

# 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-NonCommerical 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 <a href="https://www.socantscot.org">www.socantscot.org</a> or find us on Bluesky <a href="mailto:@socantscot.bsky.social">@socantscot.bsky.social</a>.

The Archaeology of Finlaggan, Islay



Frontispiece Loch Finlaggan with the islands of Eilean Mór and Eilean na Comhairle, and the hills of Jura in the background

# The Archaeology of Finlaggan, Islay: Excavations at the Centre of the Lordship of the Isles, 1989–1998

# By David H Caldwell

With contributions by

Fiona Baker, Sheila Boardman, Chris Burgess, Ruby Ceron-Carrasco, John Chesher, David Connolly, Trevor Cowie, Michael Cressey, Jo Dawson, Valerie Dean, Gordon Ewart, Mark Hall, Karen Hardy, Judy Holmes, Nicholas Holmes, Fraser Hunter, E M Laurie, Kath McSweeney, Roger McWee, N Milner, Nicola Murray, Norman Newton, Marion O'Neil, Leonie Paterson, Alan Radley, Nigel Ruckley, Alan Saville, Paul Sharman, Helen Spencer, David Stewart, Jonathan Triscott, Clive Warsop, Paul Wilthew

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND



Edinburgh 2025

Published in 2025 in Great Britain by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland National Museums Scotland Chambers Street Edinburgh EH1 1JF Tel: 0131 247 4115 Email: editor@socantscot.org

Website: www.socantscot.org

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a Registered Scottish Charity No. SC010440.

ISBN 978 1 9083323 6 3

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Copyright © David Caldwell and individual contributors, 2025

Jacket image: Finlaggan, Islay (© David Caldwell)

The rights of David Caldwell and individual contributors to be identified as the author of this work have been asserted by them in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988.

All rights reserved.

The author and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland gratefully acknowledge funding towards the publication of the volume from Historic Environment Scotland, the Hunter Archaeological and Historical Trust,

National Museums Scotland, the Marc Fitch Fund and Finlaggan Islay Single Malt Whisky.



ÀRAINNEACHD EACHDRAIDHEIL ALBA







Typeset in Bembo by Biblichor Ltd, Scotland Cover design by River Design Books, Reston Printed by Gutenberg Press Ltd, Tarxien, Malta

#### Dedication

To all past and present members of the Finlaggan Trust and the people of Islay

# CONTENTS

Synopsis	xii
List of illustrations	XV
List of tables	xxii
INTRODUCTION	1
Acknowledgements	2
Authorship	2
I METHODOLOGY	Q
Documentary research	Ģ
Archaeological survey	Ç
Geophysical prospection	10
Excavation	10 12
Trench 25 excavation and recording Dating	13
Some shortcomings	14
	-
PART I: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	17
2 A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW	19
Prehistory and early history of Islay	19
The Kingdom of the Isles	20
The Lordship of the Isles	21
Lords of Islay	22
The Campbell takeover of Islay	22
The name Finlaggan	22 24
Finlaggan in history and tradition	2-
PART II: THE FINLAGGAN STUDY AREA	29
3 THE GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND BY DAVID H CALDWELL & MICHAEL CRESSEY	31
Geology by Nigel A Ruckley	33
Soils, vegetation and catchment land use	32
Places and people in the study area	32
Extents and rentals	33
Feudal superiors	34
The farms	36
Sean-ghairt Laichtearlane	36
Portanellan/Finlaggan	37
Mulreesh	39
Quinskirn	4(

	Kylladow Robolls	41 41
	Kepolls and Kepollsmore	42
	The people, 1851	44
	The people, 1031	11
4	INDUSTRY AND LAND USE	45
	Roads	45
	Improved farms and recent buildings	46
	Lead mining by Michael Cressey	48
	Quarries and peat cuttings	54
	Field systems and fences	54
5	SITES AND MONUMENTS	63
	Introduction	63
	Type A houses	63
	Type C houses	63
	Type D houses	63
	Enclosures	63
	Kilns	63
	Inventory	64
PA	ART III: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS	85
6	THE LOCH-SIDE, EILEAN MÓR AND EILEAN NA COMHAIRLE	87
	The loch-side	87
	Eilean Mór	87
	The alluvial tail (Finlaggan Marsh)	88
	Bathymetric survey	88
	Soil formation and type	88
	Gravel horizons	89
	Flora and fauna	89
	Description of the remains	91
	Eilean na Comhairle	94
7	LOCH-SIDE EXCAVATIONS	97
	Trench 13 (site no. 44)	97
	Trench 20, Rudh' a' Chròcuin (site no. 38)	97
	Trenches 21, 22, Cnoc Seannda (site no. 46)	98
8	EILEAN MÓR EXCAVATIONS IN THE AREA OF THE LAZY BEDS	103
	Trenches 3 and 18	103
	Agricultural activity	104
	Bank and palisade	104
	The gatehouse	105
	The bridge	106
	The causeway and ditch	107
	Earlier activity	109
	Dating evidence	113
	Interpretation	113
	The lazy beds and trench 19	114
	Geophysical surveys	114
	Trench 19	115
	Lazy beds Structure 19.1	115 115
	Structure 19.1 Structures 19.2, 19.9, 19.10	115
	Structures 19.2, 19.9, 19.10 Structures 19.3–8	117
	5tractares 17.5 0	117

# CONTENTS

Interpretation	121
Trench 7	122
Agricultural activity and enclosure W	122
Structure V and post-holes 7.1	124
Structure U	125
Structure V.1	126
Structures V.2 and V.3	127
Structure 7.2	128
Interpretation	128
9 EILEAN MÓR EXCAVATIONS IN THE CHAPEL AND BURIAL GROUND	129
Survey of upstanding chapel walls	129
Trench 1, the burial ground	130
Building J	131
The Finlaggan cross	132
Graves	132
Interpretation	135
Excavation and clearance work at the chapel	136
Trench 14	136
Trench 17	139
Graves and other structures	140
A timberwork defence?	141
Interpretation	141
Clearance work in 1998	143
IO EILEAN MÓR EXCAVATIONS ON THE SPINE OF THE ISLAND	145
Trench 6	145
Buildings S and S.1, and structure 6.1	146
The road and building H	148
Structure 6.2 and a midden	148
Interpretation	150
Trenches 8 and 8E	153
Post-medieval activity?	153
Buildings J and H	153
Buildings F1 and F	155
Building H.1	155
Timberwork defence	157 157
Interpretation Trench 9	157
Road and paths, and structure 9.1	159
A midden	161
Interpretation	161
II EILEAN MÓR EXCAVATIONS IN THE GREAT HALL AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS	163
Building C, survey of upstanding walls	163
Trench 15, building C	165
Interpretation	167
Trenches 10 and 11	168
Building A.1 and a midden	168
Building B	170
Building A, the great hall	172
The later medieval road system	174
The cross-wall and building N?	175
Interpretation	177
Trench 5	177
Buildings M and M.1	179
Buildings P, P.1 and P.2	179

A timberwork fortification	183
Interpretation	181
12 EILEAN MÓR EXCAVATIONS OF HOUSES BY THE JETTY AND THE KITCHENS	183
Trenches 2 and 4	183
Building K	183
Building L	186
Structure L.1	186
The jetty and roads	187
Structure K.1	187
Structure K.2	189
Structure K.3	192
Interpretation	192
Trench 12	193
A garden	194
Path and plots	196
Structure 12.0	198
Building 12.1	199
Building 12.2	200
Building 12.3	201
Building 12.4 (?)	204
Building 12.5	204
Building 12.6	206
Building 12.7	208
Interpretation	208
13 EILEAN NA COMHAIRLE EXCAVATIONS	213
Introduction	213
Trenches 16, 16E, 23 and 24	213
Building (a)	214
Building (b)	218
Building (c)	218
The castle	221
The dun	227
Trench 25	237
A medieval midden	238
A crannog	241
A note on sampling of the midden in 1998	242
Interpretation	242
PART IV: AN ASSESSMENT OF FINLAGGAN'S ROLE AND STATUS	245
14 FINLAGGAN: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY	247
Finlaggan, c 6500 – c 700 BC	247
Cnoc Seannda	248
Finlaggan, c 700 BC – c AD 800	249
Finlaggan, c AD 800 – 1300	250
The Finlaggan castle	250
Finlaggan, $c 1300 - c 1500$	259
The Finlaggan palace	260
The council house and other structures on Eilean na Comhairle	261
The private quarters of the lords?	262
The great hall	262
A buttery?	263
Kitchens	263
The chapel and burial ground	264

# CONTENTS

Later medieval houses	268
People	270
Administration, trade and industry	270
Furnishings	273
Finlaggan, c 1500 – c 1700	273
High-status residential complex	273
Timber and earthwork fortification	277
Farming township	279
The wider Finlaggan study area	280
Finlaggan, c 1700 – c 2020	282
15 FINLAGGAN: THE CENTRE OF THE ISLES?	28
Introduction	287
An early royal inauguration place?	288
A Viking age and earlier medieval thing site?	290
The breakup of the Kingdom of the Isles	296
Meetings of the Council of the Isles	296
The footprint stone	298
An alternative model of lordship	298
APPENDIXES	30
Appendix 1: Reconstructing medieval Finlaggan	30:
Appendix 2: Site archive contents	304
Bibliography	307
Index	31

# **SYNOPSIS**

This volume reports on a major archaeological project undertaken at Finlaggan in Islay. Two islands, Eilean Mór (the large island) and Eilean na Comhairle (the council island), in Loch Finlaggan were recognised as a historic site, the excavation of which might provide more information on what was happening in the Western Isles, particularly, but not exclusively, in the Middle Ages. The Lordship of the Isles had long been recognised by historians as an important phenomenon, a serious challenger to the Stewart dynasty for control of much of Scotland. The documentation for it was thin and archaeology offered the best way forward to gaining a better understanding. Finlaggan had already been identified as the centre of the Lordship of the Isles, a place where the inauguration ceremonies for the MacDonald Lords of the Isles took place and where the Council of the Isles met.

Parts I and II provide historical background on Finlaggan and an archaeological survey of a wider area around Loch Finlaggan, including an inventory of sites and monuments dating from prehistoric times to the present day. There is considerable evidence for medieval and post-medieval field systems, lead mining and townships deserted in the 19th century. Part III provides detailed information on archaeological research and excavations. At Rudh' a' Chròcuin on the edge of the loch, a medieval or post-medieval turf-walled house was examined, and excavations on top of the nearby mound at Cnoc Seannda uncovered a Bronze Age kerb cairn and a prehistoric rock-cut chamber lined with slabs. On Eilean Mór a wide range of medieval structures was explored, including fortifications, a great hall, kitchens, dwelling houses and a chapel. The adjacent burial ground dated back at least to the 7th century. On Eilean na Comhairle there was a large masonry tower of about 1200 replaced in later medieval times by houses, one of which can be identified as the council house of the lords of the Isles. There was also evidence for prehistoric activity on the two islands extending back to Mesolithic times. Under the tower

on Eilean na Comhairle were substantial remains of a dun and a crannog. On Eilean Mór post-medieval houses and structures associated with a high-status residence, a timberwork fort and a farming township were also examined.

The assemblage of artefacts, bones and other environmental material is dealt with in Parts I and II of the online catalogue. For the medieval period much of this provides information on the structure and use of different buildings, contacts with the wider world, trade and manufacturing, and the lifestyle and dress of inhabitants and visitors. Of particular importance is waterlogged material from a 13th-century midden at the bottom of the loch adjacent to the tower on Eilean na Comhairle. It represents the consumption of a lordly household.

In Part IV an interpretation and overview is provided of the evidence amassed in the course of the project. Possible origins for Finlaggan as a centre of power and ritual are traced back to prehistoric times and a case made for it being a *thing* (assembly) site in the Viking age. The erection of the tower on Eilean na Comhairle marks a significant development. It is suggested that it was built for Ranald, son of Somerled, King of the Isles.

In the 14th and 15th centuries Finlaggan was developed by King Ranald's MacDonald descendants as a palace and an administrative hub. Finlaggan really was the centre of the Lordship of the Isles and is deserving of being better known and understood, since the lords exercised authority and patronage over considerable swathes of Scotland, and much of what is now recognised as being quintessentially Scottish actually has its origins in the West Highlands and Islands.

Finlaggan appears to have been destroyed or dismantled about 1500, coinciding with the demise of the Lordship of the Isles. Eilean Mór remained a centre of local importance for MacDonald chiefs. Occupation of the two islands only seems to have ceased in the early or mid-17th century.

	spiece Loch Finlaggan with the islands of Eilean Mór and Eilean na Comhairle	i
	Map of the Western Isles with location of Islay and Finlaggan	xxiv
	The Finlaggan excavation HQ	3
	The 1992 season: flood waters	10
	Trench 16 (1994) matrix	11
	Location of Finlaggan, from George Langlands's map of Argyllshire, 1801	23
	Sketches of Finlaggan in 1831 by J M W Turner	27
	Loch Finlaggan looking south-westwards from the standing stone (no. 47) to the historic island site of Finlaggan	28
	Map of study area with high ground	29
	Solid geology of area around Loch Finlaggan based on Ordnance Survey mapping	31
	Mixed oak and hazel coppice to south-west of Loch Finlaggan	32
	Map of study area showing the main lands	33
	Maps of lands granted to John MacIan, Hector Maclean and James MacDonald	35
	Map showing locations of sites and monuments in the study area	45
	Finlaggan Farm, with ruined steading in the foreground	46
4.3	Plan of Buaile Mhic Iante	47
	Buaile Mhic Iante	47
	Map of sites and monuments between Eilean Mór and Cnoc Seannda	48
	Map of field systems and mine workings at Cuing-sgeir	49
	Map of sites and monuments at Mulreesh	49
	Plan of 'the smiddy', Mulreesh	50
	'The smiddy', Mulreesh, with remains of a well in the foreground	50
	Plan of 'the miners' dry', Mulreesh	51
	Plan of the engine-house and adjacent houses, Mulreesh	51
	The engine-house and cottages, Mulreesh	51
	Map of the washings at Mulreesh	52
	The reservoir for storing water, at the washings, Mulreesh	52
	Map of the Robolls mine workings	53
	Building I (the smithy) at Robolls	53
	Map of Finlaggan Farm with named fields	55
4.18	Section of a turf dyke on the old farm of Robolls	56
	Map of field systems (nos 15and 16) and head dyke of (North) Sean-ghairt	57
	Map of field system (no. 15) of (South) Sean-ghairt	57
4.21	Interpretation of field systems at Sean-ghairt	58
	Map of field system at An Leacann, Goirtean Chailean	58
4.23	Map of Mulreesh, redrawn from surveys by William Gemmill in the 1820s or 1830s	59
4.24	Map of field systems, dykes and mining activity at Robolls Tannach	59
	Interpretation of field systems and dykes at Robolls Tannach	60
4.26	Map of field systems at Kepollsmore	61
5.1	Map of settlement remains at Druim a' Chùirn, Sean-ghairt (no. 22)	62
5.2	House A at Druim a' Chùirn	64
	Map of settlement remains at North Sean-ghairt	65
	North Sean-ghairt, house A	65
5.5	Map of settlement remains at South Sean-ghairt	66
	South Sean-ghairt, house K	66
5.7	Kiln (no. 25) at Sean-ghairt	67

5.8	Plan of shieling huts (no. 26), Sean-ghairt	67
5.9	Plan of shieling huts (no. 27), Sean-ghairt	67
5.10	Group of four shieling huts (no. 27) above Sean-ghairt	67
5.11	Plan of house at Airigh Iain Mhartuin, Portanellan (no. 31)	68
5.12	Airigh Iain Mhartuin, Portanellan (no. 31)	68
5.13	Plans of houses at Airigh nan Caisteal, An Leacann and Cachlaidh Chreagach	68
5.14	House at An Leacann, Portanellan (no. 32)	68
5.15	Map of settlement remains at Goirtean Chailean, Portanellan (no. 33)	68
	Map of settlement at Cùl a' Bhaile, Portanellan (no. 37)	69
	House A at Rudh' a' Chròcuin, Portanellan (no. 38)	69
5.18	The 'AI stone' (no. 39)	70
5.19	The 'AI stone' (no. 39): inscription	70
	The 'AI stone' (no. 39)	70
5.21	The 'AII stone' (no. 40)	71
	The 'AII stone' (no. 40)	71
	Plan of hut no. 43	71
5.24	Circular turf hut (no. 43)	72
	Aerial view of the settlement (no. 44)	72
	Plans of structures A–F in settlement no. 44	73
5.27	Mill (?) on the Finlaggan River (no. 44 G)	73
	Geophysical surveys around Cnoc Seannda	73
	Cnoc Seannda mound from west	74
	Map of settlement remains at Cnoc Seannda (no. 46)	74
	Geophysical survey adjacent to standing stone at Finlaggan farmhouse	74
	Soil profile across supposed ditch running NNW–SSE	75
	Two large recumbent boulders supposed to have been standing (no. 47)	75
	Plan of settlement no. 48, Portanellan	75
	Plan of settlement no. 48a, Portanellan	76
	Plan of structure no. 50, Portanellan	76
	Plan of settlement mound no. 51, Portanellan	76
	Map of settlement at North Mulreesh (no. 53)	77
	North Mulreesh (no. 53), house A	77
	North Mulreesh (no. 53), remains of iron stove in house A	78
	North Mulreesh (no. 53), house G	78
	Map of settlement at South Mulreesh (no. 54)	79
	South Mulreesh (no. 54), looking east	79
	House no. 55 at Mulreesh	80
	Map of settlement at Robolls (no. 56)	80
	Robolls House (the Ballygrant Inn)	81
	House no. 57 at An Tàmhanachd, Robolls	81
5.48	Plan of island settlement no. 61 on Eilean Mhuireill	81
5.49	Eilean Mhuireill (no. 61)	81
5.50	Bronze figure of Christ from a medieval crucifix (SF 25128–29)	82
	Fort of Dùn Cheapasaidh Mór (no. 69)	82
	Recumbent standing stone (no. 70)	82
	Map of settlement at Kepollsmore in 1878	83
	Map of settlement remains of West Kepollsmore (no. 71)	84
6.1	Aerial view of Eilean Mór	86
6.2	The eroding west shore of Eilean Mór	87
6.3	Section drawing of sondage in the north-east corner of trench 19	88
6.4	Map of Eilean Mór and Eilean na Comhairle	90
	Contour map of Eilean Mór	91
	The bank defining the edge of Eilean Mór proper	91
	The low mound at the tip of Eilean Mór, representing the remains of a gatehouse	92
	The ruins of the chapel on Eilean Mór	92
	House V with an entrance in house U in the foreground	92
6.10	House Y with lazy beds in the background	92
	The upstanding gables of house C, with the ruins of house B in the foreground	93

6.12	House remains on the ridge of Eilean Mór	93
6.13	House A, the great hall	93
	House L with house K behind it	93
	The cross-wall partitioning off the end of Eilean Mór	94
	Structure M.1	94
6.17	Aerial view of Eilean na Comhairle	94
	Eilean na Comhairle, contour survey	94
	The causeway between Eilean na Comhairle and Eilean Mór	95
	Eilean na Comhairle, boulders round edge	95
	Plan of Eilean na Comhairle	96
	Eilean na Comhairle, composite interpretative plan	96
	Map of settlement at Rudh' a' Chròcuin, Portanellan (no. 38)	97
	Sections, trench 20	98
	Trench 20, structure B.1	98
	Location plan of trenches 21 and 22 on the mound at Cnoc Seannda	99
	Plan of trench 21 (1995)	99
	Sections, trench 21 (1995)	100
	Trench 21, the chamber, fully excavated	100
	Trench 21, with slab that may be the dislodged end piece of the chamber	100
	Bone whirligig (?) (SF 21154) found in the chamber on Cnoc Seannda	101
	Flint arrowhead (SF 21157) found in the chamber on Cnoc Seannda	101
	Trench 21, the kerb cairn	101
	Map showing locations of the trenches on Eilean Mór and Eilean na Comhairle	103
	Location plan of trenches 3 and 18	103
	Trench 3, plans	104
	Trench 3, lazy bed and bank with excavated post-holes for palisade	104
	Trench 3, the palisade bank overlying the gatehouse	105
	Trenches 3 and 18, plan of features associated with the gatehouse	105
	Trench 18, interior of the gatehouse	106
	Trench 18, inner edge of the turf wall of the gatehouse	106
	Trenches 3 and 18, distribution of nails and rivets associated with the gatehouse	106
	Trench 18, plan showing the two stone supports for a bridge	107
	Trench 18, view of the two stone supports for a bridge	107
	Trench 18, plan showing the ditch [18032]	108
	Trench 18, view showing ditch 18032 and the stone pier [18030]	108
	Trench 18, view showing ditch 18050 and the disturbed cobbling 18055	108
	Trench 18, view of ditch 18050	109
	Trench 3, section A–B and interpretation	109
	Trench 18, sections C–D and F–G and interpretations	110
	Trench 18, section D–E and interpretation	110
	Section H–J through the alluvial tail in a trial trench to the north-east of trench 18	111
	Trenches 3 and 18, composite interpretative plan	113
	Location map for trenches 19 and 7	114
	Location of geophysical surveys in the area of lazy beds on Eilean Mór	114
	Plot of the readings from the fluxgate gradiometer survey on Eilean Mór	115
	Trench 19, general view after removal of lazy beds	115
	Trench 19, the extension with the post-holes of structure 19.9	115
	Trench 19, lazy beds and other features	117
	Trench 19, west-facing section along east edge of trench	117
	Trench 19, structure 19.2	118
	Trench 19, tenuous traces of a house (?), structure 19.10	118
	Trench 19, plan of pits and other features under the lazy beds	119
	Trench 19, pits and other features under the lazy beds	119
	Trench 19, plans and section of structure 19.6	119
	Trench 19, structure 19.6	119
	Trench 19, sections of pits and other features	120
	Trench 19, interpretation of main features	120
	Trench 7, view from west in initial stages of excavation	121

8.37	Trench 7, interpretation of main features	122
	Trench 7, plan of building V	122
	Trench 7 from east	124
	Trench 7, plan of east end with structure 7.1 post- and stake-holes	124
	Trench 7, entrance through wall 7003 in the foreground	125
	Trench 7, plan of building U wall	125
	Trench 7, excavated remains of structures V.2 and V.3	126
	Trench 7, plan of house V.1	126
	Trench 7, plans of structures V.2 and V.3	127
	Trench 7, south-facing section A–B	128
	Location map for trenches 1, 14 and 17	129
	The chapel, elevations of exterior walls	130
	Trench 1, general view of excavation in progress	130
	Trench 1, main features exposed under the turf and topsoil	131
	Trench 1, interpretative plan of groups of graves	131
	Trench 1, with entrance and wall of building J and the cross plinth	132
	The Finlaggan cross, R20 (SF 1037)	132
	The bullaun stone, R82 (SF 1047)	132
	Trench 1, grave 1008 partially excavated	133
	Trench 1, grave 1008	133
	Trench 1, sondage 2 and the cross plinth from north	134
	Trench 1, grave 1008, burial pit with inhumation 1020A removed and sondage 3	134
	Trench 1, lintel grave 1050 with lintel stones in position and with lintel stones removed	134
	Trench 1, lintel grave 1050 with finitel stokes in position and with finitel stokes removed.	135
	Trench 14, plan showing capping of charnel deposit and grave 14.2 [14010]	136
	Trench 14, the capping [14003] partially removed to reveal charnel deposit [14004]	136
	Trench 14, grave 14.2	137
	Grave-slab of Donald MacGillespie (R11)	137
	Trench 14, plan of charnel deposit [14004] and graves 14.1 [14028] and 14.3 [14016]	137
	Trench 14, excavation in the east half of the trench	138
	Trench 14, west-facing section	138
	Trench 14, diagram showing stratigraphic relationships of the graves	138
	Trench 17, with turf removed	139
	Trench 17, with turn removed  Trench 17, plan showing chapel foundation trench [17006] and the turf bank [17023]	139
	Trench 17, plan of burial 17020 with infant 17021	140
	Trench 17, plan showing the burial pit [17025] and the clay terrace [17024]	140
		141
	Trench 17, burial pit 17025 and grave 17030 with remains of terrace 17024 Trench 17, collapsed stone facing [17008] of turf bank 17023	141
	Trench 17, north-facing section	141
	Trench 17, north-facing section  Trench 17, interpretation of main features	142
	•	143
	The chapel altar The chapel altar, plan	143
	Ivory arm from a crucifix found in the chapel, B6 (SF 14013)	143
	Halfgroat of Robert II (N24, SF 14011) incorporated in the mortar of the chapel	
		144
	Location map for trenches 6, 8 and 9  Transh 6 main features are seed up don the turn and topseil	145
	Trench 6, main features exposed under the turf and topsoil	145
	Trench 6, plan showing the corner post-holes of structure 6.1 and house S Trench 6, paved road and structure S	146
	•	146
	Trench 6, distribution of nails and rivets associated with structure 6.1	147
	Trench 6, showing the palisade bank and paved road  Tranch 6, sabbled road and tumble round building S	147
	Trench 6, cobbled road and tumble round building S	148
	Trench 6, section A–B  Tranch 6, section A–B	148
	Trench 8, view looking south cost with main features	150
	Trench 8, view looking south-east, with main features exposed under the turf	150 151
	Trench 8, composite interpretative plan of some features  Trench 8, plan of south, sort and with allow between buildings II and I.	151
	Trench 8, plan of south-east end with alley between buildings H and J	151
	Trench 8, south-east end Trench 8, slap of structure H with later kills	151
ιυ.14	Trench 8, plan of structure H with later kiln	152

10.15	Trench 8, view of structure H	152
10.16	Trench 8, plan of north-west segment with walls of structures F and F1	152
10.17	Trench 8, view of north-west segment of trench	152
10.18	Trench 8, plans and section of drain	154
10.19	Trench 8, structure H	154
10.20	Trench 8, view of capstones of drain	155
10.21	Trench 8, view with the remains of the wall of structure F1	155
10.22	Trench 8, plan of features associated with structure H.1	156
10.23	Trench 8E, looking north-east	156
10.24	Trench 8E, plan and section	156
10.25	Trench 9, looking south, after removal of the turf	158
10.26	Trench 9, plans, showing main features	158
10.27	Trench 9, looking west, path 9005 running over the road [9006]	159
10.28	Trench 9, path 9026/9005 crossing over road 9012/9006	159
10.29	Trench 9, road 9013, road 9012/9006 and path 9005	159
10.30	Trench 9, section A–B	160
	Trench 9, interpretative plan of main features	160
	Location map for trenches 15, 10, 11 and 5	162
	Building C from north-west	162
	Building C from south-west	162
	Building C, plan of ground floor	163
	Building C, exterior of north gable	164
	Building C, interior of north gable	164
	Building C, exterior of south gable	164
	Building C, interior of south gable	164
	Building C, gable elevations	165
	Trench 15, plan	165
	Trench 15A, the surfaces of 15007 and 15005	166
	Trench 15B, looking south, after removal of the turf	166
	Trench 15B, doorway from inside building C	166
	Trench 15B, jamb stone from doorway	167
	Trench 15B, showing cobbled surface outside entrance	167 168
	Aerial view of the great hall with buildings C and B	168
	The great hall House B	169
	The cross-wall at the west end of Eilean Mór and entrance of house B	169
	Trench 10, plan	169
	Trench 10, looking west, after removal of turf	170
	Trench 10, with wall of structure A.1, demolition deposits and pit 10055	170
	Trench 11, plan	170
	Trench 11, house B	170
	The sandstone head (SF 11003) from the wall of house B	171
	Trench 11, the interior of house B excavated to the surface of 11032	171
	Trench 11, the wall of house B riding over the foundation of the great hall	171
11.28	Trench 10, plan and sections of two sondages	172
11.29	Trench 10, the east-facing side of wall 11724	172
	Trench 10, the latrine chute 10049	173
11.31	Trench 10, entrance to the great hall, blocked with midden material [10031]	173
11.32	Trench 10, plan of the great hall entrance	173
11.33	Trench 11, looking from the interior of the great hall southwards to house B	173
	Trench 11, the interior south-west corner of the great hall	174
	Trench 10, the roads at the south-east corner of the great hall	174
	Trench 10, the jamb of a gate (?) [10037]	175
	Trench 11, the paved road between structure N and house B, looking north	175
	Trench 11, the paved road between structure N and house B, looking south	175
	Trench 11, blocked doorway 11013	176
	Trench 11, interpretative plan of main features	177
11.41	Photograph taken from a drone of building P and adjacent structures	177

11.42	Plan of building P and related structures	178
11.43	Building P from south-east	178
11.44	Trench 5, looking south, after the removal of the turf	178
	Trench 5, plan	178
11.46	Trench 5, the wall of structure M overlying the surface of cobbled path 5029	179
11.47	Trench 5, the interior of building P with the south-west wall of structure P.1	179
	Trench 5, section A–B	180
11.49	Trench 5, the cobbled path [5016] overlying the palisade bank	180
	Trench 5, the palisade trench with truncated post-holes	181
	Trench 5, interpretative plan of main features	181
	Location map for trenches 2, 4 and 12	182
	Building K	182
	The jetty	182
12.4	Interpretative plan showing the main features in trenches 2 and 4	183
12.5	Trench 2 (1990), excavation of building K.1	184
	Trench 2, plan of building K	184
12.7	Trench 4, plan of excavated areas of buildings L and K	185
12.8	Trench 4, the wall of building K overlying road 4037	185
12.9	Trench 4, excavation, interior of building L in foreground	186
12.10	Trench 4, plan showing building L.1 and its kiln (?), and earlier cobbled roads	186
12.11	Trench 4, the kiln (?) [4032] in structure L.1	187
	Trench 4, the junction between roads 4014 and 4002	187
12.13	The kerb stones of road 4014 exposed to the south-west of trench 4	187
	Trench 2, plan of structure K.1	188
	Trench 2, looking east	188
	Trench 2, stonework 2048 looking north	189
	Trench 2, wall (?) 2028	189
12.18	Trench 2, tumble and collapsed stone [2055], over the floor of structure K.2	189
	Trench 2, cobbled floor [2060] of structure K.2, with oven 2053	190
	Trench 2, pit 2058 with kiln bases 2018 and 2021	190
	Trench 2, plan of structure K.2	191
	Trench 2, millstone reused as the base of a kiln [2021] in structure K.2	191
	Trench 2, ghost of millstone kiln base [2018] in structure K.2	191
	View over apparent open area, the location of trench 12	193
	Trench 12, outline plan	194
	An oxidised gritty ware vessel: distribution of sherds	194
	Trench 12 (1993), view from north-east corner over east plot	196
	Trench 12 (1993), view from south over west plot	196
	Trench 12, interpretative plan showing the main structures and building sequence	197
	Trench 12, view from south	197
	Trench 12 (1993), plan of path serving building 12.1	198
12.32	Trench 12 (1993), plan of path serving buildings 12.2 and 12.5	198
	Trench 12, plan of structure 12.0	199
12.34	Trench 12 (1993), wall 12106 of house 12.1	199
	Trench 12 (1992), plan of Y1 bank	199
	Trench 12 (1992), bank Y1, incorporating wall of house 12.1	200
	Trench 12 (1992), section S–U	200
12.38	Trench 12 (1992), section R–S	201
	Trench 12 (1992), section U–T	201
	Trench 12 (1993), section K–P	202
	Trench 12, plan of structure 12.1	202
	Trench 12 (1992), west wall and entrance of building 12.1 from north	202
	Trench 12, plan of structure 12.2	203
	Trench 12, view from south-east with structure 12.2 in foreground	203
	Trench 12, distribution of finds within structure 12.2	203
	Trench 12, plan of structure 12.3A	203
	Trench 12, view of excavated area of building 12.3A	204
	Trench 12, plan of structure 12.3B	204

12.49	Trench 12 (1992), hearth 12044	204
12.50	Trench 12, plan of building 12.5	205
12.51	Trench 12 (1993), plans of north extension of trench	205
12.52	Trench 12 (1993), building 12.5 from south	206
12.53	Trench 12, building 12.5	206
12.54	Trench 12, plan of building 12.6	206
	Trench 12 (1993), building 12.6; oven in course of excavation	207
12.56	Trench 12 (1993), building 12.6; oven excavated	207
	Trench 12 (1993), plans of west extension of trench	208
	Trench 12 (1993), view eastwards over west trench extension	208
	Trench 12 (1993), section N–V	209
	Eilean na Comhairle from Eilean Mór	212
	Eilean na Comhairle, layout of trenches	213
	Trench 16 (1993), main structures	213
	Trench 16 (1993), structure (a), courtyard beyond	214
	Trench 16 (1993), plan	215
	Trench 16 (1993)	216
	Trench 16 (1993), section E–F	217
	Trench 16 (1993), section A–B	217
	Trench 16 (1993), interior of structure (b) with buttress 16014	218
	Trench 16 (1993), interior of structure (b) cleaned down to the surface of 16023	218
	Trench 16 (1993), section C–D	219
	Trench 16E, castle wall	219
	Trench 16E, plan	220
	Trench 16E	220
	Trench 16 (1994), looking east with castle floor in foreground	221
	Trench 16 (1994), looking west over plinth 16062 and castle wall 16025B	221
	Trench 16 (1994), plan	222
	Trench 16 (1994), section B–G	224
	Trench 23, looking south-east	224
	Trench 23, plan with house (a)	225
	Trench 23, plan with wall of dun	226
	Trench 23, composite interpretative plan	226
	Trench 23, dun wall looking east	227
	Trench 23, section H–J	228
	Trench 23, section K–L	228
		229
	Trench 23, section M–N Trench 23, feature 23038	
	Trench 24 looking north over wall of house (b)	231
	e · · · ·	231 232
	Trench 24, wall of house (b)	
	Trench 24, castle wall	232
	Trench 24, location plan of section drawings	233
	Trench 24, section Q-R	233
	Trench 24, sections R–S, S–T, T–U	234
	Trench 24, section V–W	234
	Trench 24, interior north-east corner of wall of house (b)	235
	Trench 24, sections W–X, X–Y	235
	Aerial view of dam with trench 25	237
	Trench 25	237
	Trench 25, grid system	237
	Trench 25, surface deposits  Tranch 25, modical midden (mit C of 25008) in square C8	238
	Trench 25, medieval midden (spit C of 25008) in square C8	239
	Trench 25, main excavated area looking west	239
	Trench 25, plan of main excavated area, medieval contexts	239
	Trench 25, main excavated area, north-facing section	240
	Trench 25, typical sieved residue from the medieval midden 25008	240
	Trench 25, square G4, west-facing section	241
13.47	Trench 25, concordance between contexts in square G4 and main excavation	241

13.48	Trench 25, main excavated area, crannog contexts	242
13.49	Trench 25, a stake and two posts at time of excavation	242
14.1	Plan of the castle, earlier medieval Finlaggan	251
14.2	John de Courcy's late 12th-century tower at Carrickfergus in Ulster	252
14.3	Diagrammatic plans of medieval house types	253
14.4	Comparison between R32 and label stops at the cathedral on Lismore	254
	Castle Rushen tower, Isle of Man	256
14.6	Map of the area round Loch Finlaggan	257
14.7	Plan of the later medieval palace on Eilean Mór and Eilean na Comhairle	260
14.8	Plans of later medieval houses	261
14.9	Hall plans: the bishop's house, Iona; Dun Ara Castle, Mull; Finlaggan	262
14.10	Comparison between the kitchens at Finlaggan and Iona Abbey	264
14.11	Chapel plans: Finlaggan; Keills, Islay; Orsay; Texa	265
	Plan detail of the wall of structure K.1 with settings for timber uprights	269
14.13	Composite interpretative plan of post-medieval structures on Eilean Mór	271
14.14	Plans of post-medieval occupation of Eilean Mór	273
14.15	Hall plans: Finlaggan; Loch Gorm Castle, Islay; Nave Island; Dunluce Castle	274
	Plans of post-medieval house B and house K	275
14.17	Post-medieval structure K.1/12.5, possibly a barn	276
14.18	Augher island, 1602	277
14.19	Inisloughan Fort, 1602	278
14.20	Sheilings in Jura in 1772	281
	A weaver's house between Bowmore and Kilarrow in 1772	282
15.1	Finlaggan with the Paps of Jura in the background	286
15.2	Tynwald Hill, Isle of Man	288
15.3	Finlaggan, aerial view	290
15.4	Càrn Bàn, a natural hillock at Gruline in Mull, crowned by a Bronze Age cairn	291
15.5	Maps comparing Finlaggan with Tingwall, Shetland	292
15.6	Tingwall, Shetland: aerial view of Law Ting Holm and its causeway	293
15.7	Finlaggan aerial view	294
15.8	Loch Ballygrant, Islay, with island identified as 'Ellan Charne'	297
A1.1	Reconstruction of the great hall in later medieval times	300
A1.2	Reconstruction of the chapel and burial ground in the 16th century	301
	Visualisation of the castle, Finlaggan	302
	Visualisation of later medieval Finlaggan	303
	Visualisation of later medieval Finlaggan	304
	Visualisation of the interior of the later medieval great hall at Finlaggan	305

# LIST OF TABLES

0.1	Staff and volunteers	5
1.1	Trench 16 (1994), simplified list of contexts	12
2.1	Periods, lordships and notable events in relation to Finlaggan	19
3.1	Family surnames in the study area, from the 1851 census	43
4.1	Areas of the farms in the study area	54
6.1	Flora of Eilean Mór	89
7.1	Trench 20 contexts	98
7.2	Trench 21 contexts	100
8.1	Trench 3 contexts	111
8.2	Trench 18 contexts	111
8.3	Selected small finds from trenches 3 and 18	112
8.4	Trench 19 contexts	116
8.5	Trench 19 post-holes	120
8.6	Trench 7 contexts	123
9.1	Trench 1 contexts	135
9.2	Trench 14 contexts	139
9.3	Trench 17 contexts	142
0.1	Trench 6 contexts	149
0.2	Trench 8 contexts	157
0.3	Trench 9 contexts	160
11.1	Trench 15 contexts	167
1.2	Trench 10 contexts	176
1.3	Trench 11 contexts	176
1.4	Trench 5 contexts	181
2.1	Trench 2 contexts	192
2.2	Trench 4 contexts	193
2.3	Trench 12 ceramics, contexts	194
	Trench 12 multi-context ceramic vessels	195
2.5	Trench 12 building sequence	197
	Trench 12 contexts	210
3.1	Trench 16 contexts	223
3.2	Trench 23 contexts	230
3.3	Trench 24 contexts	236
	Trench 25 contexts	243
4.1	Finlaggan structures, Eilean Mór and Eilean na Comhairle	246
4.2	Buildings and their tenants in the Finlaggan study area listed in the 1855 'Valuation of Wood'	284

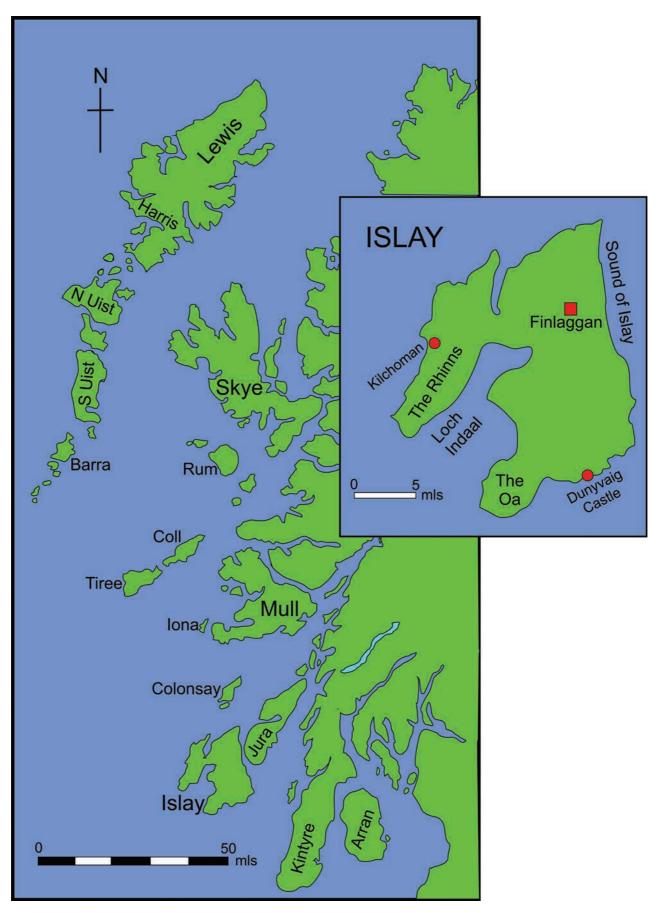


Illustration 0.1
Map of the Western Isles with location of Islay and Finlaggan