



Society of Antiquaries
of **Scotland**

The Archaeology of Finlaggan, Islay

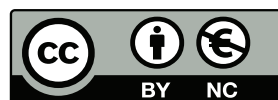
David Caldwell

ISBN: 978-1-908332-36-3 (hardback) • 978-1-908332-35-6 (PDF)

The text in this work is published under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International licence (CC BY-NC 4.0). This licence allows you to share, copy, distribute and transmit the work and to adapt the work for non-commercial purposes, providing attribution is made to the authors (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work). Attribution should include the following information:

Caldwell, D H 2025 *The Archaeology of Finlaggan, Islay: Excavations at the centre of the Lordship of the Isles, 1989–1998*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. <https://doi.org/10.9750/978190833256>

Important: The illustrations and figures in this work are not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence. Permissions must be obtained from third-party copyright holders to reproduce any of the illustrations.



Every effort has been made to obtain permissions from the copyright holders of third-party material reproduced in this work. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland would be grateful to hear of any errors or omissions.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a registered Scottish charity number SC 010440. Visit our website at www.socantscot.org or find us on Bluesky [@socantscot.bsky.social](https://bsky.social/@socantscot).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

BAR: British Archaeological Report.

PSAS: *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Proc Soc Antiq Scot)*.

RCAHMS: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (now part of Historic Environment Scotland).

Archival sources

Argyll transcripts. Copies of documents from the archives of the dukes of Argyll, made by the 10th Duke. Photostat copy in the Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow.

Canmore, National Record of the Historic Environment, <https://canmore.org.uk/>.

Cawdor Castle, Nairn: Cawdor muniments.

Mitchell Library, Glasgow: TD 1338. Islay Estate papers.

NRS (National Records of Scotland): E69/3/1. A list of the hearths within the shires of Argyll and Bute, 1694.

Tate Britain, London: Sketch books of J M W Turner, Finberg CCLXX.

Unpublished archive reports

British Geological Survey 1990 'Bathymetric survey of Loch Finlaggan'. Technical report WB/90/32.

Caldwell, D H 2012 'The medieval burial monuments and commemorative crosses of Iona'. Commissioned by Historic Scotland.

Cressey, M 1995 'The identification of early lead mining: environmental, archaeological and historical perspectives from Islay, Inner Hebrides, Scotland', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh.

Cullen, I S & Driscoll, S T 1995 'Trial excavations at Strome Castle, Wester Ross', unpublished archive report, GUARD no. 184.

Ellis, C 2015 'Final report: the archaeology at Shepherd's Cottage, Kilchoman, Islay'. Argyll: Argyll Archaeology.

Hardy, K & Wickham-Jones, C R 2000 'Scotland's first settlers'. Data structure report, University of Edinburgh.

Nieke, M R 1984 'Settlement patterns in the Atlantic province of Scotland in the 1st millennium AD: a study of Argyll', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow.

O'Grady, O J T 2008 'The setting and practice of open-air judicial assemblies in medieval Scotland: a multidisciplinary study', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow.

Printed and electronic publications

Airlie, S 2003 'Thrones, dominions, powers: some European points of comparison for the Stone of Destiny', in Welander R, Breeze, D J & Clancy, T O (eds) *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact & Icon*, Monograph Series 22, 123–36. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Akeroyd, J 1999 *The Encyclopedia of Wild Flowers*. Bath: Parragon.

ALC: *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501–1554*. See Hannay, R K (ed) 1932.

Anderson, A O (ed) 1990 *Early Sources of Scottish history AD 500 to 1286*. 2 vols. Stamford: Paul Watkins.

Anderson Smith, W ('Gowrie') 1868 *Off the Chain: Notes and Essays from the West Highlands*. Manchester: Palmer & Howe.

Andrews, J H 2008 *The Queen's Last Map-Maker: Richard Bartlett in Ireland, 1600–3*. Dublin: Geography Publications.

Anonymous 1771 'An account of old John Taylor', *Scots Magazine* 33: 24–26.

Anson, P F 1971 *Fishing Boats and Fisher Folk on the East Coast of Scotland*. London: J M Dent.

Arge, S V, Church, M J & Brewington, S D 2009 'Pigs in the Faroe Islands: an ancient facet of the islands' palaeoeconomy', *Journal of the North Atlantic* 2: 19–32.

Armit, I 2000 'The abandonment of souterrains: evolution, catastrophe or dislocation?', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 129: 577–96. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.129.577.596>.

Armstrong, P, Tomlinson, D & Evans, D H, *Excavations at Lurk Lane Beverley, 1979–82*. Sheffield: J R Collis.

Atkinson, J A 2002 'Excavation of 10th-century burials at Chapelhall, Innellan, Argyll, 1994', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 130: 651–76. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.130.651.676>.

Bain, J (ed) 1898 *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1603*. Edinburgh: H M General Register House.

Balfour, J H 1845 *Account of a Botanical Excursion to the Mull of Cantyre, and the Island of Islay, in August, 1844*. Glasgow: Proceedings of the Glasgow Philosophical Society.

Bannerman, J W M 1986 *The Beatons: A Medical Kindred in the Classical Gaelic Tradition*. Edinburgh: John Donald.

Barnes, R 1979 *Coasts and Estuaries*. The Natural History of Britain and Northern Europe. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Barrett, J H 2016 'Medieval sea fishing, AD 599–1550: chronology, causes and consequence', in Barrett, J H and Orton, D C (eds) *Cod and Herring: The Archaeology and History of Medieval Sea Fishing, 250–72*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Barrett, J H & Gibbon, S J (eds) 2015 *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*. Society of Medieval Archaeology monograph 37. Leeds: Maney.

- Bell, R C 1979 *Board and Table Games from Many Civilizations*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Bergin, O 1970 *Irish Bardic Poetry*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Bersu, G & Wilson, D M 1966 *Three Viking Graves in the Isle of Man*. Society for Medieval Archaeology monograph 1. London.
- Bertelsen, R 2011 'Food in northern Europe from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century', in Carver, M & Klápště, J (eds) *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*. Vol 2, *Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*, 126–32. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Beuermann, I 2002 *Man amongst the Kings and Bishops: What Was the Reason for Godred Olafsson's Journey to Norway in 1152/53?* Oslo: Centre for Studies in the Viking and the Nordic Middle Ages.
- Boardman, S 2009 'The Gaelic world and the early Stewart court', in Broun, D & MacGregor, M (eds) *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*. Glasgow: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow.
- Boardman, S 2013 'The lost world: post-medieval accounts of the Lordship of the Isles', in Duffy, S & Foran, S (eds) *The English Isles: Cultural Transmission and Political Conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100–1500*, 151–74. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Boardman, S & Jones, G 1990 'Experiments on the effects of charring on cereal plant components', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 17: 1–11.
- Booth, C G 1983 *An Islay Notebook*. Islay Museums Trust.
- Brannon, N F 1984 'A small excavation in Tildarg townland, near Ballyclare, County Antrim', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 47: 163–70.
- Breen, C 2012 *Dunluce Castle: History and Archaeology*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Broderick, G (ed) 1996 *Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles*. Douglas, Isle of Man: Manx National Heritage.
- Broderick, G 2003 'Tynwald: a Manx cult-site and institution of pre-Scandinavian origin?', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 46: 55–94.
- Brooks, C M 1979 'Excavation at Keills Chapel, Knapdale, Argyll', *The Kist* 18: 11–15.
- Brothwell, D & Higgs, E (eds) 1969 *Science in Archaeology*. 2nd edition. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Broun, D 2009 'Attitudes of Gall to Gaedhel in Scotland before John of Fordun', in Broun, D & MacGregor, M (eds) *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*, 49–82. Glasgow: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow.
- Broun, D & MacGregor, M (eds) 2009 *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*. Glasgow: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow.
- Buckley, V 1990 *Burnt Offerings: International Contributions to Burnt Mound Archaeology*. Dublin: Wordwell.
- Burnett, G et al (eds) 1878–1908 *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 23 vols. Edinburgh: H M General Register House.
- Burns, E 1887 *The Coinage of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black.
- Burt, E 1998 *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland*. Edinburgh (edited reprint of *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London*, 1754). Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- Burt, R, Waite, P & Atkinson, M 1981 'Scottish metalliferous mining 1845 to 1913: detailed returns from the *Mineral Statistics*. Part 1', *Industrial Archaeology* 16 (1): 4–19.
- Caldwell, D 2003 'Finlaggan, Islay, stones and inauguration ceremonies', in Welander R, Breeze, D J & Clancy, T O (eds) *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact & Icon*, Monograph Series 22, 60–75. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- Caldwell, D H 2009a 'The breakup of the Kingdom of the Isles', *West Highland Notes & Queries*, series 3, no. 14 (December): 7–12.
- Caldwell, D H 2009b 'The Campbell takeover of Islay – the archaeological evidence', in Horning, A & Brannon, N (eds) *Ireland And Britain in the Atlantic World*, Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group Proceedings 2, 89–110. Dublin: Wordwell.
- Caldwell, D H 2011 *Islay, Jura and Colonsay: A Historical Guide*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- Caldwell, D H 2014a 'Breacachadh Castle in 1595/6', *West Highland Notes & Queries*, series 3, no. 24 (January): 24–28.
- Caldwell, D H 2014b 'The Kingdom of the Isles', in Caldwell, D H & Hall, M A (eds) *The Lewis Chessmen: New Perspectives*, 70–93. Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises Ltd – Publishing.
- Caldwell, D H 2014c 'The Lordship of the Isles: identity through materiality', in Oram, R D (ed) *The Lordship of the Isles*, 227–53. Leiden: Brill.
- Caldwell, D H 2015 'The sea power of the Western Isles of Scotland in the late medieval period', in Barrett, J H & Gibbon, S J (eds) *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, Society of Medieval Archaeology monograph 37, 350–68. Leeds: Maney.
- Caldwell, D H 2017 *Islay: The Land of the Lordship*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- Caldwell, D H 2018 *Mull and Iona: A Historical Guide*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- Caldwell, D H 2021 'Finlaggan, Islay: an update on the excavations', *West Highland Notes and Queries*, series 5, no. 2 (July): 14–19.
- Caldwell, D H 2022 '1266 and all that – an archaeological approach to understanding the Scottish takeover of the Kingdom of the Isles', *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History* 20: 1–16.
- Caldwell, D H 2023a 'Finlaggan, Islay: a medieval centre of power', in O'Grady, O J T & Oram, R (eds) *Royal and Lordly Inauguration and Assembly Places in North-West Europe*, 136–55. Donington: Shaun Tyas.
- Caldwell, D H 2023b 'The Stone of Scone: the threshold of royal and ecclesiastical power', in O'Grady, O J T & Oram, R (eds) *Royal and Lordly Inauguration and Assembly Places in North-West Europe*, 13–47. Donington: Shaun Tyas.
- Caldwell, D H 2024 'Late medieval sculpture in the West Highlands and Highlands and the invention of a "Celtic" past', in Moss, R & Puliam, H (eds) *Irish and Scottish Art, c.900–1900: survivals and revivals*, 61–78. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Caldwell, D H & Hall, M A (eds) 2014 *The Lewis Chessmen: New Perspectives*. Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises Ltd – Publishing.
- Caldwell, D H & Ruckley, N A 2005 'Domestic architecture in the Lordship of the Isles', in Oram, R & Stell, G (eds) *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, 96–121. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Caldwell, D H & Ruckley, N A 2008 'Drùim a' Chuirn, Carnbeg', *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 8: 40.
- Caldwell, D H & Stell, G P 2017 'Achanduin Castle, Lismore, Argyll: an account of the excavations by Dennis Turner, 1970–5', *Scottish Archaeological Internet Reports* 73, <https://doi.org/10.9750/issn.2056-7421.2017.73>.
- Caldwell, D H & Wingrove, S 1989 'The artefacts', in Stewart, J H & Stewart, M B, 'A highland longhouse – Lianach, Balquidder,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Perthshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 118: 311–17. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.118.301.317>.
- Caldwell, D H, Ewart, G & Triscott, J 1998 'Auldhill, Portencross', *Archaeological Journal* 155: 22–81.
- Caldwell, D H, McWee, R & Ruckley, N A 2000 'Post-medieval settlement on Islay – some recent research', in Atkinson, J A, Banks, I & MacGregor, G (eds) *Townships to Farmsteads: Rural Settlement Studies in Scotland, England and Wales*, 58–68. Oxford: BAR, British Series, 293.
- Caldwell, D H, Eremin, K, Miller, S & Ruckley, N A 2002 'West Highland sculpture, Scotland – defining a Gaelic lordship', in Helmig, G, Scholkmann, B & Untermann, M (eds) *Medieval Europe Basel 2002: Centre, Region, Periphery: 3rd International Conference of Medieval and Later Archaeology, Basel (Switzerland), 10–15 September 2002: Pre-printed Papers*. Vol 1, 84–93. Hertingen: Folio-Verlag.
- Caldwell, D H, McGibbon, F M, Miller, S & Ruckley, N A 2010 'The image of a Celtic society: medieval West Highland sculpture', in O'Neill, P (ed) *Celts in Legend and Reality: Papers from the Sixth Australian Conference of Celtic Studies*, Sydney Series in Celtic Studies 9, 13–59. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Callen, E O & Cameron, T W M 1960 'A prehistoric diet revealed in coprolites', *New Scientist* 8: 35–40.
- Callender, R M & Macaulay, J 1984 *The Ancient Metal Mines of the Isle of Islay, Argyll*. British Mining no. 24. Northern Mine Research Society. Sheffield.
- Cameron, A 1894 *Reliquiae Celticae*. Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company.
- Cameron, S 2014 'Contumaciously absent? The lords of the Isles and the Scottish crown', in Oram, R D (ed) *The Lordship of the Isles*, 146–75. Leiden: Brill.
- Cameron Gillies, H 1906 *The Place-Names of Argyll*. London: David Nutt.
- Campbell, A (ed) 1926 *The Manuscript History of Craignish*, Scottish History Society Miscellany 4, 177–299. Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T and A Constable for the Society.
- Campbell, A 2002 *A History of Clan Campbell*. Vol 2, *From Flodden to the Restoration*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Campbell, E 1999 *Saints and Sea-Kings. The First Kingdom of the Scots*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- Campbell, E 2001 'Were the Scots Irish?', *Antiquity* 75: 285–92.
- Card, N & Downes, J 2003 'Mine Howe – the significance of space and place in the Iron Age', in Downes, J & Ritchie, A (eds) *Sea Change: Orkney and Northern Europe in the later Iron Age AD 300–800*, 11–19. Balgavies, Angus: Pinkfoot Press.
- Carver, M & Klápště, J (eds) 2011 *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*. Vol 2 *Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Christison, D 1883 'On the grated iron doors of Scottish castles and towers', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 17: 98–135. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.017.98.135>.
- Christison, D 1888 'Additional notices of yetts, or grated iron doors, of Scottish castles and towers', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 22: 286–320. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.022.286.320>.
- Clancy, T O 1998 *The Triumph Tree: Scotland's Earliest Poetry ad 550–1350*. Edinburgh: Canongate.
- Coad, J G & Streeten, A D F 1982 'Excavations at Castle Acre Castle, Norfolk 1972–77', *Archaeological Journal* 139: 138–301.
- Collins, A E P & Waterman, D M 1955 *Millin Bay, a Late Neolithic Cairn in County Down*. Belfast: Archaeological Research Publications.
- Cooijmans, C (ed) 2017 *Traversing the Inner Seas*. Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies.
- Coolen, J & Mehler, N 2014 *Excavations and Surveys at the Law Ting Holm, Tingwall, Shetland*. Oxford: BAR, British Series, 592.
- Cormack, W F 1995 'Barhobble, Mochrum – excavations of a forgotten church site in Galloway', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 70: 5–106.
- Corran, H S 1975 *A History of Brewing*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles.
- Coull, J R 1996 *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland: A Historical Geography*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Cowan, I B & Easson, D E 1976 *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*. London: Longman.
- Crawford, B E 1987 *Scandinavian Scotland*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Leicester University Press.
- Crone, A 2000 *The History of a Scottish Lowland Crannog: Excavations at Buiston, Ayrshire, 1989–90*. Historic Scotland monograph 4. Edinburgh.
- Crone, B A 1994 'Crannogs and chronologies', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 123: 245–54. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.123.245.254>.
- Cruikshank, J 1944 'The palace at Bishop's Loch', *Aberdeen University Review* 30: 312–14.
- CSP Scot: *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1603*. See Bain, J (ed) 1898.
- Cubbon, W & Megaw, B R S 1942 'The Western Isles and the growth of the Manx Parliament', *Journal of the Manx Museum* 5 (66) (June): 57–62.
- Dalrymple, J (1596) 1888–95 *The Historie of Scotland, Written First in Latin by the Most Reverend and Worthy Jhone Leslie, Bishop of Rosse*. Scottish Text Society. Edinburgh, 1888–95.
- Darvill, T 2004 'Tynwald Hill and the "things" of power', in Pantos, A & Semple, S (eds) *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, 217–32. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Davey, P 2013 *After the Vikings: Medieval Archaeology of the Isle of Man, ad 1100–1550*. Douglas: Manx National Heritage.
- Davey, P & Hodges, R (eds) 1983 *Ceramics and Trade: The Production and Distribution of Later Medieval Pottery in North-West Europe*. Monograph: papers derived from the Medieval Pottery Research Group's annual conference at Hull, 1980. Sheffield: Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield.
- Dawson, S & Dawson, A G 1997a 'Holocene relative sea level change in Gruinart, Isle of Islay', in Dawson, S & Dawson, A G (eds) *The Quaternary of Islay & Jura Field Guide*, 78–98. Cambridge: Quaternary Research Association.
- Dawson, S & Dawson, A G (eds) 1997b *The Quaternary of Islay & Jura Field Guide*. Cambridge: Quaternary Research Association.
- Dean, V E 1996 'The pottery vessel', in Holmes, N M McQ, 'The Ednam, Roxburghshire, hoard, 1995', *British Numismatic Journal* 66: 43.
- Dickson, T (ed) 1877 *Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum = Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*. Edinburgh: H M General Register House.
- Dimbleby, G W 1967 *Plants and Archaeology*. London: John Baker.
- Dixon, P & Marshall, P 1993 'The great tower in the twelfth century: the case of Norham Castle', *Archaeological Journal* 150: 410–32.
- Dixon, P & Wyeth, W 2021 'Turnberry Castle and countryside', in McFarland, E (ed) *Ayrshire Castles from Kings to Covenanters*, 31–59. Ayr: Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society.

- Dodgshon, R A 1994 'West Highland and Hebridean settlement pattern prior to crofting and the Clearances: a study in stability or change?', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 123: 419–38. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.123.419.438>
- Donnelly, C, Logue P, O'Neill, J & O'Neill, J 2007 'Timber castles and towers in sixteenth-century Ireland: some evidence from Ulster', *Archaeology Ireland* (summer 2007): 22–25.
- Downes, J & Ritchie, A (eds) 2003 *Sea Change: Orkney and Northern Europe in the Later Iron Age ad 300–800*. Balgavies, Angus: Pinkfoot Press.
- Downham, C 2007 *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014*. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press.
- Duffy, P J, Edwards, D & FitzPatrick, E (eds) 2001 *Gaelic Ireland, Land, Lordship & Settlement, c. 1250 – c. 1650*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Duffy, S 1991 'The "continuation" of Nicholas Trevet: a new source for the Bruce invasion', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 91C, no. 12: 303–15.
- Duffy, S 2015 'Man and the Irish Sea world in the eleventh century', in Duffy, S & Mytum, H (eds) *A New History of the Isle of Man*. Vol 3, *The Medieval Period, 1000–1406*, 9–26. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Duffy, S & Mytum, H (eds) 2015 *A New History of the Isle of Man*. Vol 3, *The Medieval Period, 1000–1406*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Dumville, D N 2002 'Ireland and north Britain in the earlier Middle Ages: contexts for Miniugud Senchasa Fher nAlban', in Ó Baoill, C & McGuire, N R (eds) 2002 *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000*, 185–211. Obar Dheathain [Aberdeen]: An Clò Gaidhealach.
- Dunbar, J 1981 'The medieval architecture of the Scottish Highlands', in MacLean, L (ed) *The Middle Ages in the Highlands*, 38–70. Inverness: Inverness Field Club.
- Duncan, A A M 1999 'Roger of Howden and Scotland, 1187–1201', in Crawford, B E (ed) *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, 135–59. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- Duncan, A A M & Brown, A L 1959 'Argyll and the Isles in the earlier Middle Ages', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 90: 192–220. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.090.192.220>
- Dwelly, E 1994 *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*. Glasgow: Gairm.
- Eedes, E S & Newton, A 1988 *Brambles of the British Isles*. London: Ray Society.
- Edmonds, F 2019 *Gaelic Influence in the Northumbrian Kingdom: The Golden Age and the Viking Age*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Edwards, N & Lane, A (eds) 1992 *The Early Church in Wales and the West*. Oxbow monograph 16. Oxford.
- Ellis, C 2014 'Shepherd's Cottage', *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 14: 47.
- Ellis, C 2017 'Monks, priests and farmers: a community research excavation at Baliscate, Isle of Mull', *Scottish Archaeological Internet Reports* 68, <https://doi.org/10.9750/issn.2056-7421.2017.68.1-107>
- Environmental Resources Management 1996 *Landscape Assessment of Argyll and the Firth of Clyde*. Scottish Natural Heritage (Review no. 78). Perth.
- ER: *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. See Burnett, G et al (eds) 1878–1908.
- Ewart, G 1997 'Inchaffray Abbey, Perth and Kinross: excavation and research, 1987', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 126: 469–516. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.126.469.516>
- Ewart, G & Pringle, D 2004 'Dundonald Castle excavations, 1986–93', *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 26: parts 1 & 2.
- Farmer, P G 1979 *An Introduction to Scarborough Ware and a Re-assessment of Knight Jugs*. Hove: privately published.
- Fernie, E 1987 'Early church architecture in Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 116: 393–411. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.116.393.411>
- Finberg, A J 1909 *The National Gallery: A Complete Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest*, vol 2. London: for HMSO by Darling & Son.
- Fisher, I 1997 'Early Christian archaeology in Argyll', in Ritchie, A *The Archaeology of Argyll*, 81–204. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- FitzPatrick, E 2004 *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c.1100–1600*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- FitzPatrick, E 2012 'Formaoil na Fiann: hunting preserves and assembly places in Gaelic Ireland', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 32: 95–118.
- FitzPatrick, E 2015 'Decoding Finn Mac Cumhaill's places', *Archaeology Ireland* 29 (3) (autumn 2015): 26–31.
- Foreman, M 1991 'Objects of stone and fired clay', in Armstrong, P, Tomlinson, D & Evans, D H, *Excavations at Lurk Lane Beverley, 1979–82*, 105–14. Sheffield: J R Collis.
- Fraser, J E 2009 *From Caledonia to Pictland, Scotland to 795*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Freke, D 2002 *Excavations on St Patrick's Isle, Peel, Isle of Man, 1982–88*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Fry, S L 1999 *Burial in Medieval Ireland 900–1500*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Gailey, R A 1962 'The evolution of Highland rural settlement, with particular reference to Argyllshire', *Scottish Studies* 6: 155–77.
- Gammeltoft, P 2001 *The Place-Name Element Bólstaðr in the North Atlantic Area*. Navnestudier 38. Copenhagen.
- Gannon, A & Geddes, G 2015 *St Kilda, the Last and Outmost Isle*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- Gibbon, S J 2017 'A survey of Norse castles in Orkney', in Martin, P (ed) *Castles and Galleys: A Reassessment of the Historic Galley Castles of the Norse-Gaelic Seaways*, 226–48. Laxay, Isle of Lewis: The Islands Book Trust.
- Giblin, C 1964 *Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland, 1619–1646*. Dublin: Assisi Press.
- Gilbert, J M 1979 *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland*. Edinburgh John Donald Publishers Ltd.
- Good, G L & Tabraham, C J 1981 'Excavations at Threave Castle, Galloway', *Medieval Archaeology* 25: 90–140.
- Graham, A H & Davies, S M 1993 *Excavations in Trowbridge, Wiltshire, 1977 and 1986–1988*. Wessex Archaeology monograph 2. Salisbury.
- Graham, R C 1895 *Carved Stones of Islay*. Glasgow: J. Macle hose.
- Graham-Campbell, J & Batey, C E 1998 *Vikings in Scotland: An Archaeological Survey*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Grant, I F 1935 *The Lordship of the Isles*. Edinburgh: Moray Press.
- Green, M 1992 *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth*. London: Routledge.
- Gregory, D 1836 *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*. Edinburgh: William Tait.
- Gresham, C A 1968 *Medieval Stone Carving in North Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Haldane, A R B 2002 *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- Hall, D W 1996 'Blind date – Scottish medieval pottery industries', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal* 2: 126–29.
- Hall, M A 2002 'Cultural interaction on the medieval burgh of Perth, Scotland 1200–1600', in Helmig, G, Scholkmann, B & Untermann, M (eds) *Medieval Europe Basel 2002: Centre, Region, Periphery: 3rd International Conference of Medieval and Later Archaeology, Basel (Switzerland), 10–15 September 2002: Preprinted Papers*. Vol 1, 290–301. Basel: Folio-Verlag.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Hall, M A 2012 'Money isn't everything: the cultural life of coins in the medieval burgh of Perth, Scotland', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 12 (1): 72–91.
- Hamlin, A E 2008 *The Archaeology of Early Christianity in the North of Ireland*. Oxford: BAR, British Series, 460.
- Hannay, R K (ed) 1915 *Rentale Dunkeldense*. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.
- Hannay, R K (ed) 1932 *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501–1554: Selections from the Acta Dominorum Concilii. Introductory to the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. Edinburgh: H M General Register House.
- Harding, D W 2000 'Crannogs and island duns: classification, dating and function', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 19 (3): 301–17.
- Hayes-McCoy, G A 1937 *Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland (1565–1603)*. Dublin: Burns Oates and Washbourne.
- Hayes-McCoy, G A 1964 *Ulster and Other Irish Maps c.1600*. Dublin: Dublin Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission.
- Henisch, B A 1976 *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society*. Centre County, PA: Penn State Press.
- Henry, D (ed) 1997 *The Worm, the Germ and the Thorn: Pictish and Related Studies Presented to Isabel Henderson*. Balgavie, Angus: Pinkfoot Press.
- Higham, R & Barker, P 2004 *Timber Castles*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
- Hill, P 1997 *Whithorn & St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984–91*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.
- Hillson, S, 1986 *Teeth*. Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holley, M W 2000 *The Artificial Islets/Crannogs of the Central Inner Hebrides*. Oxford: BAR, British Series, 303.
- Horne, T, Pierce, E & Barrowman, R (eds) 2023 *The Viking Age in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Horning, A J 2001 "'Dwelling houses in the old Irish barbarous manner": archaeological evidence for Gaelic architecture in an Ulster plantation village', in Duffy, P J, Edwards, D & FitzPatrick, E (eds) *Gaelic Ireland, c.1250–1650: Land, Lordship & Settlement*, 375–96. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Horning, A & Brannon, N (eds) 2009 *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World*. Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group Proceedings 2. Bray, Co Wicklow: Wordwell.
- Hubbard, R N L B 1975 'Assessing the botanical component of human palaeoeconomies', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology London* 12: 197–205.
- Hudson, B T 2005 *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes: Dynasty, Religion and Empire in the North Atlantic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hunter, F & Hunter, J 2017 'St Patrick's footprint – an early medieval royal inauguration site at Portpatrick?', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural and Antiquarian Society* 91: 49–72.
- Hunter, J R 1986 *Rescue Excavations on the Brough of Birsay, 1974–82*. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph 4. Edinburgh.
- Innis, C 1852 'Antiquities and works of art exhibited', *Archaeological Journal* 9: 297.
- Innes, C (ed) 1859 *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*. Edinburgh: Spalding Club.
- Johnston, L H & Roberts, J A 2001 'The retrieval of human remains in the gardens of Colonsay House', *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 23: 67–73.
- Jones, M 1981 'The development of crop husbandry', in Jones, M & Dimbleby, G (eds) *The Environment of Man: The Iron Age to the Anglo-Saxon Period*, 95–127. Oxford: BAR, British Series, 87.
- Jones, M 1985 'Beyond domestication in prehistoric Europe', in Barker, G & Gamble, C (eds) *Archaeobotany beyond Subsistence Reconstruction*, 107–28. London: Academic.
- Kerney, M P & Cameron, R A 1979 *A Field Guide to the Land Snails of Britain and North-West Europe*. London: Collins.
- Kluge-Pinsker, A 1991 *Schach und Trictrac: Zeugnisse mittelalterlicher Spielfreude in salischer Zeit*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- Kreiner, J 2020 *Legions of Pigs in the Early Medieval West*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lamont, W D 1957 'Old land denominations and "old extent" in Islay: part one', *Scottish Studies* 1: 183–203.
- Lamont, W D 1958 'Old land denominations and "old extent" in Islay: part two', *Scottish Studies* 2: 86–106.
- Lamont, W D 1960 'The Islay Charter of 1408', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 60C (1959–60): 163–87.
- Lamont, W D 1966 *The Early History of Islay*. Dundee: Burns & Harris.
- Lane, A & Campbell, E 2000 *Dunadd: An Early Dalriadic Capital*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Larsson, M G 2010 'Mora sten och Mora ting (The stone and assembly of Mora)', *Fornvännen* 105: 291–303.
- Lennstrom, H A & Hastorf, C A 1992 'Testing old wives tales in palaeoethnobotany: a comparison of bulk and scatter sampling schemes from Puncan, Peru', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 19: 205–9.
- Lewis, J & Ewart, G 1995 *Jedburgh Abbey: The Archaeology and Architecture of a Border Abbey*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- Livingstone, M et al (ed) 1908–82 *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regnum Scotorum, Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, 8 vols. Edinburgh: H M General Register House.
- Lucas, G 2009 *Hofstaðir: Excavations of a Viking Age Feasting Hall in North-Eastern Iceland*. Institute of Archaeology monograph 1. Reykjavik.
- MacCarthy, B (ed) 1893 *Annals of Ulster*. Vol. 2 A.D. 1057–1131; 1155–1378. Dublin: HMSO.
- MacCarthy, B (ed) 1895 *Annals of Ulster*. Vol. 3 A.D. 1379–1541. Dublin: HMSO.
- McCarthy, M R, Summerson, H R T & Annis, R G 1990 *Carlisle Castle: A Survey and Documentary History*. English Heritage Archaeological Report no. 18. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press for English Heritage.
- McCormick, F 1996 'Faunal remains', in Ewart, G J and Triscott, J (eds) 'Archaeological excavations at Castle Sween, Knapdale, Argyll & Bute, 1989–90', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 126 (2): 553–55. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.126.517.557>
- McCullagh, R 1989 'Excavations at Newton, Islay', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 15: 23–52.
- MacDonald, G 1918 'Roman coins found in Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 52: 203–76. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.052.203.276>
- MacDonald, P, McHugh, R, Mussen, S & Brown, D M 2012 'Archaeological excavation at Inisloughlin, County Antrim: identifying the Gaelic fort of "Enishlanghen"', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd series, 71: 88–117.
- McDonald, R A 1997 *The Kingdom of the Isles, Scotland's Western Seaboard, c.1100–c.1336*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.
- McDonald, R A 2007 *Manx Kingship in Its Irish Sea Setting, 1187–1229*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- McDonald, R A 2019 *The Sea Kings: The Late Norse Kingdoms of Man and the Isles, c. 1066–1275*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- MacDonald, W 1850 *Descriptive & Historical Sketches of Islay*. Glasgow: Celtic Monthly Office.

- MacEacharna, D 1976 *The Lands of the Lordship: The Romance of Islay's Names*. Port Charlotte: Argyll Reproductions.
- MacGregor, M 2009 'Gaelic barbarity and Scottish identity in the later Middle Ages', in Broun, D & MacGregor, M (eds) *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*, 7–48. Glasgow: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow.
- MacIvor, I & Gallagher, D 1999 'Excavations at Caerlaverock Castle, 1955–66', *Archaeological Journal* 156: 143–245.
- McKay, M M (ed) 1980 *The Rev. Dr. John Walker's Report on the Hebrides of 1764 and 1771*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- McKerral, A 1944 'Ancient denominations of agricultural land in Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 78: 39–80. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.078.39.80>
- MacLagan, C 1883 'Rubblings from the sculptured stones of Islay', *Stirling Natural History & Archaeological Society Transactions*: 33–38.
- MacLagan, C 1898 *A Catalogue Raisonné of the British Museum Collection of Rubblings from Ancient Sculptured Stones*. Edinburgh: David Douglas.
- MacLean, D 1997 'Maelrubai, Applecross and the late Pictish contribution west of Driunalban', in Henry, D (ed) *The Worm, the Germ and the Thorn: Pictish and Related Studies Presented to Isabel Henderson*, 173–87. Balcavie, Angus: Pinkfoot Press.
- Maclean-Bristol, N 1992 'The Reformation in Macleans' country 1540–1580', *West Highland Notes & Queries*, series 2 no. 10 (December): 3–10.
- Maclean-Bristol, N 1995 *Warriors and Priests: The History of the Clan MacLean, 1300–1570*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.
- Maclean-Bristol, N 1999 *Murder under Trust: The Crimes and Death of Sir Lachlan Mor Maclean of Duart, 1558–1598*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.
- MacLeod, F 2009 *The Norse Mills of Lewis*. Stornoway: Acair.
- McLeod, W 2004 *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland c.1200–c.1650*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McManus, D 2018 'Celebrating the canine II: the hunt in medieval Ireland, with special reference to the evidence of classical Irish poetry', *Ériu* 68: 145–92.
- McNeill, T 1997 *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World*. London: Routledge.
- McNeill, T E 1981 *Carrickfergus Castle*. Belfast: Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland.
- MacNeill Weir, L 1936 *Guide to Islay*. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair.
- Macnicol, D 1852 *Remarks on Dr Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides*. Glasgow: W Gilchrist.
- Macniven, A 2015 *The Vikings in Islay*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Macniven, A 2023 'Norse settlement in the Southern Hebrides: the place-name evidence from Islay', in Horne, T, Pierce, E & Barrowman, R (eds) *The Viking Age in Scotland*, 123–34. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- MacPhail, J R N 1914 *Highland Papers*, vol 1. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.
- MacPhail, J R N 1920 *Highland Papers*, vol 3. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.
- MacPherson, N 1878 'Notes on antiquities from the island of Eigg', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 12: 577–97. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.012.577.597>
- McWee, R & Ruckley, N A 2002 'A guide to the old graveyard of Kilmeny, Islay', *Argyll Colony Plus* 16 (2): 38–79.
- MacWhyte, E 1947 'Early Irish board games', *Éigse* 5: 27–35.
- Madden, F 1832 'Historical remarks on the introduction of chess into Europe and on the ancient chess-men discovered in the Isle of Lewis', *Archaeologia* 24: 203–91.
- Mainland, I 2023 'Feasts, food and fodder: Viking and late Norse farming systems in Scotland', in Horne, T, Pierce, E & Barrowman, R (eds) *The Viking Age in Scotland*, 170–88. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Mainland, I & Batey, C 2019 'The nature of the feast: commensality and the politics of consumption in Viking Age and early medieval northern Europe', *World Archaeology* 50 (5): 1–23.
- Maldonado, A 2011 'What does early Christianity look like? Mortuary archaeology and conversion in late Iron Age Scotland', *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 33: 39–54.
- Maldonado, A 2013 'Burial in early medieval Scotland', *Medieval Archaeology* 57: 1–34.
- Maldonado, A 2016 'Death and the formation of early Christian Scotland', in Ó Carragáin, T & Turner, S (eds) *Making Christian Landscapes in Atlantic Europe: Conversion and Consolidation in the Early Middle Ages*, 225–45. Cork: Cork University Press.
- Mallory, J P & McNeill, T E 1991 *The Archaeology of Ulster*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast.
- Marsden, J 1995 *Sea-Road of the Saints: Celtic Holy Men in the Hebrides*. Edinburgh: Floris Books.
- Martin, M 1703 *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*. London: Andrew Bell.
- Martin, P (ed) 2017 *Castles and Galleys: A Reassessment of the Historic Galley Castles of the Norse-Gaelic Seaways*. Laxay, Isle of Lewis: Islands Book Trust.
- Mercer, J 1981 'Lussa wood I: the late glacial and early postglacial occupation of Jura', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 110: 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.110.1.31>
- Miles, A E W 1989 *An Early Christian Chapel and Burial Ground on the Isle of Ensay, Outer Hebrides, Scotland, with a Study of the Skeletal Remains*. Oxford: BAR, British Series, 212.
- Mitchell, A (ed) 1907 *Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland Made by Walter Macfarlane*. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.
- Mitchell, G F 1987 *Archaeology and Early Environment in Early Dublin*. Royal Irish Academy. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- Mitchison, R & Roebuck, P (eds) 1988 *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500–1939*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Mithen, S 2000 *Hunter-Gatherer Landscape Archaeology: The Southern Hebrides Mesolithic Project, 1988–98*, 2 vols. McDonald Institute Monograph series. Cambridge: McDonald Institute.
- Munro, J & Munro, R W (eds) 1986 *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336–1493*. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.
- Munro, R W (ed) 1961 *Monro's Western Isles of Scotland and Genealogies of the Clans, 1549*. Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd.
- Murdoch, J & Hunter, J 1986 *For the People's Cause: From the Writings of John Murdoch*. Edinburgh: HMSO.
- Murray C J (ed) 1982 *Excavations in the Medieval Burgh of Aberdeen, 1973–81*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- Murray, H J R 1913 *A History of Chess*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Murray, H J R 1942 'The medieval games of tables', *Medium Aevum* 10 (2): 57–69.
- Mylvn, A 1823 *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum, a Prima Sedis Fundatione, ad Annum M.D.XV. Ab Alexandro Mylvn, Eiusdem Ecclesiae Canonico Conscriptae*. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club.
- Newman, C 2009 'The sword in the stone: previously unrecognised archaeological evidence of ceremonies of the late Iron Age and early medieval period', in Cooney, G, Becker, K, Coles, J, Ryan, M & Sievers, S C (eds), *Relics of Old Decency: Archaeological Studies in Late Prehistory. Festschrift for Barry Raftery*, 423–34. Dublin: Wordwell.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Nieke, M R 1984 'Settlement patterns in the first millennium A.D.: a case study of the island of Islay', in Chapman, J C and Mytum, H C (eds), *Settlement in North Britain, 1000 bc – ad 1000. Papers presented to George Jobey, Newcastle upon Tyne, December 1982*, 95–115. Oxford: BAR, British Series, 118.
- Noble, R R 1984 'Turf-walled houses of the Central Highlands', *Folk Life* 22: 68–83.
- Noble, R R 2000 'Creel houses of the Scottish Highlands', in Owen, T M (ed), *From Corrib to Cultra: Folklife Essays in Honour of Alan Gailley*, 82–94. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies.
- O'Brien, E 2003 'Burial practices in Ireland: first to seventh centuries AD', in Downes, J & Ritchie, A (eds) *Sea Change: Orkney and Northern Europe in the Later Iron Age, AD 300–800*, 62–72. Balgavies, Angus: Pinkfoot Press.
- O'Grady, O J T, MacDonald, D & MacDonald, S 2016 'Re-evaluating the Scottish thing: exploring a late Norse period and medieval assembly mound at Dingwall', in Sanmark, A, Iversen, F, Mehler, N & Semple, S (eds) *Debating the Thing in the North I, Journal of the North Atlantic* 8: 172–209.
- Olaus Magnus 1998 *Olaus Magnus: A Description of the Northern Peoples, 1555*, vol 2, Foote, P G (ed). London: Hakluyt Society.
- Ó Mainnín, M B 1999 'The same in origin and in blood: bardic wind-dows on the relationship between Irish and Scottish Gaels, c.1200–1650', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 38: 1–51.
- O'Neil, B H St J 1951 'Castle Rushen, Isle of Man', *Archaeologia* 94: 1–26.
- Oram, R & Stell, G (eds) 2005 *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Oram, R D (ed) 2014 *The Lordship of the Isles*. Leiden: Brill.
- Oram, R D 2017 'Western seaboard castles: historical and environmental perspectives', in Martin, P (ed) *Castles and Galleys: A Reassessment of the Historic Galley Castles of the Norse-Gaelic Seaways*, 249–65. Laxay, Isle of Lewis: Islands Book Trust.
- Ó Riain, P 2011 *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- O'Sullivan J 1995 'Excavation of an early church and a women's cemetery at St Ronan's medieval parish church, Iona', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 124: 327–65. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.124.327.365>
- Owen, O 2003 'Curiouser and curiouser: mysteries of Tuquoy and Scar', in Waugh, D J (ed) 2003 *The Faces of Orkney: Stones, Skalds & Saints*, 138–60. Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies.
- Owen, O 2023 'Revisiting Tuquoy – still full of surprises', in Horne, T, Pierce, E & Barrowman, R (eds) *The Viking Age in Scotland*, 229–38. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Pantos, A & Semple, S (eds) 2004 *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Parker Pearson, M & Sharples, N M 1999 *Between Land and Sea: Excavations at Dun Vulan, South Uist*. Sheffield Environmental and Archaeological Research Campaign in the Hebrides, 3. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Parker Pearson, M, Mulville, J, Brennand, M & Smith, H 2018 *Cille Pheadair: A Norse Farmstead and Pictish Burial Cairn in South Uist*. Sheffield Environmental and Archaeological Research Campaign in the Hebrides, 7. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Peers, C R 1917 'Caernarvon Castle', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1915–16): 1–74.
- Pennant, T 1774 *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage in the Hebrides: MDC-CLXXII*. Part I. 2nd edition. London: Benj White.
- Ponting, M 1990 'Two Iron-Age cists from Galson, Isle of Lewis', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 119: 91–100. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.119.91.100>
- Pryde, G S 1965 *The Burghs of Scotland: A Critical List*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- PSAS 1871 'Donations to the museum and library', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 8 (1868–70): 391.
- PSAS 1897 'Donations to the museum and library', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 31 (1896–97): 80.
- PSAS 1955 'Donations and purchases for the museum', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 87 (1952–53): 203.
- Quinn, B & Moore, D 2007 'Ale, brewing and fulachta fiadh', *Archaeology Ireland* (autumn 2007): 8–11.
- Rackham, O 1980 *Ancient Woodland*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Ragg, J M, Bracewell, J M, Logan, J & Robertson, L 1978 'Some characteristics of the brown forest soils of Scotland', *Journal of Soil Science* 29: 228–42.
- Ramsay, F 1991 *The Day Book of Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, 1767: With Relevant Papers Concerning the Estate of Islay*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Ramsay, L (ed) 1890 *The Stent Book and Acts of the Bailliary of Islay, 1718–1843*.
- Rauschenberg, R 1973 'Joseph Banks's Iceland journals', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 117 (3): 186–226.
- RCAHMS 1974 *Argyll*. Vol 2 *Lorn*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- RCAHMS 1980 *Argyll*. Vol 3 *Mull, Tiree, Coll & Northern Argyll*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- RCAHMS 1982 *Argyll*. Vol 4 *Iona*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- RCAHMS 1984 *Argyll*. Vol 5 *Islay, Jura, Colonsay & Oronsay*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- RCAHMS 1992 *Argyll*. Vol 7 *Mid Argyll & Cowal Medieval & Later Monuments*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- RCAHMS 1995 *Mar Lodge Estate, Grampian: An Archaeological Survey*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- RCAHMS 2007 *In the Shadow of Bennachie: A Field Archaeology of Don-side, Aberdeenshire*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- Reece, R 1981 *Excavations in Iona, 1964 to 1974*. University of London Institute of Archaeology Occasional Publication no. 5. London: Routledge.
- Reed, D 1996 'The excavation of a cemetery and putative chapel site at Newhall Point, Balblair, Ross & Cromarty, 1985', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 125: 779–91. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.125.779.791>
- Reid, N H 2019 *Alexander III 1249–1286: First among Equals*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Reinhard, K J, Geib, P R, Callahan, M M & Hevly, R H 1992 'Discovery of colon contents in a skeletonised burial: soil sampling for dietary remains', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 19: 697–705.
- Rennie, E B 1997 *The Recessed Platforms of Argyll, Bute and Inverness*. Oxford: BAR, British Series, 253.
- Retours. See Thompson, T (ed) 1811–16.
- Ritchie, A (ed) 2005 *Kilellan Farm, Ardnave, Islay: Excavations of a Prehistoric to Early Medieval Site by Colin Burgess and Others, 1954–1976*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- Ritchie, G (ed) 1997a *The Archaeology of Argyll*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ritchie, G 1997b 'Monuments associated with burial and ritual in Argyll', in Ritchie, G (ed) *The Archaeology of Argyll*, 67–94. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ritchie, G & Welfare, H 1984 'Excavations at Ardnave, Islay', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 113: 302–66. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.113.302.366>
- Rixson, D 1988 'A cross-head from Saddell Abbey', *The Kist* 35: 12–21.

- RMS: *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum* = *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*. See Thompson, J M (eds) 1882–1914. Edinburgh.
- Ross–Craig, S 1963 *Drawings of British Plants*. London: G Bell.
- Royal Commission (Highlands and Islands 1892) 1895 *Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors, and Others, 1895*, vol 26 (1). London: HMSO.
- RSS: *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regnum Scotorum, Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*. See Livingstone, M et al (eds) 1908–82.
- Russell-White, C J 1990 ‘Excavation and sampling of burnt mounds in Scotland’, in Buckley, V, *Burnt Offerings: International Contributions to Burnt Mound Archaeology*, 69–91. Dublin: Wordwell.
- Sacheverell, W 1859 *An Account of the Isle of Man . . . with a Voyage to I-Columb-Kill*. Manx Society. Douglas, Isle of Man: Manx Society.
- Sanmark, A 2013 ‘Patterns of assembly: Norse *thing* sites in Shetland’, in Sanmark, A, Iversen, F, Mehler, N & Semple, S (eds) *Debating the Thing in the North I, Journal of the North Atlantic* 5: 96–110.
- Sanmark, A 2017 ‘An exploration of *thing* sites in the islands on the Scottish west coast’, in Cooijmans, C (ed) *Traversing the Inner Seas*, 170–96. Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies.
- Sanmark, A 2023 ‘*Thing*-sites and the political landscape in the north’, in Horne, T, Pierce, E & Barrowman, R (eds) *The Viking Age in Scotland*, 197–212. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Sanmark, A, Iversen, F, Mehler, N & Semple, S (eds) 2013 *Debating the Thing in the North I, Journal of the North Atlantic* 5.
- Sanmark, A, Iversen, F, Mehler, N & Semple, S (eds) 2016 *Debating the Thing in the North I, Journal of the North Atlantic* 8.
- Sanmark, A, Bäck, M, Jonsson, K & Lindeberg, M 2019 ‘The “*thing* cottage” at Anundshög’, in Ljung, C, Berg, I & Kelvén, A (eds) *Tidens Landskap: En vänbok till Anders Andrén*, 141–43. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
- Scott, Sir W 1905 ‘The Lord of the Isles’, in Scott, Sir W (ed) *The Romantic Poems of Sir Walter Scott*, 657–786. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
- Sellar, W D H 2000 ‘Hebridean sea kings: the successors of Somerled, 1164–1316’, in Cowan, E J & McDonald, R A (eds) *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era*, 187–218. East Linton: Tuckwell.
- Serjeantson, D 2013 *Farming and Fishing in the Outer Hebrides, ad 600 to 1700: The Udal, North Uist*. Southampton: Highfield Press.
- Seton, G 1863 *The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edmonstone & Douglas.
- Sharpe, R (ed) 1991 *Adomnán of Iona: Life of St Columba*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Sharples, N 2005 *A Norse Farmstead in the Outer Hebrides: Excavations at Mound 3, Bornais, South Uist*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Sharples, N (ed) 2020 *A Norse Settlement in the Outer Hebrides: Excavations on Mounds 2 and 2A, Bornais, South Uist*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Sharples, N, Ingram, C, Marshall, P, Mulville, J, Powell, A & Reed K 2015 ‘The Viking occupation of the Hebrides: evidence from the excavations at Bornish, South Uist’, in Barrett, J H & Gibbon, S J (eds) *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, 237–58. Leeds: Maney.
- Sheridan, A 2012 ‘Contextualising Kilmartin: building a narrative for developments in western Scotland and beyond from the Early Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age’, in Meirion Jones, A (ed) *Image, Memory and Monumentality*, 163–83. Prehistoric Society Research Paper no. 5. Oxford.
- Simms, K 2001 ‘Native sources for Gaelic settlement: the house poems’, in Duffy, P J, Edwards, D & FitzPatrick, E (eds) *Gaelic Ireland, Land, Lordship & Settlement, c. 1250 – c. 1650*, 246–67. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Simms, K 2020 *Gaelic Ulster in the Middle Ages*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Simpson, W D 1961 *The Castle of Bergen and the Bishop’s Palace at Kirkwall*. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen.
- Sinclair, C 1953 *The Thatched Houses of the Old Highlands*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.
- Skene, W F (ed) 1872 *John of Fordun’s Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*. Edinburgh: Edmonstone & Douglas.
- Skene, W F 1880 *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*, 3 vols. Edinburgh: Edmonstone & Douglas.
- Small, A (ed) 1987 *The Picts: A New Look at Old Problems*. Dundee: University of Dundee.
- Smith, G G (ed) 1895 *The Book of Islay*. Privately printed.
- Smith, H & Jones, G 1990 ‘Experiments on the effects of charring on cultivated grape seeds’, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 17: 317–27.
- Stace, C 1997 *New Flora of the British Isles*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Steer, K A & Bannerman, J W M 1977 *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- Stefánsson, H 2019 *From Earth: Earth Architecture in Iceland*. Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press.
- Stevenson, J 1870 *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, 2 vols. Edinburgh: H M General Register House.
- Stevenson, J B 1985 ‘The excavation of a hut circle at Cùl a’ Bhaile, Jura’, *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 114: 127–60. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.114.127.160>
- Stevenson, J H & Wood, M 1940 *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, 3 vols. Glasgow: R Maclehose at the University Press.
- Stevenson, R B K 1966 *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. Part I: Anglo-Saxon Coins*. London: The British Academy.
- Stone, J 1991 *Illustrated Maps of Scotland from Blaeu’s Atlas Novus of the 17th Century*. London: Studio.
- Stones, J A (ed) 1989 *Three Scottish Carmelite Friaries*. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland monograph series 6. Edinburgh.
- Storrie, M 1988 *The Islay, Jura and Colonsay Agricultural Association, 1838–1988*. Port Ellen, Islay: Oa Press.
- Storrie, M 1997 *Islay: Biography of an Island*. 2nd edition. Port Ellen, Islay: Oa Press.
- Sutton, D 1995 *Pocket Guide: Wild Flowers of Britain and Northern Europe*. Paris: Larousse.
- TA: *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*. See Dickson, T (ed) 1877.
- Tabraham, C 1997 *Scotland’s Castles*. London: Batsford.
- Tayside & Fife Archaeological Committee (TAFAC) 2012 *Perth High Street Archaeological Excavation, 1975–1977, Fascicule 2: The Ceramics, the Metalwork and the Wood*. Perth: TAFAC.
- Teignmouth, Lord 1836 *Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland and the Isle of Man*. London: J W Parker.
- Thacker, M 2021 ‘The medieval castle of Dun Aros: buildings archaeology and chronological consistency on the shores of the Sound of Mull’, *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 150: 475–500. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.150.1325>
- Thomas, C 1971 *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thomas, F W L 1882 ‘On Islay place-names’, *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 16: 241–76. <https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.016.241.276>
- Thompson, J M (ed) 1882–1914 *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum = Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, 11 vols. Edinburgh: H M General Register House.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Thompson, T (ed) 1811–16 *Retours or Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum quae in Publicis Archivis Scotiae adhuc Servantur, Abbreviato*, 3 vols. London: Great Britain Record Commission.
- Tutin, T G 1980 *Umbellifers of the British Isles*. Botanical Society of the British Isles. St Albans: BSBI Publications.
- Van Beuningen, H J E, Koldeweij, A & Kicken, D (eds) 2001 *Heilig en Profaan 2*. Cothen. Rotterdam Papers 12. Zwolle: Spa Uitgevers B.V.
- Van der Veen, M & Fieller, N 1982 ‘Sampling seeds’, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 19: 287–98.
- Vésteinsson, O 2013 ‘What is in a booth? Material symbolism at Icelandic assembly sites’, in Sanmark, A, Iversen, F, Mehler, N & Semple, S (eds) *Debating the Thing in the North I*, *Journal of the North Atlantic* 5: 111–24.
- Walker, J 1812 *An Economical History of the Hebrides and Highlands of Scotland*. London & Edinburgh: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme and Guthrie & Anderson.
- Wallace, P F 1992 *The Viking Age Buildings of Dublin*, 2 vols. Dublin: National Museum of Ireland.
- Ward, T 1998 *Glenochar Bastle House and Fermtoun*. Biggar: Biggar Museum Trust, and Lanark and District Archaeological Society.
- Warner, R 2004 ‘Notes on the inception and early development of the royal mound in Ireland’, in Pantos, A & Semple, S (eds) *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, 27–43. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Warsop, C L M 1998 ‘Eilean na Comhairle, Loch Finlaggan, Islay’, *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*, 1998: 19.
- Watson, W J 1993 *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- Welander, R, Breeze, D J & Clancy T O (eds) 2003 *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact & Icon*. Monograph Series 22. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- Whitaker, I 1957 ‘Two Hebridean corn-kilns’, *Gwerin* 1 (4): 161–70.
- Whyte, A C 2014 ‘Gruline, Mull, and other inner Hebridean things’, *Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 8: 115–52.
- Wiethold, J 1996 ‘Late Celtic and early Roman plant remains from the oppidum of Bibracte, Mont Beuvray, (Burgundy, France)’, *Vegetation History & Archaeobotany* 5: 105–16.
- Wilde, A 1995 *The East India Book of Spices*. London: Collins.
- Williams, J 1789 *The Natural History of the Mineral Kingdom*. Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman for the author.
- Wilson, D 1863 *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*. London: Macmillan.
- Wilson, G V & Flett, J S 1921 ‘The lead, zinc, copper and nickel ores of Scotland’, *Memoirs of the Geological Survey*. Edinburgh: HMSO.
- Wilson, R, Grigson, C & Payne, S (eds) 1982 *Ageing and Sexing Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites*. Oxford: BAR, British Series, 109.
- Woolf, A 2005 ‘The origins and ancestry of Somerled: Gofraid mac Fergusa and “The Annals of the Four Masters”’, *Medieval Scandinavia* 15: 199–213.
- Woolf, A 2007 *From Pictland to Alba 789–1070*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

