological evidence for this establishment in detail, since this has been examined elsewhere (cf. Chapter Twelve). Instead, however, an attempt will be made to examine the relationship of the monastic community to the island of Mull.

Discussion must begin by considering how and why the religious community was able to establish themselves on Iona. It is normally understood that land for the establishment of monasteries was granted to ecclesiastical communities by local Kings. (cf. Chapter Twelve). In the case of Iona there is no record of such a grant. Adomnan implies that all of the area west of the spine of highland in the east of Argyll belonged to Dalriada, and hence Iona was also originally controlled by the Dalriadic Kings (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 76). In contrast, however, Bede specifically states that Iona was granted to Columba by the Picts (H.E. III:3). It is apparent though that this statement must be treated with considerable caution. (cf. Chapter Thirteen). Bede obtained his information on Dalriada via a Pictish source and hence it has a distinctive Pictish gloss to it. In suggesting that Iona may have been Pictish a conflict between the Picts and Dalriada over the northern extent of Dalriadic territory may be illustrated. By arguing that Iona was a Pictish grant, presumably it was assumed that adjacent lands such as Mull and Ardnamurchan were also Pictish. This illustrates that in the early 8th century when Bede's work was completed there may still have been



Plate 6 The modern Abbey of Iona. (Nieke August 1981)

dispute over the northern extent of Dalriadic territory. Such conflict over who actually controlled this area of Argyll may even have led the Dalriadic Kings to grant Iona to Columba. The political control of the Dalriadic Kings was probably weakest in such peripheral areas of their territory. Hence by granting an area within it to the early Church they may have been able to strengthen their control over it, since it could then be controlled by the Kings by the monastic community. Since the Dalriadic Kings were Christian, in contrast to their Pictish neighbours, it was likely that the community would continue to favour them with their support.

Being the founding monastery in Dalriada, Iona was the largest and most important monastery in Dalriada. It was also one of the most important monastic sites in North Britain as a whole. In the 7th century members of the Bernician royal dynasty including Oswald and Oswiu were in exile in Dalriada, during which time they may have visited Iona. Certainly they later extended patronage to Iona which allowed the monastery to establish subject houses in Northumbria. Because of this Iona was probably the largest monastic community within Dalriada with a large number of monks, and also sufficient resources to support visiting ecclesiastics and laity. This must raise the question of how such a community was supported.

Recent excavations on Iona illustrate that cultivation and stock rearing was occurring on the island (cf. Chapter Three). It is questionable, however, whether the island of Iona was large enough to provide resources to maintain

the whole community. Indeed it was argued earlier that the community was hunting wild animals which cannot have been restricted to Iona itself; and Adomnan's Life of Columba specifically states that the monks had rights to cull the seal population on some unidentified neighbouring islands (cf. Chapter Three). These resources were avidly guarded, and Adomnan tells how the monks set out for Mull to seek out a thief named Erc who was hiding there. His crime had been to steal seals from a nearby island which were seen as the property of the Iona community (I:41).

The monastic community was able to exact tribute from its subject houses, of which several existed within Dalriada. Hence the Abbot of Iona could request a community on Tiree to provide an animal and measures of grain to a thief (I:41). This is of particular interest since it suggests that the Iona community could request other houses to move such tribute around the Kingdom. This can be contrasted with the situation of the Kings of Dalriada whom, it has been argued, had to be peripatetic and move around to collect and consume tribute owed to them.

In addition to tribute exacted from subject houses, the Iona community probably received extensive grants of land, or the products of land, or other gifts all of which were used to support the activities of the early Church. While the above resources may have provided some support for the Iona community it is difficult to assess whether these were extensive or sufficient to fully support the community. It could be speculated however that they may, initially at least, have provided an insufficient and unreliable means of

support.

In particular the provision of regular supplies to the island from other areas of the Kingdom may have occurred on an irregular basis, being heavily reliant on good weather conditions for the sea-voyages involved. Because of such factors, the Iona community may have felt it important to gain land, or the products of the land from areas in the vicinity of the island, to provide an assured source of food resources. Hence the community may have built up a sizeable estate, which, because of the proximity of Mull, may have been concentrated there. This could then have been cultivated by monastic tenants or Manaig (cf. Chapter Fifteen) and may not have been dissimilar from large secular estates. With this in mind it is perhaps no surprise that the community was located on Iona, adjacent to the Ross of Mull which provides the best agricultural land on the island. Certainly the monks had rights to claim some resources from the vicinity of Mull, the seal communities mentioned earlier probably inhabited an island nearby, while the monks may also have been exploiting the wild deer communities of Mull. Timber resources could also be collected from other regions, and Anderson and Anderson argue that wattles used in construction may have been collected from Mull . (1961, 118; 329). In addition numerous local traditions link areas of Mull with Iona. Of course many of these may have been of much later origin, but one is of particular interest. This is associated with the island of Inch Kenneth which is often described as the granary of Iona. There is no evidence to support this within Adomnan's Life of Columba. but the island does have a

chapel upon it dedicated to Cinaed, supposedly a contemporary of Columba.

Hence a close and important link may have existed between Iona and mainland Mull. If land on the island was granted to the monastic community it may have been given by the Kings of Dalriada, or perhaps by local kindred groups. The close proximity of Iona to Mull may have meant that the secular population there was more aware of the new religion, and hence more easily persuaded to alienate land to the church. The absence of documentary records to people or places on Mull may imply that there were few important local leaders who might have opposed such alienation of land to the Church. Alternatively some may have existed, but they were deliberately excluded from record within the documentary records. This may reflect a deliberate policy on the part of the Iona community not to provide any written acknowledgement of claims of local leaders.

A major unresolved problem in relation to the above discussion is the close proximity of Iona, and the fort of Dùn na Muirgheidh mentioned earlier. If the latter is correctly identified as an Early Historic Fortification this would illustrate the close relationship between the King and the religious community. If, however, both were the centres of sizeable estates run by large numbers of client settlements tension between the two centres may have existed, since the amount of land available locally is finite, and claims to it or its products may well have conflicted.

Throughout the rest of Mull, the location of Kil- place names, sites dedicated to possibly early saints and incised

stones implies a widespread acceptance of Christianity throughout the island (Figs. 23, 24, 25). Of particular interest are groups of early Christian carvings in two cases on the south coast. It is possible that locations such as these were used as retreats by early ecclesiastics from Iona who wished to seek quieter locations for contemplation.

In the late 8th century the first Viking activity is recorded on the west coast of Scotland. The community of Iona was a prime target for early raiding activity, probably because of the wealth it had amassed there. The first raids were recorded in annals for 795 A.D. (Anderson 1922, 256) and further ones in 802 A.D. and 806 A.D. (Anderson 1922, 258). A consequence of these raids was the eventual decision of the Iona community to leave the island and seek security at Kells in Ireland. The movement of the monastic community from Iona may have been a major blow to Mull, particularly if we are correct in suggesting the community may have held extensive lands on the island. The abandonment of Iona would have left the monastic estates undirected and may have caused local weaknesses which the incoming Norse could exploit. With this in mind it is perhaps not surprising that of the four settlement names containing Scandinavian elements identified by Nicholaisen on Mull^{two} are located on the Ross peninsula, adjacent to Iona (cf. Fig. 26). The movement of the Iona community to Ireland, may have meant that the incoming Norse were able to settle in areas of land previously held by, or under the control of the Church.

Considering the evidence for Norse activity on Mull as a whole there is surprisingly little. Nicholaisen was able

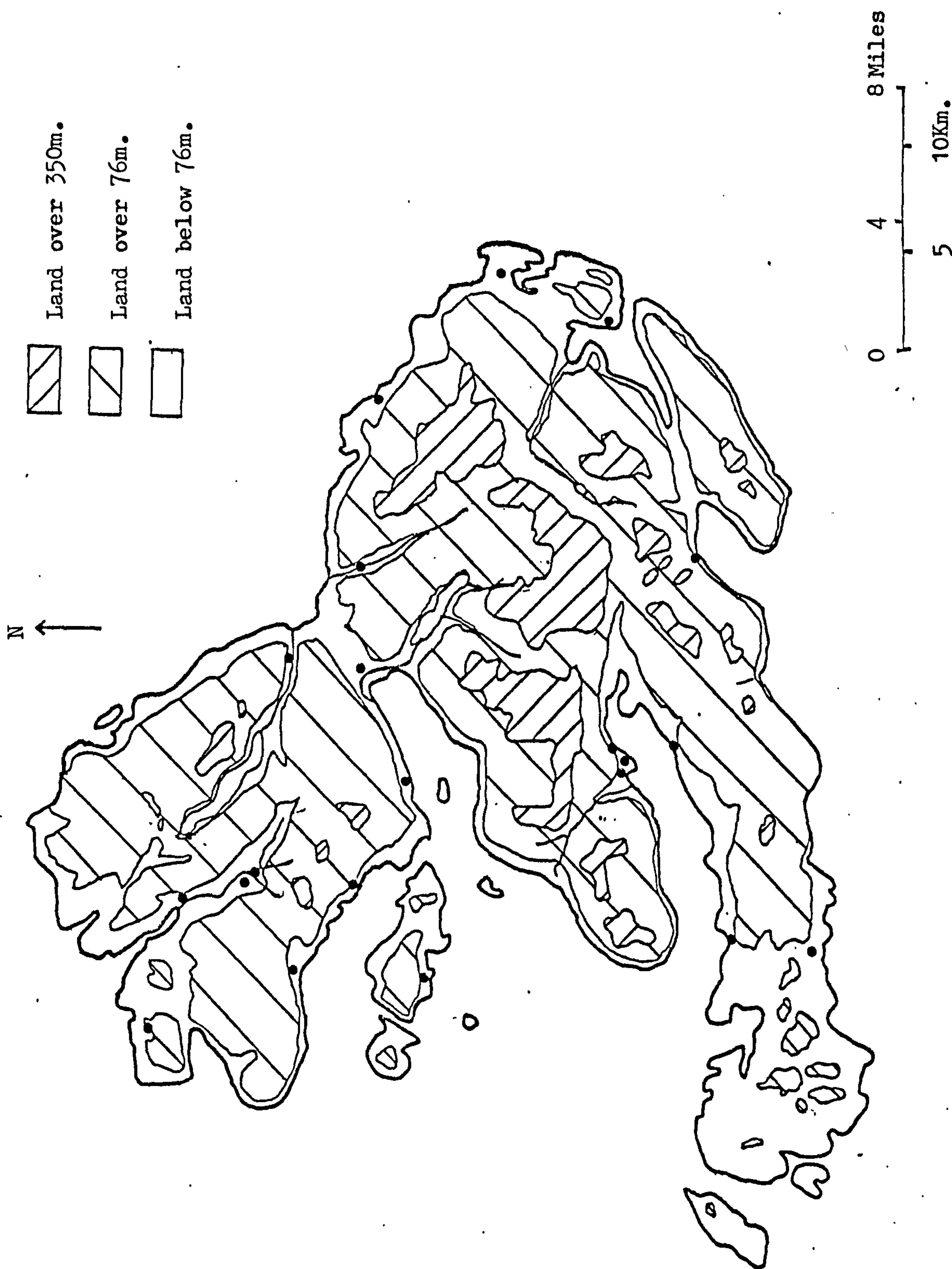


Fig. 23 The Location of Kil--- Place Names on Mull.
(from 1:50,000 O.S. maps)

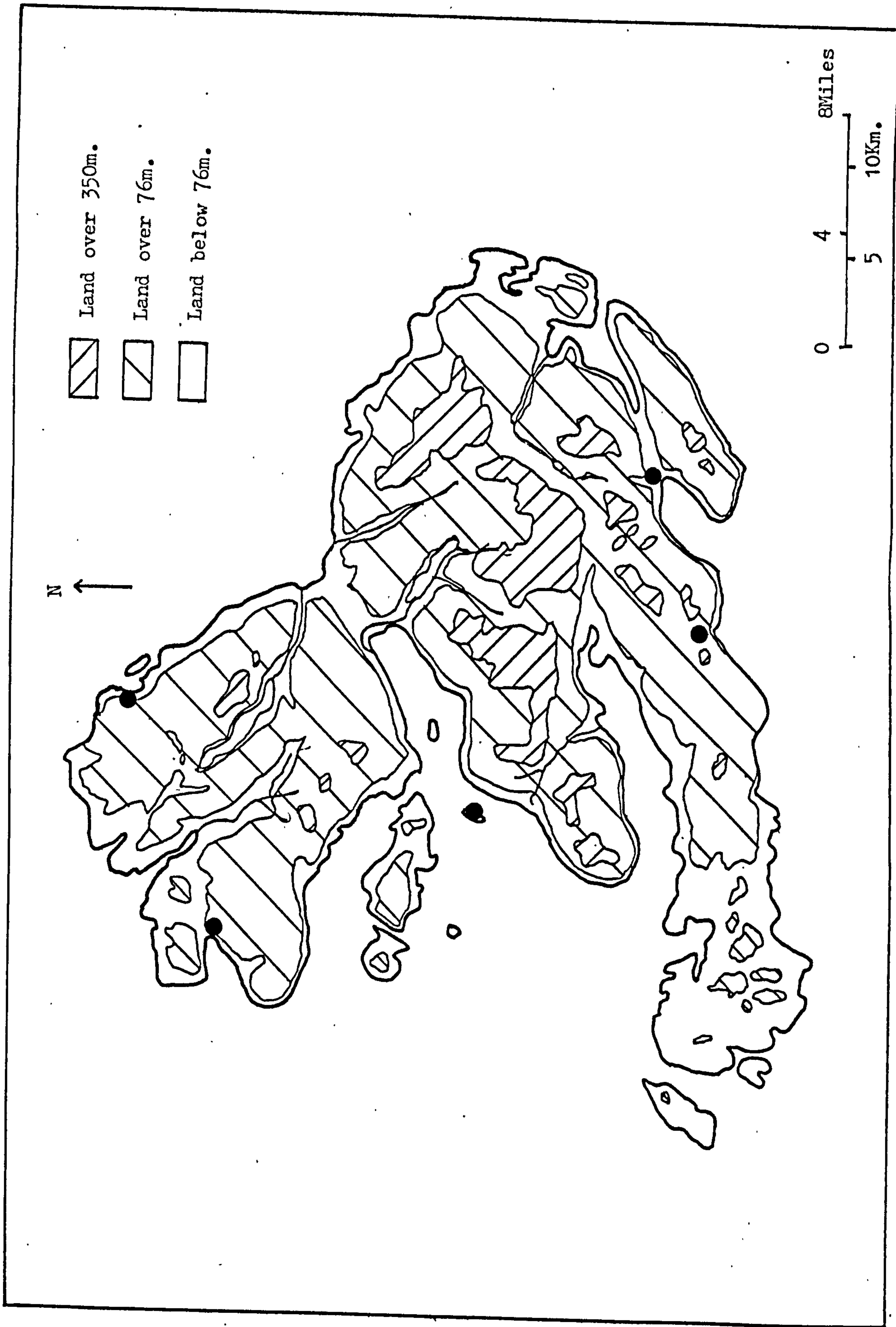


Fig.24 Additional sites on Mull with possible dedications to Early Christian saints.

(after R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980)

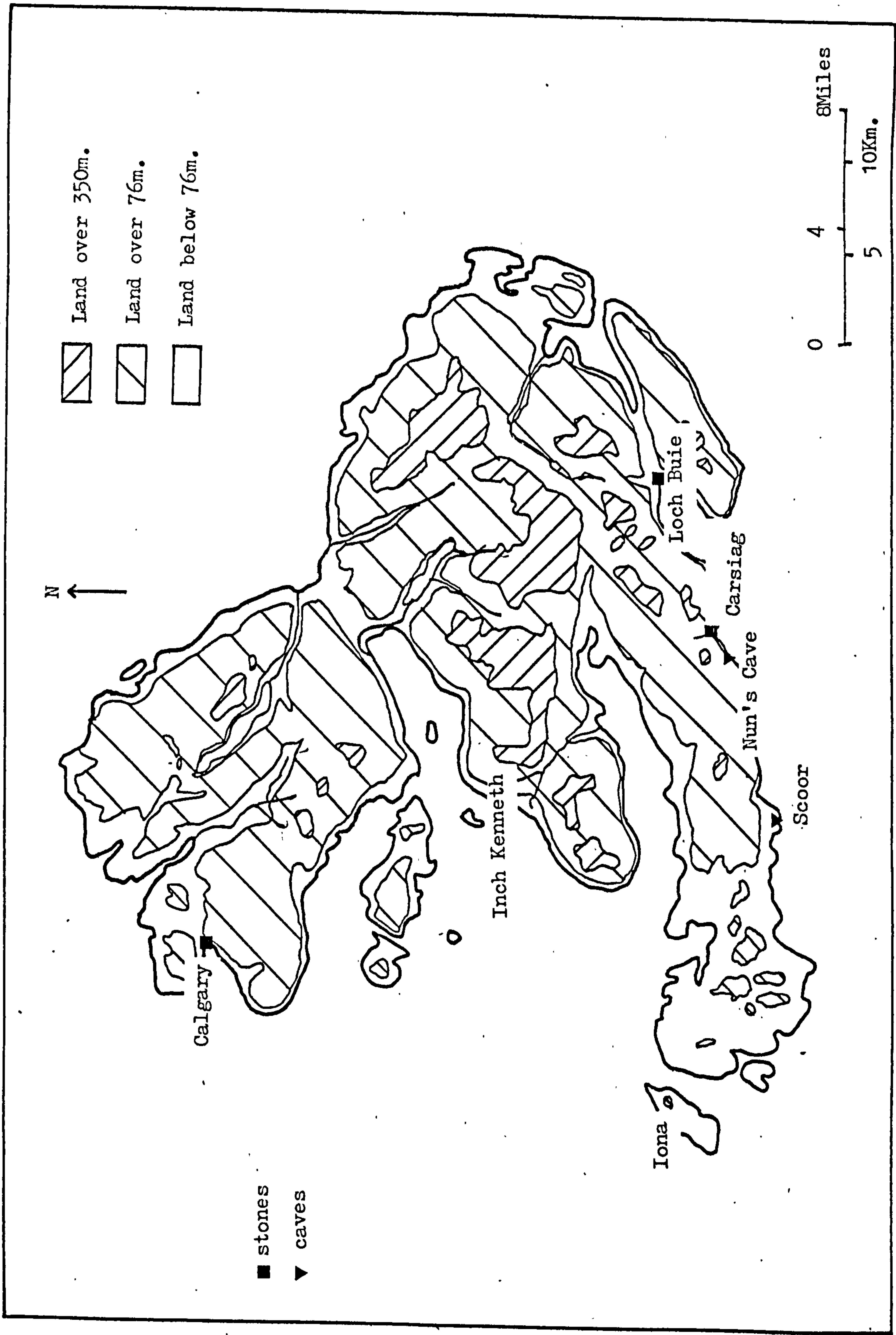


Fig. 25 The location of possible Early Christian stones and cave carvings on Mull.
(from R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980)

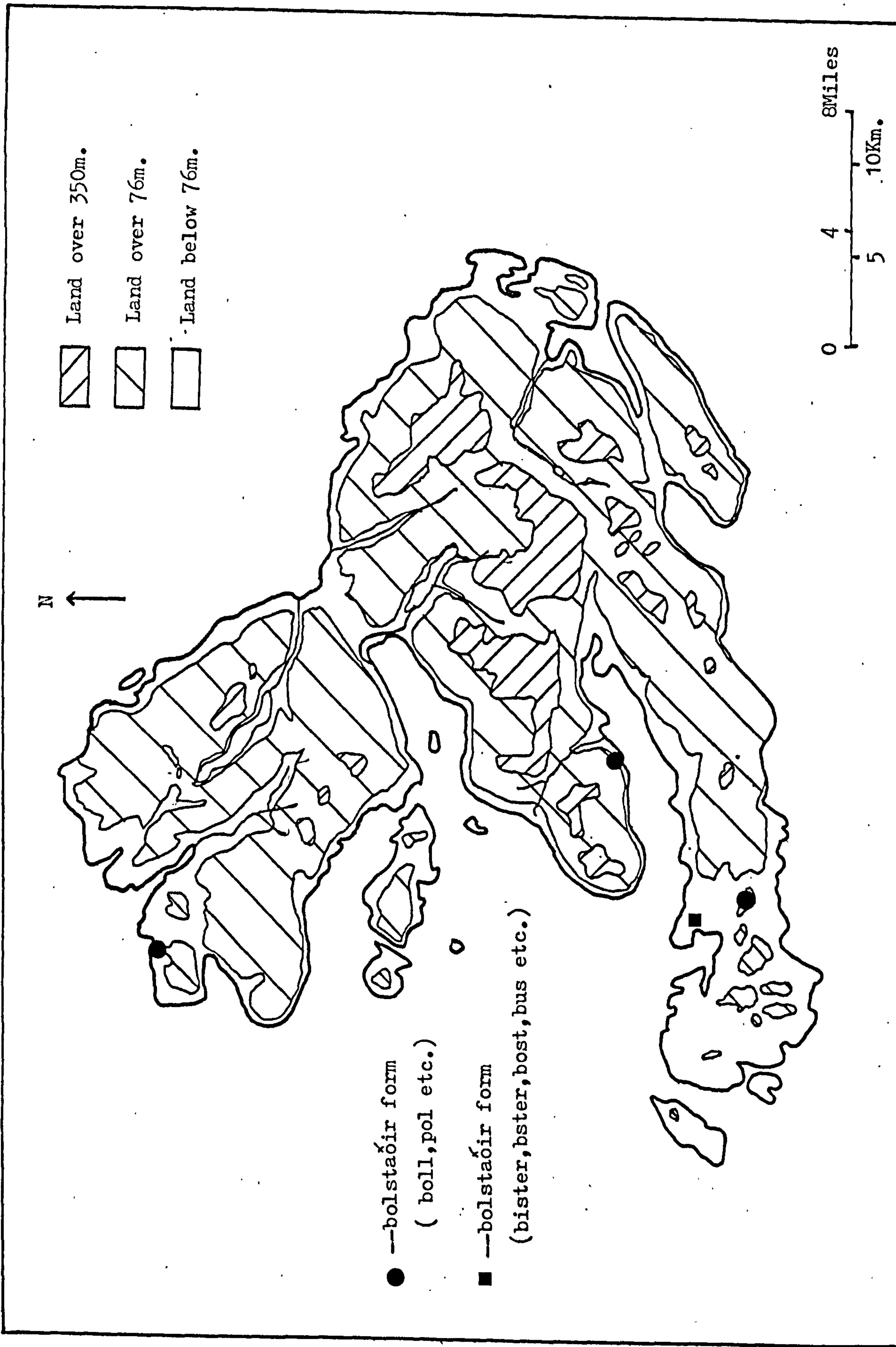


Fig.26 Place names containing Scandinavian elements on Mull.

(after Nicolaisen 1976)

to identify only four settlement names all containing the Scandinavian element - bolsta^{*}oir. An analysis of other place-names marked on 1:50,000 O.S. map sheets indicates several others which may also have Scandinavian origins (Fig. 27). At Burg for example, Alcock and Alcock argued that this was related to the Old Norse 'borg' a fortified place (1980). This, they suggested was because of the adjacent fortified site of Dùn Aisgain.

Other evidence for activity in the 10th century on the island is gained from two coin hoards found at Iona and Inch Kenneth respectively (Stevenson 1966). The former consists of over 300 coins, and has been dated to around 986 A.D. The latter consists of over 100 coins and dates to around 1000 A.D. Both reflect the accumulation of wealth during this period, and contact with the Anglo-Saxon world, since many of the coins are of English origin. They may represent the activities of Norse traders, in which case it is of particular interest that both occur on sites associated with the early Church. Alternatively they may have been deposited and never recovered by early ecclesiastics.

The only other objects which may indicate activity during this period are the two decorated penannular brooches mentioned earlier (Fig. 21). While these are brooches of Celtic form, it is clear that they were often adopted by the Norse (for example they are found on occasion in Norse graves in Scotland). Hence they may have been lost by Norse on the island.

Taken together this evidence suggests only a limited Scandinavian presence on Mull, unless of course, a later

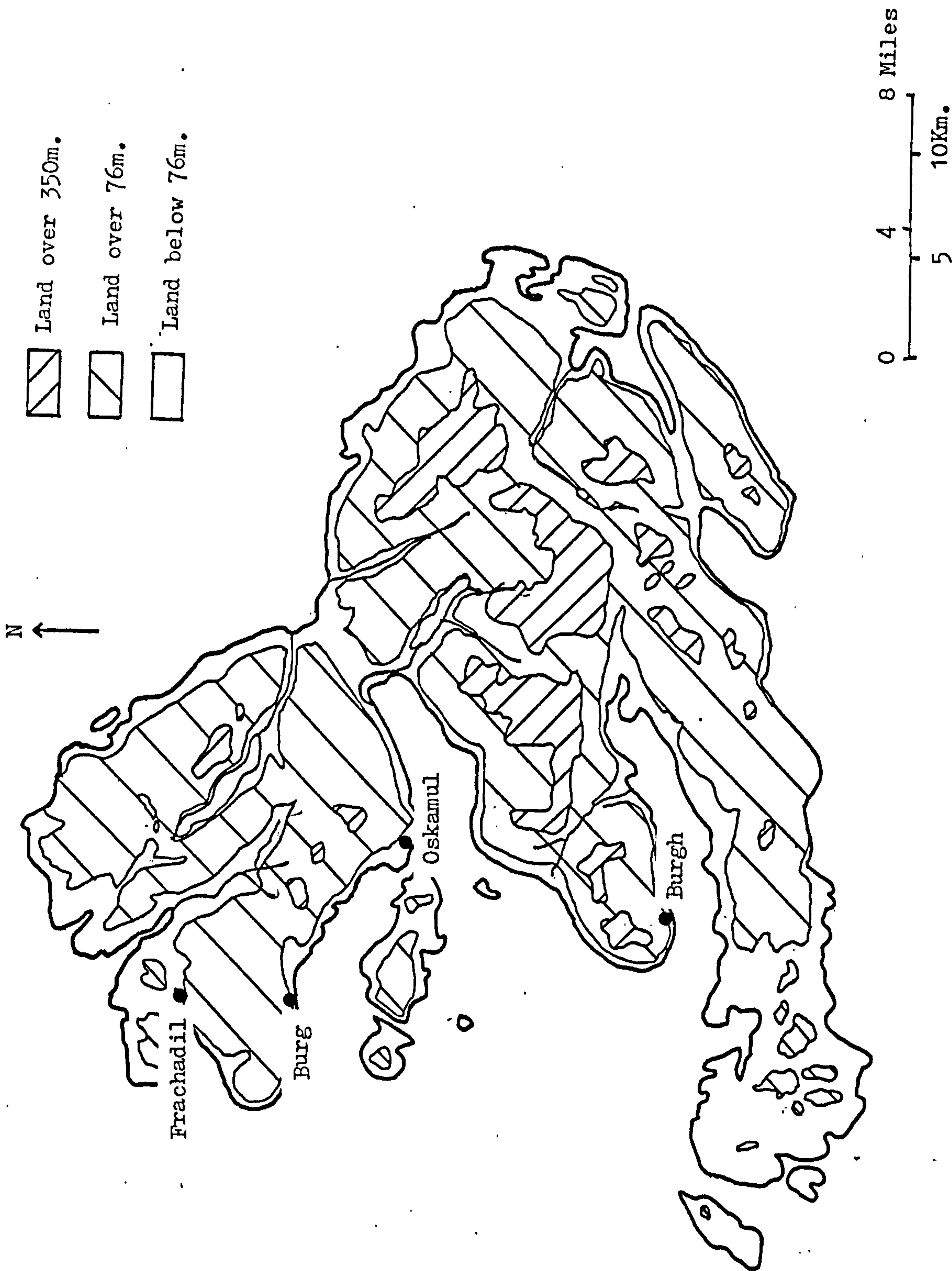


Fig. 27 Other place-names containing Scandinavian elements.
(from 1:50,000 O.S. Maps.)

Gallic revival has obscured more widespread trace of such. This is somewhat surprising when it is considered that Mull lies on the periphery of the territory held by the Kings of Dalriada. It might be anticipated that political control over this area may have been weakened in the 9th century when Cinæd Mac Álpin moved to the east. This would have been especially the case if a large area of the island was controlled by the church. Certainly Mull was one of the islands over which the Norwegian crown claimed authority until 1266. The island did, however, become part of the territory of the Lordship of the Isles. On the death of Somerled, the island was inherited by his son Dubhgall (Dougal) who also held Lorn, Benderloch and Lismore. It is from him that the Macdougall Clan was descended (Barrow 1981, 108 f).

The two main centres of the Macdougalls of Mull were Aros Castle and Duart Castle. Unfortunately we know virtually nothing of these sites in the medieval period. Apart from these only the crannogs mentioned earlier are known to have been occupied in the medieval period.

Finally of interest on Mull are numerous deserted settlements which have been located by Ordnance Survey field officers. Appendix Y, Volume 3 provides a brief note on each of the sites identified by them; Figure 28 illustrates the location of these. These settlements vary in size from groups of one or two buildings to others with up to 30 buildings. The latter represent sizeable communities, and exhibit a range of different buildings, external yards and other enclosures. Some of these, such as that of Burg near Dùn Aisgain was

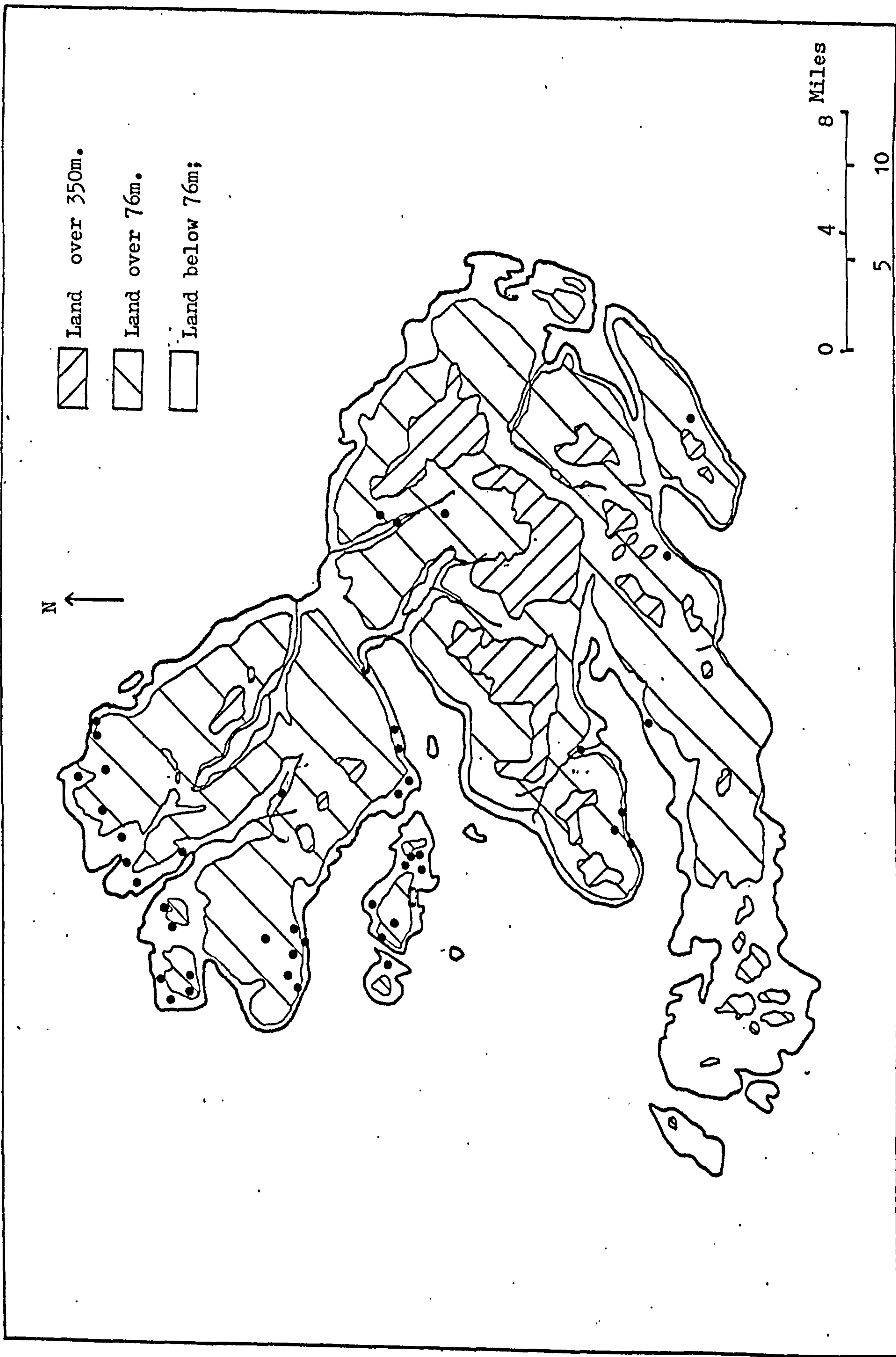


Fig.28 The Location of Deserted Settlements on Mull. (After O.S. records)

inhabited within the last 20 years. Other sites, however, have obviously been abandoned a considerable length of time. At many of these sites several phases of construction and reconstruction are illustrated. Detailed examination of these sites would aid any understanding of post medieval patterns of settlement and land-holding on the island. Many, however, may have more ancient origins, possibly dating back to the 1st millennium A.D. At the site of Burg near Dun Aisgain for example, a complex history of settlement from the beginning of the 1st millennium A.D. until the 1960's is illustrated by the range of structural remains.

In conclusion then, in contrast to Islay, Mull never formed a distinct political entity within the Kingdom of Dalriada, and this factor must be taken into account in any analysis of activity there in the 1st Millennium A.D. Mull may have lain on the periphery of the territory held by the Kings of Dalriada. This may be one reason for the location of the major monastic community on Iona. The latter community may have had widespread interests on Mull, and held areas of land on the island, necessary for the maintenance of the large community. The presence of Iona probably brought numerous leading ecclesiastics from Ireland and Northern Britain as well as Kings to the island. These visitors may have included future Kings of Northumbria. There is no evidence for major secular powers on the island in the Early Historic Period, and little reference is made to it within documentary sources. Hence the Iona community may

have been the most important group associated with the island. The Norse made little impact on the island, although they were to claim authority over it for several centuries to follow. This is somewhat surprising, since attacks on the Iona monastery may have opened up areas formerly held by them for settlement.

Case Study: The Island of Mull

(1) For the purposes of this study the islands of Ulva, Gometra and Iona are examined with Mull.

Case Study: The Island of Tiree

The Island of Tiree lies in the north-west of Argyll, and probably lay on the periphery of the Kingdom of Dalriada during the Early Historic Period. During this period it was a major ecclesiastical centre on which several small monasteries were located. The aim of the following study is to examine what was happening on the island during the 1st Millennium A.D. Of particular importance will be a consideration of the peripheral location of Tiree within Dalriada, the establishment of the early Church there, and the Viking impact on the island.

Geologically Tiree is formed, like its neighbour Coll and the Outer Hebridean Chain of islands, of Lewisian Gneiss (Whittow 1979, 252). A characteristic feature of the island is its general flatness. One or two low hills do exist, but overall it rises little over 15 m O.D. Much of its surface area is covered by deposits of blown shell sand. On this areas of humus-iron podsol have developed which are well suited to arable cultivation and pasturage (Macaulay Institute 1982, Volume 4). Figure 29 illustrates the extent of soils presently argued to have arable potential. Tiree is one of the most fertile and productive areas within Argyll. In 1903 Beveridge illustrated this in a consideration of the location of crofters and cottars on the island (1903, 69). These were found to be "thickly scattered" over the whole of the island. The fertility of the island would seem to have been recognised from early times. It has been identified as the Ethica Terra or Ethica Insula noted in



soil units; 259,260,103,100,
483,99

scale; 1:250,000

Fig.29 Soils on Tiree with Arable Potential.

(after Macaulay Institute 1982, Volume 4)

Adomnan's Life of Columba (Watson 1926, 85-6; Anderson and Anderson 1961, 155). In other Latin Lives of Saints it is called Heth, Heth regio or Terra Heth (Watson 1926, 85). 'Heth' is Irish for 'corn' (Reeves 1854).

Climatically Tiree is very favourable for settlement. The island has the highest number of hours of sunlight in Britain. Rainfall on the island is much less than that experienced elsewhere on the west coast due to absence of hills on the island. Hence air masses can pass over the island rapidly without being forced to rise, they do not cool or condense out water vapour. The average rainfall on Tiree for the period between 1931-60 was 1128 mm per annum. This compares with the figure of 1451 mm per annum for Oban on the mainland (Macaulay Institute 1983, Volume 4, 15). A particular climatic problem on Tiree however, is extreme wind, as the island catches the full force of North Atlantic gales. This has affected the vegetation there since many plants cannot survive the high wind speeds, particularly when they are rooted in light sandy soils. This accounts, then, for the almost total absence of trees on the island in the present day. Since it is difficult to reconstruct the climate of the area in the 1st Millennium A.D. it is difficult to assess whether this was a problem then also.

As temperatures are normally different over land and sea masses though, and winds develop as air masses attempt to even out the pressure differences this causes, it would seem reasonable to suggest that this was a problem then also. Certainly Adomnan's Life of Columba contains many references

to the perils of storms at sea caused by fierce winds. This is of direct relevance to any analysis of former settlements on the island since it would affect the type of crops which could be grown, and also the amount of timber locally available for constructional purposes.

While the amount of timber available for constructional purposes may have been limited, stone was readily available and outcrops widely over the island.

Many defended settlements, forts, duns, brochs and crannogs have been identified in the island (Fig. 30). Of the five forts identified, four occupy promontory locations. This may be a reflection on the flat terrain of the island which is devoid of the hilly eminences which would have been suitable for inland sites. The usable internal area of many of these sites appears very restricted due to the frequent outcropping of expanses of bedrock. Hence the sites of Tiree may be much smaller than others in Argyll, although it is difficult to demonstrate this easily. Processes of natural erosion has revealed pottery at several of these sites, and on the basis of this material attempts have been made to date the sites. The R.C.A.H.M.S. record the existence of a midden deposit at the site of Dùn nan Gall which produced sherds of pottery similar to material found at the broch of Dùn Mòr Vaul (1980; 19). This pottery is of a type classified as Clettraval ware, named after a wheelhouse site on North Uist where it was first identified (Scott 1948). The R.C.A.H.M.S. suggest rather conservatively, that the presence of this pottery demonstrates that the site was in occupation during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. (1980, 19).

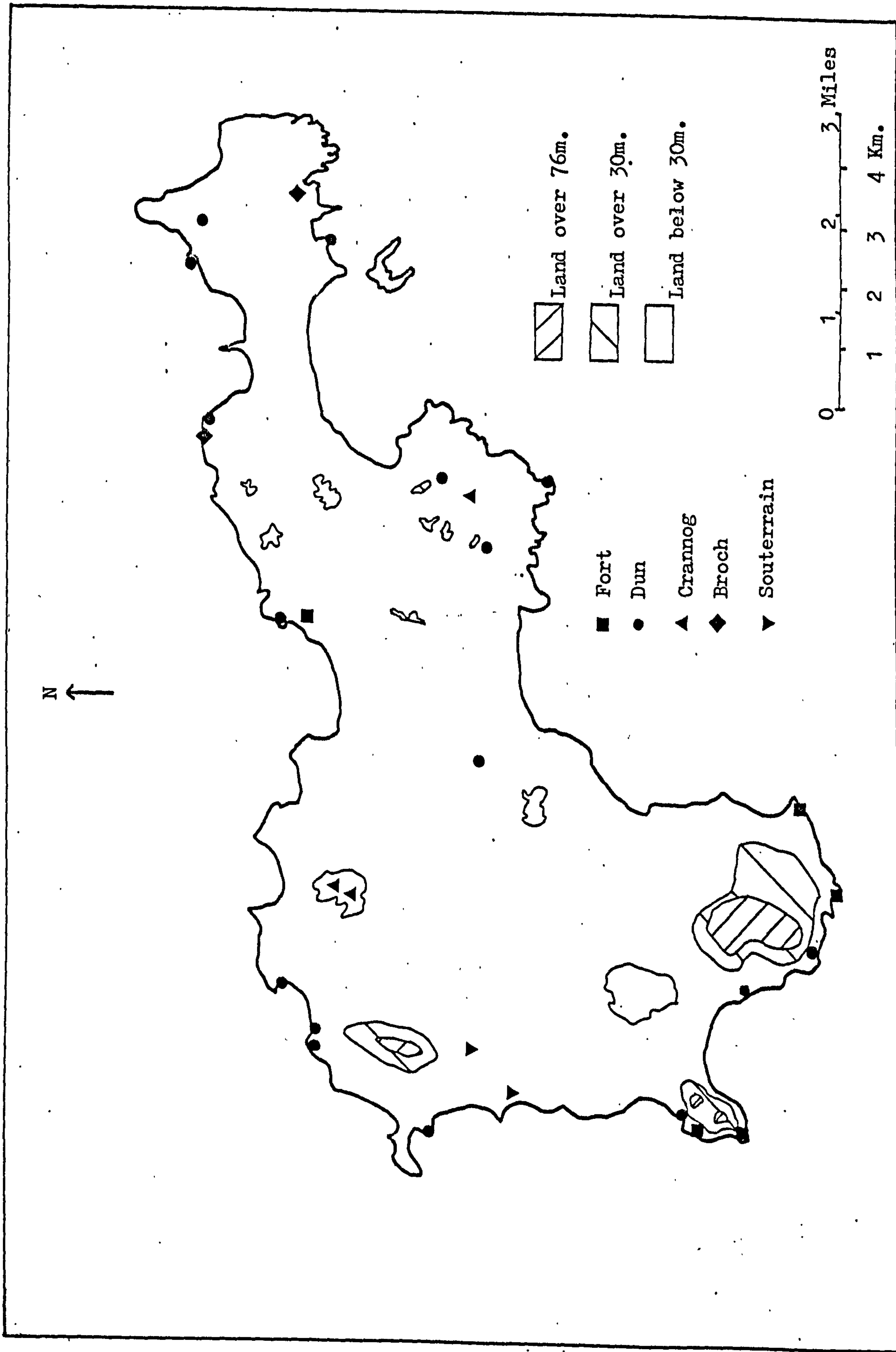


Fig.30 The Location of Defended Settlements and Souterrains on Tiree. (from R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980)

It must be noted, however, that at Dún Mòr Vaul Clettraval ware appears still to have been in use when the site was abandoned in the 3rd century A.D.

Erskine Beveridge found pottery sherds at most other fort sites on the island. In discussing this material it is unfortunate that he grouped all the pottery from defended sites together, since he did not subdivide sites into 'forts' and 'duns' (1903, 174-5). In view of earlier arguments that the smaller dun-type sites may have been replacing the larger hillfort sites, examination of variation in pottery from sites may have allowed this suggestion to be tested.

The R.C.A.H.M.S. have identified 16 sites on Tiree as 'duns' (1980). In 1903, however, Beveridge had suggested the existence of six other sites (1903, 83-6; 101-2; 111-2; 114). (Fig. 31). The descriptions Beveridge provided of these other sites though implies that the majority were insubstantial, and this may explain the reluctance of the R.C.A.H.M.S. to include them within their survey. Personal investigation of the supposed location of two of these sites, Cnoc Charrastain and Cnoc Cregach, indeed failed to reveal any trace of structural remains. While the possibility of their existence must be taken into account in the present work no detailed analysis of them can be presented as their descriptions are scanty, and no plans of them exist.

Of the dun sites which can more positively be identified it would appear that many have been extensively robbed for their stone. On an island like Tiree which has been densely settled and extensively exploited by human communities it is not surprising that this has been the case.

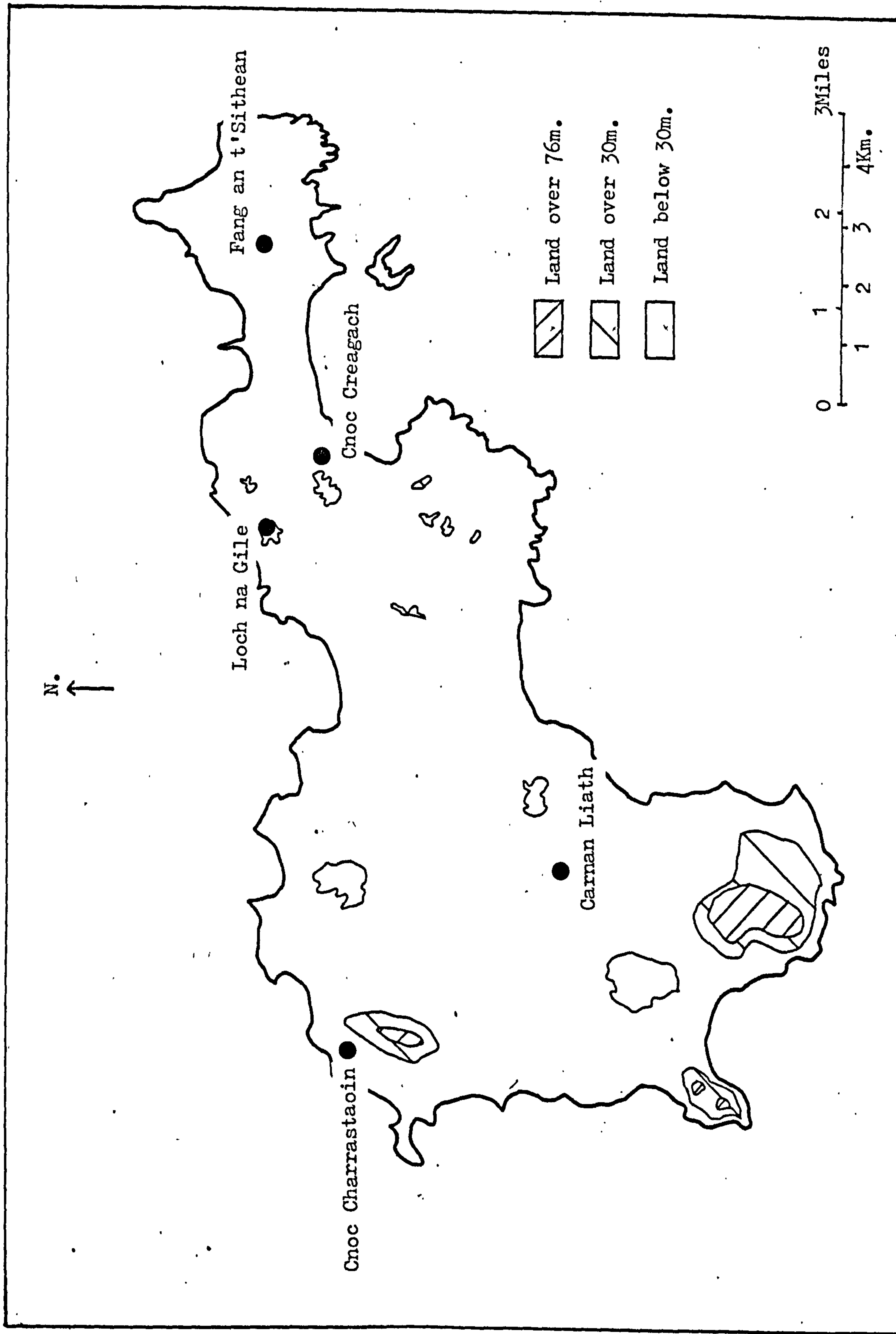


Fig.31 Additional Duns noted by Beveridge (1903)

Calculation of the enclosed area of dun sites on Tiree noted that by comparison with most other areas of Argyll (with the exception of the island of Mull) the majority of sites was small. Six of the 11 sites (55% of the total) had an area of under 100 sq. m. Explanation of the small size of sites here is difficult, a point also discussed in the Mull Case Study. On Tiree a particular limitation in the size of such sites may have been the difficulty of obtaining large structural timbers for roofing beams. This is of particular importance if the argument that many duns were totally roofed houses is accepted. (cf. Chapter Seven)

A large proportion of the duns of Tiree have additional outworks of some kind (11 of 16 sites; i.e. 69%). These range from simple wall lines blocking gaps in approaches to the site as at Dun Bòraige Bige, to more massive encircling walls as at Dun an t-sithein and Dùn Hanais. The sites of Dùn Heanish and Dun an t-sithean actually have more than one major outwork.

In some instances, as at Dùn Hannais and Dùn Ibrig these outworks may enclose external working areas. At other sites however, the distance between such outworks is so narrow that any activity between them would have been severely restricted. This is well illustrated by the site of Dun an t-Sithean where the distance between the outer walls of the duns and the outworks is less than 2 m, producing a narrow area of land which must have been virtually unusable. Of course some of these "outworks" could actually represent the remains of former enclosures on the site as argued in Chapter

Seven. A more likely explanation, however, is that such additional defence lines were necessary because of the low relief of the island. The lack of eminences upon which to locate such sites, and which would have provided additional defence, probably necessitated the construction of additional wall lines. In addition to providing strong defences, such outworks could also have made the site more visually impressive from the exterior. This may have been an important means of illustrating the importance of the settlement site.

The site of Dùn Beag Vaul is the only dun site on the island to have been examined by excavation. Only a small trench, however, was cut across the summit (D.E.S. 1963). The primary reason for undertaking this work was to locate artefactual material which could then be compared with material from the nearby broch of Dùn Mór Vaul. This work revealed midden deposits which produced bones, pottery with incised decoration upon it, and a bronze ring-headed pin. The pottery from the site appears comparable to that produced by the nearby broch. In his fieldwork on Tiree at the turn of the century Beveridge also recorded finding pottery from several dun sites. The material he illustrates is also mostly decorated with incised lines and hence is also closely comparable with material from Dùn Mór Vaul. In particular design elements described by Mackie as 'pendant triangles' and 'fern-leaf' patterns are frequent. At Dùn Mór Vaul such pottery had a long history of use. It was found in the Phase I deposits which were dated to 445 ± 90 b.c. (785 B.C.-200 B.C.) (Ga K 1098) and 400 ± 110 b.c. (770 B.C.-180 B.C.) (Ga K 1092). It then

apparently continued in use, with no apparent change in vessel form or decoration over many centuries, and was still in use when the site fell into disuse, probably in the 3rd century A.D. (Mackie 1974, 95). Young had previously seen such incised pottery along with the everted rimmed Clettraval ware as being of "classic wheelhouse style" dating loosely to the period between the 3rd century B.C. and the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. (1966, 54-5). She saw a degeneration of pottery decoration after this period which led to the sparsely decorated forms she found at Dun Cuier (1966).

In discussing Hebridean pottery in this manner it is important to bear in mind the fact that there are many uncertainties related to it. Dùn Mór Vaul and the Udal, North Uist are the only well stratified sites producing it, and the latter remains unpublished. Its absolute chronology is weak, and further stratified sites must be excavated before a strong chronology for it could be established. While no evidence has yet emerged to disprove the wide date range for its use outlined above (cf. Ritchie and Lane 1980) it must be questioned to what extent a sequence derived from pottery from the Outer Hebridean islands is really applicable to Tiree. Lane has recently illustrated that Tiree would appear to lie very much on the fringes of the area of distribution of Hebridean Iron-age pottery, the area of Argyll to the south being largely aceramic (1983). The pottery tradition appears to have continued in the Outer Isles into the Early Historic and Norse periods (Lane 1983). This is an important point, since the use of

pottery by the inhabitants of Tiree does distinguish them from the rest of Argyll. In using pottery they are more akin to the people of the Outer Hebrides. Hence any discussion of the use of material culture within the rest of Argyll should only with caution be extended to Tiree.

The two brochs identified on the island have been discussed earlier in the present work (cf. Chapter Eight). The site of Dùn Mór Vaul has been excavated, and the interpretations based on this work were discussed at length earlier. The main problem associated with them is whether they can really be seen as distinct from the drystone duns of the island. Structural similarities between various groups of sites have already been discussed (Chapter Eight). On Tiree both broch and dun sites have produced similar types of pottery, as discussed above. Confusion over the nature of these sites is well illustrated by Beveridge's work in which four sites on the island were identified as semi-brochs (1903, 73 f) (cf. Chapter Eight). The sites in question were Dùn Mór Vaul and Dùn Mór a Chaolais, both now seen as brochs, and Dùn Boraige Bige and Dùn Hiader, now both classified as duns.

In addition to the defended sites, other less substantially constructed settlements may also have been in occupation on Tiree in the 1st Millennium A.D. Earlier discussion noted the site of Balevulin, a timber-built round-house which eroded out of sand-dunes in the north of the island at the beginning of the 20th century. It would seem reasonable to anticipate that other similar settlements may remain preserved

within sand-dune systems elsewhere on Tiree.

Beveridge also noted the existence of sites other than the defended ones (1903, 120-2) (Fig. 32). These took the form of circular enclosures which the author described as, "more than simple shielings"

The sites he located at Charrastaoín produced some worked flint, but no other artefactual material. In the absence of detailed descriptions and plans it is again difficult to assess what these sites were. Many of these sites, such as those around Cnoc Ibríg are not presently visible, which may explain why the R.C.A.H.M.S. do not include any of Beveridge's sites within their inventory.

In addition to these sites, discussion in Chapter Eleven also noted a souterrain which eroded out of sand-dunes in the west of the island. This was probably associated with a settlement site. If the latter was used to store agricultural produce this implies the inhabitants of the site were wealthy and either cultivated large areas of land, or had access to the products of cultivation of large areas.

During the Early Historic Period references exist which suggest that Tiree was home for a dense concentration of monastic establishments. Adomnan notes the existence of two communities on the island. That of Mag Lunge (I, 30; I, 41; II, 15; III, 8) is one of the four monasteries which are recorded in existence within Dalriada in Columba's lifetime. Mag Lunge was a subject house of Iona ruled by a Praepositus or Prior. The Prior mentioned in Adomnan's Life of Columba was one Baithene. He was a cousin of Columba and eventually

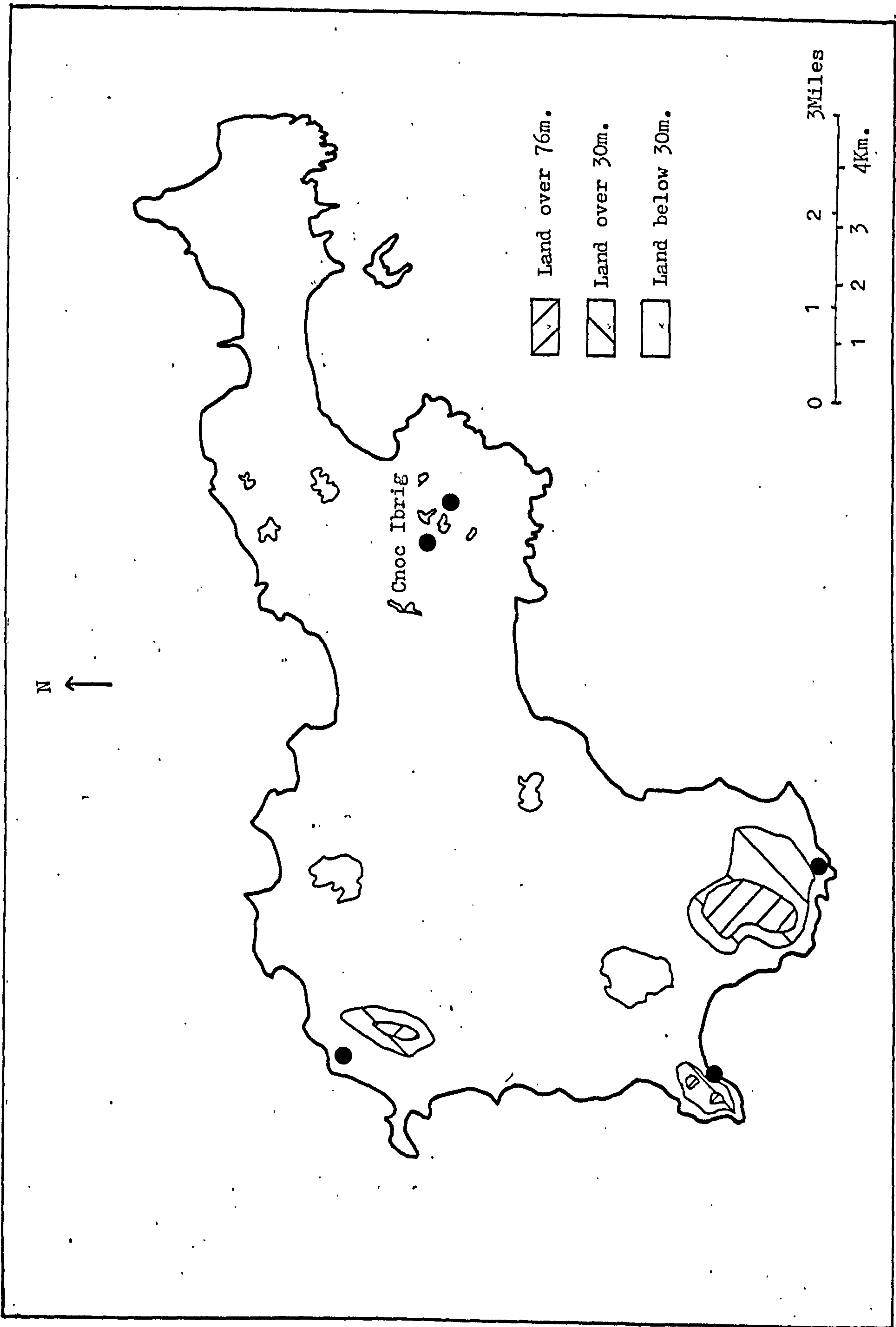


Fig.32 Sites of 'inland' dwellings noted by Beveridge. (1903)

succeeded Columba as Abbot of Iona. As such this is a good example of the development of family lineages controlling such major ecclesiastical centres. Baithene seems to have extensive powers, since as well as being Prior of Mag Lunge, he also had authority over penitents on the island of Hinba. It is not clear exactly where the latter was, but it may have been Jura.

In addition to Mag Lunge, Adomnan mentions a community of Artchain, founded by one Finchan who was a contemporary of Columba (I.36). Other Irish Saints' lives record monasteries on the island established by Brendan Moccu Alti and Comgell of Bangor (Plummer 1910, I; 143; II; 11). Of these monastic communities Mag Lunge at least had a long history. The Annals of Ulster record its burning in 673 A.D. (Anderson 1922, 182) although they do not record how or why this happened. The monastery must have been rebuilt after this incident, since the same annals record the death of Conall, Abbott of Mag Lunge in 775 A.D. (Anderson 1922, 247).

Only one monastic establishment has been positively identified on Tiree, this being located in the south-west of the island. At St. Patrick's Chapel, Ceann a' Mhara the chapel stands within an enclosure with an area of 0.14 hectares (0.3 acres) (Fig. 33) (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980, 164-166) (Appendix R; Volume 3). Within this enclosure are several scarped platforms, some of which also exhibit the remains of rubble walls. Hence this site has been argued to be the remains of an Early Christian monastery dedicated to St. Patrick. An Early Christian date may be supported by the discovery there of three undressed boulders, each of

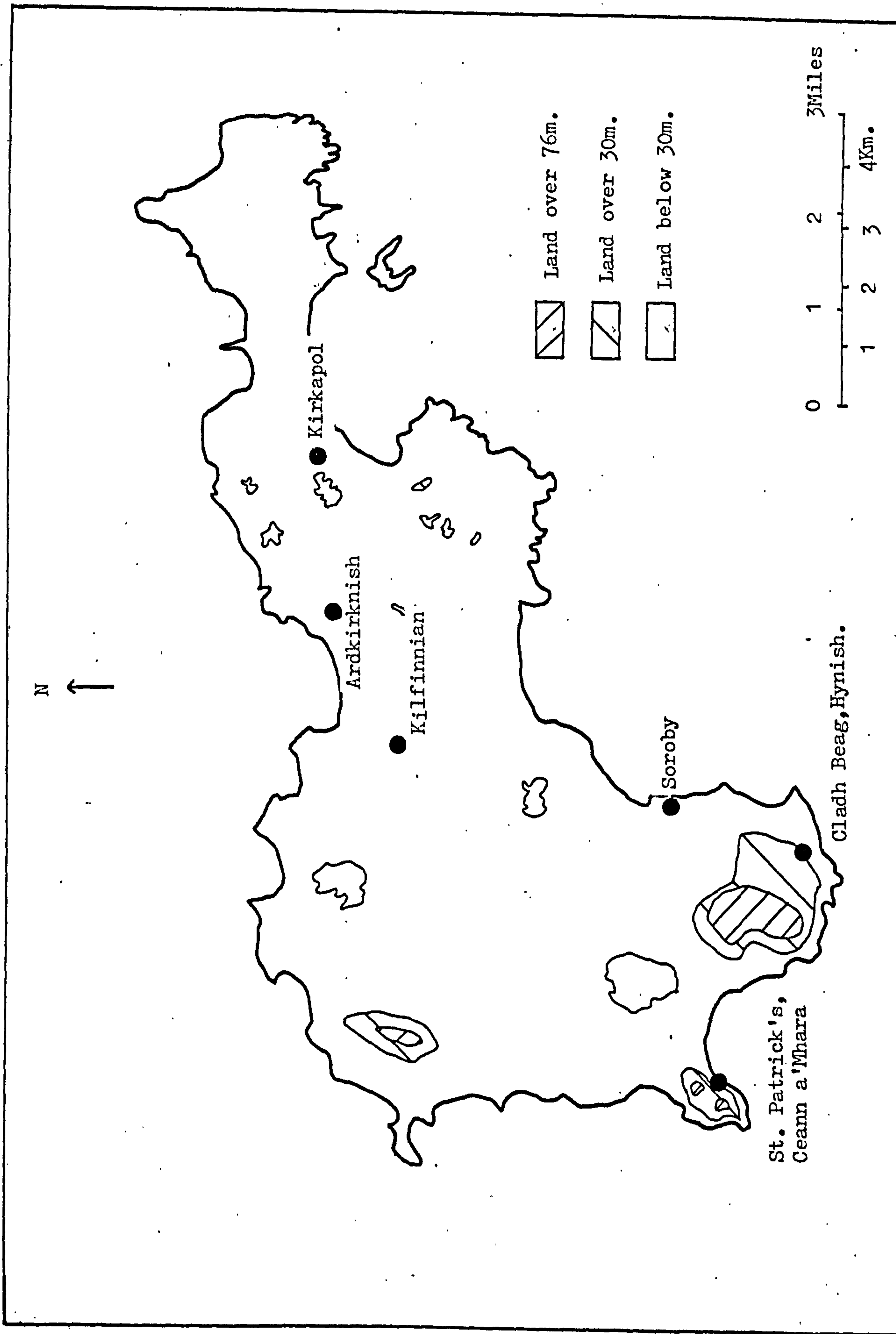


Fig. 33 The location of possible Early Christian structures and stones on Tiree.
(from R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980)

which has an incised cross upon it. Nothing is known of the history of the site, which may be one of those discussed earlier. The size of the enclosed site implies it was a small establishment with only a few monks. By comparison the vallum at Iona encloses an area of 8 hectares (20 acres) (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1982, 12).

It has been argued that the old Parish church and burial ground of Soroby can be identified as the Columban Monastery of Mag Lunge mentioned above. (Reeves 1854; Beveridge 1903, 143-4; R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980, 167). This suggestion is based upon the identification of a nearby creek named Port na Luinge. While Early Christian activity at the site may be indicated by a slab with a simple incised linear ringed cross upon it, and a large decorated cruciform slab (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980, 167-8) there is no structural evidence for a monastic site here. The dedication to St. Columba, and the choice of the church as a parish centre, may however, indicate that it held an important place in the ecclesiastical organization of the island.

The monastic site of Artchain has also been associated with the chapel site and burial ground at Ardkirknish, east of Balephetrish Hill in the north of the island (Reeves 1854; Beveridge 1903, 146-7). Beveridge argues that while no "satisfactory" traces of an old chapel survive on the site, a level platform to the north aligned east-west, or a circular enclosure south of this may represent the remnants of the site. The R.C.A.H.M.S. suggest though that no visible remains exist here (1980, 124). This would certainly be

supported by personal fieldwork and hence the identification must be seen as dubious.

Reeves suggests an alternative location for this monastery at Kilfinnian. This may be a more promising site since a burial ground is still visible here, and it encloses a small oblong building. Beveridge argued that the latter was a chapel (1903, 147). The R.C.A.H.M.S. agree that the orientation of the building might support this, but go on to state that the structural remains are not typical of a chapel (1980, 143) presumably because it has rounded corners. The Kil- place name and dedication to St. Finnen of the site may indicate an Early Christian date.

Apart from these monastic establishments the extent of Early Christianity on the island may also be indicated by other Kil- place names (Fig. 33a) as well as other sites possibly dedicated to early saints. (Fig. 34) Unfortunately we do not know whether these were specifically related to the monastic establishments at all.

The concentration of four Early Christian monasteries within such a small and restricted geographical area is seemingly unparalleled in Northern Britain and must be discussed in greater detail here. Presumably the land upon which these monasteries were established was granted to the Church by the Kings of Dalriada (cf. Chapter Fifteen. Mull Case Study). Prior to this establishment, however, analysis of the defended settlements indicates that the island already supported a dense network of settlement. Indeed in view of the fertility of the island it would have been strange if this had not been the case. Hence these early ecclesiastics

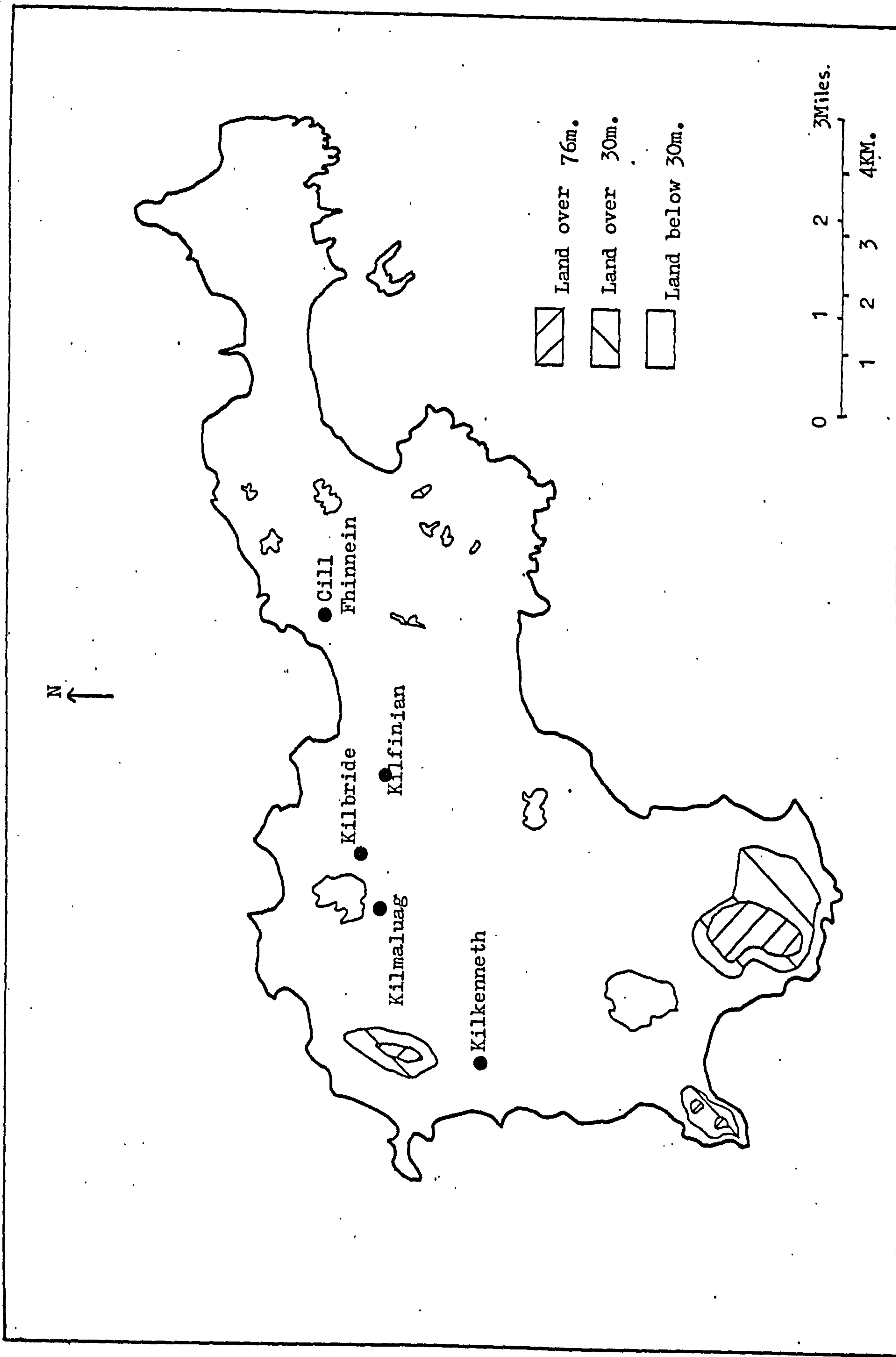


Fig. 33a The Location of Kil— Place Names on Tiree (from 1:50,000 O.S.map)

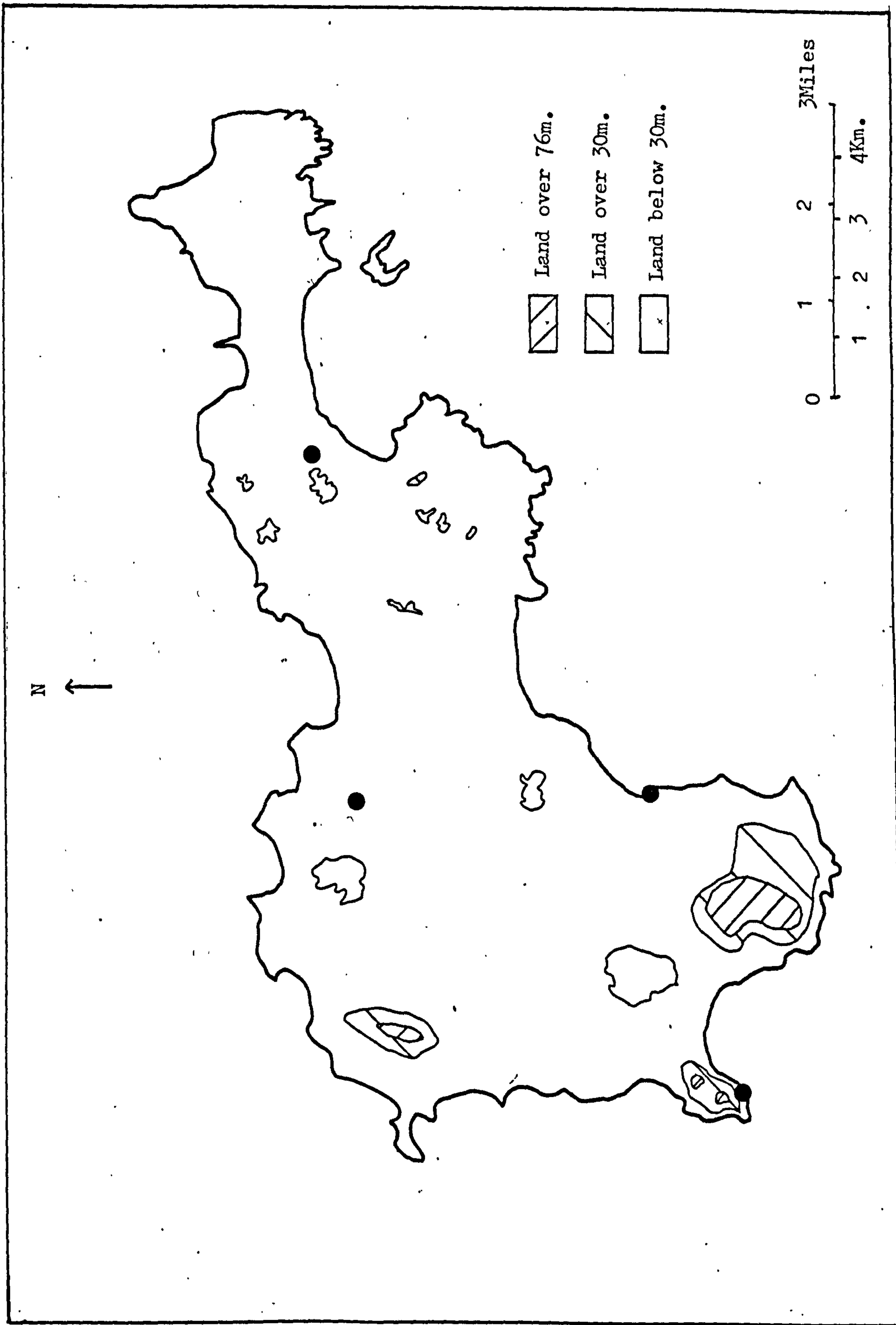


Fig. 34 Additional sites with possible dedications to Early Christian saints

on Tiree.

(after R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980)

were not being granted land previously devoid of settlement.

An explanation for the location of these sites in Tiree may be the periphery of the territory held by the Cenél Loairn. The assumption that the island is indeed within Cenél Loairn territory is based upon the argument that Coll and Ardnamurchan were inhabited by this group (Bannerman 1974, 113 f). Hence it is argued that nearby Tiree was also held by them. Since the island is located a long way from the mainland of Argyll where the main centres of the rulers of Dalriada were probably established it may have been difficult for them to exercise control over Tiree. Hence it may be that the choice to grant lands for monastic communities here may have been a deliberate move by early Kings to allow the area to be controlled for them by such establishments.

The Early Church not only acquired land upon which to construct their religious houses, but also land for cultivation. The house of Mag Lunge at least was involved in agricultural production on the island, and could be requested to support its parent house Iona. Hence Adomnan's Life of Columba tells how Columba could request Baithene to provide someone with a fat beast and six measures of grain (I.41). Indeed Reeves argued that the island was the "farmland of the mother island" (1854). Hence the monasteries of Tiree may have held large areas of land on the island, possibly cultivated by monastic tenants, or they had rights to the products of large areas of land. To what extent competition for agricultural land existed between these religious establishments and secular individuals

is difficult to assess since the size of most of the Tiree houses is unknown. An exception to this is the site of St. Patrick's Chapel which was noted earlier to have been quite small. It also lies in one of the few areas of Tiree where arable cultivation was not possible in the immediate vicinity.

During the Early Historic Period then, the pattern of settlement and land holding on Tiree may have contrasted markedly with that elsewhere in Dalriada because of the existence of several monastic communities there. Elsewhere in Argyll many of the defended sites, duns, and crannogs may have been in occupation during this period. It is unclear whether this was also the case on Tiree. Certainly several dun and crannog sites do exist on the island, but if they were all occupied, along with surrounding client settlements, then there must have been considerable pressure on the land on the island.

In the late 8th and 9th centuries Tiree seems to have been particularly attractive to Norse incomers, hence discussion must now turn to examine this. To examine the evidence for Norse activity on the island first, Nicholaisen has identified several place names on the island containing Scandinavian elements (Fig. 35). These include one example of a name including the element -staðir (a dwelling place) which he argues is the earliest Scandinavian place-name element found in Scotland. This may date to around 850 A.D. (cf. Chapter Sixteen). At none of these sites would there appear to be any structural remains visible which could be ascribed to the Norse period. This is hardly surprising,

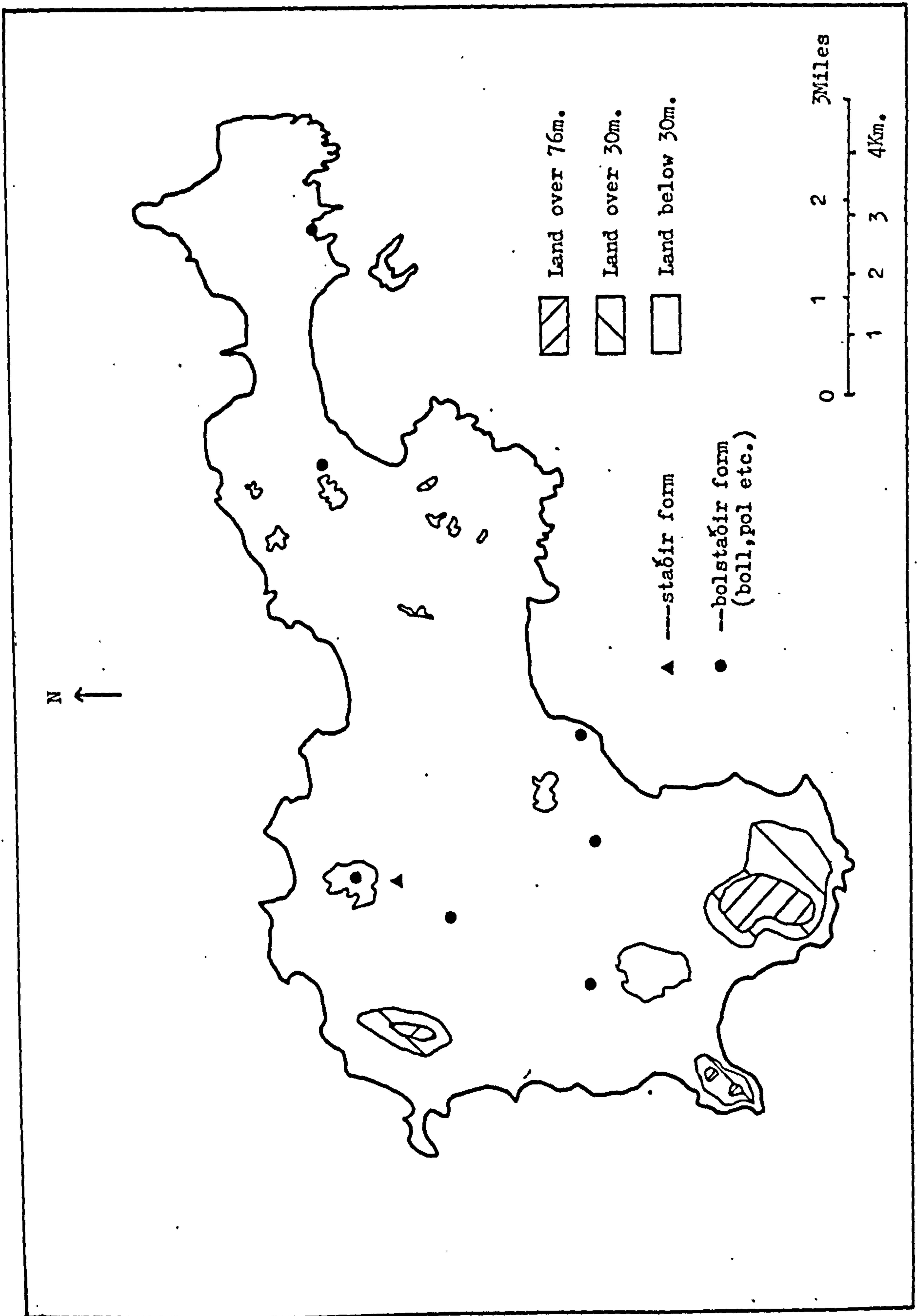


Fig. 35 Place names containing Scandinavian elements on Tíre.
(after Nicolaisen 1976)

though; as all the place names - with the exception of Cnoc Bhoista and Kirkapol are associated with modern settlements. Continued use of a settlement site and reconstruction upon it has probably largely destroyed trace of the earliest structures on the site.

In addition to the above place-name evidence some Scandinavian burials are also recorded on Tiree. A group of burials recorded at Cornaigbeg in the 18th century was accompanied by grave goods including shields, and swords - all now lost. ^{These} may have been Norse (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980, 118). Also a pair of oval brooches and a bronze pin which probably came from a burial are also recorded from somewhere on the island (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980, 119). Finally at the broch of Dùn Mór Vaul a burial in the central court provided a radio-carbon date of 805 ± 155 a.d. (Gx 3426) ^(610 A.D.-1195 A.D.). The possibility of this being Norse may be indicated by the presence of a bone composite comb among rubble in the wall gallery. This was taken to be characteristically Scandinavian and to indicate the use of the lintelled gallery as a shelter during the period. (Mackie 1974, 91).

Tiree may have been particularly attractive to Norse settlers because of the good land available there. As has been indicated, though, the island was probably densely settled in the pre-Norse period, hence the manner in which they acquired land must be examined. This probably relates to the existence of the monastic communities on the island, and also the political events within Dalriada in the 9th century. The existence of the monastic communities on Tiree may have

attracted the first Norse to the island. We have no documentary records of Viking attacks on these sites, but it would seem reasonable to infer that such did actually occur. The decimation of monastic communities on Tiree would have opened up areas of the island for Norse settlement. The Dalriadic Kings were probably unable to prevent this once the monastic communities had disappeared, since they may have only controlled the area through these establishments. With the transference of the Kings of Dalriada to the east their power over such peripheral areas would have been further weakened, allowing the Norse much freedom within the area.

Unfortunately no documentary record of events relating to Tiree after the late 8th century exists. The island was, however, claimed by the Norwegian crown until 1266 and formed part of the Diocese of Sodor (Duncan and Brown 1957). As elsewhere in Argyll though the Norse crown may have had little real power over the island they would not, for example, prevent the Lords of the Isles claiming authority over Tiree. After the death of Somerled the Island was ruled by his son Raonall who also held lands in Kintyre and Islay.

The fertility of the island of Tiree resulted in its continued importance as a centre for settlement, and it is clear that the intensity of settlement on the island over time has accounted for the destruction of many earlier sites, and traces of former patterns of land-use. Alcock and Alcock noted the apparent total disappearance of the settlement of Kirkapol, a site at which settlement may have dated back at

least to the Norse period. This has occurred despite the fact that in the 18th century estate documents indicate the existence of a settlement of a dozen houses on the site (1980). Another recorded disappearance of a site is that of the Early Christian Chapel of Kilmaluag. Beveridge states that stones were removed from the site to build elsewhere and that the space where the cemetery had been was then in tillage (1903, 153). While much of the destruction of sites in Tiree may be related to human activity in some areas it may also be related to natural processes of erosion. Earlier discussion noted the erosion of settlements out of Machair sand deposits. These processes of erosion have never been monitored, and it is impossible to gauge what may have been lost in this manner.

Such processes of erosion are likely to have affected different types of sites in different ways. Hence more ephemeral traces of settlements and land-use such as light walling outside duns and undefended settlement sites are likely to have been destroyed more rapidly, hence producing a bias in the surviving evidence towards more solid constructions.

In conclusion it can be seen that Tiree was a very favourable area for settlement during the 1st Millennium A.D., and probably supported a dense network of settlement. Of major importance were the monastic communities established there, who may have taken control of the agricultural exploitation of large areas of the island. The reason for ^{attempt} their location on the island may be explained as a deliberate ^{attempt} by the Dalriadic rulers to maintain control over an area lying on the fringes of their territory. This system may have

collapsed in the 9th century as a result of Viking attacks on these establishments and further weaknesses created by the movement of the Kings to the east. This weakness was exploited by the incoming Norse and several early Norse settlements may have been established there. Ultimately, though the Norse were unable to maintain control over the island and could not prevent the rise to power of local lineages within the area.

Case Study: The Island of Islay

During the Early Historic Period the Island of Islay formed part of the territory of the Kingdom of Dalriada. Analysis of the genealogical information contained within the Senchus Fer nAlban suggests that the island formed a distinct unit within the Kingdom, which was controlled by one of the three major lineages of Dalriada, the Cenél nOengusa. This being the case the island offered the potential of providing a clearly defined geographical unit which had been an important political unit also. Within this framework the evidence for settlement and activity in the first millennium A.D. could be examined. The main aim of this analysis is to examine the nature of power and political control on the island during this period.

The Island of Islay is the second largest island in the Inner Hebridean group (total area 600 sq. km) (Fig. 36) and lies equidistant between Northern Ireland and mainland Argyll. The island has two main areas of highland formed by quartizitic rocks, both of which take the form of dissected upland areas, rather than the distinct peaks which the same rocks form on neighbouring Jura (Fig. 37). The north-eastern highland rises to 364 m at Sgarish Breac (NGR NR 405 765) but has many lower summits rising to between 200 and 300 m. The south-eastern highland forms the largest area of high ground on the island, and has several summits rising to between 450 and 500 m.

Between these two highland areas lie the central lowlands which are underlain by strongly metamorphosed Precambrian slates and phyllites with some calcareous schists and igneous

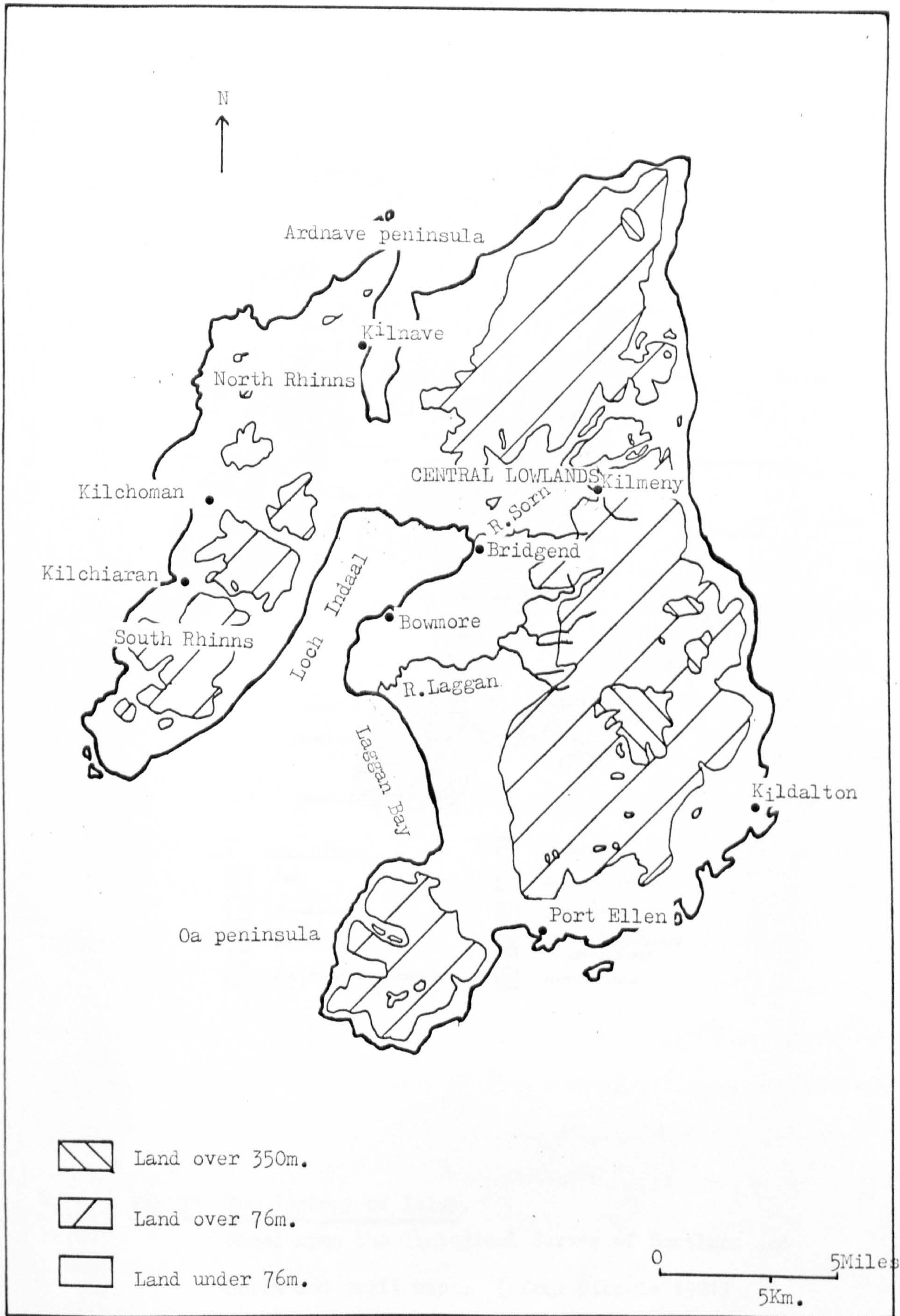


Fig.36 The island of Islay.

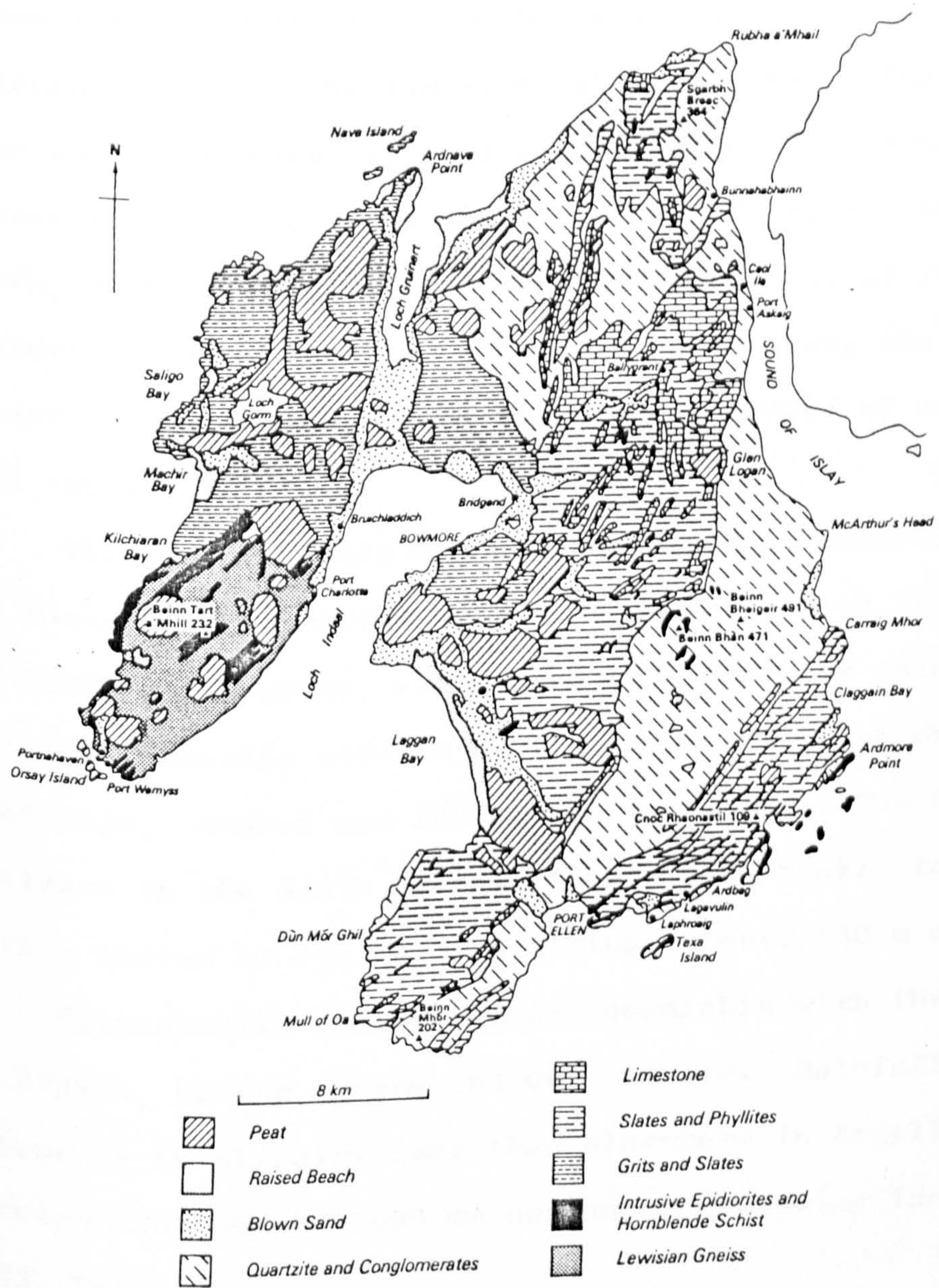


Fig.37 The Geology of Islay.
 Based upon the Geological Survey of Scotland and
 solid and drift maps. (from Storrie 1981)

intrusions. These have given rise to a much more varied topography, generally of much lower altitude than the highland areas. The limestone which occurs in these deposits has been much used for agricultural purposes. Erosion of these rocks has created the basins of the rivers Laggan and Sorn, both of which are now covered by depths of fertile alluvial soils. Similar rocks are found along the south-east coast of the island, where they form a series of minor ridges and valleys.

The western peninsula of the island is entirely made up of rocks of Precambrian age. The northern area is formed of Torridonian grits, slates and conglomerates which form a rolling landscape covered by glacial drift on which extensive peat bogs, marshes and lochs have developed. The Lewisian Gneisses to the south of this form a more broken topography with a series of low summits rising between 150 m and 230 m.

Climatically the island is comparable with the rest of Argyll, having a warm and wet climate. Rainfall would appear to be slightly less than elsewhere in Argyll, with between 1200 mm and 1600 mm per annum (Macaulay Institute 1982, Vol. 6).

The majority of soils on the island are peaty gleys. Large areas, in particular the upland areas, support only plant communities with low grazing value, and hence forms rough grazing. Areas of much better land do, however, exist. The best agricultural land is located in the central lowlands which is due in part to the fertile alluvial soils of the rivers Sorn and Laggan. Islay is, indeed traditionally known as the most fertile of the Inner Hebridean Islands.

Figure 38 presents a map of those soil associations suggested by the Macaulay Institute to have arable potential (1982; Vol. 6). This clearly indicates that the best agricultural land lies within the central lowlands, particularly along the main river valleys. As with other areas of Argyll, however, this map provides a limited view of the potential for cultivation on the island. An analysis of patterns of cultivation contained within the O.S.A. indicates that it was formerly much more extensive. Thus the description of the Parish of Kilchoman, which extends over the whole of the western peninsula states that arable land is found all around the coast, and is capable of producing corn, barley, flax, and potatoes (O.S.A. 1794, Vol. 11, 277). In good years the produce could support the parish population of 2300, in bad years, however, some foodstuffs had to be imported. Similarly it is stated that much cultivation occurred in the southern parish of Kildalton (O.S.A. 1794; Vol. 11, 286-7). In Killarow and Kilmeny the New Statistical Account suggests that 15,000 acres were in tillage in 1845. This approximates to an area of around 57 sq. km (23 sq. miles). The other 18,000 acres of the parish were either constantly waste or in pasture. This then illustrates that slightly under half of the parish area was under cultivation, presumably this being most of the lowland areas. This is hardly the picture portrayed by the modern land-use capability maps.

During the historically documented period between 500 A.D. and 843 A.D. Islay formed part of the Kingdom of Dalriada (Bannerman 1974). The genealogy contained within the

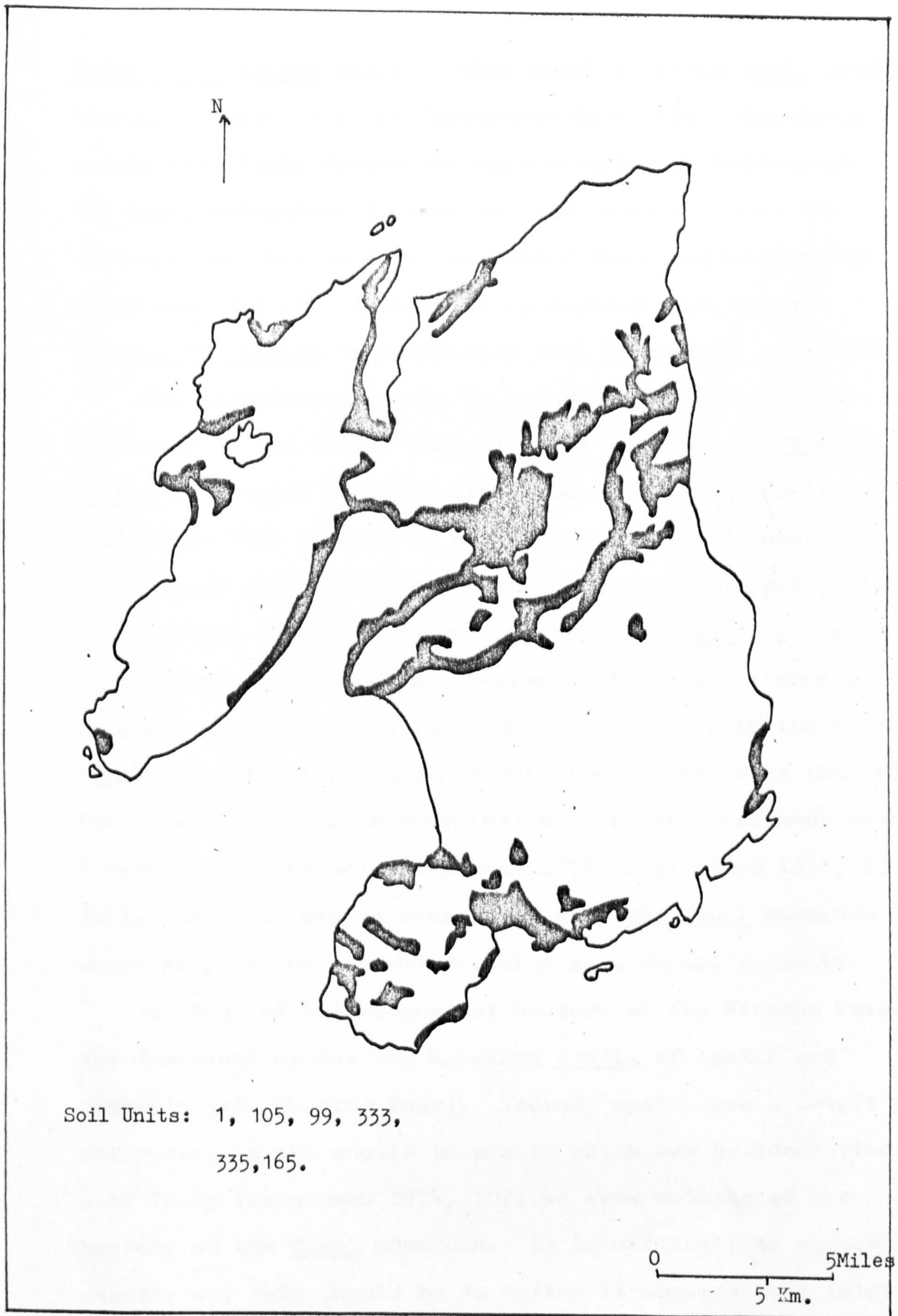


Fig. 38 The Location of Land with Arable Potential on Islay.

(After Macaulay Institute 1982 ; 6)

Senchus Fer nAlban suggests that members of the Cené1 nOengusa 'divided' lands in Islay (Bannerman 1974, 48). Bannerman argues that Islay formed the main territorial holding of the Cené1 nOengusa. It must be said, however, that the evidence for this is negative rather than positive, being based upon the fact that there is nothing else in the Senchus Fer nAlban to contradict this (Bannerman 1974, 114-5).

The independent nature of the Cené1 nOengusa may be indicated by the use of the term 'cet treb' in the Senchus Fer nAlban in respect of Islay (Bannerman 1974, 48; 142-3). Originally this appears to have meant 'a hundred hamlets' which would seem out of place in the present analysis, since the document then goes on to list the 350 'tige' of the Cené1 nOengusa. Bannerman, however, offers an alternative suggestion, arguing that the term is cognate with the Welsh 'cantref'. The importance of this lies in the fact that the latter would appear in many instances to be synonymous with a 'people' or 'tribe' (Bannerman 1974, 142; Lloyd 1911, I. 302). Thus its use in connection with the Cené1 nOengusa would support their identification as a separate entity.

A study of the subsequent history of the Kingdom reveals the dominance of the two mainland Cenéla of Loairn and nGabraín (cf. Chapter Four). Indeed, apart from a couple of references in the annals to places which may be identified with Islay (Bannerman 1974, 107) we know nothing of the history of the Cené1 nOengusa. It is difficult to understand exactly why this should be so unless it implies that Islay was unable to take advantage of communication and trade which

helped maintain the rest of the Kingdom. Another explanation would be that the production of documentation within Dalriada was being controlled by one of the other two Cenéla, and these deliberately chose to exclude the Cenél n0engusa from their records. The documentary record, then suggests that the Cenél n0engusa formed an isolated group; and it is this concept of the island of Islay forming a distinct community controlled by one major group of people, and the consequences of such that provide the basis for the present case-study.

The island would seem geographically well suited to the development of a role as an independent political entity. It lies more distant from the mainland of Argyll than any of the other islands of the Inner Hebridean group, with the exception of Coll and Tiree. It is also separated from the mainland by the large inhospitable mountainous mass of Jura. Of course the development and use of sea-borne communication would have reduced this isolation somewhat. With an area of 600 sq. km. (250 sq. miles) Islay would seem a suitable size to be administered as a unit. If we accept the suggestion contained within the Senchus Fer nAlban that there were between 350 and 560 'tige' on the island (cf. Chapter Thirteen) and that this unit could be equated with the Anglo-Saxon hide (Bannerman 1974, 144-6) then Islay would appear to compare favourably in size with the smallest territorial units noted in the Tribal Hidage (Davies and Vierck 1974).

The origins of the Cenél n0engusa and the nature of their establishment on Islay have already been discussed in some depth (cf. Chapter Fourteen) but it is of use to provide a

summary of this here. Bannerman rejects the suggestion contained within the Senchus Fer nAlban that Oengus Mór, the alleged founder of the Cené1 nOengusa was a brother of Fergus Mór. Instead he sees this as a latter accretion to the document. The aim of this manipulation was probably to justify the rule of a single King over the whole Kingdom. Bannerman goes on to illustrate that the Cené1 nOengusa may have been in existence in Ireland at the time of Fergus Mór, and he suggested the possibility that they were already present in Northern Britain prior to the arrival of Fergus Mór (1974, 122). The latter suggestion may, however, be erroneous since a reconsideration of the genealogy contained within the Senchus Fer nAlban suggests that it was the great grandsons of Oengus Mór who 'divided' lands in Islay. The protracted nature of the acquisition of Islay may be indicative of gradual establishment of control over a pre-existing island lineage, probably through a system of marriage alliances.

The main settlement sites which must be examined in the present work are the defended sites - forts, duns, crannogs and brochs - of the island which are located on Figure 39. The amount of information presently available about these sites is somewhat limited, being drawn mainly from O.S. records, and discussion of some sites by S. and C. Piggett (1946) and Childe (1935) hence the appendices contained within Volume 3 of the present work providing information on these sites do not provide as much detail ^{do those} as _{for} those areas surveyed by the R.C.A.H.M.S. The latter group

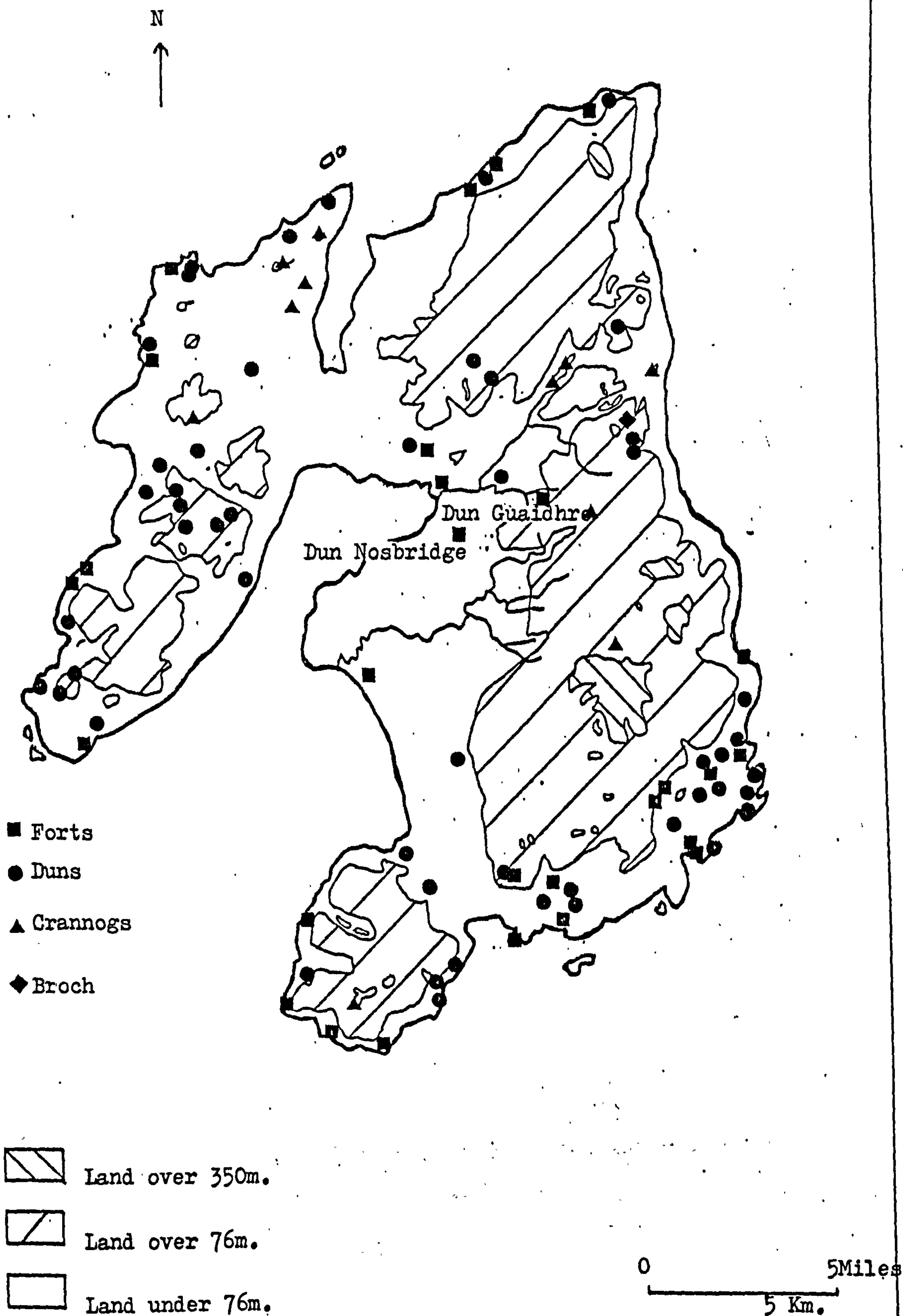


Fig. 39 The Location of Defended Settlements on Islay.

(from O.S. records)

have, however, completed most of their work on the island, for which a volume is in preparation.

The majority of forts of the island appears similar to examples elsewhere in Argyll. Most had stone walls; the occurrence of vitrified material at Dun Trudenish in the south of the island indicates that originally the wall, at this site at least, was timber laced. This site is also an example of a promontory fort, a type of site which is common on the island. Other examples include the Ard, Port Ellen and the Laggan. None of the forts has been examined by excavation and hence any discussion of them must be based on analogy with elsewhere in Argyll.

The most common of the defended sites are the duns, of which 48 examples have been identified. As elsewhere in Argyll they exhibit varying degrees of preservation, ranging from Dun Brahunisary where only the foundation course of stones is visible, to Dun Chroisprig where most of the dun walling survives to a height of over 1 m. in places (Plate 15). Of the 15 sites visited on the island (31% of the total) the majority appeared of a shape and size suggestive of a totally roofed structure. As elsewhere the size of sites varies immensely. The Ardnave site has an internal area of approximately 38 sq. m, while that of Dun Chroisprig is 113 sq. m. Such variations in size may relate to the size of social unit inhabiting them, but also the social status of the inhabitants (Cf. Chapter Seven). An examination of the agricultural potential of land adjacent to many sites seemed to indicate that cultivation may have been possible



Plate 15 Dun Chroisprig, Islay. (Nieke May 1982)

in the immediate vicinity of many sites. The remnants of rig cultivation were noted adjacent to the sites of Dun Chroisprig, Dun Traigh Machir and Dunan na Nighean. The good state of preservation of this rig suggests it is of relatively recent date. It can, however, be taken to indicate the possibility of cultivable areas adjacent to dun sites. Only at the site of Borrachail Mor, Port Ellen was an indication of possible contemporary cultivation noted. Here on a terrace immediately below and to the south of the dun two walls were located. Each ran across the terrace, and behind each a lynchet of soil had developed, suggesting cultivation. Similar cultivated terraces have already been noted adjacent to the duns of Ardanstur in Lorn (cf. Chapter Seven). None of the duns of Islay has been examined by excavation so, as with the forts of the island, dating evidence must in the main be drawn from elsewhere in Argyll. Some artefactual material is, however, recovered from some sites. A rotary quern stone is recorded from Dun Chroisprig (D.E.S. 1966) and sherds of pottery with organic tempering from the site of Dun Rockside. (Ritchie and Lane 1980). A fragment decorated with a cordon from the site has been interpreted as of Iron-age date by Lane. Discussion in the case-study of Tiree, however, illustrates that the precise dating of this pottery is far from secure.

Little is known about the crannogs of Islay none of which has been excavated or have produced any recorded artefactual material. The main concentration of such sites lies in the north-west of the island. This is of interest since it is an

area of low undulating relief with numerous small lochs in which the crannogs were constructed. In this area there is an absence of the type of location previously suggested as suitable for dun location. Hence it would seem that crannogs were built here in preference to duns. To suggest, however, that the choice of which type of site to construct was only related to the nature of relief would be naïve. It is clear that each site type necessitated quite different skills for construction, and hence ^{they} are not directly comparable. This problem is discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine.

Finally in discussing the fortified sites of the island, mention must be made of Dùn Bhoreraic, the only site on the island ascribed to the category of broch (Childe 1934). This survives as a circular foundation in which features such as a guard-cell, other intra mural cells and intramural wall galleries are visible. The walls stand to about 8 ft. high and the corbelling of intramural cells remains partially preserved. Pennant visited the site in the 18th century and recorded that it then stood to a height of 14 ft. (1772). Mackie agreed with Pennant's view of the site as a tower structure, suggesting that traces of a gallery visible on the wallhead might be indicative of an upper tier or gallery, this implied the site had originally been high. (1972, 147) The latter is one of the main characteristics used by Mackie to define a broch. It is clear, however, that the distinction between brochs and circular duns is extremely difficult to define (cf. Chapter Eight). Considering Dùn Bhoreraic specifically it does not fit neatly into the traditional broch

classification. The internal diameter of the site, 14 m, makes it the largest known broch site (cf. Mackie 1972, Fig. 6). The entranceway to the site is also unusual for a typical 'broch' since it has door checks on one side also. Uncertainty about the nature of this site led Mackie to classify it as a 'probable' broch site. In view of earlier discussion in the present work, however, it is questionable to what extent brochs do exist as a distinct category of sites in Argyll. Instead such a site is better seen as a slightly more complex version of a dun. On Islay this situation is well illustrated by the close similarity between Dùn Bhoreraic and Dun Chroisprig, the latter being an example of a very small circular dun.

None of the Early Historic Fortifications noted in documentary sources have been identified or located on Islay (cf. Chapter Ten). It would seem reasonable, however, to expect at least one to have existed. Since the island formed an independent entity within Dalriada, the local lineage leader probably had a main centre of residence which was also a site in which tribute could be collected. Of particular interest to such considerations are two unusual forts on the island. These are the sites of Dun Nosbridge and Dun Guaidhre both of which are located in the central lowlands of the island. Both of these sites are of earthen rather than the usual stone construction. The larger, Dun Nosbridge, has a rectangular summit area surrounded by outer terraces, all of which are well preserved, despite extensive rabbit action (Fig. 41). The other site, Dun Guaidhre, lies 5 km

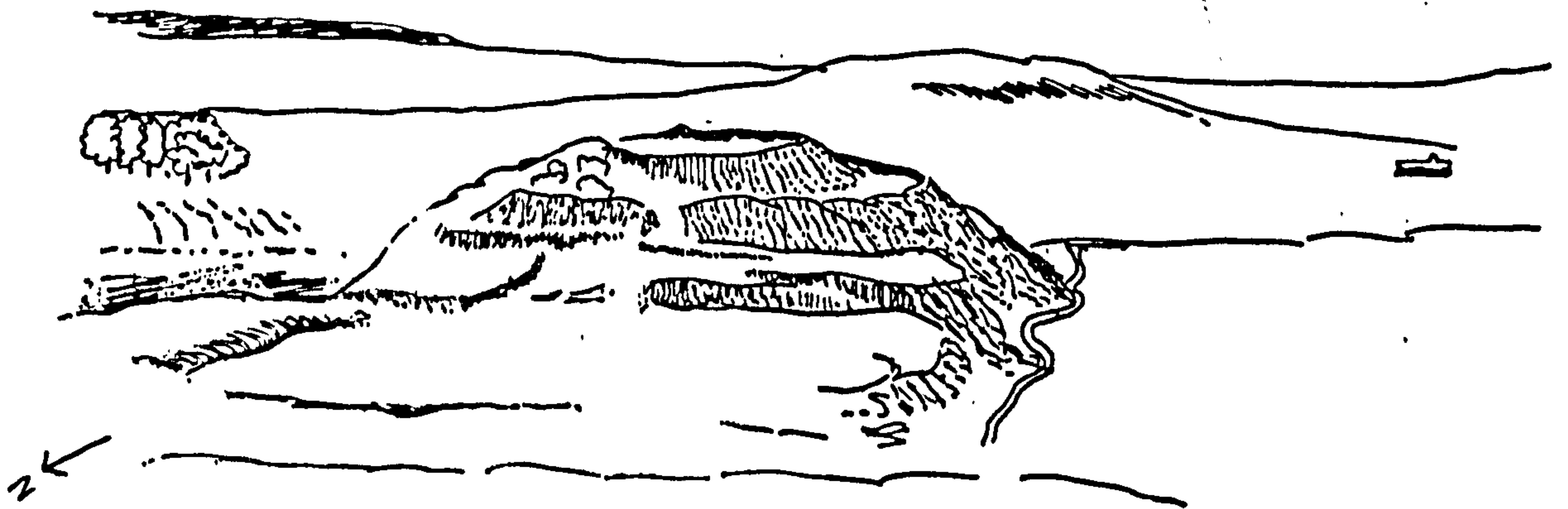


Fig. 41 Sketch of Dun Nosbridge from the North-East.

(scale: central citadel measures c. 32m. NE-SW by 18m. NW-SE)

to the north-north-east of the latter site, and is less well preserved. Exact parallels for these sites are difficult to find, either in the rest of western Scotland or Ireland. The steepness of the rampart profile, particularly at Dun Nosbridge possibly indicating little erosion, may be indicative of a late date of construction. The location of these sites in the centre of the island, which is also the area of the best agricultural land, may indicate that they were of some importance.

Sites in this area would also have easy access to Loch Indaal and the large sheltered bay at its head. This is the largest and most sheltered bay on Islay, and in view of the importance of sea-borne communication in Argyll location near to it may have been of major importance to local rulers. Such a central location within the island, then, would provide a good centre for a royal residence, and hence it could be postulated that these sites may have been the homesteads of the island rulers. Dun Nosbridge is not dissimilar from Dunadd in mainland Argyll since it has a central citadel area and outer enclosed terraces.

Considering the location of all the defended settlements on Islay several conclusions can be reached. The two main concentrations of settlement appear to have lain in the north Rhinns peninsula, and the south-east of the island, with a less dense scatter in the central lowlands. Generally sites avoid the upland, and also the area between the sand dunes of Laggan bay and the south-eastern hills, an area which

is still largely devoid of settlement because of the expanses of peat bog upon it. The latter 'gap' in the settlement record may, of course, be misleading, since it is possible that sites may lie presently undetected beneath the sand-dunes or peat bogs. For such a suggestion to be verified some attempt at dating the initiation of peat formation would have to be made.

By analogy with elsewhere in Argyll it is likely that many of the duns, crannogs and the 'broch' were in occupation during the 1st millennium A.D. Larger hillforts, with the exceptions of Dun Guaidhré and Dun Nosbridge may have been abandoned in favour of smaller sites, although there is no specific evidence for such from Islay. If this argument as to the dating of sites is correct, then it is of importance to consider the location of sites in relation to the civil survey contained within the Senchus Fer nAlban. Within this document, as has previously been indicated, the total number of 'tech' belonging to the Cené1 nOengusa are listed, and are subdivided amongst the 'townships' or 'districts' of the island (cf. Chapter Thirteen). This subdivision contrasts with that provided for the Cené1 Loairn where the total number is subdivided amongst the various leaders of the Cené1. It is difficult to explain why this difference should have occurred. Land was normally seen as owned by kinship groups, and hence the division of land amongst people would be anticipated. The impersonal division of holdings between the 'townships' or 'districts' of the Cené1 nOengusa territory implies a difference between Islay and the rest of Dalriada.

One explanation of this may be that the mainland rulers of Dalriada, for whom the Senchus Fer nAlban was written did not totally accept the power of local individuals on Islay, and hence did not openly acknowledge their existence within such documentary records. The listing contained within the Senchus Fer nAlban can be summarized as follows;

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| Oidech | 20 'tíge.' |
| Freg | 120 'tíge.' |
| Calad Rois | 60 'tíge.' |
| Ros Deorand | 30 'tíge.' |
| Ard hEs | 30 'tíge.' |
| Loch Rois | 30 'tíge.' |
| Ath Cassil | 30 'tíge.' |
| <u>Cené1</u> nOengusa | 30 'tíge.' |

tentative

Some attempts have been made to locate these areas on the ground on Islay (Thomas 1882; Lamont 1966). Oidech has been located in the south of the island since Thomas argues that the Oidech Insula noted in Adomnan's Life of Columba (A:II:14) is the island of Texa which lies just south of Islay. Adomnan states that ecclesiastics en route between Ireland and Iona would stay here, and it would seem that Texa is well suited to such a role.

Freg would seem to have lain within the central lowlands of the island. Lamont equates it with the Norse name for the Bowmore-Killarow area which, when Gaelicised, is Proaig (1966, 72). This must be distinguished from the modern settlement of Proaig situated on the east coast, north of Kildalton which, as Thomas points out, is in a barren location. Thomas

location was agreed upon by Lamont who suggested that name is reflected in the name of Dun Pruchlais (now known as Dun Bruichlinn) which lies here.

Calad Rois was probably in the west of the island, since it seems to contain the element Ros a promontory. The location of a settlement named Cladach in the south of the peninsula led to the argument that it lay in this area (Thomas 1882). The name Cladville is also found in the southern Rhinns and may also trace its origins back to a former district name.

Loch Rois was suggested to lie in the north Rhins peninsula because of the numerous lochs here, after which it would appear to be named (Thomas 1882; Lamont 1966, 72).

Ath Cassil would appear to equate with the Oa peninsula because of the similarity between 'Ath' and 'Oa' (Thomas 1882). The 'Cassil' element is indicative of a castle, and may refer to the fortification of Dun Ara or Dun Aidh here (Lamont 1966, 72).

Ros Deorand has formerly been taken to indicate the southern end of Jura, which was written as Dure or Dewre in the 14th century (Thomas 1882; Lamont 1966, 72). An alternative suggestion, however, would be that the name is a Latin-Gaelic hybrid meaning the promontory of God. This being the case it may equate with the Ardnave peninsula, where several important early Christian sites were located.

Finally Ard hEs has been associated with the Kilmeny area of eastern Islay, because each other major area of the island appears accounted for (Thomas 1882; Lamont 1966) ^{possible} Figure 42 locates these areas within the island. The boundaries

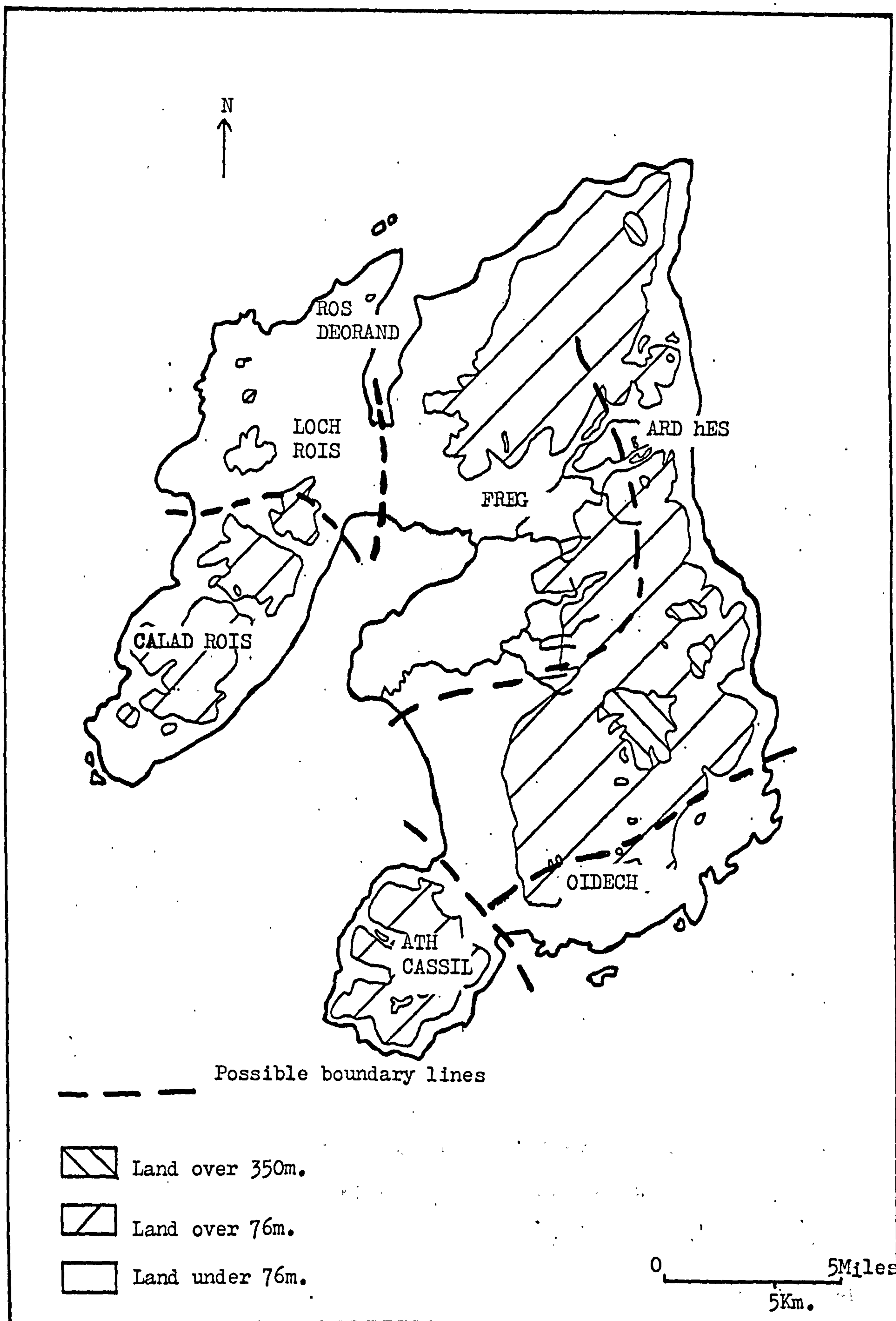


Fig.42 The Possible locations of the 'townships' or 'districts'
noted in the Senuhus Fer nAlban.

between these districts may have been marked, in accordance with Irish tradition, by natural features. Hence the boundary of Ath Cassil may have lain across the narrow neck of land which today continues to define the Oa peninsula. Oidech may have been the stretch of land along the south-east coast, bounded on one side by the sea, on the other by highland. The boundary between Calad Rois and Loch Rois may be related to the change in relief, noted earlier, marking the junction of the Torridonian rocks to the north of the peninsula, and the Lewisian Gneisses to the south.

Having tentatively established the location of these districts it is of interest to compare the number of 'tige' listed with the number of small defended sites recorded. The following table presents such a comparison for the areas noted within the Senchus Fer nAlban which can clearly be identified.

| District | Listing in <u>Senchus Fer nAlban</u> | Number of small defended sites |
|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Oidech | 20 ' <u>tige</u> ' | 15 |
| Ath Cassil | 30 ' <u>tige</u> ' | 7 |
| Loich Rois) Ros Deorand) | 60 ' <u>tige</u> ' | 20 |
| Calad Rois | 60 ' <u>tige</u> ' | 11 |

This indicates that the number of duns, and crannogs in these areas is not directly comparable with the Senchus Fer nAlban listing. In view of preceding discussion, however, this is hardly surprising (cf. Chapter Fifteen). Even if the number of large hillforts are included in the calculations the number of sites is not immediately comparable, as the following table illustrates:-

| District | Listing in the <u>Senchus Fer nAlban</u> | Number of defended sites |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Oidech | 20 ' <u>tige</u> .' | 25 |
| Ath Cassil | 30 ' <u>tige</u> ' | 11 |
| Loich Rois) Ros Deorand) | 60 ' <u>tige</u> ' | 23 |
| Calad Rois | 60 ' <u>tige</u> ' | 11 |

As the present distribution of defended sites may be fairly representative of the original situation (cf Chapter Fifteen) the difference between the two sets of figures cannot be attributed solely to the destruction of defended sites. The difference becomes all the more marked if it is correct to see the Senchus Fer nAlban having been compiled in two phases. The first phase lists the 350 'tige' listed earlier, the second 420 'tige' (cf. Chapter Thirteen). This can be used to support the view that the defended settlements belonged to people of high social position, and that a large number of settlements remain presently unidentified.

The greatest discrepancy between the number of defended sites, and the listing is for the area of Freg. According to the document, Freg was the most populous district, with a total of 120 'tige'. Freg is located within the central lowlands in an area where the forts of Dun Nosbridge and Dun Guaidhre, previously mentioned are also located. Previous discussion indicated that these may have been the homesteads of the island ruler. According to Irish laws, a King would have had more clients than any other member of society (cf. MacNeill 1924). It is possible that the area of Freg had

numerous small non defended settlements inhabited by such clients of the rulers. Also within the area nobility may have been precluded from constructing defended sites; since this display of status may have been seen to undermine the Royal position. If many of the settlements within this area were not massively constructed and undefended they may have been destroyed more easily over time.

Having^{attempted to} locate the various 'districts' or 'townships' as above it is worth considering the distribution of duns and crannogs in relation to the^{tentative} boundary zones between these areas. In earlier discussion it was argued that the acquisition of Islay may have been a protracted affair, and that various subgroups may have existed within the island. The latter may have been remnants of the former lineages which held the island. This being the case boundary zones may have been important as inter-tribal meeting points (cf. Chapter Fifteen). Thus it may be that the cluster of sites in the middle of the Rhinns peninsula may be so located because of a boundary zone between Calad Rois to the south, and Loch Rois to the north. Similarly Dun Brahunisary may be located on the boundary of the area of Oidech since the Oa peninsula to the south-west, highland to the north-east and the peat mosses to the north.

It is clear that settlements other than the defended ones were in occupation in the 1st Millennium A.D. The sites of Ardnave, Kilellan and Sanaigmore discussed in Chapter Eleven are all located on Islay. These were all preserved within sand dune systems, and it is possible that others still exist within these areas, and also in the extensive systems of the

Laggan bay. Field work on the island by the Ordnance Survey field officers and also the R.C.A.H.M.S. has led to the identification of many hut-circles on the island (Fig. 43). Without excavation these cannot be precisely dated, and while some may be of Bronze Age date, others may have been of much later date. Analysis of such sites might help any attempt to analyse the settlement pattern of the island in the 1st Millennium A.D.

There is much evidence for the establishment of Christianity on Islay which may date to the 1st Millennium A.D. Monasteries have traditionally been associated with several sites on the island (Fig. 44). The islands of Nave, Orsay and Texa would all seem favourable sites for the sorts of small monastic communities frequently found in northern Britain (cf. Chapter Twelve; Lamont 1971, 35-8). All three have chapels located upon them, though no traces of other structures indicative of monastic establishments have been noted. A slab bearing a ringed cross, unlikely to pre-date the 8th century is recorded from Orsay island (Lamont 1972, 13). The island would seem to be named after St. Orain, while Nave island seems to have been named after one Nen (Watson 1926, 307).

Texa Island, as has been noted earlier, has been identified as the Oideach insula mentioned in Adomnan's Life of Columba. Graham argued that Nave island should be identified as the Elena insula on which a Columban monastery described in Adomnan's Life of Columba was located (1895, 48). There is, however, no corroborative evidence for such suggestion.

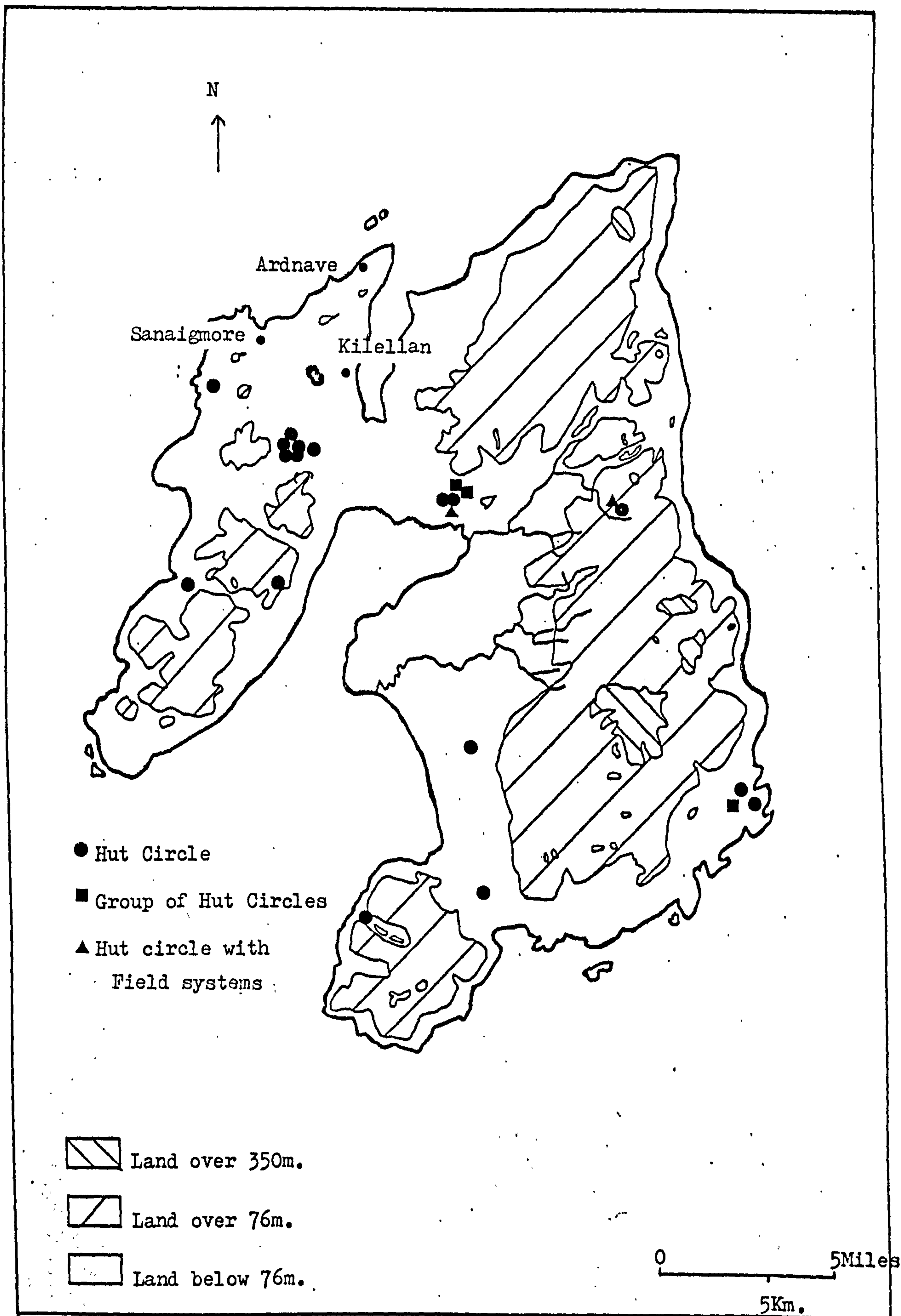


Fig. 43 The location of hut circles and other excavated settlement sites
on Islay.

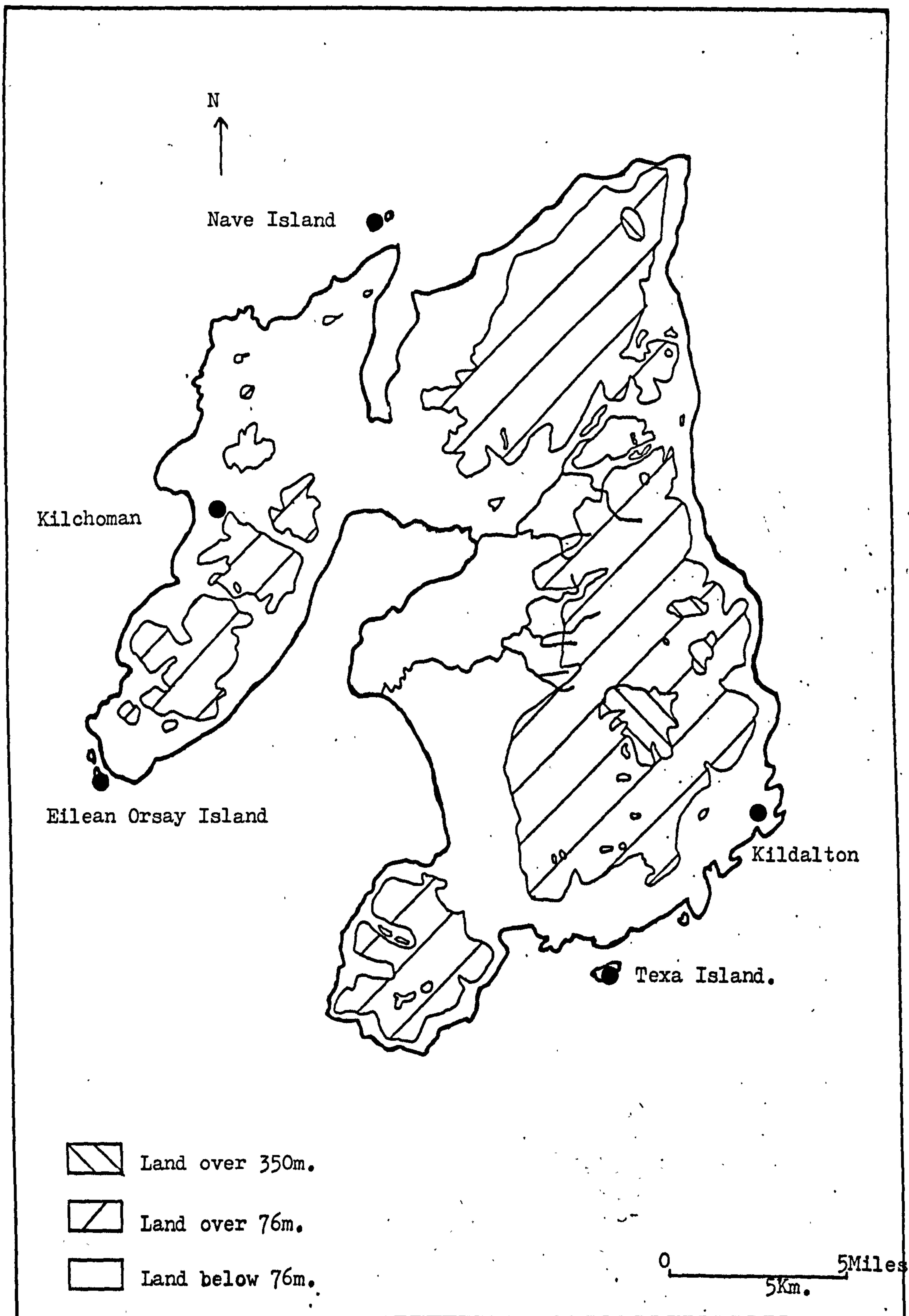


Fig.44 The location of possible Early Christian monastic sites on Islay.

The only archaeological evidence which might indicate a monastic establishment is a circular vallum enclosing the later church of Kilchoman on the west coast of the island (E. Talbot, pers. comm.). There is no documentary evidence for this site though.

An analysis of the Kil- place names of Islay indicates the possible establishment of early Christian sites all over the island (Fig. 45). The majority of these place-names are still associated with either standing churches or the remains of earlier religious sites. Others are associated with settlement sites which may have taken on the names of nearby ecclesiastical sites.

The archaeological evidence for early Christianity on the island is varied. Lamont has identified several incised stones which may be of early date from the sites of Kildalton, Kilchoman, Gleann na Gaoithe (Plate 16) Eilean Orsay Island, and Kilbride (1972, 6-14) (Fig. 46). These include simple outline crosses, ring headed crosses and roughly shaped cruciform cross. The simple nature of these stones makes it impossible to date them clearly (cf. Chapter Twelve). Most of these may have been burial markers; a differing function has, however, been argued for the Kilchoman examples. As they are located some distance from the churchyard, and also each other, they have been interpreted as sanctuary crosses, marking the bounds of ecclesiastical territory there (Lamont 1972, 9). This might be associated with the postulated monastery at this site.

Of particular importance on Islay, and indeed for studies of Christianity in Dalriada as a whole are the two sculptured

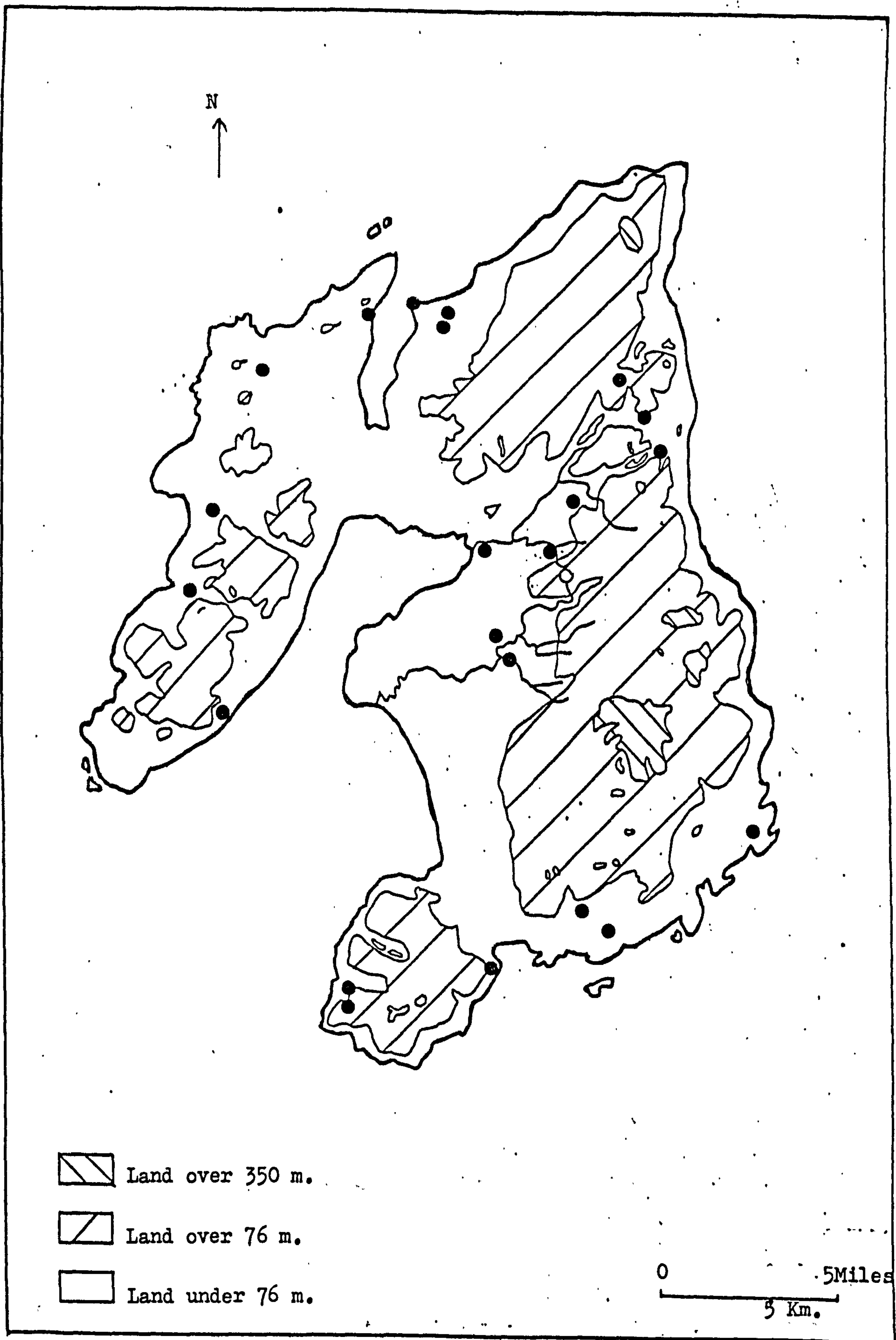


Fig. 45 The Location of Kil-- Place Names on Islay.

(from 1:50,000 O.S.map)

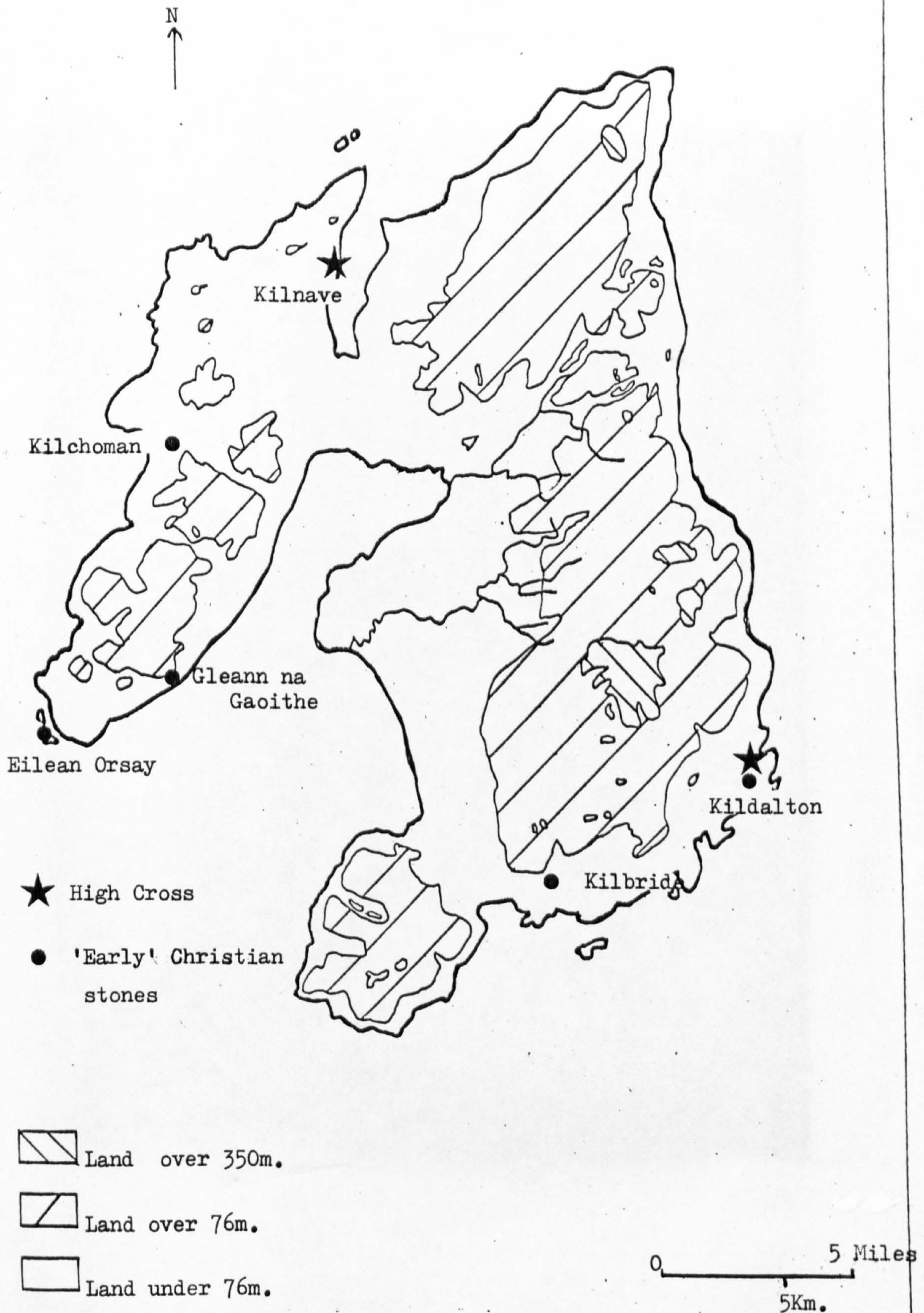


Fig. 46 'Early' Christian Sculptured Stones of Islay.

(from Lamont 1968)



Plate 16 Gleann na Gaoithe stone, Islay. (Nieke May 1982)

high crosses found at Kilnave and Kildalton. The former is now broken and badly weathered, but was originally a fine sculptured cross. It is carved on one side only (cf. Appendix T, Volume 3) and bears a decoration consisting of panels of spiral interlace. An almost identical decorative panel is found on a high cross from Kiells in Mid-Argyll (Lamont 1972, 16). The cross at Kildalton is the better preserved, and is indeed the finest example of a Celtic high cross from Scotland (Plates 17 and 18). It is carved of a block of local bluestone and differs from the Kilnave example in being ring-headed. It is decorated with bosses, spiral work and figured panels, features which indicate that it forms a group with St. Oran's Cross, St. John's Cross and St. Martin's Cross, all on Iona (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1982). The R.C.A.H.M.S. have recently summarized discussion on the dating of these crosses, which has ranged between the 8th and the 12th centuries (1982, 17). Lamont argues that the cross is of Irish form, but includes Northumbrian decorative elements (such as the use of the figured panels) (1972, 16-19).

The main question posed by these stones is why they are located on Islay. Both are the product of skilled craftsmen. The latter must have been specifically brought to the island since local stone was used for both examples. The skilled craftsmanship which went into the production of each of these stones would seem to indicate that they were related to important early religious sites. Unfortunately the function of such stones is unclear (cf. Chapter Twelve). Some may have had a commemorative function, others may have marked centres from which the faith was disseminated to the population.



Plate 17 Kildalton High Cross, Islay.
(Nieke May 1982)



Plate 18 Kildalton High Cross, Islay.

(Nieke May 1982)

The location of the stone at Kildalton has led to the suggestion that a monastery existed there (Lamont 1972, 5) though there is no corroborative evidence for such.

Kilnave, it would appear, is named after a saint called Nem who is also commemorated on the island of Nave to the north of the Ardnave peninsula. If a monastic community did exist on the latter island it is possible that Kilnave marked the place where they came to the mainland to meet lay communities.

The remnants of many former chapels and their associated burial grounds are found on Islay. Often the Kil- place name, or dedication to an early saint of such sites implies a considerable antiquity. Of the actual remains however few are likely to be particularly early. Exceptions to this would include the small drystone chapel at Gleann na Gaoithe which is also associated with possibly early stones. Of the latter two portray simple outline crosses with ringed heads. These are unlikely to pre-date the 8th century. At the chapel of Kilslevan a circular enclosure around the chapel might be indicative of an early Christian site (Lamont 1972, 5). These circular enclosures may be of pre-Norse date (cf. Chapter Twelve).

Because of the acceptance of Christianity by the rulers of Dalriada it was argued earlier that important early Christian sites may have been established near to Early Historic Fortifications (cf. Chapter Twelve). If it is considered that the sites of Dun Guaidhre and Dun Nosbridge on Islay were such sites, it is of important to attempt to locate

adjacent early Christian sites. No sites have been recorded in the immediate vicinity of Dun Nosbridge, but at Dun Guaidhre the chapel of Kilmeny lies at the foot of the hill upon which the fort is located. It could be speculated that the reason for its existence here could relate to the nearby presence of the fort. The Kil- place name associated with the site may indicate an early Christian period foundation. The importance of the site may also be indicated by its later choice as the parish Church for North-eastern Islay, despite the fact that it lies on the periphery of the area it serves.

An analysis of all the sites on the island with early Christian associations suggests that the majority lie within the major areas of settlement on the island, namely the northern Rhinns, central lowlands and south-eastern coastal area. This may indicate a church actively involved with the lay community, rather than one seeking eremitic locations in which to build cells for contemplative priests.

With the arrival of the Norse in the west of Scotland, Islay appears to have been an important centre for their activities. Many place-names containing Scandinavian elements have been identified here, along with several Scandinavian burials.

In his work on place-name analysis Nicholaisen identified one settlement name on Islay containing the element -staðir (a dwelling place) which he interprets as the earliest Scandinavian place-name form in use in Scotland (cf. Chapter Sixteen). One containing the element -setr (a dwelling) and several containing the element -bolstaðir (a farm) were

also identified (Fig. 47). Recently Alcock and Alcock have questioned the validity of the identification of Ellister as a -setr place-name as Nicholaisen argues. They illustrate that earlier forms of the name indicate a differing Norse element -still, an enclosure, fank or stell. On the other hand they suggest that the place name Ardilistry in the south of Islay (NGR NR 44 49) may be a true example of a -setr name. Alcock and Alcock have also indicated that names containing the element -bolstaðir may have been more numerous than Nicholaisen indicated (Fig. 48) (cf. Appendix U, Volume 3).

The analysis of these Scandinavian place-names indicates two main areas of Norse settlement on the island, one concentrated on the Oa peninsula, the other within the central lowlands.

The archaeological evidence for Norse activity on the island is restricted mainly to evidence drawn from burials, of which several examples have been recorded. The best preserved were from Ballinaby on the west coast, where male and female burials were accompanied by a vast array of grave goods (cf. Appendix V, Volume 3). With the exception of a poorly documented example from Newton (Anderson 1879) all these burials were recorded as they eroded out of sand dunes.

In addition to the above, one early Christian stone bears clear indication of Norse influence. This is a stone from the Port Ellen area which bears a ring-headed cross surrounded by decoration in the Scandinavian Ringerike style

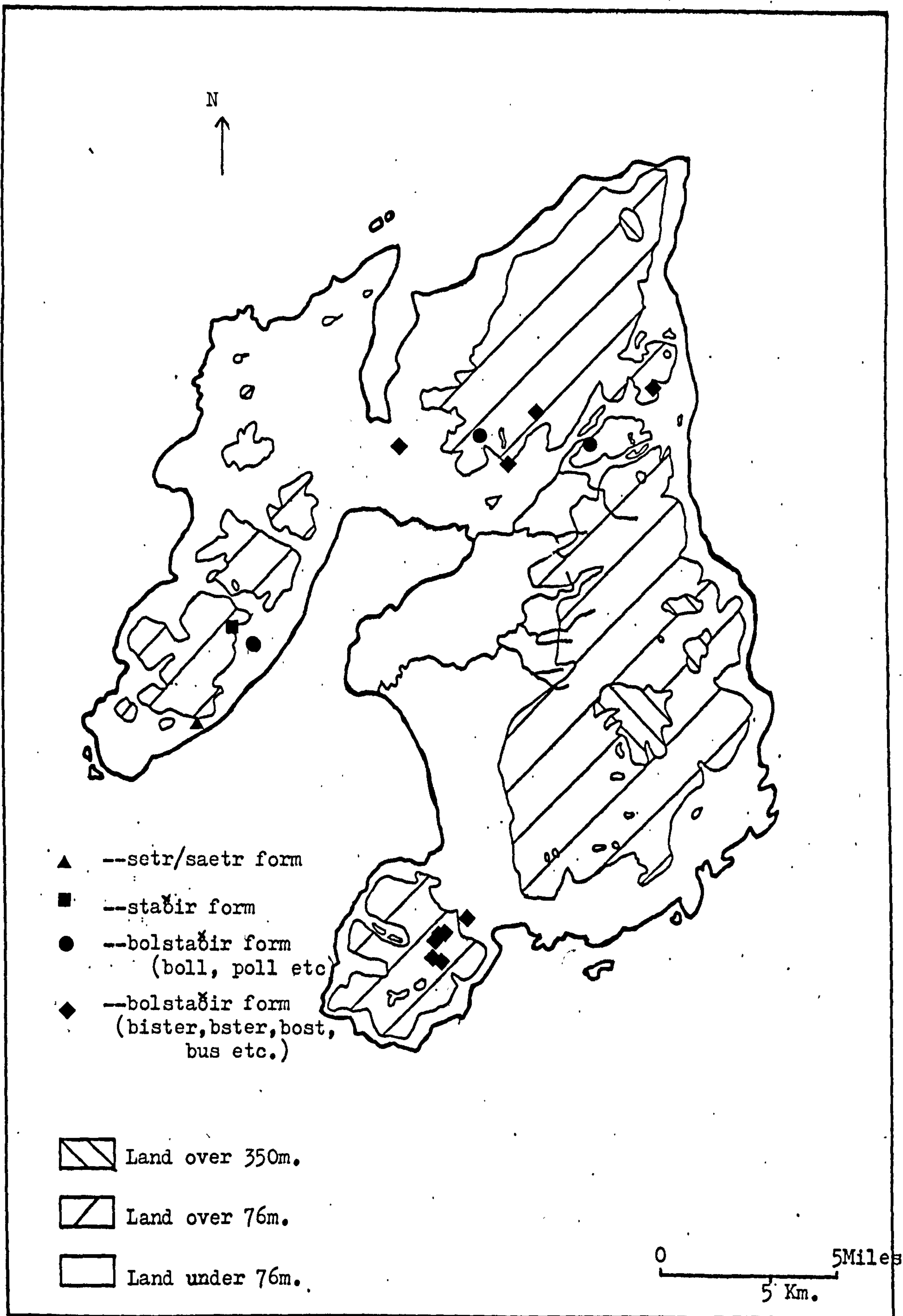


Fig.47 Place names containing Scandinavian elements on Islay.

(after Nicolaisen 1976)

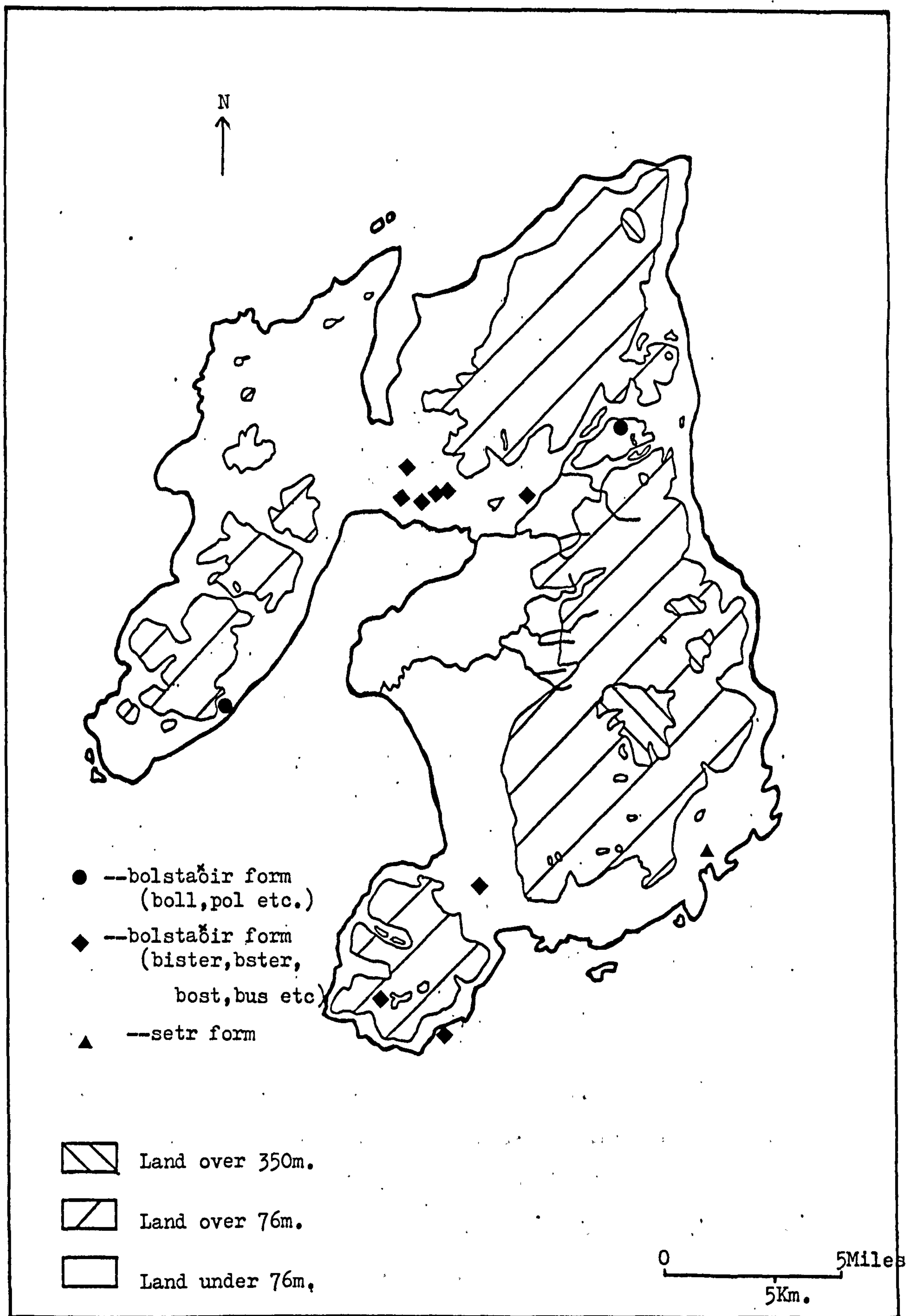


Fig.48 Additional place-names containing Scandinavian elements on Islay. (after 1:50,000 O.S.map sheets and Alcock and Alcock 1980)

(Stevenson 1956). It is difficult to date this art style clearly, but it is suggested that its period of high fashion was during the 1st half of the 11th century (Graham Campbell and Kidd 1980, 173). It is of interest that this stone was found near the Oa peninsula, where place-name evidence suggests one of the densest concentrations of Norse settlement was located.

No trace of structural remains of Norse date have been found on Islay, apart from a possible structure which eroded out of sand dunes at Cruach Mhor (Alcock and Alcock 1980, Islay Archaeological Survey Group Records). Unfortunately erosion of this structure was not monitored, and all trace of it has now just about been lost.

In an attempt to locate possible Norse settlement sites Alcock and Alcock initiated an analysis of place-names and the settlements they were associated with. While they were unable to find any clear trace of such settlements, they were able to indicate areas in which profitable research could be conducted. In particular they indicate the large number of Scandinavian settlement names found in the Oa peninsula, an area where numerous deserted settlements also exist. They argue that analysis of these might locate traces of early Norse settlements in the area. This would be an extremely worthwhile project, although it would involve much detailed fieldwork, since there is no record of the number and nature of deserted settlements in the peninsula. A point which they did not make strongly enough was that, if we believe the place-name evidence, the Oa peninsula was one of two major concentrations of Norse settlement on Islay.

Drawing these various strands of evidence together we must question the distribution pattern of Norse activity on the island implied by them. Islay would appear to have been one of the more favourable islands within the Inner Hebridean group for Norse settlement. The attraction may have lain partly in the good agricultural land on the island, but this does not in itself explain how the settlers were able to infiltrate the pre-existing communities on the island and acquire land on which to settle, hence it is to a discussion of this that we must now turn.

The two main centres of Norse settlement on the island appear to have been the Oa peninsula and the central lowlands. If the distribution of Scandinavian place-names is compared with that of the defended sites discussed earlier several interesting points are raised. The two main centres of defended sites, the North Rhinns and the south-east coast appear largely devoid of evidence for Scandinavian settlement. This may imply that the defended settlements were in occupation when the Norse arrived, and the latter group were unable to find land here on which to settle. Conversely the Oa peninsula did not have a dense population of defended settlements, and hence the Norse may have been able relatively easily, to acquire land here on which to settle. Hence here we may be seeing peaceful infilling of Norse settlement around pre-existing sites.

The concentration of settlements in the central lowlands is not as easily explained, since it was argued earlier that this area contains the best agricultural land on the island,

and may have been the area in which island rulers resided. This then raises the question of how the Norse were able to acquire such lands. Several clues to this are provided by an ^aanalysis of the available historical documentation for the period. Because of the lack of references to the Cenél nOengusa during the Early Historic Period it is possible that the island became somewhat of a backwater missing out on the exchange systems which were maintaining the rest of the Kingdom. The Norse may have been welcomed to the island because of the trading they were involved in, which may have brought a new prosperity to the island (cf. Chapter Sixteen). While there are no balances or weights recorded in the Scandinavian burials on Islay, the coin hoard found at Machrie (Stevenson 1966) which dates to around 975 A.D., and contains more than 100 Anglo-Saxon pennies, some hack silver and an Arab coin may indicate this new-found wealth.

During the 9th century it is clear that some political reorganisation was occurring in the Hebridean islands, which may have resulted from the movement to the east of Cinaed Mac Ailpin (cf. Chapter Four). The expansion in the area of interest of the Dalriadic Kings may have caused weaknesses in the peripheral areas such as Islay. This was probably the reason why Gofraith, chief of Airgialla, who later acquired the title 'Lord of the Hebrides' was invited to Northern Britain. The uncertainty of this period could have been exploited by the incoming Norse who were then able to establish themselves even in the most fertile areas of the island, without hindrance.

The preceding discussion has argued that the Norse establishment on Islay may have been relatively peaceful, with infilling of Norse settlement around pre-existing sites. The Norse may also have taken advantage of the political weaknesses of the 9th century to establish themselves there, and because of the wealth they brought with them such establishment may have been actively encouraged by the local communities. The pattern of Norse establishment may not have been the same throughout the island, however. Discussion of the evidence for Norse burials on Islay noted the existence of several burials at Ballinaby in the west of the island. These lie outwith the two major concentrations of Norse settlement on the island outlined above, and deserve further comment. The place name of Ballinaby was probably originally the Gaelic Baile an Abba, the farm or townland of the Abbot (Thomas 1882). This site lies 4 km to the north of the Church of Kilchoman, where an early Christian monastery may have existed. Such supposition would be further supported by the above place name. If this monastic establishment had been abandoned or raided as a result of early Viking activity in the west, it is possible that the Norse were able easily to acquire land which was previously held by the community. Hence at Ballinaby the Norse settlement (if indeed one existed here) may have occurred on land previously held by the Church.

Analysis of later documentation suggests that the Norwegian Kings claimed authority over Islay for several centuries. The island was included within the territory of the Norse diocese of Sodor which was founded around 1100

(Duncan and Brown 1957). It is questionable to what extent such claims had any real basis, however. Islay was one of the main territories held by the Lordship of the Isles which developed in the area (cf. Chapter Seventeen). On the death of Somerled, Islay was inherited by his son Raonall (Ranald, Ragnvald or Reginald) who also held Kintyre (Barrow 1981, 108-110). One of the major palaces of this lordship was established at Finlaggan on Islay. Unfortunately little is known of the pattern of settlement on the island in this medieval period.

The present agricultural landscape of Islay owes much to the improvements of the 18th century and later. They were really initiated by Daniel Campbell of Shawfield in the 1830's (Storrie 1981, 58). Storrie has examined estate papers documenting the improvements and illustrates the complex nature of later systems of land-holding, and patterns of settlement. Improvements included the introduction of new crops such as flax and potatoes, and the consolidation of holdings and reduction in the number of tenants in many areas. In any attempt at analysing earlier patterns of settlement and activity on the island there later veneers must be stripped away. Storrie's work well illustrates the complexity of these later patterns. Islay is more fortunate than most areas in having a good collection of surviving estate documents which allow detailed analysis of changing patterns of land-use on the island. In relation to this documentary record, attempts have been made to isolate systems of land-holding which may date back to the 1st Millennium A.D. which later became fossilised within systems

of land-holding, and hence encapsulated within later documentary records (Lamont 1957, 1958). The nature of these, however, is not fully understood, and Lamont's early work on them was somewhat misguided (cf. Chapter Seventeen). The potential that close scrutiny of these documents could provide an insight into medieval and earlier patterns of land holding and exploitation must remain.

In conclusion, Islay formed an independent political unit during the Early Historic Period, controlled by one of the three major lineages of Dalriada. This lineage, however, does not appear to have participated much in the recorded history of the Kingdom. This may relate partially to their deliberate exclusion from the documentary record by the mainland Cenél. During this period the Island rulers may have been based in the centre of the island, and elsewhere many of the defended sites may have been in occupation. In addition to these a large number of other settlements, presently unidentified may have been in existence.

The early Church was firmly established on the island, and at least one monastic establishment may have existed there. In the 8th century or later it was possible for highly skilled craftsmen to be employed to carve two of the finest high crosses in Argyll.

The Norse may have found it relatively easy to acquire land on which to settle on Islay. This establishment may have been largely peaceful, but the Norse may have taken advantage of the political weaknesses of the 9th century

to acquire a strong foothold on the island. While the Norwegian crown claimed authority over Islay until 1266, their power was not strong and they were unable to prevent the rise of local lords to form the Lordship of the Isles in the area.

Case Study: Mid Argyll

Mid Argyll lay at the heart of Dalriada and was one of the most important areas within the Early Historic Kingdom. The boundary between the Cenéla of Loairn and nGabraín, the two most powerful of the three major lineages of the Kingdom probably lay in the south of the study area. Hence the area was probably an important zone for inter Cenéla contact. Within the area the major Royal site of Dunadd was located, along with many other smaller defended sites. The major aim of the following case study will be to examine the importance of the area to the Kings of Dalriada, and the possible inter-relationships between the various defended sites of the area.

The area defined as Mid-Argyll in the present work is illustrated on Fig. 49. It extends from West Loch Tarbert in the south to Arknish bay in the north, and inland to Loch Awe. Since the area does not form a natural unit the northern and eastern boundaries were arbitrarily chosen lines, and this must be taken into account in consideration of the following study.

The area in which the archaeological survey of Mid Argyll (Campbell and Sandeman 1962) was conducted also influenced the extent of area examined within the present study, since it was considered of importance to choose an area for which detailed, and fairly uniform, information existed about the various archaeological sites. The present study considers a smaller geographical area than did Campbell and Sandeman. A detailed survey of the sites and monuments of Mid-Argyll is presently being prepared by the R.C.A.H.M.S., although it

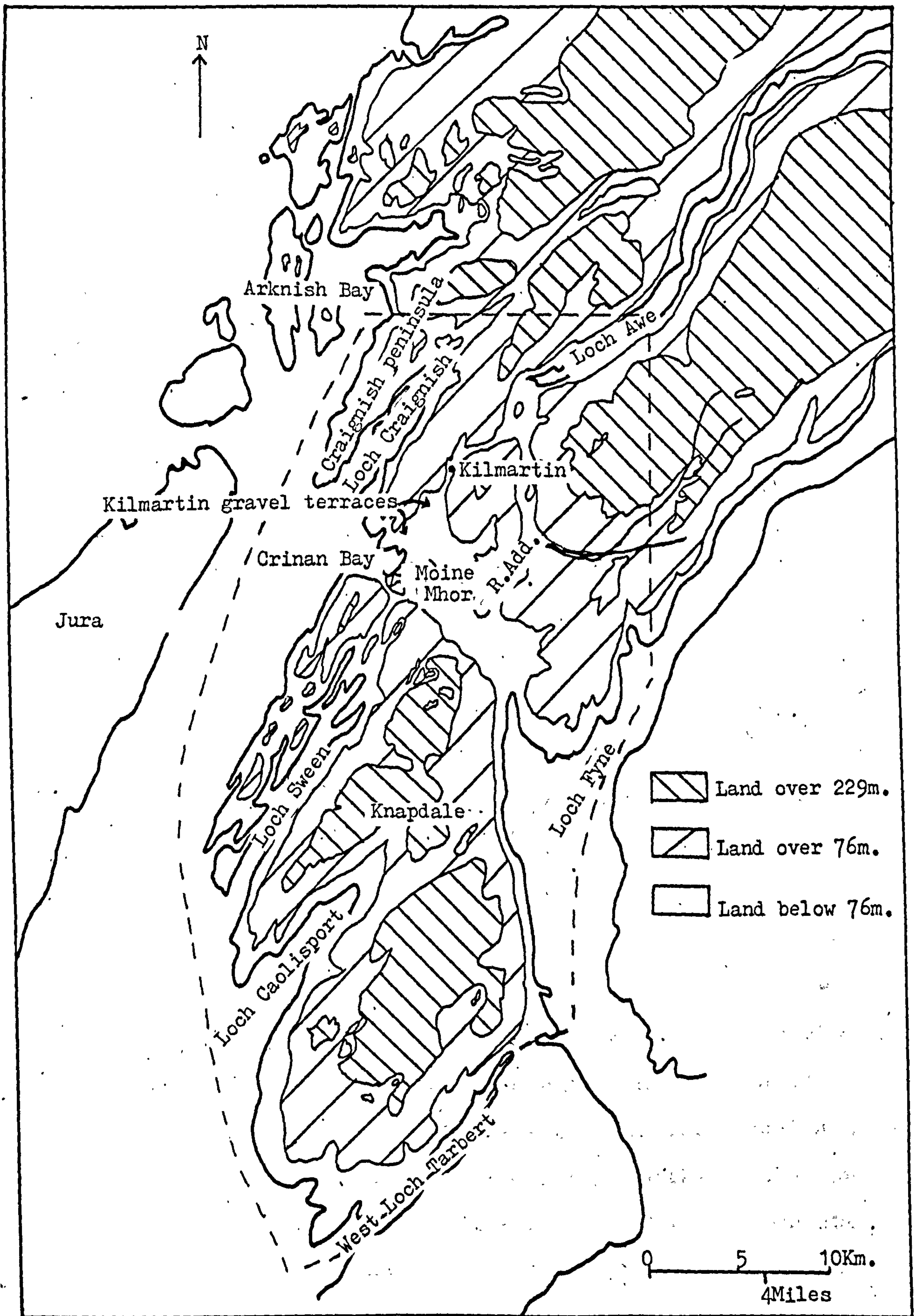


Fig. 49 Mid Argyll.

will be some years before this is published. In the meantime the details of many sites contained within the following work should be seen as an interim statement, to be amended and developed when the R.C.A.H.M.S. volume is published.

Geologically the area is composed of Metamorphic Dalradian and Moinian rocks. These have been massively folded to form extensive areas of broken highland, interspersed with small lakes and large fresh and sea-water lochs. Knapdale in the south is characterised by a series of rocky spines and deep water inlets occupied by sea-lochs. These all tend in a north-east to south-west direction.

To the north of Knapdale this trend in relief is broken by the inlet occupied by the sea loch of Crinan. To the south-east of Crinan bay lies the flat extent of the Mòine Mhor, an area of peat moss through which the River Add drains. Areas of this are presently used for pasturage and in some instances tillage. The present pattern of usage, however, is the product of extensive drainage which was occurring from the 18th century. To what extent this flat expanse was usable in antiquity is difficult to determine. No traces of crannogs have been found there, as was the case with the similar Aros Moss in Kintyre. This might suggest that the area was originally reasonably well drained, and hence not suitable for crannog construction. Certainly the surface of the moss is far from flat and many pockets of useable land may have existed on it in antiquity. North of the Mòine Mhor lie the Kilmartin gravel terraces. These were deposited by glacial melt waters after the Ice Age. They can broadly be divided into two groups, firstly the flat plain to the

south of Kilmartin, through which the Kilmartin Burn drains, and secondly the pronounced terrace trending north-east to south-west deposited against the outcropping rock to the west. Of these have been extensively used for agricultural purposes, particularly for improved pasturage.

North of this flat basis highland is again encountered, the main lines of which trend in the same direction as those of Knapdale. The main inland valley within this area is that occupied by Loch Awe. In total approximately 69% of the total land surface of Mid-Argyll lies at an altitude of 76^{m. O.D.} or above, while 23% of the area rises above 229 m. O.D.

The soils of the area are generally poor, especially in Knapdale. Most have a high organic content and are peaty and wet. They are also generally shallow. The exception to this general view of the soils of Mid-Argyll are those around the Mòine Mhor and gravel terraces which are much deeper and suited to intensive cultivation or pasturage. Figure 50 illustrates the extent of soils with arable potential in Mid-Argyll. (After Macaulay Institute 1982, Volume 6). This illustrates that in Knapdale these are limited to restricted areas along the west coast, where the hills reach gently down to the sea. North of this the extensive areas discussed above are well illustrated. Of course, as with elsewhere in Argyll it is clear that other areas of Mid-Argyll have formerly been cultivated. In the Parish of Craidish, for example, the O.S.A. states that in the 1790's a large percentage of the population were engaged in local agriculture.

The soils of the area were deemed fertile, although the climate was inhospitable, and unsuited to good crop growth.

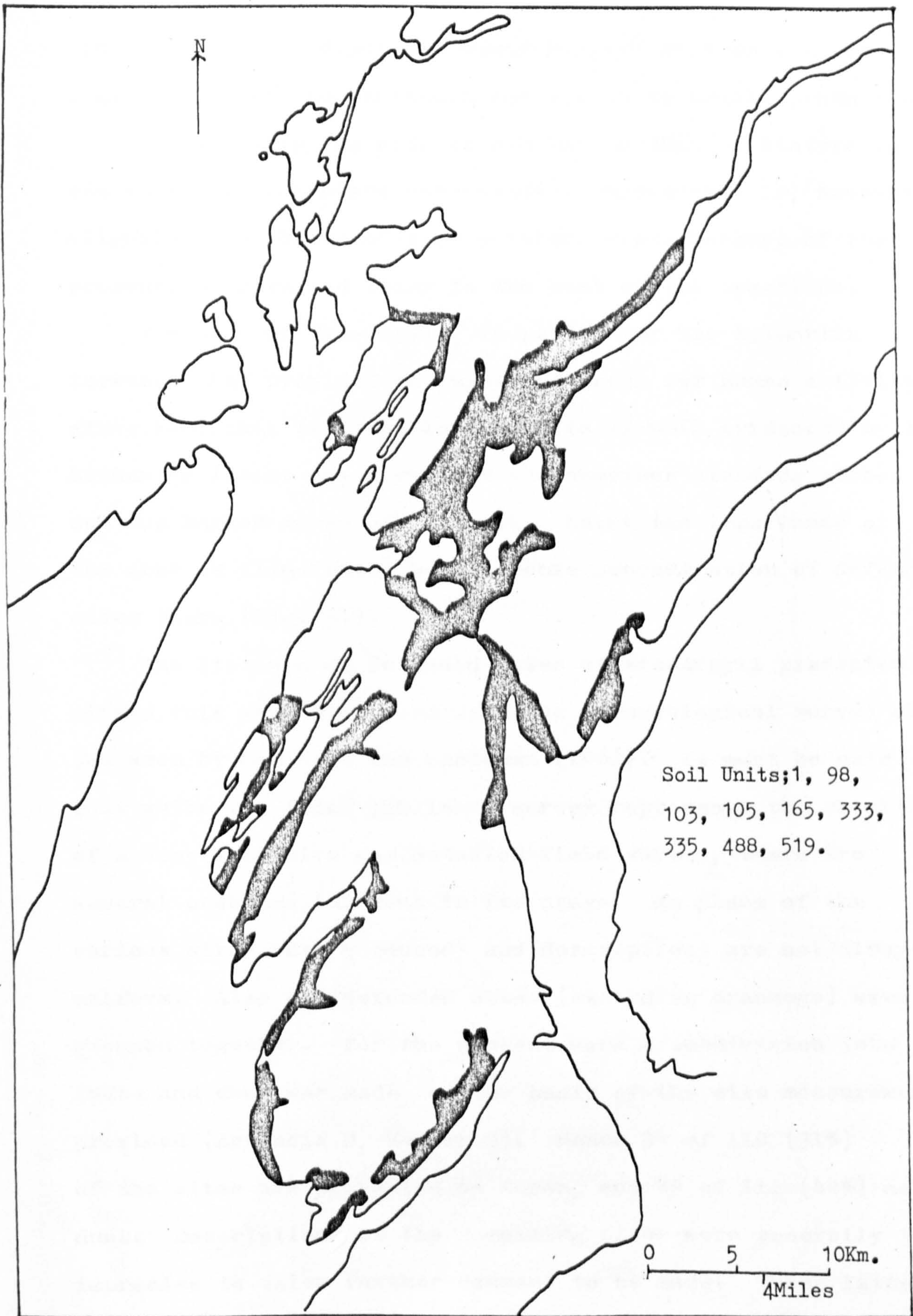


Fig.50 The Location of Land with Arable Potential in Mid-Argyll.

(After Macaulay Institute 1982; 4 & 6)

(1983, 436-449). Figure 50 would suggest that only a very limited area of the peninsula was suited to arable production.

Climatically the area is similar to that of Kintyre to the south, (cf. Kintyre case-study). Mid-Argyll is, however, slightly more sheltered from offshore winds because of the presence of Jura and Islay to the west of the coastline.

The area of Mid-Argyll, in particular the Kilmartin terraces, has provided an important focus for human activity since Neolithic times at least. This is well evidenced by the Kilmartin linear cemetery, and the numerous standing stones and cup marked rocks of the area. Later the importance of the area is illustrated by the dense concentration of defended sites there (Fig. 51).

The listings of defended sites of Mid-Argyll presented within this work are based upon the archaeological survey of the area by Campbell and Sandeman (1962). It must be said that while the final published survey represents the results of a very intensive and detailed field survey, there are several problems inherent in its usage. No plans of the various sites were produced, and descriptions are not always uniform. Also all defended sites (excluding crannogs) were grouped together. For the present work a subdivision into forts and duns was made, on the basis of the site measurements provided (Appendix H, Volume 3). Hence 34 of 110 (31%) of the sites are presented as forts, and 49 of 111 (44%) as duns. Descriptions of the remaining sites were generally too imprecise to allow further comment to be made. These latter sites have not been included within the present survey.

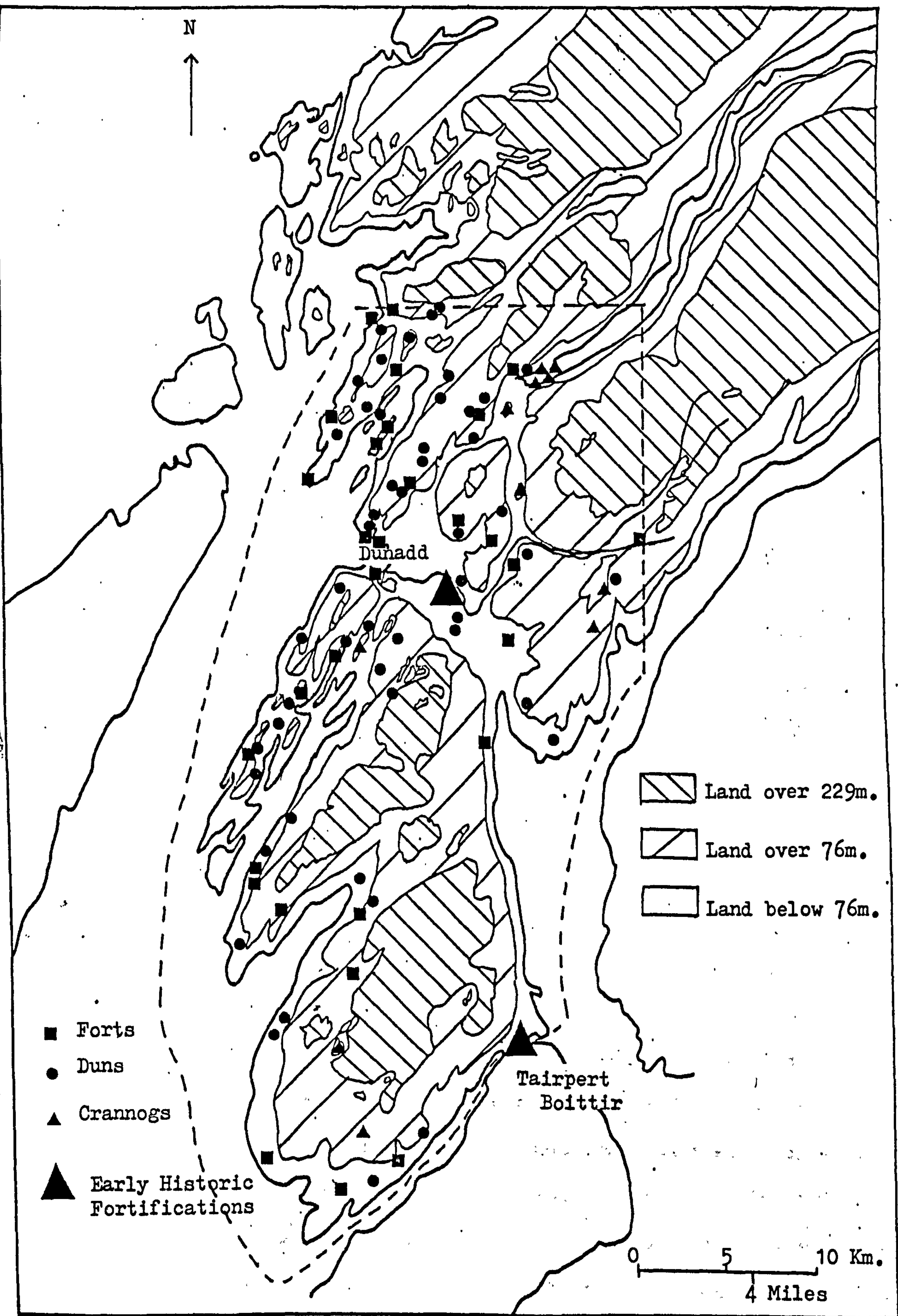


Fig.51 The location of defended sites in Mid-Argyll.

(from Campbell and Sandeman 1962.)

Analysis of the postulated forts of the area indicate that they are found throughout the area. 29 of 49 sites (55%) lie less than 1 km from the sea, although there are few promontory forts as such. This may reflect the fact that the best land is located along these coastal margins. The largest site is that of Creag a' Chapuill which has an area of approximately 4 hectares (10.33 acres). Indeed this is the largest defended site recognized in Argyll, a point noted by Christison in 1904. It is far larger than any of the other sites of Mid-Argyll, and has been grouped together with Cnoc Araich in Kintyre and Dun Ormidale in Lorn, both of which are also large sites. The significance of this large site is unclear, since nothing is known of the types of activity which were occurring within it, or the chronology of its usage. Previously all these three sites have been seen as examples of Oppida (cf. Chapter Six) but this assertion is probably misleading. Creag a' Chapuill may have been a major centre for the local population, and its location within the area presumably reflects the importance of the area for settlement.

Two forts in Mid-Argyll have been examined by excavation. Duntroon was examined by a team of workmen directed by letter from Christison (1904). The ramparts of the site were examined to indicate the nature and extent of vitrification evident within them, while the whole of the interior was dug down to bedrock, a depth of between one and two feet. The published report argues that no traces of structural remains were found within the site. This, however, is more likely to reflect the fact that no skilled archaeologists were present on the site

during the work, and also the unsophisticated archaeological techniques of this period. Artefactual material from the site consists solely of worked stone and includes flint scrapers, whetstones and polishers. The most important finds were 36 saddle quernstones. The presence of such stones indicates the processing of agricultural products at the site, if not direct involvement in agricultural production. The fact that only saddle querns were recovered is of importance for the dating of the site, and would seem to support the hypothesis that forts may pre-date smaller duns. (cf. Chapter Six). Saddle querns were the earliest type of quern-stone used; during the Iron age, however, a major technological advance occurred with the introduction of the rotary quernstone. The latter type is more frequent on dun-sites.

The other site which has been partially examined is that of Eilean an Duin in the north of the area. This is a small (diameter 70 m x 50 m) drystone fort located on an offshore island. The use of such a location is worthy of further comment since it is almost unique within Argyll. Within Mid-Argyll two other examples of defended sites located on small islands can be cited, these being of Eilean Rìgh and Eilean na Circe. Both of these, however, are located within sheltered sea-lochs (Loch Craignish and Loch Sween respectively). Unfortunately in 1983 a large area of this fort was destroyed in construction work (Nieke, in preparation). Rescue recording work was undertaken on sections cut through the interior and ramparts of the site. Charcoal samples from

within the rampart may provide Terminus Post Quem dates for rampart construction on the site.

49 examples of duns have been recorded within the area. Like the forts they are distributed throughout the area. 18 of 49 sites (36% of the total) are located within 1 km of the sea, but this is likely to relate to the location of better land in these areas. The coastline of much of western Mid-Argyll is marked by steep cliffs, which does severely restrict access to the sea. The majority of sites are located at altitudes of 152 m O.D. or below, (cf. Appendix M, Volume 3). The highest site, however is located at 316 m O.D. By comparison with elsewhere in Argyll the altitudinal range at which such sites are located is greater, there being more sites in Mid-Argyll located at higher altitudes. The precise reasons for this are difficult to explain (cf. Chapter Seven). It may in part be related to the more sheltered nature of the climate of Mid-Argyll which would have allowed settlements to be established at higher altitudes. It may also reflect a dense population of sites within the area, and a situation in which locations at lower altitudes were occupied first, with subsequently built sites being located at higher points. The highest site is that of Dun Chonnallaich which is located on a conical hill which rises to 316 m O.D. (Plate 7). This site is located on a particularly prominent location which dominates the skyline south-west from Loch Awe, and also north from Kilmartin. If the choice of such a location was an important means of illustrating the importance of a site's occupants, then this may have been a very important



Plate 7 Dun Chonnallaich, Mid Argyll. (Nieke October 1983)

local site. Interestingly it is located on a hill adjacent to the fort of Creag a' Chapuill.

Field analysis of the duns of Mid-Argyll reveals many well preserved sites. At Druim an Duin, for example, large stretches of walling survive standing to over 1 m. in height. The same is also true at Castle Dounie, Dun Mhulig and Dunan na Nighean. It is also clear that the sites of this area illustrate a range of forms of construction, and the use of a variety of architectural features. Hence Druim an Duin has features which include an entrance guard cell, door checks, bar hole and scarcement levels. Dun Mhulig is a D-shaped enclosure with galleried walls (Fig. 52) not dissimilar to sites such as Ruigh Ruaigh, Ross and Cromarty and Dun Ardtreck, Skye both of which Mackie would classify as semi-brochs. Loch Glashan dun is an example of a very circular site with galleried walls, while Castle Dounie is a large oval site with massive drystone piers projecting from the interior wall face into the centre of the site. In the absence of detailed plans of the sites of Mid-Argyll these architectural features are difficult to quantify or compare with other areas. The overall impression, however, is of a group of sites more varied than those found elsewhere in Mid-Argyll.

The majority of sites of Mid-Argyll seem of a shape and size which could originally have been totally roofed over. Of these several examples of very circular sites like these noted elsewhere in Argyll exist. These include Loch Glashan dun, and Dun Roston. The manner in which Druim an Duin may have been totally roofed was discussed earlier (Chapter Seven).

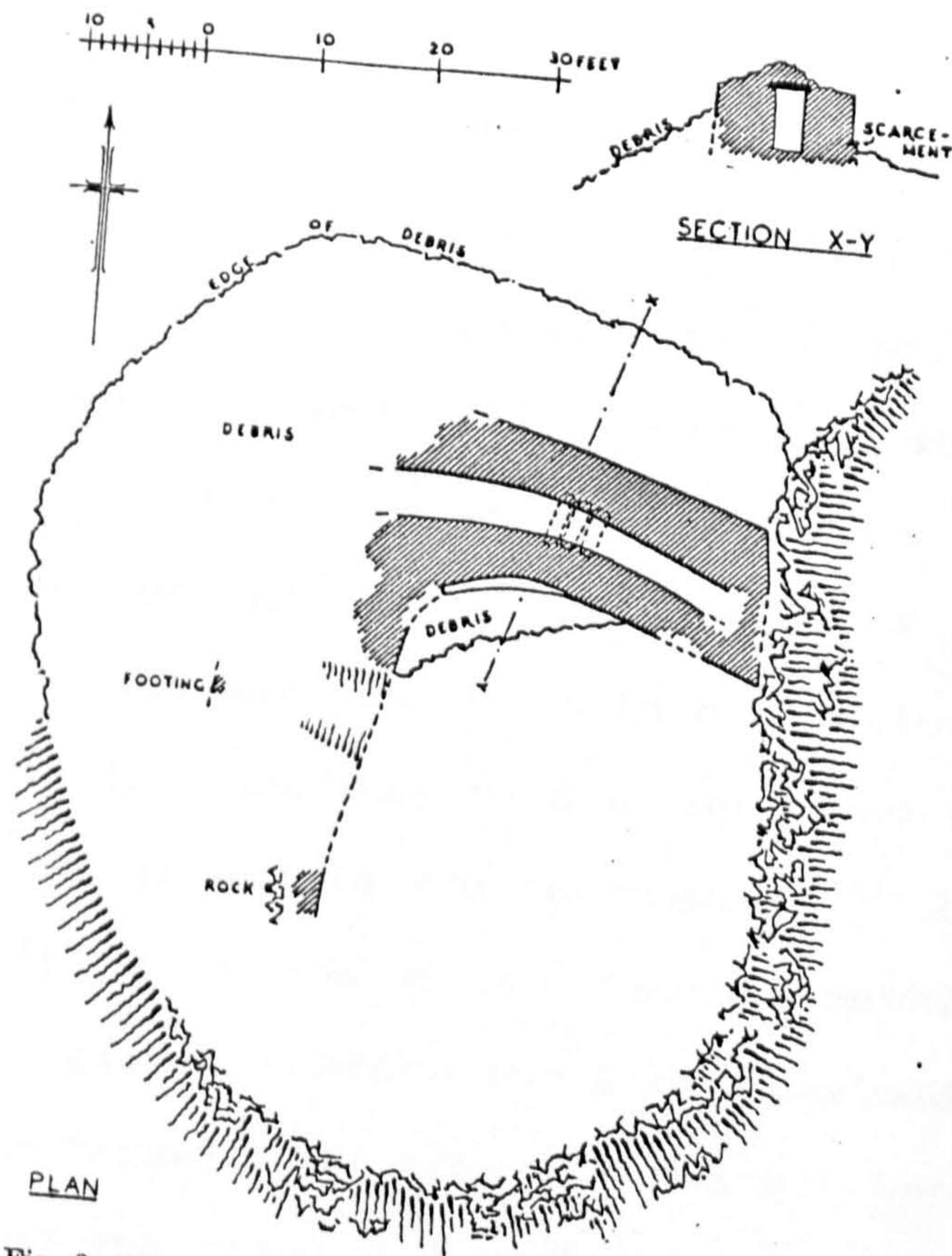


Fig. 2. Dùn Mhuilig; plan, and section of transverse wall.

Fig. 52 Dun Mhuilig, Mid Argyll.
(from Graham 1948)

Hence as elsewhere in Argyll, the duns of the area may have been single defended homesteads.

Descriptions of the sites by Campbell and Sandeman imply that 16 of 49 (32%) have outworks of some kind associated with them. A further 28% of sites are also described as having external terraces. Unfortunately it is not always clear whether the latter are walled or not, and field analysis indicates that many are natural. Thus it is difficult to ascertain their relationship to the defended site in question. In certain instances, at least, these external terraces may define working areas outside the main dun enclosure (cf. Chapter Seven). Particularly good examples of this may be the terraces outside and to the south-west of the sites of Druim an Duin (Fig. 53) and also a terrace outside Dun Toiseich⁽¹⁾. (Plates 8-9). Neither terrace has been examined by excavation. The site of Dun Toiseich is also of interest because of the existence around the site of a number of field walls, some of which have lynchets built up against them, suggesting former cultivation. These are comparable with field falls found in the vicinity of duns of Ardanstur in Lorn (cf. Chapter Seven) and may be contemporary with the dun occupation.

Two sites have been excavated, Druim an Duin and Ardifuar, both of which were examined at the same time as Duntroon and Dunadd (Christison 1904). Work at the former site has already been discussed in the present text. Like Duntroon the only artefactual material recovered was worked stone. This took various forms and included a portion of a steatite cup, water-rolled pounders, several stone discs



Plate 8 Dun Toiseich, Mid Argyll. (Nieke April 1982)



Plate 9 Dun Toiseich, Mid Argyll- illustrating external terrace. (Nieke April 1982)

Fig. 12. View of the Top of Dun Toiseich as seen
by Thomas Ross, 1841, and J. E. A. Smith.
Fig. 13. Dun Toiseich, Mid Argyll, illustrating external
platform. (after Christensen 1905)

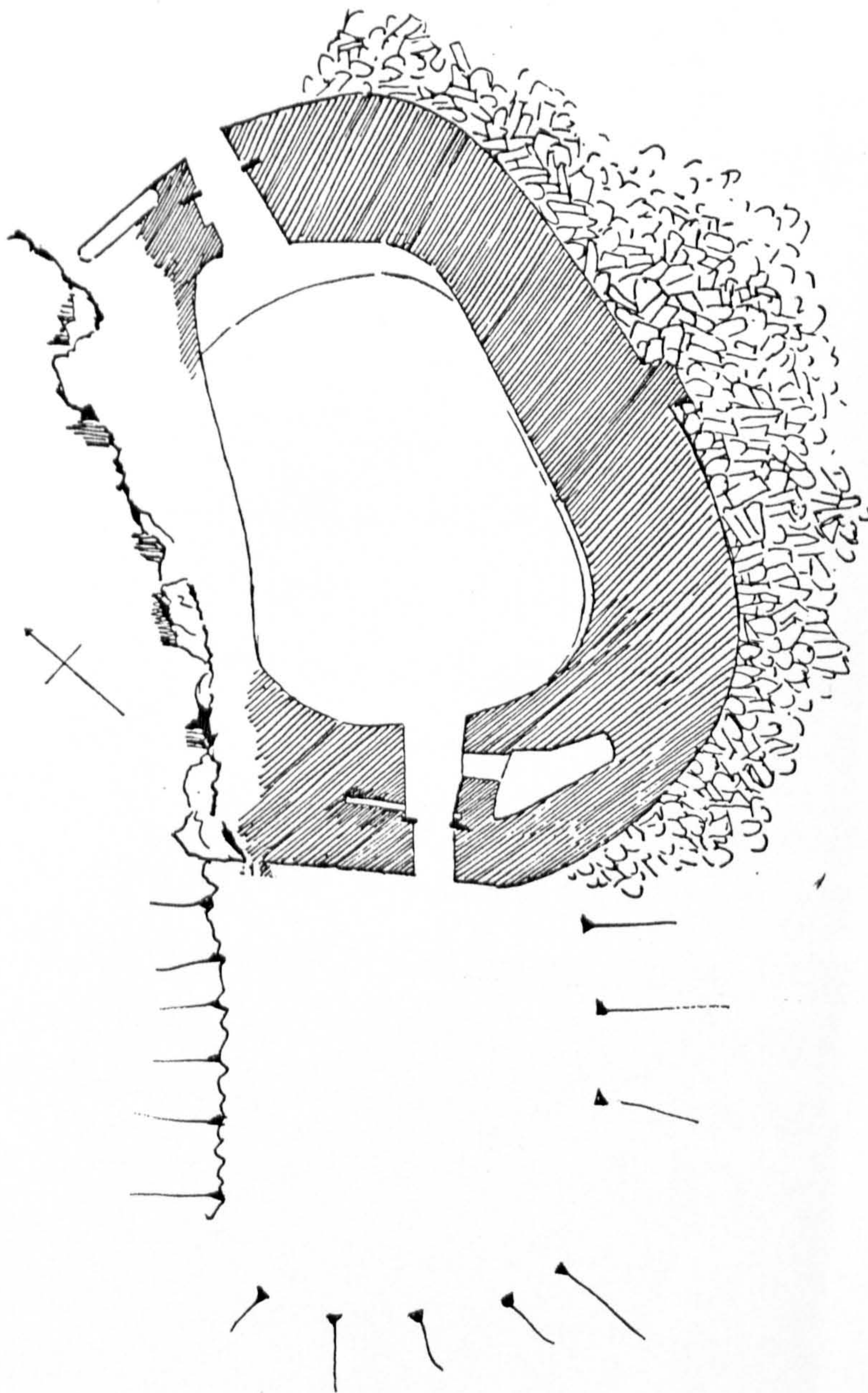


Fig. 13. Plan of the Fort of Druim an Duin,
by Thomas Ross, Architect, F.S.A. Scot.

Fig 53 Druim an Duin, Knapdale, illustrating outer
platform. (after Christson 1905)

and two fragments of rotary quern stones. None of this material is closely dateable.

The site of Ardifuar, which has not been previously discussed, is unique within Argyll. It is a massively constructed circular drystone site with a single entranceway (Fig. 54). Within the enclosing wall features such as door checks, a guardcell and an intramural stair and scarcement level were incorporated. While obviously related to duns, the large size of the site is uncomparable, as is the location. In contrast to the majority of duns the site is not located in a defensive position, instead being located in a flat bottomed valley to the north of Loch Crinan. The site is overlooked from the west by a ridge of high ground. Excavations at the site removed 4-5' of debris from within the site, a task which was recorded as being very disagreeable since the site had been used as a burial ground for dead cattle. As with the other sites Christison's team examined the interior of Ardifuar was cleaned down to bedrock. The only interior feature noted was an area of flagging stretching from the entrance 9' into the interior of the site. A secondary wall was also located running around the interior face of the main wall. The latter is 2' high and of inferior build in comparison to the fine walling of the dun. It presumably indicates a secondary phase of occupation of the site although the nature of the latter must remain unclear in view of the failure to locate any internal stratigraphy within the site. Outside the site a similar secondary wall was encountered to the east of the entranceway, running parallel with it for a distance of 12'.

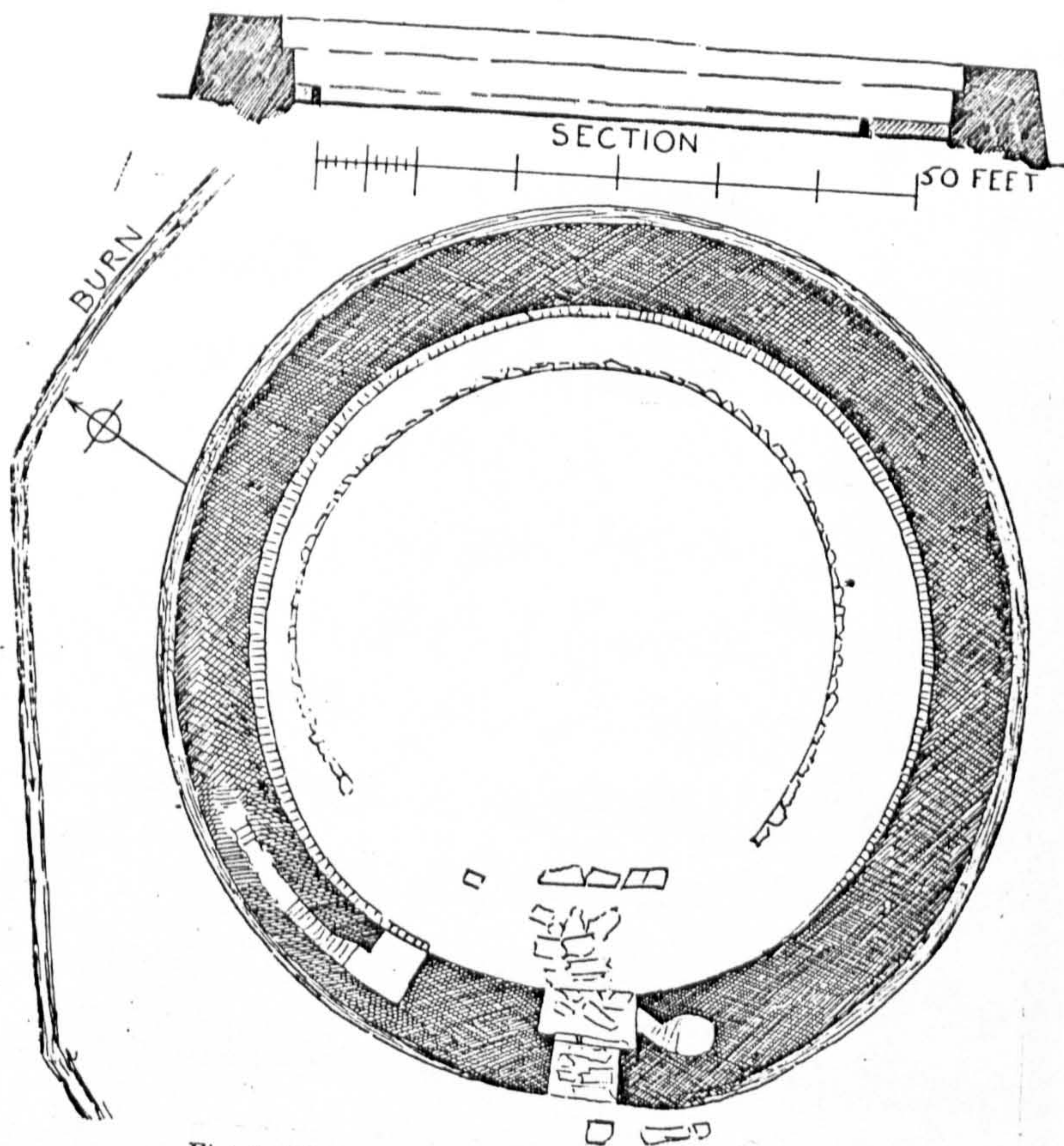


Fig. 1. Plan and Section of the Fort of Ardifuar,
by Thomas Ross, Architect, F.S.A. Scot.

Fig. 54 Ardifuar, Mid Argyll.

(from Christison 1905)

The artefactual assemblage from the site was not great and was dominated by worked stone. The presence of a stone mould with cavities carved into it for four unidentifiable objects may indicate metalworking activity on the site. Several fragments of fired clay were also discovered. A small fragment of Roman Samian pottery provides a date in the Roman Iron age or later for activity on the site. Three coarse sherds of hand-made pottery were also found, these are not susceptible to close dating. A large sherd of wheel-thrown unglazed pottery of grey-white fabric with quartzitic inclusions may be of medieval or later date, since it cannot be paralleled by Roman or Early Historic Period pottery. Finally a clay crucible similar to examples from Dunadd may indicate fine metalworking on the site. (cf. Chapter Ten).

Artefacts have also been recovered from several other dun sites in Mid-Argyll. A 'medieval' quern-stone - presumably referring to a rotary quern - was recovered from Dun a' Choin Duibh (Campbell and Sandeman 1962, 45; 116). Recent demolition and reconstruction work at the site of Dun Chonnallaich revealed another rotary quern stone, now lost and a large sandstone sharpening stone showing much trace of wear. More recently a stone gaming board similar to an example from the Pictish site of Buckquoy, Orkney (Ritchie 1974) has also been recovered (D.E.S. 1983) from the site.

Thus the duns of Mid-Argyll are not closely dateable on present evidence. By analogy with nearby Kintyre, however, a date for construction and usage between the 2nd century A.D. and the 9th century A.D. could be suggested. If this

is correct then some, if not all, of the sites may have been in occupation at the same time as Dunadd. While on this theme, an interesting structural comparison exists between some of the duns of the area and Dunadd. Recent work at the latter site has indicated the existence of a stone rampart on the steep western side of the site (Lane pers. comm.). This takes the form of a line of large boulders which block outer gullies and approaches to the site. Similar lightly constructed blocking walls have also been noted at the duns of Dun Mhurich, Loch Sweenside, and Dun Toiseach on Loch Awe side. This would seem to be a constructional feature only associated with duns in this area, they have not been noted elsewhere in Argyll.

Turning to consider the crannogs of Mid-Argyll, 12 examples of such sites have been recognized (Plate 11). Dating evidence exists for two of these sites, that of Ederline in Loch Awe, and Loch Glashan. A timber sample from the former was taken, and a date obtained for a section of wood approximately 100 tree rings into it. This provided a date of 370 ± 45 b.c. (UB - 2415) ^(585 B.C. - 195 B.C.) which may indicate a Bronze age date for construction. (cf. Chapter Nine).

The site of Loch Glashan was excavated in the early 1960's because of the construction of an H.E.P. dam in the loch which necessitated the lowering of the water level. The excavation revealed a well preserved site rich in wooden artefacts and leather fragments (cf. Chapter Nine). As the site has been discussed earlier in the present work it need only be described briefly here. The crannog had been constructed on the edge of mud flats, and was composed of brushwood laid



Plate 11 Crannog in Loch Ederline, Mid Argyll. (Nieke May 1984)

on top of the mud which was strengthened by large timbers (mostly oak) and in places stones. On this platform a rectangular building had been constructed. On the floor of this were several sherds of E-ware pottery, which indicate occupation between the 6th and 9th centuries (cf. Chapter Ten). Outside the building a bronze penannular brooch probably of 9th century date was recovered. The crannog settlement probably formed a single homestead, and hence was comparable with the many duns of the area. Possibly its inhabitants were associated with cultivation of adjacent land on the shore. Unfortunately any trace of such cultivation here is obscured by afforestation.

In discussing the crannogs of Loch Awe, Morrison argued that they were located along the loch so as to take advantage of areas of land suited to arable purposes. This also would suggest a similarity between duns and crannogs. The presence of rotary quern-stones at Loch Glashan indicates at least the processing of the products of agricultural production.

A later period of occupation on Loch Glashan crannog is represented by the construction of a small stone round hut on the site. No artefactual evidence was associated with this and hence it cannot be dated precisely.

Considering Mid-Argyll as a whole a dense network of settlement would appear to be indicated by the many defended settlements. The densest concentration seems to lie within the area between the Moine Mhor in the south, and Loch Awe in the north. In view of the concentration of good agricultural land within this area this is hardly surprising.

In the Early Historic Period the most important site within the area was that of Dunadd (Plate 10). This was associated with the Kings of Dalriada, and may have been a major inauguration centre for such Kings (cf. Chapter Ten). In addition it was an important centre for craft working, in particular for the manufacture of fine jewellery. Certain of these industries may have developed as a result of the sites role as a major tribute collection centre. Others may have been deliberately instigated and controlled by the Kings of Dalriada to enhance their own power and position.

It would seem likely that in addition to the defended sites of Mid-Argyll other settlements were inhabited during the 1st Millennium A.D. Many of these may have been inhabited by clients of the dun and crannog dwellers. No good examples of such sites can be illustrated from Mid-Argyll. Activity during the period is attested at Brouch an Drummin (cf. Chapter Eleven) but the nature of this is not fully clear. The gravel terraces upon which this site was located are likely to have been important from early times. The agricultural productivity of the area is marked by the discovery of pits full of carbonized barley at Brouch an Drummin. Activity on the terraces in the Early Historic Period is also attested by a cist burial in which one of the stone slabs bears an indecipherable ogham inscription (Craw 1932).

Other areas where further research might reveal sites of interest can, however be suggested. At the base of the rock outcrop on which Dunadd is located are two rectangular foundations of structures approximately 2 m x 5 m. These



Plate 10 Dunadd, Mid Argyll. (Nieke May 1984)

have not been examined by excavation, and hence cannot be dated. It would seem reasonable to anticipate that settlements might develop adjacent to a major centre such as Dunadd. This indeed may have been particularly necessary if much of the interior was occupied by workshop areas. If not in the immediate vicinity of the site, other settlements might have existed elsewhere on the Mòine Mhor. Settlements may also have existed nearer the river mouth than Dunadd. Christison argued in 1904 that small vessels may have been able to sail up the river Add as far as Dunadd. The river is, however, shallow and it is questionable whether anything other than small light craft could reach the site. It must remain questionable whether large vessels which had sailed from the Continent could really equally easily sail up the Add. Hence it might be anticipated that a settlement would grow up nearer Crinan bay and the area to which such vessels were limited. These would not need actual quaysides against which to unload (cf. Unger 1980) but some facilities may have existed to allow cargoes to be broken up and transported in smaller vessels to Dunadd. No trace of such settlements or areas of activity have been found.

During the Early Historic Period much of Mid-Argyll probably belonged to the Cenél Loairn. As Bannerman points out traditionally Dunadd has been seen to lie within the territory of the Cenél nGabráin. He argues, however, that the capture of the sons of Selbach in 736 A.D. may have occurred near Dunadd. This suggestion is based upon the association of this reference with one telling of the taking of Dunadd by a Pictish king. If the two events are connected then this may imply it was a Cenél Loairn stronghold. If the latter is the case then the border between the Cenél Loairn and the Cenél nGabráin must lie

south of Dunadd, but north of West Loch Tarbert. Bannerman tentatively places the boundary through the middle of Knapdale (cf. Fig. 2). This though is not an ideal location, since such a boundary would not have been particularly clearly defined. In the west Loch Caolisport does provide a suitable ^{natural} boundary, in the east, however, there is no clear divide between the hills of Knapdale. In Early Historic Ireland it appears that sometimes boundaries were ^{described by the use of} ~~indicated~~ by natural features (cf. Ó'Riain 1974). The only major natural features within this area of Argyll which may have made suitable boundary lines are the sea loch of West Loch Tarbert in the south, and the break in relief south-west of the Mòire Mhor in the North. In view of the strategic importance of the portage point at Tarbert, the Cenél nGabráin may have ensured that the former lay well within their territory. Hence the latter break in relief may have provided a better boundary line. While being marked inland by the flat expanse of the Mòine Mhor, it was also indicated to sea-borne approaches by Loch Crinan. Hence Dunadd may ^{possibly} have lain very close to the boundary between the two Cenéla. This would conform with Irish evidence suggesting the importance of such zones for inter group contact. Within Dalriada Dunadd may have been the most important site within the Kingdom because of its proximity to this border zone, since the Cenél nGabráin and the Cenél Loairn were the two most important lineages of the Kingdom, each holding extensive areas of mainland territory.

The area of Mid-Argyll may also have been important in the Early Historic Period because of the important routeway

eastwards provided by Loch Awe (cf. Chapter Three). This provides a major overland routeway into the heart of Pictland, and may indeed have been used by the Picts who raided Dalriada in the mid 8th century.

If the acquisition of Dalriada by the Irish migrants was a protracted affair involving the gradual take-over of three pre-existent political groups within Argyll this also has important implications for Mid-Argyll. The fertility of the area and the focus provided by the Moine Mhor, and more importantly the Kilmartin terraces, may have allowed the area to develop as the heartland of a distinct group of people from an early date. It is possible that this was the group who were to emerge in the Early Historic Period as the Cenél Loairn.

Evidence for the establishment of Christianity in Mid-Argyll takes a variety of forms. Kil- place names, and the dedication of sites to Early Christian saints are common. (cf. Figs. 55,56). In addition to these several examples of possibly early stones have also been recorded (Fig. 57). It would appear however, that no structural remains can be attributed to this period.

Adomnan's Life of Columba tells of the existence of a monastery on Loch Awe side at a place called Cella Diuni (I,31). In view of the close relationship which developed between the Kings of Dalriada and the Church the existence of such a monastic establishment is of no surprise. It would have been particularly important to the early Church to establish such a community within such an important area of the Kingdom

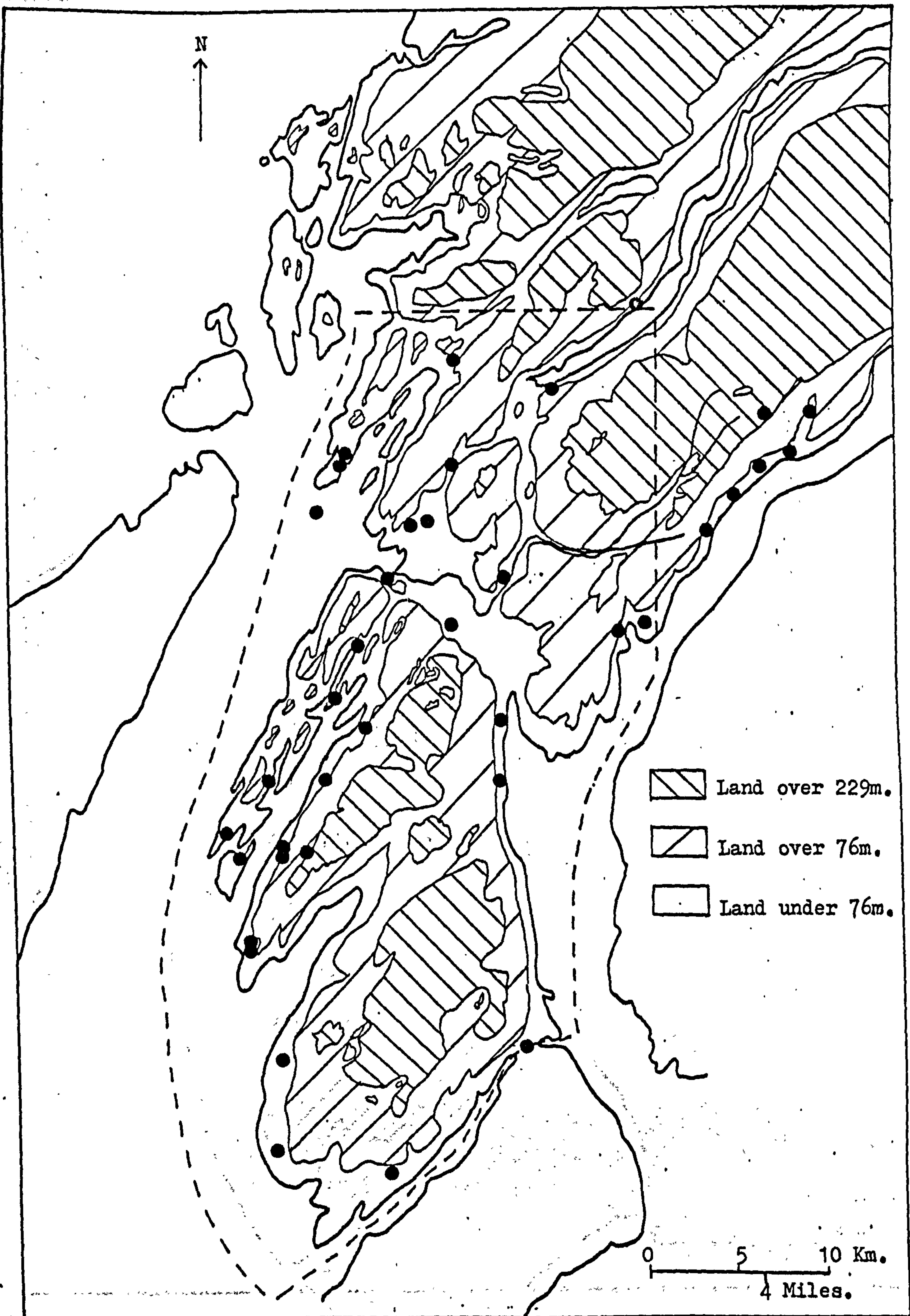


Fig.55 The location of Kil- place names in Mid-Argyll

(from 1:50,000 O.S. Maps)

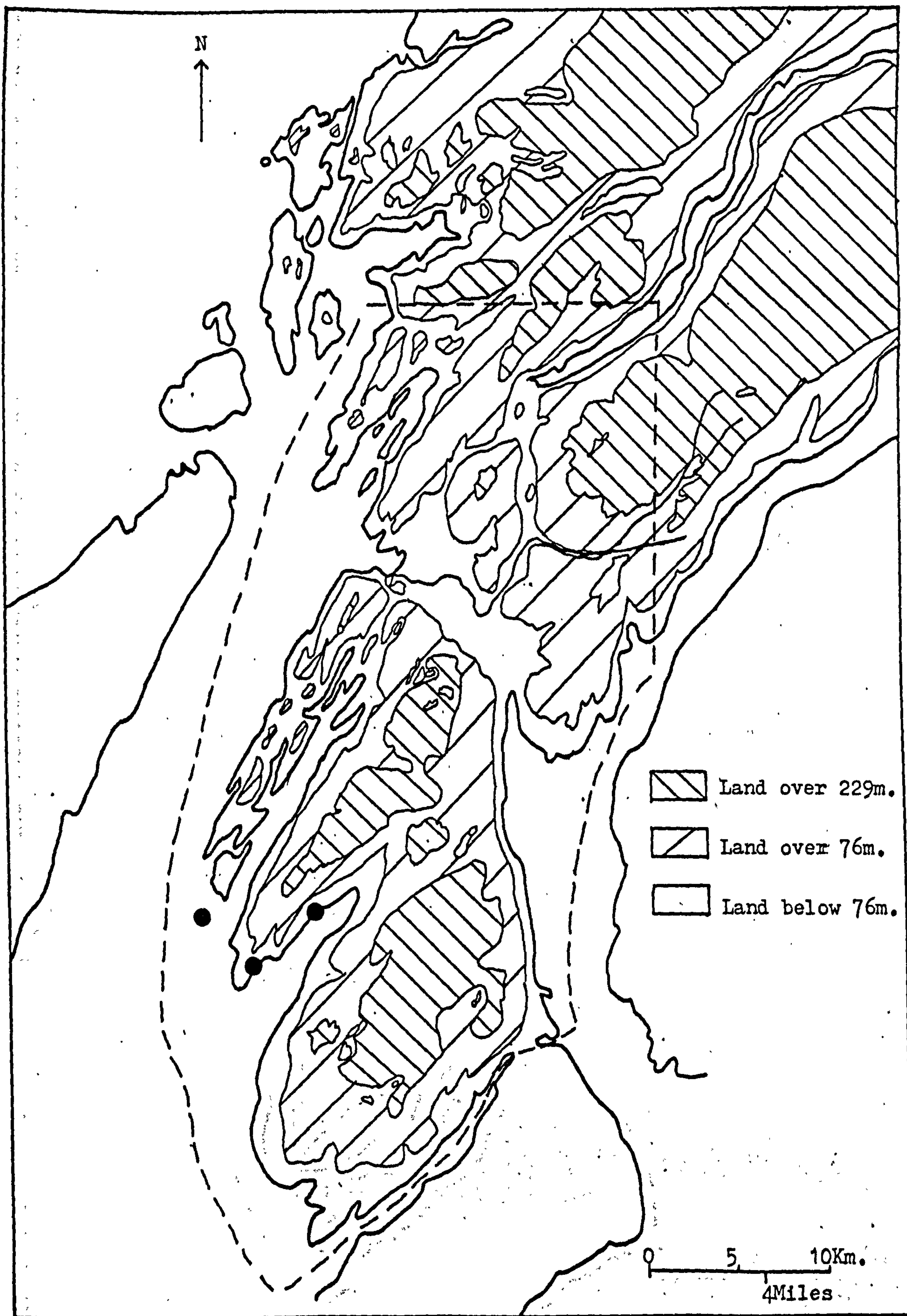


Fig56 Additional sites in Mid Argyll possibly dedicated to Early Christian saints.

(after Campbell and Sandeman 1962.)

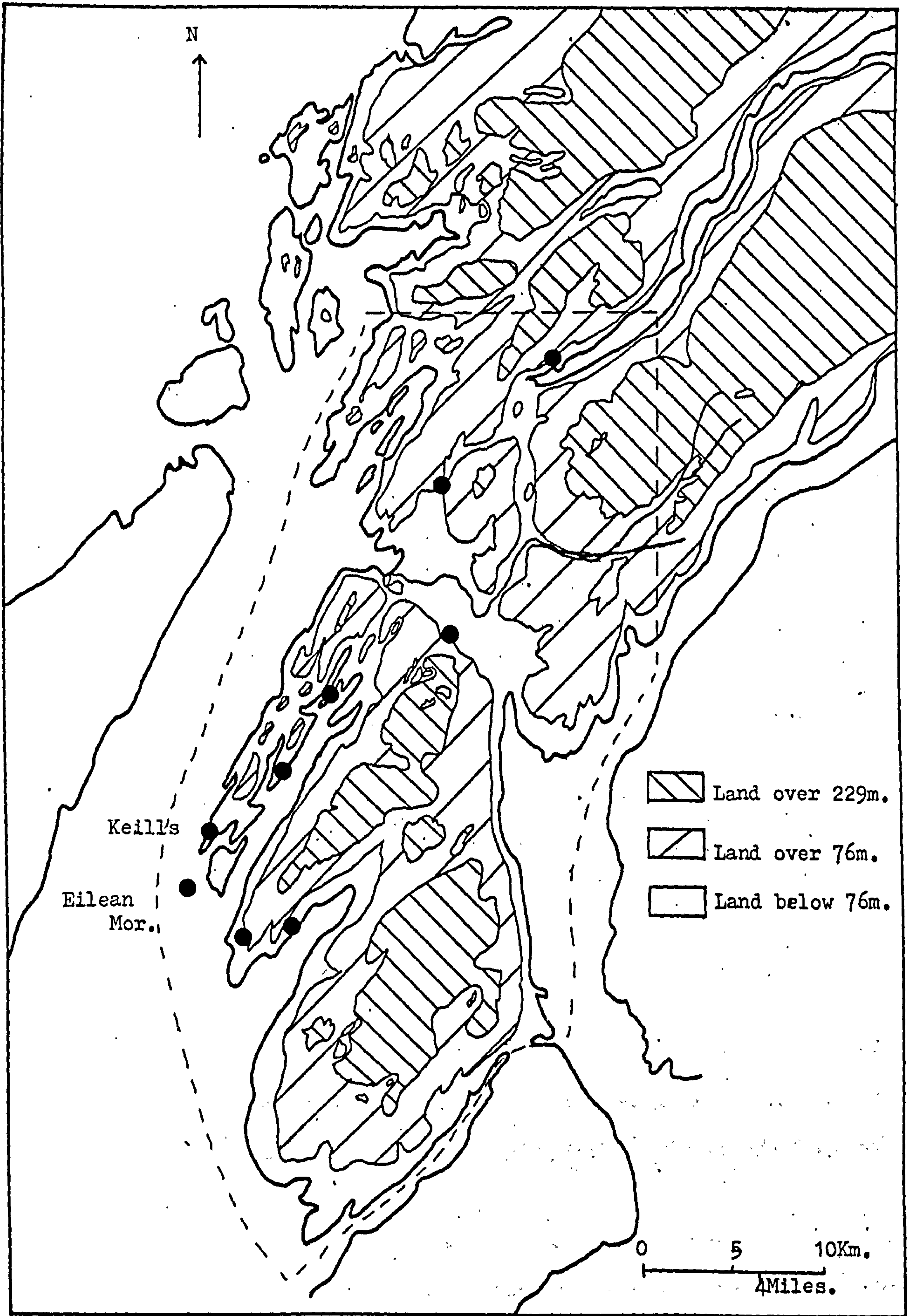


Fig. 57 The location of possible Early Christian stones in Mid Argyll.

(after Campbell and Sandeman 1962, White 1875.)

so as to monitor and maintain close contact with the royal house. Unfortunately this site has not been identified on the ground, and Watson suggested that it had disappeared amongst the numerous Kil- place names of the area (1926, 93). Any attempt to locate such a site along Loch Aveside is today hampered by the widespread afforestation of the area.

In addition to the above site White records a local tradition of a monastic establishment at Kilberry in Knapdale (1875). There is no corroborative evidence for this suggestion though.

The existence of highly sculptured crosses on the island of Eilean Mor and at Keills (Plate 12) both in Knapdale indicates important Early Christian associations for each of these sites. Precisely what these were, though, remains uncertain. Of the stones the Keills example bears a carved panel which can be paralleled on the Kilnave stone on Islay, both may date to the late 8th or early 9th centuries. Keills is a particularly interesting site also because of the apparent existence of structural remains adjacent to the Chapel on the terrace upon which the site is located (Plate 13). These are heavily overgrown with turf, and have never been planned. In view of the possibility that small nucleated settlements may have grown up around some of these Early Christian chapels, the site is worth more detailed consideration (cf. Chapter Twelve).

At Dunadd evidence for Christianity itself is indicated on the site itself by the presence of a cross-incised rotary quern-stone, and a stone disc with the inscription Nomine upon



Plate 12 Keills High Cross, Mid Argyll.
(Nieke October 1983)



Plate 13 Keills Chapel Mid Argyll. (Nieke October 1983)

it (cf. Chapter Ten). The importance of other early Christian sites in the immediate vicinity of Dunadd was discussed earlier. Of particular importance is a stone from Barnakil to the south-west of Dunadd which bears an inscription in minuscule (Plate 14). While the name has yet to be clearly deciphered (cf. Chapter Twelve) the use of a written form of inscription is important, since it is the only example surviving outside Iona. This stone may be associated in some way with Dunadd, and again reflect the importance of the area in the Early Historic Period.

Finally in this study the impact of the events of the 9th century on the area must be explored. In the mid ninth century Kenneth Mac Alpin was to secure the crown of Pictland and move to the east. Prior to this in the early 9th century a period of intensive craft production is noted at Dunadd. It is then that many of the finer penannular brooches may have been produced. Since this was a period in which the Cenél nGabraín were probably in control in Dalriada they may by then have extended their territory northwards to include Dunadd.

This period of craft working however marks the last major phase of activity at Dunadd. This is of importance since it implies the abandonment of a site which provided a major link between the Kings and Dalriada. Precisely why this should have occurred remains unclear. In addition to Dunadd it may be that in Mid-Argyll as in Kintyre, some of the other defended sites such as duns were also abandoned around this time, although there is no direct evidence of this.



Plate 14 The Barnakil stone, now in Poltalloch Estate
Churchyard, Mid Argyll.

(Nieke April 1982)

The abandonment of Dunadd would seem to indicate a major collapse of royal control over Mid-Argyll. The real situation, however, may not have been as dramatic as this. Had such a collapse occurred then it might be anticipated that the Norse would have taken advantage of the weakness and established a strong position for themselves in the area. The evidence though suggests otherwise. Nicholaisen recognized only one place-name containing a Scandinavian element within the area (cf. Chapter Sixteen). Archaeological evidence likewise implies the Norse impact on the area was of limited nature. The arm of a bronze balance similar to that found on Gigha was found in St. Columba's Cave (Campbell and Young 1973). This may provide further evidence of the developing trade network along the Atlantic coast of Scotland. The cave, however, is unlikely to have been a permanent settlement and the balance may indicate no more than the passing visit of a Norwegian. A small coin hoard was discovered in a cairn near Kilmartin in the mid 19th century (Stevenson 1966). These were probably deposited around 1019, and may also reflect a Norwegian presence and involvement in widespread trading networks.

This view of limited Norse activity in Mid-Argyll can be supported by the available documentary evidence. Later sources indicate that the Norwegian crown never claimed mainland Argyll, despite their claims to the offshore islands and also their attempts to claim Kintyre.

The inability of the Norse to establish themselves in Mid-Argyll would seem to indicate some continuity of local

control within the area, even if this was not being undertaken by the Kings of Dalriada. In the later Medieval period it would seem that the area was controlled by a number of small local lineages (Barrow 1981). These included the MacSweens of Castle Sween, Knapdale, the Macgilchrists who held lands in Mid-Argyll and Cowal, and the Macnaughtons who held Innishail island in Loch Awe and adjacent territories. The origins of these families are not recorded, but it may be that they rose to power initially in the 9th century. These families may have established a position of local strength which prevented the Norse from infiltrating the area. Subsequently in the 12th century and later they are seen to have been powerful enough to prevent the Lords of the Isles extending their power over the area.

In conclusion it can be seen that Mid-Argyll was one of the most important regions within Dalriada. Indeed in the period prior to 500 A.D. a distinct group of people may have been established within the area into which the Dalriadic lineage may have married. The continued importance of the area probably owes much to its location near the boundary between the Cenél nGabráin and the Cenél Loairn, the two main lineages of the Kingdom. The site of Dunadd ^{may have} played a major role as an inter Cenél meeting point, and Kings may have been inaugurated there. The site probably also fulfilled a role as a local tribute collection centre. Craftworking may also have been deliberately established there to enhance the position of the Kings. In the 9th

century changes do appear to have occurred in the area which led to the abandonment of Dunadd. Despite this, however, some continuity of political control within the area prevented the Norse from establishing a position there.

Case Study: Mid-Argyll: Footnotes.

(1) A detailed plan of this site, external terrace, and associated field walls will be produced for publication along with the Ardanstur sites. (Barrett, Hill, Nieke in preparation).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Adomnan : Vita S. Columbae
- Bede : Historia Ecclesiastica
- Ammianus Marcellinus : Res Gestae
- Claudian : de primo consulatu stilichonis
- C. Iulius Solinus : Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium
- C. Tacitus : Agricola

Secondary Sources

- Alcock, L. 1963 Dinas Powys: An Iron Age, Dark Age and Early Medieval Settlement in Glamorgan. University of Wales Press, Cardiff.
- 1971 Arthur's Britain. Pelican.
- 1976 A Multi Disciplinary Chronology for Alt Clut, Castle Rock, Dumbarton. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1975-6, 103-113.
- 1977 Excavations at Dundurn, St. Fillan's Perthshire 1976-7. Interim Report, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow.
- 1979 The North Britons, Picts and Scots in The End of Roman Britain. P.J. Casey (ed) Brit. Archaeol. Rep. British Series 71. 134-42.
- 1979 Excavations at Dun Ollaigh, Oban, Argyll 1978. An Interim Report. Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow.
- L, E.A.
& P.A. 1979 Deserted Settlements at Burg, Kilninian, Isle of Mull. Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group. Newsletter No.5 1979. 25-35.
- 1980 Populi Bestiales Pictorum Feroci Animo: A Survey of Pictish Settlement Archaeology In Roman Frontier Studies 1979. W.S. Hanson and L.J.F. Keppie (eds.) Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Internat. Series 71, 61-96.

- Alcock, L. & E.A. 1980 Scandinavian Settlement in the Inner Hebrides - Recent research on Place Names and in the field. Scot. Archaeol. Forum 10, 61-73.
- _____ 1981 Early Historic Fortifications in Scotland in Hillfort Studies. G. Guilbert (Ed.) Leicester University Press. 150-180.
- _____ 1981 The Anglian graves of Bernicia in Angles, Saxons and Jutes. V. Evison (ed.) Oxford University Press, 168-86.
- _____ 1982 Forteviot: A Pictish and Scottish Royal Church and Palace in The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland S.M. Pearce (ed.) Brit. Archaeol. Rep. British series 102, 211-239.
- _____ 1982 Cadbury Camelot - A 15 year Perspective. Proc. British Academy, London 1982. 355-388.
- _____ forthcoming Gwyr y Gogledd: An Archaeological Appraisal. Presidential address to the Cambrian Society 1982.
- Anderson, A.O.
and M.O. 1961 Adomnan's Life of Columba. Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd.
- _____ A.O. 1922 Early Sources of Scottish History Volume 1, A.D. 500-1286. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.
- _____ J. 1879 Notes on the Contents of Two Viking Graves in Islay discovered by William Campbell of Ballinaby Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1879, 51-93.
- _____ J. 1881 Scotland in Early Christian Times. David Douglas, Edinburgh.
- _____ J. 1895 Dun Fheurain, Oban, Argyll. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1894-5, 278-85.
- _____ J. 1907 Notes on bronze brooches and personal ornaments from a ship-burial of Viking time in Oronsay, and other bronze ornaments from Colonsay. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1906-7. 437-450.
- _____ M.O. 1980 Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh. Revised edition.

- Anderson, M.O. 1982 Dalriada and the Creation of the Kingdom of Scots. in Ireland in Early Medieval Europe. D. Whitelock et al. (eds.) Cambridge University Press, 106-132.
- R.S.G. 1939 The Antiquities of Gigha: A Survey and Guide. Newton Stewart, 2nd edition.
- Angus Smith, R. 1871 Descriptive list of the antiquities near Loch Etive, Argyllshire, consisting of vitrified forts, cairns, circles, crannogs etc. and some remarks on the growth of peat. Part 1. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1870-1, 81-105.
Part 2. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1871-2, 396-418.
Part 3. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1874-5, 297-304.
- Avery, M. Hillforts in the British Isles: A Students Introduction. In Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland. D.W. Harding (ed.) Academic Press, 1-56.
- Balfour, J.A. 1909 Notice of a Viking grave mound. Kingscross, Arran. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1908-9, 371-75.
- 1910 Notes on a Viking grave mound at Millhill, Lamlash, Arran. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1909-10, 221-24.
- 1910 Notice of a cashel or Early Christian Settlement at Kilpatrick, Arran, Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1909-10, 90-101.
- 1910 The Book of Arran. Arran Society of Glasgow.
- Bannerman, J.M.W. 1971 The Scots of Dalriada in Who are the Scots? G. Menzies (ed.) British Broadcasting Corporation, 66-79.
- J.M.W. 1974 Studies on the History of Dalriada. Scottish Academic Press.
- Barber, J. 1981 Excavations on Iona, 1979. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1981, 282-380.
- Barrett, J.C. 1981 Aspects of the Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland: A Case Study in the Problems of Archaeological Interpretation. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1981, 205-219.

- Barrett, J.C., Hill, P.
Nieke, M.R. (in preparation) Dun Survey in Argyll.
- Barrow, G.W.S. 1981 Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306.
Edward Arnold.
- Bellamy, P.S. 1980 A Study of Norse Houses in Northern Britain. Unpublished undergraduate dissertation. University of Glasgow.
- Bersu, G. 1940 Excavations at Little Woodbury, Wiltshire.
Proc. Prehist. Soc. 1940, 30-111.
* see below
- Beveridge, E. 1903 Coll and Tiree Edinburgh
- Beveridge, E.
& Callander, J.G. 1931 Excavations of an Earth-House at Foshigary and a Fort, Dun Tomaidh, in North Uist by the late E. Beveridge. With notes on the structures and relics found in them by G. Callander.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1930-1, 299-356.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1930-1, 322-57.
- Bibby, J.S. & Mackney, D. 1977 Land Use Capability Classification The Soil Survey Technical Monograph No.1.
- Bigwood, W.F.L. 1964 Dun Kildalloig, Kintrye. Discovery and Excavation, Scotland.
- _____ 1966 Dùn Fhinn, Kintyre. Discovery and Excavation. Scotland.
- Binchy, D.A. 1943 The Linguistic and Historical Value of Irish law tracts.
Proc. British Academy 1943, 195-227.
- _____ 1978 Corpus Iuris Hibernici. Dublin.
- Birse, E.L. & Dry, F.T. 1970 Assessment of Climatic Conditions in Scotland. Based on Accumulated Temperature and Potential Water Deficit. Macaulay Institute Soil Survey of Scotland, Aberdeen.
- Bonney, D.J. 1966 Pagan Saxon Burials and Boundaries in Wiltshire. Wiltshire Archaeol. & Natural History Magazine 1966, 25-30.
- _____ 1972 Early Boundaries in Wessex in Archaeology and the Landscape. P.J. Fowler (ed.) London, 168-86.
- * Bersu, G. 1947 A rath in Td. Lissue, Co. Antrim, a report on excavations in 1946. Ulster Journal of Archaeology 1947, Vol. 10, 30-58

- Bonney, D.J. 1976 Early Boundaries and Estates in Southern England. in English Medieval Settlement. P.H. Sawyer (ed.) 41-51.
- Bowen, E.G. 1956 Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales. University of Wales Press.
- Breeze, D & Dobson, B. 1976 Hadrian's Wall. Penguin.
- Breeze, D. 1982 The Northern Frontiers of Roman Britain. Batsford.
- Bryce, T.H. 1913 Note on a balance and weights of Viking Period from the Island of Gigha. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1912-3, 436-43.
- Bryce, T.H. & Knight, G.A.F. 1934 Eileach an Naoimh: a Monastery Site on the Garvelloch Islands. Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc. No.8 1926-34, 62-102.
- Burgess, C. 1976 An Early Bronze Age Settlement at Killellan Farm Islay Argyll. in Settlement and Economy in the 3rd and 2nd Millennium B.C.
C. Burgess & R. Miket (eds.) Brit. Archaeol. Rep. British Series 33 181-208.
- Byrne, F.J. 1971 Tribes and Tribalism in Early Ireland. Eriu 22, 128-66.
- _____ 1973 Irish Kings and High Kings Batsford.
- Campbell, A. 1943 Keltisk och nordisk Kultur i môte på Hebriderna. Folk Liv.
- Campbell, M. & Sandeman, M. 1962 Mid Argyll; A Field Survey of the Historic & Prehistoric Monuments. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1961-2, 1-125.
- Campbell, M. & Young, C.J. 1973 St. Columba's Cave: An Interim Report. The Kist No.6, 3-12.
- Carter, S. 1980 Excavations at the Howe, Stromness Orkney. 1st Summary of the broch tower (Trench 2) North of Scotland Archaeol. Services, Orkney.
- Caulfield, S. 1977 The Beehive Quern in Scotland. Royal Soc. Antiq. Ireland. 1977, 104-138.
- _____ 1978 Quern Replacement and the Origin of Brochs. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1977-8, 129-39.

- Childe, V.G. 1935 Notes on Some Duns on Islay.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1934-5, 81-4.
- _____ 1935 The Prehistory of Scotland London.
- _____ 1946 Scotland Before the Scots. Methven.
- _____ & 1938 Excavations at Rahoy, Morvern.
Thorneycroft, W. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1937-8,
23-43.
- _____ 1953 Piecing Together the Past: The
Interpretation of Archaeological
Data. London.
- Christison, D. 1889 The Duns and Forts of Lorne, Nether
Lochaber and the Neighbourhood.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1888-9, 363-432
- _____ 1891 Excavation of the Fort "Suidhe
Cheannaid" Loch Awe and a description
of some Argyllshire Cairns.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1890-1, 117-34.
- _____ 1904 The Forts of Kilmartin, Kilmichael
Glossary and North Knapdale, Argyile.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1903-4, 205-251.
- _____ 1905 Report on the Society's excavations
of the forts on the Poltalloch Estate
Argyll in 1904-5. Proc. Soc. Antiq.
Scot. 1904-5, 259-322.
- Clanchy, M.T. 1970 Remembering the Past and the Good
Old Law. History 1970, 165-176.
- _____ 1979 From Memory to Written Record. England
1066-1307. Edward Arnold.
- Clark, G. 1966 The Invasion Hypothesis in British
Archaeology. Antiquity 1966, 172-89.
- Clark, R.M. 1975 A Calibration Curve for Radio-Carbon
dates. Antiquity 1975, 251-266.
- Clarke, D.V. 1971 Small Finds in the Atlantic Province
Problems of Approach. Scot. Archaeol.
Forum. 3, 22-54.
- Coppock, J.T. 1976 An Agricultural Atlas of Scotland.
John Donald.
- _____ 1980 The Concept of Land Quality: an
Overview. in Land Assessment in Scotland.
M.F. Thomas & J.T. Coppock (eds.)
Aberdeen University Press, 1-7.

- Corser, P. 1982 Platform Buildings: Medieval Settlements in Eskdale, Dumfriesshire. Scot. Archaeol. Rev. Vol. 1, Pt. 1, 1982, 38-44.
- Cowan, I.B. 1961 The development of the Parochial System in Medieval Scotland. Scot. Hist. Rev. 1961, 43-55.
- Craw, J.H. 1930 Excavations at Dunadd and other sites on the Poltalloch Estate, Argyll. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1929-3, 111-27.
- _____ 1932 Two Long Cairns and an Ogham Inscription near Poltalloch Argyll. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1931-2, 445-50.
- Crawford, I.A. 1963-1983 Excavations at Coileagean on Udail North Uist. Interim Reports. Christ's College, Cambridge.
- _____ 1974 Scot (?) Norseman and Gael. Scot. Archaeol. Forum 6, 1974, 1-15.
- _____ & Switsir, R. 1977 Sandscaping and C¹⁴, The Udal, North Uist. Antiquity 1977, 124-36.
- _____ 1981 War or Peace? Viking Colonization in the North and Western Isles of Scotland Reviewed. In Proc. of 8th Viking Congress 1977. H. Bekker-Nielsen P. Foote, O. Olsen (eds.) Odense University Press, 259-269.
- _____ 1983 The Present State of Settlement History in the West Highlands and Islands. in From the Stone Age to the '45 A. O'Connor, D.V. Clarke (eds.) John Donald, 350-367.
- Cregeen, E.R. 1960 Brouch on Drummin, Mid Argyll.
1961 Discovery and Excavation Scotland.
1962
- Cruden, S. 1960 The Scottish Castle, Thomas Nelson.
1965 Excavations at Birsay, Orkney in Proc. of the 4th Viking Congress. A. Small (ed.) Oliver and Boyd, 22-31.
- Curle, A. 1920 Report on the Excavations at Traprain Law during the summer of 1923. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1919-20, 54-124.
- _____ 1939 A Viking Settlement at Freswick Caithness. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1938-9, 71-110.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|--|
| Curle, C.L. | 1982 | Pictish and Norse Finds from the Brough of Birsay 1934-74. <u>Soc. of Antiq. of Scot. Monograph Series No.1</u> Edinburgh. |
| Dahl, S. | 1970 | The Norse Settlement of the Faroe Islands. <u>Med. Archaeol.</u> 14, 60-73. |
| Davies, W. & Vierck, H. | 1974 | The Contexts of the Tribal Hidage; Social aggregates and settlement patterns. <u>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</u> 1974, 223-93. |
| _____ | 1978 | <u>An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters.</u> London Royal Historical Society. |
| _____ | 1982 | <u>Wales in the Early Middle Ages.</u> Leicester University Press. |
| _____ | 1982 | The Latin Charter Tradition in Western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the Early Medieval period. In <u>Ireland in the Early Medieval Europe</u> D. Whitelock, M. McKitterick and D. Dumville (eds.) 258-280. |
| De Paor, M & L. | 1958 | <u>Early Christian Ireland.</u> Thames & Hudson. |
| Dillon, M. & Chadwick, N.K. | 1967 | <u>The Celtic Realms.</u> Wiedenfeld and Nicholson Ltd. |
| Dixon, N. | 1981 | Radiocarbon dates from crannogs in Loch Tay. <u>Internat. J. of Nautical Archaeol. and Underwater Exploration.</u> Vol. 10, No.4. |
| _____ | 1982 | A Survey of the Crannogs of Loch Tay. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1982, 17-38. |
| Doherty, C. | 1980 | Exchange and Trade in Early Medieval Ireland. <u>J. Royal Soc. Antiq. Ireland</u> 1980, 67-89. |
| _____ | 1982 | Some Aspects of Hagiography as a source for Irish Economic History. <u>Peritia</u> Vol. 1, 300-328. |
| Drummond, J. | 1881 | <u>Sculptured Monuments in Iona and the Western Highlands.</u> Edinburgh. |
| Dumville, D.N. | 1977a | Sub Roman Britain: History and Legend. <u>History</u> 1977, 173-92. |

- Dumville, D.N. 1977b Kingship Genealogies and Regnal Lists. in Early Medieval Kingship P.H. Sawyer, I.N. Wood (eds.) 72-104.
- Dunbar, J. 1966 The Historic Architecture of Scotland. Batsford.
- Duncan, A.A.M. & Brown, A.L. 1957 Argyll and the Isles in the Earlier Middle Ages. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1956-7, 192-220.
- _____ 1975 Scotland: The Making of a Kingdom. Oliver & Boyd.
- _____ 1981 Bede, Iona and the Picts. in The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. R.H.C. Davis, J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds). Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Duncan, H.B. 1982 Aspects of the Early Historic Period in South-Western Scotland: A comparison of the material cultures of Scottish Dalriada and the British Kingdom of Strathclyde and Rheged. Unpub. M.Litt. Thesis, University of Glasgow.
- Duncan, H.B. & (In Nieke, M.R. preparation) The Kingdom of Dalriada: Problems and Perspectives in S.T. Driscoll & M.R. Nieke (eds.). Early Historical Archaeology: Emergent political groups and Kingship.
- Edwards, A.J.H. 1934 A Viking Cist grave at Ballinaby, Islay. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1933-4, 74-8.
- Fairhurst, H. 1939 A Galleried dun at Kildonan Bay Kintyre. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1938-9, 185-227.
- _____ 1956 Ugadale Stack Fort Kintyre. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1954-6, 15-21.
- _____ 1962 An Caisteal an Iron age fortification in Mull. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1961-2, 199-207.
- _____ 1969 A medieval island-settlement in Loch Glashan, Argyll. Glasgow Archaeol. J. 1969, 47-66.
- _____ 1971 The study of deserted Medieval Settlement in Scotland (to 1968) in Deserted Medieval Villages: Studies M. Beresford J.G. Hurst (eds.) London. 229-246.

- Farish, J. 1980 A Study of the Hillforts and Duns in the Islands in the Firth of Clyde. Unpublished undergraduate dissertation University of Glasgow.
- Farrell, A.W. & 1975 The Broighter Boat, a reassessment.
Penny, S. & Irish Archaeol. Research Forum
Jope, E.M. Vol. 2, Pt. 2, 15-28.
- Feachem, R.W. 1955 Fortifications in The Problem of the Picts. F.T. Wainwright (ed.) Thomas Nelson, 66-86.
- _____ 1966 The Hill-Forts of Northern Britain in The Iron-Age in Northern Britain. A.L.F. Rivet (ed.) Edinburgh University Press, 59-88.
- Fenton, A & 1981 The Rural Architecture of Scotland.
Walker, B. John Donald.
- _____ 1982 The Longhouse in Northern Scotland. Arkeologisk Museum i Stravanger Skifter 7, 1982, 231-240.
- Flatrès, P. 1957 Geographie Rurale: Irlande Galles Cornwall et Mann. Rennes.
- Fleming, J. 1902 Note on a stone-built fort overlooking Borgadail Glen, near the Mull of Kintyre. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1901-2, 611-13.
- _____ 1903 Notice of three stone forts in Kintyre. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1902-3, 360-65.
- Fojut, N. 1980 Shetland Brochs. unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow.
- _____ 1982 Towards a Geography of Shetland Brochs. Glasgow Archaeol. J., 38-59.
- Frere, S. 1974 Brittannia: A history of Roman Britain. Cardinal.
- Gailey, R.A. 1961 Settlement Changes in the South-West Highlands of Scotland 1700-1900. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow.
- Gerriets, M. 1983 Economy and Society: Clientship according to the Irish Laws. Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies 43-62.

- Gillies, W. 1981 Craftsmen in Early Celtic Literature
Scottish Archaeol. Forum 70-85.
- Goody, J. 1977 The Domestication of the Savage Mind.
Cambridge University Press.
- _____ 1983 The Development of the Family and
Marriage in Europe. Cambridge University
Press.
- Goudie, G. 1917 An underground gallery recently
discovered on the Island of Tiree
with a note of another in the same
island, from a plan by Sir Henry
Dryden. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.
1917, 100-108.
- Graham, A. 1915 Report on Partial Excavation of Dun
Beag Skipness. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.
1914-5, 50-7.
- _____ 1947 Some observations on the Brochs.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1947, 49-99.
- _____ 1948 Some Antiquities in the Parish of
Craignish. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.
1947-8, 52-58.
- Graham, R.C. 1895 The Carved Stones of Islay. Glasgow.
- Graham-Campbell, J. 1974 A preliminary note on certain small
finds of Viking date from the Udal
Excavations, North Uist. Scottish
Archaeol. Forum 1974, 17-22.
- _____ 1976 The Viking-age silver and gold hoards
of Scandinavian Characters from
Scotland. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.
1975-6, 114-35.
- _____ 1980 Viking artefacts: A Select Catalogue
British Museum.
- _____ 1980 The Vikings. British Museum.
- Kidd, D.
- Gransden, A. 1974 Historical Writing in England c
550-1307. London.
- Green, C. 1963 Sutton Hoo, The Excavation of a Royal
Ship Burial. Merlin Press, London.
- Green, F.H.W. 1964 A map of annual potential water
deficit in the British Isles.
J. Applied Ecology. 151-88.

- Guido, M. 1974 A Scottish Crannog re-dated. Antiquity 54-6.
- Haldane, A.R.B. 1952 The Drove Roads of Scotland.
Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.
- Halliday, S.P. 1982 Later Prehistoric Farming in South-East Scotland in Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland.
D.W. Harding (ed.) University of Edinburgh.
- Hamilton, J.R.C. 1956 Excavations at Jarlshof, Shetland.
H.M.S.O.
- _____ 1968 Excavations at Clickhimin, Shetland.
H.M.S.O.
- Hannan, T. 1926 The Beautiful Island of Mull, with Iona and the Isle of the Saints.
Edinburgh.
- * see below
- Harding, D.W. & Blake, I.M. 1963 An Early Iron-Age Settlement in Dorset. Antiquity 63-4.
- _____ 1982 Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland: retrospect and prospect. in Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland. D.W. Harding (ed.) University of Edinburgh.
- Harrison Maxwell, J. 1941 The vitrified fort on Eilean Buidhe, Kyle of Bute. Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc. 60-70.
- Hayes McCoy, G.A. 1970 The Making of an O'Neill: A View of the ceremony at Tullaghoge, Co. Tyrone. Ulster J. Archaeol. 89-94.
- Hedges, J. & M. 1976 A Brief Account of excavations at Dun Mhic Choigil, Kintyre. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1976-7, 376-7.
- & Bell, B. 1980 That Tower of Scottish Prehistory: the Broch. Antiquity 87-94.
- & Bell, B. 1980 Howe of Howe. Current Archaeology 73.
- Hencken, H. 1936 Ballinderry Crannog No.1. Proc. Royal Irish Academy 34, Section C, 103-240.
- _____ 1950 Lagore: A Royal residence of the 7th to 10th centuries A.D. Proc. Royal Irish Academy 53, Section C, 1950.
- Harbison, P. 1970 How old is the Gallarus Oratory? A reappraisal of its role in early Irish architecture. Med. Arch 14, 1970, 34-59

- Hewison, J.K. 1893 On the Prehistoric Forts of the Island of Bute. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1892-3, 281-293.
-
- 1896 Bute in Early Christian Times. Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc. 1891-96, 158-60.
- Hill, D. 1981 An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England. Oxford.
- Hodder, I. 1982 Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture. Cambridge University Press.
- Hodges, R. 1978 State Formation and the Role of the Town in Middle Saxon England. in Social Organization and Settlement. S. Green et al. (eds.) Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Internal Series 47, 439-454.
-
- 1982 Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade A.D. 606-1000. Duckworth.
- Hogg, A.H.A. 1975 The Hillforts of Britain. London.
- Honeyman, J. 1890 Notes on a vitrified fort at Rhu-Fresean, Argyllshire. Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc. 1885-90, 340-43.
- Hope-Taylor, B. 1977 Yeaving: An Anglo-British Centre of Northumbria. Dept. of the Environment Archaeological Reports London.
- Hughes, K. 1966 The Church in Early Irish Society. Methuen.
-
- 1972 Early Christian Ireland: An Introduction to the Sources. London.
-
- 1977 The Modern Traveller to the Early Irish Church. S.P.C.K. London.
- & Hamlin, A.
- Hunter, J.R. 1977 Brough of Birsay: Excavations by the University of Bradford. Northern Studies 44-47.
-
- 1978 Excavations at Brough of Birsay 1977. Northern Studies 23-25.
- Hunter-Blair, P. 1970 An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England. Cambridge University Press.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|---|
| Islay Archaeological Survey Group | 1959 | <u>Preliminary Handbook to the Archaeology of Islay.</u> |
| _____ | 1961 | <u>Bibliography of Books and Articles related to Islay.</u> |
| Jackson, K.H. | 1955 | The Britons in Southern Scotland. <u>Antiquity</u> 77-88. |
| _____ | 1955 | The Pictish Language in <u>The Problem of the Picts</u> . F.T. Wainwright (ed.). Thomas Nelson 129-160. |
| _____ | 1964 | <u>The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age.</u> Cambridge University Press. |
| _____ | 1969 | <u>The Gododdin: The Oldest Scottish Poem.</u> Edinburgh University Press. |
| _____ | 1972 | <u>The Gaelic Notes on the Book of Deer.</u> Cambridge University Press. |
| Jobey, G. | 1962 | An Iron-Age Homestead at West Brandon Co. Durham. <u>Archaeol. Aeliana.</u> 5-50. |
| Jones, G. | 1968 | <u>A History of the Vikings.</u> Oxford. |
| Jones, G.R.J. | 1960 | The Pattern of Settlement on the Welsh Border. <u>Agricultural History Review.</u> 66-81. |
| _____ | 1961 | Early Territorial Organization in Northern England and its bearing on the Scandinavian settlements. <u>Proc. 4th Viking Congress.</u> A. Small (Ed.) Oliver & Boyd 67-84. |
| _____ | 1961 | Early Territorial Organisation in England and Wales. <u>Geografiska Annaler</u> 174-81. |
| _____ | 1961 | Settlement Patterns in Anglo-Saxon England. <u>Antiquity</u> 221-32. |
| _____ | 1971 | The Multiple Estate as a Model Framework for tracing Early Stages in the Evolution of Rural Settlement in <u>L'Habitat et les Paysages Ruraux D'Europe.</u> F. Dussart (ed.) 251-267. |

- | | | |
|--|--------------|--|
| Jones, G.R.J. | 1976 | Multiple Estates and Early Settlement in <u>Medieval Settlement</u> . P.H. Sawyer (ed.) 15-40. |
| <hr/> | 1981 | Continuity despite Calamity: the Heritage of Celtic Territorial Organization in England. <u>J. of Celtic Studies</u> . Vol. III No.1 1-30. |
| Jones, J.D. & Piggott, C.M. | 1952 | Brochs and Duns on Tiree. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1951-2. 196-8. |
| Kay, M. | 1965 | Mount Pleasant, Kerara - Viking Grave. <u>Discovery and Excavation Scotland</u> . |
| King, A. | 1978 | Gauber High Pasture Ribblehead in Viking Age York and the North. R.A. Hall (ed.) 21-25. Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 27. |
| Kinsella, T. | 1969 | <u>The Tain</u> . Oxford University Press. |
| Kirby, D.P. | 1962 | Strathclyde and Cumbria: A Survey of Historical Development to 1092. <u>Trans. Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiq. and Archaeol. Soc.</u> 77-94. |
| * see below | | |
| Lacaille, A.D. | 1925 | Some Ancient Crosses in Dumbartonshire and Adjoining Counties. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1924-5, 143-57. |
| Laing, L. | 1975 | <u>The Archaeology of Late Celtic Britain and Ireland c400-1200 A.D.</u> Methuen. |
| Lane, A.M. | 1980 1981 | <u>Excavations at Dunadd: Interim Reports.</u> |
| <hr/> | 1982 | <u>A Study of Dark-Age and Viking Pottery from Coileagan an Udail, North Uist.</u> Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of London. |
| <hr/> Forthcoming | | Some Pictish Problems at Dunadd. in <u>The Picts</u> G. Watson J. Friell (eds.) British Archaeol. Rep. British Series. |
| Lamb, H.H. | 1977 | <u>Climate: Past Present and Future.</u> Methuen. |
| <hr/> | 1981 | Climate from 1000 B.C. to 1000 A.D. in <u>The Environment of Man: The Iron-Age to the Anglo-Saxon Period.</u> M. Jones & G. Dimbleby (eds.). Brit. Archaeol. Rep. British Series 87. |
| * Klein, J; Lerman, J.C.; 1982 Damon P.E; Ralph, E.K. | | Calibration of Radiocarbon Dates. <u>Radiocarbon</u> Vol. 24 No.2 1982, 103-150 |

- | | | |
|--------------------|------|---|
| Lamb, H.H. | 1982 | <u>Climate History and the Modern World.</u> Methuen. |
| Lamont, W.D. | 1957 | Old Land Denominations and "Old Extent" in Islay. Pt. 1. <u>Scottish Studies</u> 183-203. |
| _____ | 1958 | Old Land Denominations and "Old Extent" in Islay. Pt. 2. <u>Scottish Studies</u> 86-106. |
| _____ | 1966 | <u>The Early History of Islay 500-1726.</u> Burns & Harris, Dundee. |
| _____ | 1968 | <u>Ancient and Medieval Sculptured Stones</u> <u>of Islay.</u> John Smith & Son, Glasgow. |
| Lawlor, H. | 1923 | Excavations at Nendrum. <u>Proc. Belfast</u> <u>Nat. Hist. and Phil. Soc.</u> 56-81. |
| Lethbridge, T.C. | 1925 | A Battle Site at Gortan Bay, Kentra, Ardnamurchan. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1924-5, 105-112. |
| _____ | 1952 | Excavations at Kilpheder, South Uist and problems of brochs and wheelhouses. <u>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</u> 176-93. |
| Lloyd, J.E. | 1911 | <u>A History of Wales.</u> Longmans. |
| Lorne Stewart, J. | 1881 | Notes on a Penannular Broch from Cliad, Isle of Coll. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq.</u> <u>Scot.</u> 79-80. |
| Loyn, H.R. | 1977 | <u>The Vikings in Britain.</u> Batsford. |
| Lynn, C.J. | 1978 | Early Christian Period Domestic Architecture: A change from round to rectangular plan. <u>Irish Archaeol.</u> <u>Research Forum</u> 29-45. |
| _____ | 1983 | Some 'Early' Ring-Forts and Crannogs. <u>J. of Irish Archaeol.</u> 47-58. |
| Macalister, R.A.S. | 1949 | <u>Guide to Monasterboice.</u> Dundalgen Press, Dundalk. |
| Macaulay Institute | 1982 | <u>Soil and Land Capability for Agriculture</u> <u>Maps.</u> Macaulay Institute for Soil Research, Aberdeen. |
| MacCallum, R.E. | 1963 | Report on the Excavation at Dun Scalpsie, Isle of Bute, July 1959. <u>Trans. Buteshire Nat. Hist. Soc.</u> 45-53. |

- Macdonald, A. 1975 Two Major Early Monasteries of Scottish Dalriada, Lismore and Eigg. Scot. Archaeol. Forum 47-70.
- _____ 1981 Caiseal, Cathar, Dùn, Lios and Rath names in Scotland. Pt. 1. Bull. Ulster Place Name Soc. 30-39.
- 1982 " Pt. 2. 32-57.
- Macdonald, C. N.D. The History of Argyll. W. & R. Holmes Ltd.
- MacEoin, G. 1981 The Early Irish Vocabulary of Mills and Milling in Studies on Early Ireland B.G. Scott (ed.). 13-19.
- Macgregor, M. 1976 Early Celtic Art in Northern Britain. Leicester University Press.
- Mackie, E.W. 1963 A Dwelling site of the earlier Iron Age at Balevullin, Tiree. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1962-3, 155-184.
- _____ 1963 Dun Beag Vault. Discovery and Excavation Scotland.
- _____ 1965 The Origin and Development of Broch and Wheelhouse Building Cultures of the Scottish Iron Age. Proc. Prehist. Soc. 93-146.
- _____ 1965 Excavation on Two "galleried duns" on Skye in 1964 and 1965. Interim Report. University of Glasgow.
- _____ 1971 English Migrants and Scottish Brochs in Glasgow Archaeol. J. 39-71.
- _____ 1972 The Origin and Development of the Broch and Wheelhouse Building Cultures of the Scottish Iron Age. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow.
- _____ 1974 Dun Mor Vault An Iron Age Broch on Tiree. University of Glasgow.
- _____ 1975 The Brochs of Shetland in Recent Work in Rural Archaeology P.J. Fowler (ed.) Moonraker Press, 72-92.

- Mackie, E.W. 1980 Dun an Rugh Ruaidh, Loch Broom, Ross and Cromarty. Excavations in 1968 and 1978. Glasgow Archaeol. J. 32-79.
- Maclaren, A. 1974 A Norse House on Drimore Machair, South Uist. Glasgow Archaeol. J. 9-18.
- Macleod, F.T. 1915 Notes on Dun an Iardhard a broch near Dunvegan excavated by Countess Vincent Baillet de Latour, Uiginish Lodge Skye. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1914-15 57-70.
- Macnaughton, A. 1891 Leccamore Dun, Luining, Argyll. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1890-1, 476-83.
- 1893 " 1892-3, 375-80.
- MacNeill, E. 1924 Ancient Irish Laws; The Law of Status or Franchise. Proc. Royal Irish Academy. 1921-4, 281-311.
- MacNiocaill, G. 1972 Ireland Before the Vikings. Gill and Macmillan.
- _____ 1982 Investment in Early Irish Agriculture. in Studies in Early Ireland. B.G. Scott (ed.) 7-9.
- Magnusson, M. & Pálsson, H. 1969 Laxdaela Saga. Penguin.
- Main, L. 1979 Excavation at the Fairy Knowe, Stirlingshire 1975-8. Interim Report. Central Regional Council.
- Mallory, J.P. 1982 The Sword of the Ulster Cycle. in Studies in Early Ireland. B.G. Scott 99-114.
- Mann, L. 1925 Notes on the Results of Exploration of the Fort at Dunagoil. Trans. Buteshire Nat. Hist. Soc. 56-60.
- Mann, J.C. 1971 The Northern Frontier in Britain from Hadrian to Honorius. Literary and Epigraphic Sources. University of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne.
- Manning, W.H. & Saunders, C. 1972 A Socketed Iron axe from Maids Moreton, Buckinghamshire with a note on the type. Ant. J. 276-92.

- Marshall, D.N. 1964 Excavations at Little Dunagoil. Trans. Buteshire Nat. Hist. Soc. 6-69.
-
- 1983 Excavations at Macewen's Castle, Argyll in 1968-9. Glasgow Archaeol. J. 131-42.
- Marshall, J.N. 1915 Preliminary Note on Some Excavations at Dunagoil Fort and Cave. Trans. Buteshire Nat. Hist. Soc. 1914-5. 42-86.
-
- 1934 Clachard Ard Fort, Bute. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1933-4, 420-422.
- Marstrander, H. 1915 Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Ireland. Oslo.
- Marwick, H. 1952 Orkney Form Names. Kirkwall.
- Maxwell, G.S. 1969 Duns and Forts, a note on some Iron-age monuments of the Atlantic Province. Scot. Archaeol. Forum. 42-52.
-
- 1975 Casus Belli: Native Pressure and Roman Policy. Scot. Archaeol. Forum 31-49.
- McArdle, D.C. 1973 Loch Awe Crannog Survey. The Kist 2-12.
- McClement, J. 1927 The Distribution of Agriculture in Kintyre. Scot. Geograph. Mag. 20-30.
- McGrail, S. 1980 Ships Shipwrights and Seamen in The Viking World. J. Graham-Campbell (ed.) Frances Lincoln Publishers Ltd. 36-63.
- McInnes, L. 1935 Scroll Descriptive Catalogue of Local Prehistoric Antiquities. Collections of Kintyre Antiq. Soc.
- * see below
- McLeod, J.N. 1894 Remarks on the Supposed Site of Delgan or Cindelgan, the seat of Conall, King of Dalriada. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1893-4, 13-17.
- McNeill, M. 1891 Note of excavation of a Viking Burial Mound in Oronsay. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1890-1. 432-34.
- McKerrell, H. 1975 Correction procedures for C-14 dates. in Watkins, T.F. (ed) Radiocarbon calibration and prehistory. Edinburgh. 47-100.

- McNeill, M. 1892 Note on Viking burials on the Island of Colonsay. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1891-2, 61-2.
- Miller, M. 1976a Historicity and the Pedigrees of the Northcountrymen. Bull. Board Celtic Studies, 255-80.
- _____ 1976b Date Guessing and Pedigrees. Studia Celtica 96-109.
- _____ 1980 Royal pedigrees of the insular Dark Ages: an interim report. History in Africa. 201-224.
- Mitchell, A. 1898 Notice of finds from Uamh Phort, Lunge Mhic Ruaridh Cave, Islay. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1897-8, 36-8.
- Morris, C.D. & Hunter, J.R. 1976 Brough of Birsay. Excavation and Survey 1974 and 1975. Interim Report. Northern Studies 24-32.
- _____ 1977 Brough of Birsay. Excavation and Survey 1976. Report on work by Durham University. Northern Studies 28-31.
- _____ 1979 Birsay "small sites" Excavation and Survey 1978. Northern Studies 17-28.
- _____ 1980 Brough of Birsay. Northern Studies 17-28.
- _____ 1981 Excavation and Survey at Freswick Links and Freswick Castle 1979-8. Summary Report. University of Durham.
- et al.
- Morrison, I.A. 1973 Scottish Lake-Dwelling Surveys. The Archaeology and Geomorphology of Loch Awe Argyllshire. Internat. J. Nautical Archaeol. and Underwater Exploration. Vol. 2. Pt. 2.
- _____ 1981a Extension of the Chronology of Crannogs in Scotland. Internat. J. Nautical Archaeol. and Underwater Exploration. Vol. 10 No.4.
- _____ 1981b A Crannog off Ederline Loch Awe Argyll. Internat. J. Nautical Archaeol. and Underwater Exploration. Vol. 10 No.4.

- Munro, J. 1981 The Lordship of the Isles in The Middle Ages in the Highlands. L. Maclean (ed.). Inverness Field Clud.
- Munro, R. 1882 Ancient Scottish Lake-Dwellings or Crannogs. David Douglas Edinburgh.
- _____ 1885 Notice of an artificial mound or cairn situated 50 yards within the tidal area on the short of the island of Eriska, Argyllshire. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1884-5, 192-5.
- _____ 1893 Notes on Crannogs or Lake Dwellings in Argyllshire. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1892-3, 205-221.
- _____ 1899 Notes on a Crannog at Hyndford near Lanark recently discovered and excavated by Andrew Smith. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1898-9, 373-87.
- Munro, R.W. 1961 Monro's Western Isles of Scotland and Genealogies of the Clans 1549.
- Mytum, H. 1982 The Location of Early Churches in Northern County Clare in The Church in Western Britain and Ireland S.M. Pearce (ed.). Brit. Archaeol. Rep. British Series 102, 351-361.
- Nicholaisen, W.F.H. 1979 Scottish Place Names. Batsford Revised edition.
- Nieke, M.R. 1983 Settlement Patterns in the Atlantic Province of Scotland: A Case Study of the Island of Islay. In Settlement in North Britain 1000 B.C. to 1000 A.D. R. Chapman and H. Mytum (eds.). Brit. Archaeol. Rep. British Series 118, 299-327.
- Nieke, M.R. In preparation Eilean an Duin, Mid Argyll. Excavation Report.
- Nisbet, H.C. 1973 Longwell Dun, Torr a Chorcain, Ross and Cromarty. Discovery and Excavation Scotland.
- 1974 "
- Noel Paton, V. 1928 Notes on a Vitrified fort at An-Cnap Sannox, Arran and at Pennymore Furnace Loch Fyne. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1927-8, 239-45.

- Ó'Corrain, D. 1972 Ireland Before the Normans. Gill and Macmillan.
- _____ 1974 Aspects of Early Irish History in Perspectives in Irish Archaeology B.G. Scott (ed) 64-75.
- _____ 1979 High Kings Vikings and Other Kings. Irish Historical Stud. 283-323.
- _____ 1980 - Review of Bannerman 1974. Celtica 168-182.
- Odo Blundell, R.F. 1913 Further notes on the Artificial Islands in the highland Area. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1912-13, 288.
- Oftedal, M. 1977 Names of Lakes on the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides. Proc. 8th Viking Congress. Bekker-Nelson et al. (eds.) Odense University Press 183-87.
- O'Meadhra, U. 1979 Early Christian Viking and Romanesque Art Motif-pieces from Ireland. Alnquist and Wiksell International Stockholm, Sweden.
- O'Rahilly, T.F. 1946 Early Irish History and Mythology. Dublin.
- Ó'Riain, P. 1972 Boundary Association in Early Irish Society. Studia Celtica, 12-29.
- _____ 1974 Battle Site and Territorial Extent in Early Ireland. Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie. 67-80.
- Ó'Riórdain, S.P. 1979 Antiquities of the Irish Countryside. 5th revised edition (revised by Ruaidhrí de Volera). Methuen.
- Pálson, H. & Edwards, P. 1978 The Orkneyinga Saga: A History of the Earls of Orkney. Hogarth Press.
- Parry, M.L. 1978 Climatic Change Agriculture and Settlement. Dawson & Sons Ltd.
- Peltenburg, E.J. 1982 Excavations at Balloch Hill Argyll. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 142-214.
- Pennant, T. 1772 A Tour in Scotland and a Voyage to the Hebrides. Chester.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------|--|
| Picard, J.M. | 1982 | The Purpose of Adomnan's Vita Columbae. <u>Peritia</u> 160-177. |
| Piggott, S. & C. | 1946 | Field Work in Colonsay and Islay 1944-5. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 83-102. |
| Piggott, C.M. | 1949 | A Note on Excavation at Dunan na Nighean Colonsay. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1948-9, 232-3. |
| _____ | 1953 | Milton Loch Crannog. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1952-3. 134-52. |
| Plummer, C. | 1910 | <u>Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae</u> . Oxford. 2 volumes. |
| Rahtz, P. | 1976 | Buildings and Rural Settlement in The Archaeology of Anglo Saxon England. D. Wilson (ed.) Cambridge University Press, 49-98. |
| Raleigh Radford, C.A. | 1962 | Art and Architecture: Celtic and Norse. in <u>The Northern Isles</u> . F.T. Wainwright (ed.) Thomas Nelson and Son 163-87. |
| Ralston, I.B.M. | 1980 | The Green Castle and other Promontory Forts of North-East Scotland. <u>Scot. Archaeol. Forum</u> 41-60. |
| R.C.A.H.M.S. | 1914 | <u>Kircudbright</u> . H.M.S.O. |
| | 1928 | <u>Outer Hebrides, Skye</u> . |
| | 1971 | <u>Argyll 1 Kintyre</u> . H.M.S.O. |
| | 1975 | <u>Argyll 2 Lorn</u> . H.M.S.O. |
| | 1980 | <u>Argyll 3 Mull, Coll, Tiree, Small Islands and Northern Argyll</u> . H.M.S.O. |
| | 1982 | <u>Argyll 4 Iona</u> . H.M.S.O. |
| Reece, R. | 1975 | Recent Work on Iona. <u>Scot. Archaeol. Forum</u> . 36-46. |
| _____ | 1981 | <u>Excavations on Iona 1964-74</u> . University of London Institute of Archaeology Occasional Publication No.5. |
| Reeves, W. | 1854 | The Island of Tiree. <u>Ulster J. Archaeol.</u> |
| Reid, A. | 1909 | The Vitrified Fort of Lochan-an-Gour Argyllshire. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1908-9, 34-42. |

- Renfrew, C. 1975 Trade as action at a distance; questions of integration and communication. in Ancient Civilisation and Trade. J. Sabloff & C.C. Lamberg-Kovlovsky (eds.) Albuquerque.
- Reynolds, D.M. 1982 Aspects of Later Prehistoric Timber construction in South-East Scotland. in Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland. D.W. Harding (ed.) University of Edinburgh 44-56.
- Reynolds, N. 1980 Dark Age Timber Halls and the Background to Excavations at Balbridie. Scot. Archaeol. Forum 27-40.
- Richmond, I.A. 1955 Roman Britain. Penguin.
- Ritchie, A. 1974 Pict, Norseman in Northern Scotland. Scot. Archaeol. Forum 23-36.
- _____ 1977 Excavation of Pictish and Viking-age Farmsteads at Buckquoy, Orkney. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1976-7 174-227.
- Ritchie, J.N.G. 1967 Keil Cave Southend, Argyll. A Late Iron-age cave occupation in Kintyre. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1966-7 104-110.
- _____ 1971 Iron-age finds from Dun an Fheurain Gallanach, Argyll. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 100-112.
- _____ 1975 A Long Cist at Cnoc Aingil, Islay Argyll. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1974-5 205.
- & A. _____ 1978 Machrins, Colonsay. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1977-8, 263-281.
- _____ 1980 Dùn Cùl Bhurig, Iona, Argyll. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1978-80 209-229.
- & Lane, A.M. _____ 1980 Recent Excavations in the Southern Inner Hebrides. Northern Archaeology. 25-6.
- & Stevenson, J.B.
& Welfare, H.G. _____ 1981 Scotland: Archaeology and Early History. Thames & Hudson.
- & A. _____

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------|--|
| Rivet, A.L.F. & Smith, C. | 1979 | <u>The Place Names of Roman Britain.</u> Batsford. |
| Romilly Allen, J. | 1881 | <u>The Kilmartin Cross. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1880-1 255-61. |
| <hr/> & Anderson, J. | 1903 | <u>The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland.</u> 3 Volumes. |
| Ross, D. | 1881 | Notes on Contents of shell-heaps recently exposed on the Island of Coll. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1880-1, 152-57. |
| Roussell, A. | 1934 | <u>Norse building Customs in the Scottish Isles.</u> Copenhagen/London. |
| Sawyer, P. | 1982 | <u>Kings and Vikings.</u> Methuen. |
| <hr/> | 1982 | <u>The Vikings and Ireland in Ireland in Early Medieval Europe.</u> D. Whitelock et al. (eds.) Cambridge University Press, 345-61. |
| Scott, B.G. | 1983 | An Early Irish Law Trace on the Blacksmith's Forge. <u>J. Irish Archaeol.</u> 59-62. |
| Scott, J.G. | 1960 | <u>Loch Glashan Crannog Argyll. Discovery and Excavation Scotland.</u> |
| <hr/> | 1960 | <u>Loch Glashan Crannog Argyll Med. Archaeol.</u> 310-311. |
| <hr/> | 1961 | <u>Loch Glashan Crannog Argyll Archaeol. Newsletter</u> Vol. 7 No.1 20-1. |
| <hr/> | 1966 | <u>The Forts of Knapdale. Trans. Gaelic Soc. of Inverness</u> , 193-223. |
| Scott, L. | 1947 | <u>The Problem of the Brochs. Proc. Prehist. Soc.</u> , 1-36. |
| <hr/> | 1948 | <u>Gallo-British Colonies: The Aisled Round-House Cultures of the North. Proc. Prehist. Soc.</u> 46-126. |
| <hr/> | 1951 | <u>The Colonisation of Scotland in the Second Millennium B.C. Proc. Prehist. Soc.</u> 16-82. |
| <hr/> | 1954 | <u>The Norse in the Hebrides Proc. of the Viking Congress 1954</u> D. Simpson (ed.). |

- | | | |
|-------------------|------|--|
| Sellar, W.D.H. | 1966 | The Origins and Ancestry of Somerled. <u>Scot. Hist. Review</u> 124-42. |
| Shellard, H.C. | 1959 | Averages of accumulated temperature and standard deviation of monthly mean temperature over Britain 1921-50. <u>Professional Notes of the Meteorological Office</u> , London. |
| Sherley-Price, L. | 1968 | <u>Bede: A History of the English Church and People</u> . Penguin. Revised edition. |
| Shetelig, H. | 1954 | <u>Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland</u> . 6 Vols. Oslo. |
| Sinclair, J. | 1794 | <u>The Statistical Account of Scotland</u> drawn up from the communications of the ministers of different Parishes. Vol. 11. |
| _____ | 1795 | " Vol. 14. |
| Small, A. | 1965 | Underhoull, Unst, Shetland. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 225-248. |
| _____ | 1969 | Burghead. <u>Scot. Archaeol. Forum</u> 61-8. |
| _____ | 1976 | Norse Settlement in Skye in <u>Les Vikings et Leur Civilisations</u> . R. Boyer (ed.) Paris, 29-37. |
| _____ | 1982 | The Norse Building Tradition in Shetland. <u>Arkeologisk Museum i Stavanger: Skifter 7</u> 241-254. |
| Smith, A. | 1872 | A Descriptive List of Antiquities near Loch Etive Argyllshire consisting of vitrified forts cairns circles crannogs etc. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1870-2 93-8 416-7. |
| _____ | 1874 | " 1872-4 82-3. |
| Smith, B. | 1981 | Bu Broch. <u>North of Scotland Archaeological Services Report</u> . |

- Smyth, A.P. 1972 The Earliest Irish Annals; their 1st contemporary entries and the earliest centres of recording. Proc. Royal Irish Academy 1-48.
- _____ 1975 Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History of 2 related Viking Kingdoms. Volume 1 Temple Kieran Press, Dunblin.
- _____ 1979 " Volume 2. Humanities Press New Jersey.
- _____ 1977 Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles. Oxford University Press.
- _____ 1982 Celtic Leinster. Irish Academic Press.
- Steer, K.A. & 1977 Later Medieval Monumental Sculpture
Bannerman, J.M.W. in the Western Highlands. H.M.S.O.
- Stenberger, M. (ed) 1943 Fortitida Garder i Island. Kopenhagen.
- Stevenson, R.B.K. 1944 Relics from Kildalton, Islay.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1943-4 120-5.
- _____ 1949 The Nuclear Fort of Dalmahoy, Mid
Lothian and other Dark-Age Capitals.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1948-9, 186-98.
- _____ 1956 The Chronology and Relationship of
some Irish and Scottish Crosses.
J. Royal Soc. Antiq. Ireland, 84-96.
- _____ 1966 Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles:
The National Museum of Antiquities
of Scotland. Part 1, London.
- _____ 1966 Metalwork and some other objects in
Scotland and their cultural affinities.
in The Iron Age in Northern Britain.
A.L.F. Rivet (ed.). Edinburgh.
- _____ 1970 Sculpture in Scotland in the 6th to
9th centuries A.D. Kolloquium über
Spatäntike und Frühmittelalterliche
Skulptur. Verlag Philip von Zabern,
Mainz an Rhein, 65-74.
- Storrie, M.C. 1981 Islay: Biography of an Island. The
Oa Press.
- Stoklund, B. 1980 Houses and Culture in the North Atlantic
Islands. Ethnologia Scandinavica
113-132.
- Sveinbjarnadóttir, G. 1976 Settlements and Buildings of the
Scandinavians in the North Atlantic
Region 800-1150. Unpublished M.Phil.
Thesis; University of London.

- | | | |
|------------------|------|--|
| Swanton, M. | 1978 | <u>Beowulf</u> . Manchester University Press. |
| Thomas, C. | 1971 | <u>The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain</u> . Oxford University Press. |
| _____ | 1981 | <u>Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 500</u> . Batsford. |
| _____ | 1981 | A provisional list of imported pottery in post-Roman Western Britain and Ireland. <u>Institute of Cornish Studies: Special Report No.7</u> . |
| _____ | 1982 | East and West: Tintagel Mediterranean Imports and the Early Insular Church. in <u>The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland</u> . S.M. Pearce (ed.) Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Series 102. |
| Thomas, F.W.L. | 1870 | On the Primitive Dwellings and Hypogea of the Outer Hebrides. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1866-70 153-95. |
| _____ | 1879 | Dunadd Glassary Argyllshire. The Place of inauguration of the Dalriadic Kings. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1878-9 28-47. |
| _____ | 1882 | On Islay Place Names. <u>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</u> 1881-2 241-76. |
| _____ | 1890 | On Duns of the Outer Hebrides. <u>Archaeologica Scotica</u> . 365-432. |
| Thorpe, L. | 1978 | <u>Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales; the Description of Wales</u> . Penguin. |
| Thurneyson, R. | 1921 | <u>Die Irische Helde und Konigsaga</u> . Halle 99-121. |
| Unger, R.W. | 1980 | <u>The Ship in the Medieval Economy 600-1600</u> . Croom Helm London. |
| Wainwright, F.T. | 1963 | <u>The Souterrains of Southern Pictland</u> . London. |
| Warner, R.B. | 1979 | The Archaeology of some Historic Sites: Some Observations. <u>Bull. Ulster Place Name Soc.</u> 43-5. |
| _____ | 1979 | Irish Souterrains and their Background in <u>Subterranean Britain</u> . H. Crawford (ed.) Bakers London. 100-144. |

- Warner, R.B. 1981 Fortification: Observations on the Beginnings of Fortification in Later Bronze-Age Ireland. Bull. Ulster Place-Name Soc. 45-52.
-
- 1982 Irish Souterrains: Later Iron Age Refuges. Archaeologia Atlantica 1980; 81-99.
-
- 1983 Ireland Ulster and Scotland in the Earlier Iron Age. in From the Stone Age to the '45. A. O'Connor D.V. Clarke (eds.) John Donald 160-187.
- Watkins, T. 1980 Excavation of a Settlement and Souterrain at Newmill, near Bankfoot, Perthshire. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1978-80, 165-208.
- Watson, W.J. 1926 A History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland. Blackwood Edinburgh.
- Whitaker, I. 1976 Regnal Succession among the Dalriada. Ethnohistory 343 - 63.
- White, T.P. 1873 Archaeological Sketches in Scotland District of Kintyre. Edinburgh.
-
- 1875 Archaeological Sketches in Scotland Knapdale and Gigha. Edinburgh.
- Whittow, J.B. 1977 Geology and Scenery in Scotland. Pelican.
- Wilson, D. 1973 St. Ninian's Isle and Its Treasures: The Metalwork. London.
-
- 1976 Scandinavian Settlement in the North and West of the British Isles: An Archaeological Point of View. Trans. Royal Historical Society 95-113.
- Withrington, D.J. 1983 The Statistical Account of Scotland. Vol. VIII. Argyll (Mainland) The Moxan Press, Wakefield.
- & Grant, I.R.
- Wormald, P. 1982 The Age of Bede and Aethelbald. in The Anglo-Saxons. J. Campbell (ed.) Phaidon Press Ltd. 70-100.