Durham E-Theses

Irish influence on ecclesiastical settlements in Scotland a case study of the island of Islay

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine the assumption that the morphology of early mediaeval ecclesiastical sites in the Hebrides is closely related to that of Irish sites. This assumption is based on the historical information for Irish influence in the area of Scottish Dalriada and is supported by limited documentary sources. It is suggested that such evidence, concentrated as it is in the seventh and eighth centuries, may be misleading.

The thesis is divided into two parts. In the first section, an overall view of present research in both Ireland and Scotland is presented. Particular emphasis is placed on the evidence for ecclesiastical enclosures and sculpture as these are characteristic of the Christian remains in the Hebrides. On the basis of excavated material, a four-fold classification of enclosure type is put forward: settlement enclosures, ritual enclosures, cemetery enclosures and chapel enclosures. The evidence for the position of sculptured stone on ecclesiastical sites is outlined and an effort is made to link its presence to the status and function of a settlement.

In the second part of the thesis, a detailed case study of the island of Islay is presented. It is suggested that the large number of church sites on the island are due to a number of different phases of church construction and settlement. Approximately half of these sites have archaeological material linking them to the early mediaeval period and this material can be divided into two types, comprising sculptured stones and drystone church sites.

The drystone churches can be divided into four groups on the basis of their typology and it is suggested that groups A and B are relatively earlier than groups C and C1 and that both groups probably derive from Man. They are associated with enclosures which are normally small in size and appear to be of the chapel or cemetery types. The sculpture of Islay is associated almost exclusively with later mediaeval, lime-mortared churches and concentrations are noted at the later parish centres of Kildalton and Kilchoman. Through their parallels in form and ornament, these monuments can be linked with Iona and, to a lesser extent, with the north of Ireland.

It is suggested that the sculpture sites of Islay represent late eighth or ninth century ecclesiastical settlements which were daughter houses of the Columban monastery on Iona. The drystone churches are believed to date to a period of Manx control of the island in the later Viking period. Groups A and B churches may represent private estate churches, possibly ninth or tenth century in date, while Group C churches are interpreted as proto-parochial centres linked to the establishment of the Bishopric of the Isles in the early twelfth century.

It is concluded that the evidence does not support the contention that Irish influence was paramount in the Hebrides throughout the early mediaeval period. On the contrary, the archaeological material suggests that the islands, including Iona formed a unique regional group, drawing from both mainland Scotland and Ireland but largely self-sufficient.

Irish Influence on Ecclesiastical Settlements in Scotland
A Case Study of the Island of Islay

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Philosophy
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Adamnan : <u>Adamnan's life of Columba</u> ed. A.O.Anderson
and M.O.Anderson London 1961

Ancient Laws of Ireland: <u>Ancient Laws of Ireland published</u>
<u>under the direction of the Commissioners for</u>
<u>publishing the ancient laws and institutes of</u>
<u>Ireland</u> eds. W.Hancock et al. 6 vols Dublin
1865-1901

A.U. : <u>Annals of Ulster (to A.D.1131)</u> eds. S.MacAirt and
G.MacNiocaill Dublin 1983

Bede : <u>Bede's Ecclesiastical history of the English people</u>
eds. B.Colgrave and R.A.B.Mynors Oxford 1969

Down 1966 : <u>Archaeological Survey of County Down</u>
Government of Northern Ireland-Ministry of Finance,
Archaeological survey of Northern Ireland 1, 1966

ECMS : <u>The early Christian monuments of Scotland: a</u>
<u>classified, illustrated, descriptive list of the</u>
<u>monuments with an analysis of their symbolism and</u>
<u>ornamentation and an introduction, being the Rhind</u>
<u>lectures for 1892 by J.Anderson</u> by
J.Anderson and J.Romilly Allen Edinburgh 1903

Kermode and Bruce 1968 : <u>The Manx Archaeological Survey:</u>
<u>A Re-Issue of the First Five Reports (1909-1918)</u>
<u>1909-1935, Keeills and Burial Grounds in the Sheadings</u>

of Glenfaba, Michael, Ayre, Garff and Middle by

        P.M.C. Kermode and Sixth Report 1966, Keeills and

        Burial Grounds in the Sheading of Rushen by J.R.

        Bruce Douglas 1968

Martin 1934 : Martin Martin's Description of the Western Isles

        of Scotland circa 1695 including A Voyage to St Kilda

        by the same author and A description of the western

        isles of Scotland by Sir Donald Munro

        ed. D.J.MacLeod Stirling 1934

Muirchú : Muirchú's Vita Patricii in The

        Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh

        ed. L.Bieler Scriptoriae latini Hiberniae 10, Dublin 1979

Munro 1961 : Munro's western Isles of Scotland and

        genealogies of the clans, 1549

        ed. R.W.Munro London 1961

Tírechán : Tírechán's Vita Patricii in The

        Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh

        ed. L.Bieler Scriptoriae latini Hiberniae 10, Dublin 1979

DECLARATION

This is to certify that the present study is solely the work of the author and that none of the material has ever been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

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INTRODUCTION

Through the colonization of Dalriada from north Antrim in the fifth century, Scotland became a 'Celtic' country; an episode in its cultural history which has helped to fashion many of the distinguishing characteristics of the country today. The dissemination of Irish influence was so sucessful that Gaelic remains a living language in some parts of the Western Isles today, although languages introduced at a later date, such as Norn, have long since disappeared.

In this process Irish monks played an important role, as missionaries, legates, sculptors and scribes. The aim of the thesis is to examine the assumption that the material remains visible on early ecclesiastical sites in Scotland reflect the activities of such monks. This belief has been summed up by Thomas in his description of the early ecclesiastical sites of Scotland:

> 'We can fairly say, then, that Christianity in the far west
> and north of Scotland (including the Western and Northern
> Isles) stems in the main from 563 and later.
> Archaeologically it is represented by a typical monastic
> church, with enclosed monasteries of various sizes on
> islands, promontories and high ground with isolated enclosed
> chapelries and cemeteries, with a huge series of grave
> markers, cross-marked slabs, free-standing crosses and
> pillars and with all the minor material culture of a
> missionary church' (Thomas 1971c, 95).

Since Thomas wrote however, there has been less emphasis on the collation of the evidence from the two countries. Research on early ecclesiastical sites has continued but the trend has been towards a more localised approach (see Hamlin 1976, Cant 1975, Crowe 1979 and Lowe 1981). Much of the new material is contained in unpublished theses or is published in regional journals which are not readily accessible abroad. In the first section of the thesis this new material is drawn together and re-examined so that there might be a firmer basis for comparisons between the two countries. The emphasis is on the exploration and the development of the theoretical position rather than attempting to add to the rapidly growing number of sites identified in the field.

Since the assumption which is the subject of this thesis is so largely based on the historical evidence for Irish monks in Scotland, the thesis is, of necessity, an inter-disciplinary study. In addition to the documentary evidence for political and ecclesiastical links and other contacts between the two countries (see below, 1-38), the early mediaeval sources which deal with attitudes to ecclesiastical enclosure and sculpture have also been examined in the relevant chapters (chapters 3 and 4).

Mediaeval writers were rarely concerned to describe their material surroundings but incidental references can be collated to form a minimalist picture of their environment (see MacDonald 1984 for an example of such an exercise in relation to Iona). Such a picture will, however, depend very heavily on archaeological information because the descriptive words in the text are rarely sufficient. An example of this process is to be found in the word

<u>vallum</u>. The word is found in historical sources in relation to an enclosure of unknown size and shape which surrounds both ecclesiastical and secular sites in early mediaeval Ireland. In archaeological usage it most often describes a substantial earthen/stone bank surrounding an ecclesiastical site (RCAHMS Argyll IV 32-6) and this in turn has begun to effect the historian's interpretation of the word when found within a text (MacDonald op.cit., 281).

It is hoped, therefore, to explore both sources of information separately but in conjunction, leaving any amalgamation to a discussion at the end. Richard Reece has outlined the reasoning behind such a method:

> 'The study of the past obviously includes material and written sources where both are available but each branch, written sources or material, is a different and separate study with its own data, methods, objects and conclusions. The study of the past will benefit as the two sub-disciplines develop their own studies because then, in any historical period, there are two independent sources. The study of the past will lose if the two disciplines which could prove independent evidence join in an interlocking form of circular argument, each making out a case by reference to the other. This assumes that there is one past, even if seen in at least two different views and that the past is to some extent knowable' (Reece 1984, 113).

The first part of the thesis serves as an extended introduction to the second part which is a detailed case study of the sites from

the island of Islay, one of the largest and most fertile of the Hebridean islands. In this section, evidence obtained by field survey on Islay is examined in the light of its position in the intermediate zone of the Hebrides.

There are a number of reasons for choosing such an area for detailed study. The island is almost half-way between Ireland and mainland Scotland, being some twenty-six miles from Portrush in Co.Londonderry and approximately twenty-three miles from Loch Tarbert in the north of Kintyre, on the sea lane between Ireland and Iona (see below, 150-3). This has made Islay a natural half-way point in the cultural interaction between the two countries (Gordon-Booth n.d., 80-99 and Fig.1). As an island it forms a convienently defined area of study. Topographically, however, there is tremendous variation within a small area; a characteristic summed up by Darling:

> 'The island of Islay changes character completely between
> its western and eastern halves. On the Atlantic side there
> is the lack of trees and shrubs, and the presence of short
> sweet herbage salted by the spray from innumerable
> south-westerly gales, whereas there are beautiful gardens,
> yuccas and some tall wooodlands on the south and east. The
> Rhinns of Islay on the Atlantic coast are not heavily
> covered with peat as is a good deal of the eastern half.
> Islay is an area of many good arable farms and it has
> several square miles of limestone country' (Darling and Boyd
> 1974, 41).

MULL

IONA

ISLAY

DONEGAL

GALLOWAY

0   20   0   km

DOWN

ISLE
OF
MAN
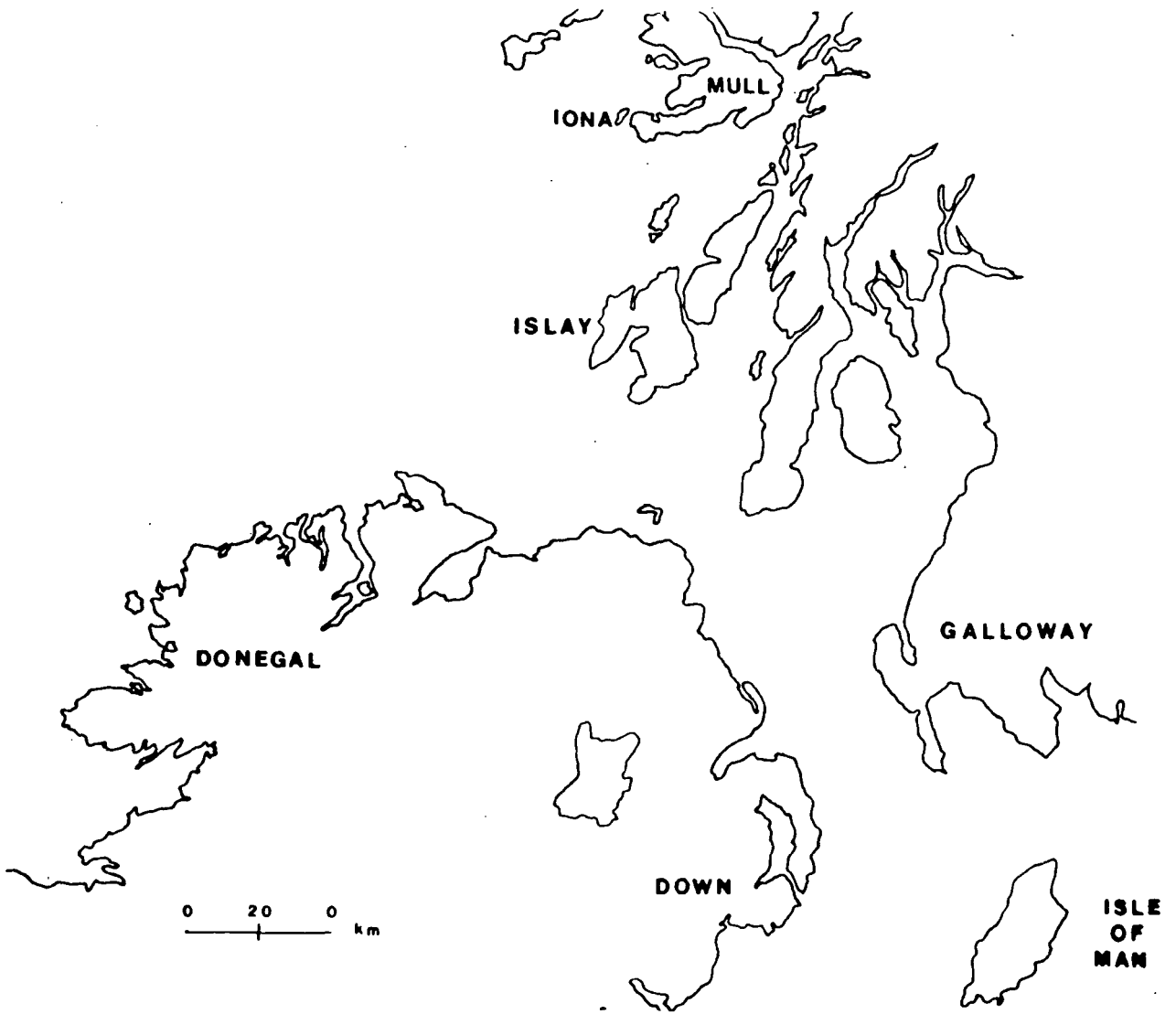
Fig.1 : The location of Islay

Darling does not mention the most striking difference between the west and eastern coasts of Islay, which is one of relative height. The eastern half is part of the quartzitic upland which has formed the Paps of Jura and the ground rarely falls beneath 200m above sea-level. In contrast, the average height of the west coast is only 40m above sea-level and the land is part of the fertile machair of the western seaboard. In this division between upland and lowland, Islay is comparable with the Isle of Man where the evidence for ecclesiastical settlement has been the subject of detailed study, most notably at the beginning of this century (Kermode 1907; Kermode and Bruce 1968; Marstrander 1937).

Historically, Islay is well served with mediaeval and post-mediaeval documentation. At the end of the nineteenth century, Mrs Lucy Ramsay published the Stent Book of Islay with its useful accounts of the local Parliament in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the same time, her husband, John Ramsay, was collecting the many scattered references to the island from the mediaeval period. He died before the book was ready for publication but his work was taken over by Gregory Smith who in 1895 published the invaluable Book of Islay. The many sources which he edited include the only known series of rentals to cover the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Hebrides.

The Ramsays were also interested in archaeology, supplying the National Museum of Edinburgh with a concrete cast of the free-standing cross at Kildalton and recording the find circumstances of any artifacts found on the island (Donations to the National Museum of Scotland 1892; I.A.S.G. 1960). Unfortunately,

much of their collection was lost in 1926 when Kildalton House was sold.

In the present century, Mrs Freda Ramsay was responsible for the finds of sculptured slabs at Gleann na Gaoith and Orsay and has consciously encouraged the study of archaeology on the island. Other important figures who have worked to publish and interpret material from Islay have been Dr Lamont who published a book on the early mediaeval crosses (Lamont 1972), Dr Nieke who has examined the evidence for early mediaeval secular settlement (Nieke 1983) and Mr Gordon Booth, who was the founding curator of the Museum of Islay Life at Port Charlotte where much of the sculpture is now housed. General surveys of the settlement evidence from the island were undertaken by the Islay Archaeological Survey Group (or I.A.S.G.) in the fifties, by the Department of the Environment in the sixties and most recently, by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments for Scotland who have published a full inventory of the island (RCAHMS Argyll V 1985). The aim of the present study is to place this data in a more closely defined historical context and to identify and examine the regional influences which gave rise to it.

Source Material

The only systematic programme of published excavations on ecclesiastical sites in the Irish Sea region was that undertaken by P.M.C.Kermode on Manx _keeills_ in the early years of this century. Although Kermode was meticulous in recording what he considered to be the diagnostic features of each building, he did not bestow the

same attention on every aspect of the excavation and his interpretation has been questioned in recent years (Kermode and Bruce 1968; Lowe in Morris 1983b, 126). The excavation of Keeill Vael in the late seventies (Morris 1981,1983b) found a far more complex structure then any Kermode describes with a three-phase sequence of construction on the site. The role of keeills in the development of the church has been studied by Marstrander (1937) and Lowe (1981) and their conclusions are examined in detail below (see 250-252).

For the north of Ireland there are the two county surveys of Down and Donegal (Down 1966, Lacy 1983). In the last year the Office of Public Works in Dublin has also published two studies of Co.Monaghan and Co.Louth but these are brief works designed to record the existence of monuments rather than to analyse their features (Buckley 1986; Brindley 1986). For an over-all view of Northern Ireland, there is the work of Ann Hamlin and in particular her unpublished doctoral thesis on the Early Christian archaeology of the province (Hamlin 1976). The only major excavation of an early church site in the area was that by Waterman on the churches of Derry in Co.Down (Waterman 1967) but minor excavations have taken place at Armagh, White Island, Co.Fermanagh and in Movilla and St John's Point in Co.Down (Brown and Harper 1984; Lowry-Corry et al 1959; Ivens 1984; Brannon 1980).

On the west coast of Ireland the information is much more widely scattered and much more varied in content. The most recent regional survey is that of the Dingle peninsula in Co.Kerry (Cuppage 1986) which can be supplemented by the work of Francoise Henry on the

Caherciveen peninsula in the early fifties (Henry 1957). Francoise
Henry also undertook a number of studies on the sculpture of the
west coast in general and excavated sites off the coast of Mayo
(1937, 1945, 1947). A program of survey and photographic record of
many of these sites has been undertaken by Professor Herity of
University College Dublin but has yet to be published in full
(Herity 1977, 1983, 1984).

Other surveys include the nineteenth-century reports by Westropp
on the churches in Co.Clare and the Western Islands and the early
survey of Inishmurray by Wakeman (Westropp 1897-1898; Wakeman 1893).
Apart from these, the three classic works on early Irish
ecclesiastical architecture by Petrie, Dunraven and Leask drew much
of their material for their analysis from this region (Petrie 1845;
Dunraven 1875-77; Leask 1955).

Brief surveys of individual sites have also been published: on
the Aran islands by John Waddell and Con Manning (Waddell 1973,
1976; Manning 1985), on Skellig Michael by De Paor (1955), on Caher
island and Inishkea North by Henry (1945, 1947) and on the barony of
Corkaguiney by Fanning (1981). There are three excavated sites of
early date: that of Church Island dug by O'Kelly in the 1950s and
the site of Reask in Co. Kerry, dug by Fanning in the 1970s as well
as the unpublished site of Inishcealtra in Co. Clare (O'Kelly 1958;
Fanning 1981).

The churches of the south and east coasts of Ireland and the
Midlands are sparsely covered by survey. In Tipperary, there is a
short survey of the barony of Ikerrin while the sites of west Cork

have been discussed in a brief article by Hurley, dealing with church distribution (Stout 1984; Hurley 1982). Excavated sites include the site of Killederdadrum in Co. Tipperary, the ongoing excavation of Derrynaflan in the same county, St Vogues in Co. Wexford, Killeen Cormac in Co. Kildare, Kilpatrick, Co. Westmeath and Liathmore in Co *Tipperary* (Manning 1984; O'Kelly 1975; Macalister 1929; Swan 1976; Glassock 1970-71).

For church sites in Ireland as a whole however, the most important volumes remain those by Hughes and Hamlin (1977), Henry (1965,1967,1970) and the survey of church architecture by Leask (1955), although the unpublished M.A. thesis by Swan on ecclesiastical enclosures also repays careful study (Swan 1971). The classification of drystone churches by Leask remains the only detailed examination of these structures for the entire country (although Harbison's work on boat-shaped oratories has important theoretical implications for all drystone sites (Harbison 1970)). It must, however, be remembered that this was not Leask's main field of interest and that he was more concerned to show the information that they could yield about the later sites. Many of his conclusions are in fact summaries of the earlier works by Dunraven and Petrie.

For Scotland, the information is more consistent archaeologically, though still limited regionally. Five of the six volumes on Argyll have now been published by the Royal Commission who have also published surveys of the northern Hebrides, the Orkneys, the Shetlands and Caithness. (Their other volumes deal with the Border areas and the east coast and are largely irrelevant

to the following study.) Their work is supplemented by nineteenth-century antiquaries such as MacGibbon and Ross and Muir (MacGibbon and Ross 1896, Muir 1885) and by the 1968-70 survey of early church sites in the north-east by Macdonald and Laing. Lamb has published papers on the Orkney sites, dealing in particular with the 'monastic stack' sites (Lamb 1973,1974,1976) while for the Galloway region there are a number of articles by Radford and Thomas (Radford 1950,1962,1967; Thomas 1966,1967).

The most important of the excavated sites in Scotland for our purpose is the island of Iona which has been subject to a number of excavations since the nineteen fifties. Summaries of these are published in the RCAHMS volume on Iona (RCAHMS Argyll IV) but the two most recent excavations by John Barber and Richard Reece are also readily available in print (Barber 1981b, Reece 1981). Other excavated sites include that of the Brough of Birsay, dug by Radford, Cruden, Hunter and Morris (Cruden 1956,1965; Hunter 1986; Morris 1983a), St Ninian's Isle (Small et al 1973) and Deerness (Morris 1977,1978) in the Orkneys and Shetlands. Further south there is the site of Ardnadam in Argyll (Rennie 1984) and the Gallowegian sites of Ardwall Isle (Thomas 1967), Brydekirk (Crowe 1984) Barhobble (Cormack 1986), Chapel Finnian (Radford 1950) and Whithorn (Hill 1984) while further to the east there is the Border site of the Hirsel (Cramp 1980-84).

For north-west England, the principal authorities are two unpublished theses (Crowe 1979; O'Sullivan 1980) but a number of small-scale excavations have taken place at the two sites of St Bees and Dacre in Cumbria (O'Sullivan 1981; Newman 1985).

This listing of the published material available is somewhat laborious but it reinforces the point made earlier: collation of this variegated material is difficult since interest, method and degree of detail varies from study to study. This makes specific analysis of monument characteristics in this area difficult and any results which it produces, suspect.

Like the archaeological material, the historical records dealing with the material culture of the early insular church are prolific but largely understudied, being found for the most part within the large corpus of hagiographical literature or biographies of the early saints, generally written within a monastic milieu. They can vary widely in date and place of origin while many remain undatable. Seventh-century hagiographical texts include most of the material in the Book of Armagh, the Vita Brigidae by Cogitosus, the Vita Columbae by Adamnan and much of the Northumbrian material. The Life of Darerca-Moninna and the Life of Ita may also be of seventh-century date but there are a number of later interpolations (Professor Byrne pers.comm.).

The Irish Life of St Finnian was dated to the ninth/tenth century by Hughes while the Latin lives were somewhat later, belonging to the Anglo-Norman period (Hughes 1954, 372). This is somewhat unusual; most of the the vernacular vitae appear to post-date the Latin texts (Kenney 1929, 294-5). Doherty's work on the lives of Maedoc dated the first Latin text to the 1050s and the second Latin Life to the mid twelfth century. The long Life in Irish was a translation of the mid twelfth-century Life, possibly by Gilla Mo Datu Ua Casaide in the 1140s and this Life continued to be developed

until the late fourteenth century (Mr Charles Doherty pers.comm.).
These Lives are edited by Plummer (1910 II, 141-163, 295-311 and
1922 II, 177-281). Maire Herbert in her discussion of the
hagiography of the Columban _paruchia_ has dated the _Vita Baithene_ to
the first half of the eighth century, the _Betha Adamnan_ to the mid
tenth century and the Irish Life of Columba to the mid
twelfth century (Herbert 1986, 146-206).

The other hagiographical texts published by William Stokes,
Charles Plummer and William Heist (Stokes 1877,1887,1899; Plummer
1910,1922,1925; Heist 1965) remain largely undatable although
studies of Old Irish suggest that it should be possible to date the
vernacular lives through linguistic analysis. This is a form of
dating which it is impossible to evaluate without a knowledge of the
language but it would appear that any conclusions made on this basis
can only be tentative (see discussion of Bannerman's analysis of the
Senchus fer nAlban in Ó Corráin 1980, 174). The techniques of such
analysis are still being perfected and the fact that many of the
texts translated at the end of the nineteenth century have had to be
re-edited suggests that many of the dates provided by earlier
scholars are dubious (see Binchy 1975,1976).

Even when dated, the interpretation of hagiographical information
can cause problems. The _vitae_ depend heavily on previous
redactions; in many cases the present text is an amalgamation of
three or four texts each of which has been re-edited to suit the
needs of the author. It is impossible to tell, therefore, whether
the text is giving an explanation which is valid for the
seventh century or the twelfth. In the Life of Berach for example

(Plummer 1922 II, 38-40), a free-standing cross is listed as a requisite for every important church and this is most easily explained as a reference to the high crosses of the ninth and tenth centuries.

The origins of the various episodes within the _vitae_ are frequently diverse. They were written as panegyrics of a monastery's founder rather than as factual accounts and as such, many of the events described are drawn from a pool of common _topoi_ (Delehaye 1934, 18-41). A description of an artifact may therefore reflect a Continental rather than an insular norm as in the description of a baptismal font in the _Vita Fursei_ (_Vita Fursei_ V ed. Heist 1965, 51).

This problem is compounded by the fact that the texts are often consciously antiquarian; they purport to tell the story of a saint who may have been dead for centuries and the authors may therefore include material which they know is no longer used but which they believed may have been in use during the saint's lifetime. This may be the explanation behind the description of the enclosure around the site of Escayr Branan in the late Life of Finnian of Clonard (Heist 1965, 100). Alternatively, the authors can invent explanations of ecclesiastical remains which, though extant on a site, have long since gone out of use and for which no function is known. An example of such a process is found in the Life of MacCreiche (11, Plummer 1925, 53) where a deer is said to have used a _bullaun_ stone in order to leave her milk for the saint. Hagiographical literature, therefore, is often at one or two steps remove from the period it is describing and it is important to

remember that explanations given by hagiographers are only one of a number of possible suggestions.

The difficulties of dating the historical documentation and the relative scarcity of excavated material has meant that the ecclesiastical culture of Ireland and Scotland has been studied without emphasising the possibilities of changes through time. This is unlikely to reflect a historical reality for the church is known to have altered substantially during the early mediaeval period (Godfrey 1962; Hughes 1966). As will be seen below, functional and regional variation can account for many of the differences visible in the data but the development of the church as an institution must have had its effect on the settlements which it built. The present survey, therefore, claims only to recreate the most likely appearance for ecclesiastical settlement on the basis of our present knowledge. It cannot identify the morphology of a site at any chronological period without the supporting evidence of excavation.

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL INFLUENCE IN SCOTLAND

The most important sources for the early mediaeval period in Scotland are concentrated within the kingdom of Scottish Dalriada. They are the _Vita Columbae_ by Adamnan dating to some time before 704 (Anderson and Anderson 1961; for a discussion of the date, see Picard 1982) and the _Senchus fer nAlban_ which was originally compiled in the second half of the seventh century although there is evidence for later editing (ed. Bannerman 1974; see below, 159-63). The _Annals of Ulster_ have a large number of Hebridean entries prior to the ninth century but following the move by the Columbans to Kells in 802 A.D. their interest dwindles. There is far less documentary evidence for the other regions of Scotland which only began to be documented in detail in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

These sources were largely, if not entirely written by Columban clerics and this bias in their authorship has had its _e_ffect, not only on the way in which earlier events are described but also on the amount of data available. The attention of early writers in the Hebrides was focussed on the past and in particular on the figure of Columba whose public renown is documented in no fewer than four seventh-century accounts (ed. Stokes 1899; Anderson and Anderson 1961; Kelly 1972, 1975). Such a large number of very early hagiographical texts make Columba almost unique amongst early insular saints. Only Cuthbert, three of whose four _vitae_ were written by a single individual, and Patrick are even remotely

comparable.

The homeland of the Dál Riata tribe was a relatively small area in the Glens of Antrim. The political situation in this area was fluid but there appear to have been three main contenders for power after the fall of the Ulaid sometime in the fifth century. These were: the remnants of the Ulaid who were centred on the counties of Louth, Antrim and Down with the Dál Fiatach as their ruling dynasty; the Cruithni who were based in south Antrim and north Down and the Uí Néill in the north-west. Later accounts anachronistically described the Uí Néill as over-kings of the region from the late fifth century on; in reality the situation was far more varied with the over-kingship fluctuating between the Dál Fiatach and the Cruithni kings (Byrne 1965, 43). It appears that up until the Convention of Druim Ceat in 575 A.U., the over-king in Ireland also held control over Scottish Dalriada and the kingdom did not split until the battle of Mag Roth in 637 A.U.

Traditionally, Scottish Dalriada was founded c.501 AD by Fergus Már mac Erc - a date based on the story of his conversion by Patrick in the Tripartite Life in the Book of Armagh (ed. Gwynn 1913, fo.18 d27), and on an entry in the Annals of Tigernach for the year AD 501. Fergus is also found at the head of most Dalriadic kinglists although these references may be the result of later insertions (Anderson 1973, 106). He and his three sons/grandsons are shadowy figures who may derive from a mythological origin legend but even if control over the colony was established over a number of generations (see below, 158) it seems probable that Scottish Dalriada became a political unit around the turn of the sixth century.

Columba was of the Cenél Conaill - a branch of the northern Uí Néill settled in the north-west corner of Ulster in present-day Tyrconnell. He was apparently of high status and a cousin of the Uí Néill king of Tara. According to the Annals of Ulster he founded the monastery of Derry in 546 A.U., while Bede suggests that the monastery of Durrow was also founded prior to his departure for Scotland in AD 563/65 (Bede III 4). The internal evidence in Adamnan, however, suggests that the foundation may have taken place between 585 A.U. and 599 A.U. when Ailither was abbot of Clonmacnois (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 88). Apart from these three references there is no further information about Columba's contemporary importance in Ireland except for a late entry, written in Irish, in the Annals of Ulster under 553 A.U:

> 'I have found this in the Book of Cuanu: the relics of Patrick were placed sixty years after his death in a shrine by Columcille. Three splendid halidoms were found in the burial place: his goblet, the Angel's Gospel and the Bell of the Testament. This is how the angel distributed the halidoms; the goblet to Dún, the Bell of the Testament to Ard Macha and the Angel's Gospel to Columcille himself. The reason it is called the Angel's Gospel is that Columcille received it from the right hand of the angel.'

There is no firm dating for the Book of Cuanu which had been included within the Annals of Ulster at some point prior to the creation of the present redaction (MacAirt and MacNiocaill 1982, xi). However, Smyth believes that many of the extracts from the

<u>Book of Cuanu</u> are of Middle Irish date and he singles out this
quotation in particular as being 'clearly of a later date'. He also
points out the similarity between this tale and that in Adamnan
where the angel gives Columba a book to be used in Aedan's
ordination (Smith 1972, 48; Adamnan III 5) That the story may be
earlier than Smyth suspects is, however, suggested by the reference
in the <u>Notae</u> to Tírechán's <u>Vita Patricii</u>:

> 'Colomb Cille Spiritu Sancto instigante ostendit sepulturam
>
> Patricii, ubi est confirmat, id est in Sabul Patricii, id
>
> est in aeclessia iuxta mare proxima, ubi est conductio
>
> martirum, id est ossuum Coluimb Cillae de Brittannia et
>
> conductio omnium sanctorum Hiberniae in die iudicii' (<u>Notae</u>
>
> 55 ed. Bieler 1979, 164)

Thus we have no real knowledge of Columba's life before he left
Ireland except for the evidence in Adamnan and we have even less
knowledge as to the reasons which persuaded him to leave. Adamnan
does not deal with it in detail; his only two references to it are:

> 'Hic anno secundo post Cule-drebinae bellum, aetatis vero
>
> suae xlii de Scotia ad Brittaniam pro Christo perigrinari
>
> volens enavigavit'(Second Preface)
>
> 'Post bellum Cule-drebene sicuti nobis traditum est duobus
>
> transactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus de Scotia
>
> perigrinaturus primitus enavigavit'(I 7)

Cúil Dreimne is the battle with which Columba is traditionally
linked in popular legend - it is said that he persuaded his kinsmen
to fight after having been defeated in a law-suit over copy-right.
(This is the explanation in the eleventh-century preface to the

<u>Amhra Columcille</u> in the <u>Liber Hymnorum</u> (Bernard and Atkinson 1898, 58).) There is some contemporary evidence for Columba's involvement in the affair, for under the entry of 561 A.U:

> ' Bellum Cuile Dreimne <u>for</u> Diarmait mc. Cerbaill <u>Forggus</u>
> Domnall, da mc. Mc Ercae, Ainmire mc. Setni Nainnid m
> Duach uictores erant, Aedh m <u>Echach</u> ri Con<u>acht</u>. Per
> orationes Col<u>uim</u> Ci<u>lle</u> uicerunt'.

In other words the battle was won by an alliance of the Cenél nEógain and the Cenél Conaill of the northern Uí Néill with the assistance of Aid Tirmcharna, king of Connaught against the rising power of the southern Uí Néill under Diarmait son of Cerball. It has been argued that this entry is a later insertion, drawing on the saga traditions surrounding the battle (Byrne 1973, 95). On the other hand, the fact that Columba was excommunicated at Tailtiu, the site of the annual <u>óenach</u> of the southern Uí Néill, lends support to this entry.

> 'Post namque multorum intervalla temporum, cum a quadam
> sinodo pro quibusdam veniabiliabus et tam excusabiliabus
> causis non recte ut post in fine claruit sanctus
> excomunicaretur Columba, ad eandum contra ipsum collectam
> venit congregationem '(Adamnan III 3).

These fragmentary references suggest that it was a politic move on Columba's part to withdraw from Ireland at this juncture. Binchy has suggested that in revenge for his defeat at Cúil Dreimne, Diarmait had persuaded the clergy of the southern Uí Néill to excommunicate his enemy and the ban was only rescinded through the good offices of Brendan of Birr (Binchy 1950, 123). It is possible,

therefore, that the king exacted the maximum secular punishment instead; he exiled Columba, thus removing his status and making him a _cú glas_ or exile, with no privileges (Charles-Edwards 1976a, 46). Whatever the saint's motivation, it seems clear from the internal evidence in Adamnan, that he retained some influence in the north of Ireland and that he was later able to exploit this for the benefit of the Scottish kings of Dalriada.

Upon arriving in Scotland, Columba appears to have spent some time with Conall son of Comgall (Adamnan I 7) before founding the monastery at Iona. As a _cú glas_ without a wife, he would have required the protection of the king (Charles-Edwards op.cit., 48). There is ambiguity over who eventually granted him the land on which to build his monastery. The Irish sources suggest that it was Conall while Bede believed that it was the king of the Picts.

'Mors Conaill m Comghaill anno regni .xui sui qui obtulit insolam Iae Columbe Cille' (A.U. 574).

'Venit autem Brittaniam Columba regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon rege potentissimo, nono anno regni eius, gentemque illam uerbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi conuertit; unde et praefatam insulam ab eis in possessionem monasterii faciendi accepit '(Bede III 4).

The Andersons believed that of these two contradictory accounts, preference should be given to Bede who would have obtained his information from Nechtan's messengers in the early eighth century while the reference in the annals could be explained as a later insertion by someone who had misunderstood or extrapolated from the reference to Conall in Adamnan (Anderson 1922 I, 75).

Alternatively, a local chieftain, independent of both Conall and Brude but with Pictish sympathies may have been the donor (Anderson 1965, 27-29). This argument appears weak as Bede had no opportunity to verify any information that the messengers may have given him while the scribes of the Annals of Ulster were probably based in the Irish Sea area and possibly on Iona itself (Bannerman 1974, 10-24; Henderson 1971, 43-9). The fact that many sixth-century annals do not appear to be contemporary insertions is of no relevance in this instance for Bede's information dates from the eighth century. The contradiction does reveal an uncertainty about the actual power structure in the area which is possibly an indication that the island was in a border region. It also suggests that the story of Columba had been taken over and localised in both the Pictish and the Dalriadic traditions.

Regardless of who granted the land, by 574 A.U., Columba had attained sufficient importance in the politics of Dalriada to be the churchman chosen to 'ordain' (ordinavit) the new king of Dalriada, Aedan mac Gabrán (Adamnan III 5). This is the first example of ordination that we know of in the British Isles and it consisted of the laying on of hands and a blessing but there was no holy oil and no indication of the presence of a bishop (Adamnan III 5, Anderson and Anderson 1961, 80). If this tale is contemporary it poses the question: was the unusual ceremony a tribute to the prestige of the saint or a political device to strengthen Aedan's claims ?

In the year following the ordination, both Columba and Aedan attended the Convention of Druim Ceat, a convention which met to deal with the question of overlordship over Dalriada. The two

sections of Dalriada had not separated following the settlement in Argyll and in theory, their king still owed tribute to the over-king of Ulster who at this time was Baetán mac Cairell of the Ulaid. In the _Book of Leinster_ there is an Ulster genealogical tract to the effect that Aedan did homage to Baetán at Rinn Seimne (Island Magee):

'giallais Aedan mac Gabrain di i Ross na Rig i

Seimniu'(O'Brien 1963, 406).

Baetán, who was of the Dál Fiatach dynasty, later went on to conquer the Isle of Man and was recorded in the genealogies as the king of Ireland and Scotland (Byrne 1973, 109). It is possible that Aedan's submission included the levies from Scotland as well as Ireland: Bannerman has argued that the title 'king of Scotland' implies this (Bannerman 1974, 3).

The result of the meeting at Druim Ceat, however, was an alliance between Aedan and Aed mac Ainmirech of the Uí Néill, an alliance in which Columba appears to have played a prominent role:

'Magna con(uen)tio Droma Ceta in qua erant Colum Cille ocus

Aedh mc Ainmirech' (575 A.U.)

Under its provisions, Irish Dalriada was regarded as formally subject to the Uí Néill king who had the right to the armed forces from the region but it continued to yield taxes and levies to the Scottish king. Thus the convention was beneficial both to Aedan and his advisor, Columba. Aedan got the backing of the strong families of the northern Uí Néill while retaining control of all normal levies in Ireland and without having to give up any renders from his Scottish lands. Columba had re-established contact with his kinsmen, thus regaining status and allowing him to return to Ireland

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on a more frequent basis. It is notable that of the stories told of Columba in Ireland by Adamnan, all those that can be dated occur either during the Convention or after it (Adamnan I 3,8; II 6). Columban support for the arrangement was still strong in the mid seventh century; when the alliance was broken by Domnall Brecc c.637 it was recorded with disapproval by Cumméne Ailbe:

> 'Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus nostris completum est in bello Roth, Domnallo Brecco nepote Aidani sine causa vastante provinciam Domnail nepotis Ainmuired. Et a die illa usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis: quod suspiria doloris pectori incutit'(Adamnan III 5).

Unfortunately, we cannot be sure of the date of Aedan's submission to Baetán who died in 581. There is nothing in the sources to suggest that the submission necessarily took place before the Convention and indeed, Bannerman suggests that it took place afterwards (Bannerman 1974, 2). However, the fact that the Convention apparently marks a change of alliance from the traditional links of Dalriada does suggest that the submission took place beforehand which would date it to the year 574/75.

In summary, therefore, the situation appears as follows. In 574, Aedan came to the throne. His later actions show him to have been an ambitious man (Millar 1980, 305-27) and Adamnan implies that he was not the candidate expected to succeed. (Adamnan invokes an angel with divine instructions who appears to Columba on three separate occasions to order the cleric's support (Adamnan III 5).) He is credited with a unique ceremony of ordination. Within the year, he had submitted to Baetán, had reversed this traditional link

and instead had secured a favorable treaty with the rising power of the Uí Néill. This treaty came about in all probability through Columba, a member of the northern Uí Néill who had left Ireland under a cloud some ten years before and had settled on the outskirts of Dalriada with only a few companions. (Traditionally twelve but this is probably a later insertion; see the addendum to Adamnan, Anderson and Anderson 1961, 347)

Given these facts, it is possible to put forward an hypothesis that differs slightly from the generally accepted one. It is possible that Columba only rose to power with Aedan and that for the first ten years of his life in Dalriada, he was an obscure cleric whose status depended on the goodwill of the king. As a member of the royal house of Ui Neill, he would be a valuable ally for an equally obscure candidate for the throne and a perfect intermediary for negotiations with his kinsmen. Only in relation to these two years does Adamnan credit Columba with the power to direct politics in Dalriada (I 8; III 5); in all other references to royalty, Columba is merely credited with divine knowledge of events.

Such a suggestion tallies with the record of Columban foundations made during his own lifetime. Adamnan is probably to be trusted in this regard. Only two generations separated himself and the founder and it is probable that a foundation which was old enough in Adamnan's day to regard itself as being of sixth-century origin, had a good basis for such claims.

The list of references to Columban foundations which occur in Adamnan is to be found in Appendix A and deals with a mere seven

sites. Of these, Columba is only specifically cited as the founder of two sites, Hinba and Iona itself (Adamnan I 45). Baethéne, who succeeded Columba as abbot of Iona, was prior of Mag Luinge (I 30) while Cailtan 'another of his monks' was prior of a monastery 'that even today is called by the name of his brother Diun' (I 31). It was the priest Findchan who founded Artchain, (I 36) while Lugne 'who afterwards, when he was an old man, was the prior of a monastery in the island of Elen..' is not specifically referred to as a Columban monk (II 18). It was a companion of Columba who later founded the monastery of Cailli áu finde (II 31).

When examined in such a way, the list could become very short indeed, a small number of minor monasteries on the outskirts of Dalriada, linked in a loose federation. There has been a tendency to extrapolate from Columba's later fame back into his own era and consequently the assumption has been made that the Columban _paruchia_ was always the powerful rival to Armagh and Kildare that it afterwards became. An examination of the 'contemporary' evidence suggests that this was not, in fact, the case and that initially, the Columban monks were just one of several groups of clerics working in Scottish Dalriada.

The only contemporary references to such clerics are to be found in the annals and in particular, the Annals of Ulster. In 592 the obit of Lugaid of Lismore was recorded and in 617 the burning of the martyrs of Eigg and the 'occisio' of Torach. (The foundation of Lismore in Co.Waterford did not take place until 638/9 and therefore the obits of 592,611 and 637 are presumed to refer to the Scottish site (see Anderson 1922 I, 160). The obit of Daniél, bishop of Cenn

Garad is recorded in 660. In 673, the monastery of Applecross was founded under the direction of Mael Ruba and in 677 Becan of Rum died in the island of Britain.

Other references to Irish foundations include the two stories of foundations by Brendan of Clonfert on the island of Ailech and in Bledach on Tiree. A short-lived monastery on the same island was founded by Comgall. These references occur in the _vitae_ of the respective saints and are as yet undatable but they receive a certain amount of corroboration from Adamnan's remark about the non-Columban foundations on Tiree (Adamnan III 8).

A number of different impulses appear to have fostered these foundations. In Cumméne Fota's letter to Ségéne c.642, Becan of Rum is described as _solitario_ attended by _suis sapientibus_ (ed. Migne 1863, 968). The foundation of Applecross is described in the annals as an _ecclesia_, a description which is also used of the Columban site at Rechru (founded c.635 A.U.) and which in both cases probably refers to a monastic establishment. Finally there is the bishopric of Cenn Garad or Kingarth.

Kingarth is described both in terms of the individual bishop and with reference to its geographical base. This is very different from the bishopric of Lindisfarne whose bishop's obit was recorded as:

'Quies Aedain _episcopi_ Saxon_num_' (651 A.U.)

This description may owe something to the title of Patrick as 'bishop of the Irish' in the Patrician hagiography of the seventh century (see Bieler 1979, 117,165, 187) and is a slight

indication that the foundation of Lindisfarne was regarded as unique amongst the British sites founded by Irish clerics. Lindisfarne is the only Columban house where there is documentary evidence for the motives behind the foundation; according to Bede, it was founded directly from Iona at the request of Oswald of Northumbria with the immediate purpose of converting Northumbria (Bede III 3). As Herbert has pointed out, his request coincided with an outward looking expansionist policy on the part of the Columbans and the foundation of Rechru, at approximately the same time has already been noted (Herbert 1986, 11-15). Both Lindisfarne and the Scottish bishopric of Kingarth were controlled by a bishop/abbot and both appear to have been founded on an existing territorial/political unit. This became the pattern for later foundations in the area (Bede V 23).

IRISH CLERICS IN THE EAST OF SCOTLAND

The figures of Columba and his followers dominate the history of Irish influence in the east to an even greater extent than they do in the west. Only one non-Columban cleric is documented for the period prior to the eighth century, outside the immediate vicinty of Dalriada, and his association with eastern Scotland is open to question.

In the guarantor list for the Cáin Adamnáin, recently dated to the end of the seventh century (ed. Ní Dhonnchadha 1982, 180), reference is made to 'Curitan epscop' (ibid., 180). Whether this man was the 'Curitanus bishop and abbot of Ros mic Bairend' of the

Martyrology of Tallaght and whether he can be identified with Boniface/Curitanus of Rosemarkie in the late Breviary of Aberdeen is disputed (Anderson 1922 I, 205; Henderson 1971, 51). There are two pointers to such a theory. In the first place both the Pictish Boniface and the Irish Curitan share the same feast day: March 16. Secondly 'Curitan epscop' is listed between the two clerics from Iona which suggests that he was based in Scotland.

Columba himself is said to have worked in the east although the documentary evidence for his activity is often contradictory. Charles-Edwards has pointed out that although the influence of Patrick may have encouraged peregrini to undertake missonary work, this was by no means an automatic decision (Charles-Edwards 1976a, 57). Did Columba convert Brude son of Meilochon as later commentators believed (see Vita Sancti Comgalli ed.Plummer 1910 II, 18) and were there other Columban foundations within the boundaries of the Pictish lands? Again, the later success of the Columbans appears to have obscured the sixth-century reality to some extent.

It is Bede who, writing in the early eighth century, is our most important source for Columba's missionary activity:

'Siquidem anno incarnationis dominicae quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, quo tempore gubernaculum Romani imperii post Iustinianum Iustinus minor accepit, uenit de Hibernia presbyter et abbas habitu et uita monachi insignis, nomine Columba, Brittaniam praedicaturus uerbum Dei prouinciis septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est eis quae arduis atque horrentibus montium iugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratae' (Bede III 4).

'Monachus ipse episcopus Aidan, utpote de insula quae
uocatur Hii destinatus, cuius monasterium in cunctis pene
septentrionalium Scottorum et omnium Pictorum monasteriis
non paruo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis
praeerat' (Bede III 3).

In other words Bede merely says that Columba came to preach: he
does not say whether or not his preaching was successful. Nor does
he specifically associate the saint with the 'monasteriis Pictorum'
which Iona controlled in Bede's day. His division between north and
south Pictland appears to accord with late seventh-century reality
for the kingdom of Foirtriu, based around the lower Tay, first
appears in the written records in A.U. 693.

Adamnan makes no reference to Columba as a missonary. When
discussing the visit to King Brude he writes:
    'Alio in tempore, hoc est in prima sancti fatigatione
    iteneris ad regem Brudeum ..'(II 35)
This suggests that a number of visits were made (Smyth 1984, 102/7;
Anderson and Anderson 1961, 81-2) but there is no evidence that the
king was converted. Indeed, the stories of the meeting with Brude
and the encounters with Brude's magus bear a marked resemblance to
the story of Patrick meeting Loíguire at Tara in Muirchú's Vita
Patricii where the king's conversion is left in doubt (Adamnan II
33, 34; Muirchú I 17,21; Tírechán 12). Muirchú wrote his Life in
the latter half of the seventh century and he would have met Adamnan
at the synod of Birr, while the latter was still writing his Life of
Columba (Bieler 1979, 1; Picard 1982, 167-9). It is possible,
therefore, that Adamnan's description is based on a seventh-century

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conception of such meetings rather than on a historical reality.

In fact, Adamnan's references to the Picts are so vague as to pose the question whether the saint had been to the north-east coast at all. There are only five tales of the saint's activities in the east (II 32-35; III 14) and they all appear to rely heavily on oral tradition. (Columba defeats a water monster, raises a man from the dead, defies a king, causes stones to float and invokes a storm.) Great attention is paid to the inconclusive meetings with the king and his druids while the conversion of a layman and his family is dismissed in a few sentences. The focus of the tales, as in Bede's account, is clearly in the north and Loch Ness figures prominently (II 34; III 14).

The other reference to possible missionary activity in Pictland in the Vita Columbae is the story of Cormac, grandson of Lethan who landed on the Orkneys while sailing the Atlantic 'desiring to find a desert place in the sea that cannot be crossed' (Adamnan II 42). The context suggests that this was in the nature of exploration rather than colonization; Cormac did not remain in the Orkneys and made a number of other voyages, returning to Iona in each case.

The Orkneys are the only area of Pictland to be clearly referenced in the sixth-century material of the Annals of Ulster. In 580 A.U. an expedition against the island by Aedan is recorded:
    'Fecht Orc la hAedhan mc Gabrain'
an entry which is duplicated in the following year. The Irish word fecht implies a probable interpolation for it was not commonly used in the annals until the beginning of the ninth century (Dumville

1982, 329). At the same time, it represents our only evidence for Dalriadic links with Pictland at this time and may indicate a possible context for Columba's visit. Given the more substantial evidence for Columba's role as Aedan's emissary at Druim Ceat, it could be argued that Columba may have been acting once again as a Dalriadic representative to a foreign king. Such a role tallies with the emphasis placed on royalty and preaching in both Bede and Adamnan and explains the lack of interest in possible conversions.

In contrast to the events in 'prouinciis septentrionalium Pictorum', the references to Columban foundations in the south show no interest in Brude and the emphasis is on the fame of Columba after his death:

> 'hoc est Pictorum plebe et Scotorum Britanniae inter quos utrosque dorsi montes brittannici disterminant...sancto Columbae cujus monasteria intra utorumque populorum terminos fundata ab utrisque usque ad praesens tempus valde sunt honorificata'(Adamnan II 46)

The difficulty with this passage is to establish whether Adamnan is refering to foundations for which the saint himself was responsible or whether he is merely referring to those monasteries which owed allegiance to the saint and to Iona as his chief church. Bede would suggest the latter:

> 'Ex quo utroque monasterio (Iona and Durrow) plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos eius et in Brittania et in Hibernia propagata sunt, in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum teneret'(Bede III 4)

Crossing the dorsi montes brittannici from Dalriada one arrives
in the central lowlands between the Forth and the Tay, while the use
of the word Brittania by Bede rather than septentrionales insulae
(Bede I 1) or in extrema parte insulae (I 14) which he uses
elsewhere of the Pictish lands, suggests that he is here refering to
those Pictish foundations closest to Northumbria. The Tay is also
referred to in the Amhra Coluimcille where the writer refers to 'the
teacher who used to teach the tribes of the Tay' (I, ed. Stokes
1899, 152) and states that Columba 'subdued to benediction the
mouths of the fierce ones who dwelt with Tay's high king (VII,ibid.,
256). Such a claim is at variance with the northern and western
bias expressed elsewhere for Columba's own activities but does
appear to tie in with other incidents of the saint's life which have
been given a Pictish setting such as the grant of Iona (see above,
7).

One of these south Pictish monasteries may be the site of Ner,
identified with the monastery of Deer in Perthshire and recorded in
the Annals of Ulster under the years 623 and 674. This
identification is, however, held to be non-proven by Easson and
Cowan (1976, 47) and it may be significant that in both references
to Ner, the following entries refer to obits or events in Ulaid.

In a letter written by Nechtan, king of the Picts, to
Monkwearmouth pleading for guidance in celebrating Easter and
paraphrased by Bede, the king implies that these monasteries had
come into conflict with the Roman traditions advocated by Wilfrid
and Biscop:

'Eo tempore Naiton rex Pictorum, qui septentrionales

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Brittaniae plagas inhabitant, admonitus ecclesiasticarum
frequenti meditatione scripturarum abrenuntiauit errori, quo
eatenus in obseruatione paschae cum sua gente tenebatur et
se suosque omnes ad catholicum dominicae resurrectionis
tempus celebrandum perduxit' (Bede V 21).
Upon receiving the letter, the king is reported to have said:
'...hanc accipere debere tonsuram, quam plenam esse rationis
audimus, omnes qui in meo regno sunt clericos
decerno'(ibid.).

Nechtan does not specifically say that the clergy in question
were Columban; this is an inference based on Bede's statement that
all Pictish monasteries owed their obedience to Iona (see above, 15)
and the fact that Ceolfrith's reply cites Adamnan as a similarly
misguided cleric (Bede op.cit.). Such an interpretation is
supported by the reference in the <u>Annals of Ulster</u> recording the
expulsion of the Columbans by Nechtan:
'Expulsio familie Ie trans Dorsum Brittanie a Nectano rege'
(A.U. 717)

Such evidence has led scholars such as Bowen (1969, 103), Thomas
(1971a, 154) and others to suggest that there were a large number of
Columban monks in the north-east prior to the Pictish 'Reformation'
under Nechtan. More recently, scholars such as Duncan (1975, 70-1),
Hughes and Dumville (1980, 38-53) and Bullough (1982, 80-94) have
argued that
'the seventh-century Columban foundations of Pictland other
than Iona were minor cells, established without royal
patronage, exercising little influence on society'(Hughes

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and Dumville 1980, 51)

Hughes' argument is based on the belief that more documents would survive if there was an extensive church presence in the Pictish areas. Kirby refutes this (1973, 12) on the grounds that there is little documentation for any period in Scottish history prior to the twelfth century. This argument does not appear to be valid given the geographical bias of the documents which do survive, the large number which are seventh century in date and the fact that they can all be related, whether directly or indirectly, to the presence of clerics.

The guarantor list of the Cáin Adamnáin has already been cited but is of great relevance here. Picard has demonstrated the value of the Cáin's provisions in terms of wealth and prestige for Iona (Picard 1982, 166-9) and it would not be unreasonable to expect that, among the clerics who signed it, there would be those who had risen to importance within the Columban hierarchy. Yet of the ninety-one figures named, only seven were based in Scotland while 'Ceti' and 'Conamail mac Failbe' were both from Iona. Apart from these, there is 'Ioan ecna mac in Gobann' who is possibly to be linked with Eigg and 'Colman mac Findbarr' of Lismore although whether of Lismore in Argyll or Lismore in Waterford is not clear. The possible significance of 'Curitan epscop' has already been discussed (see above, 13-14). Finally there are the two kings: 'Eochu Ua Domnall rex Dal Riata' and 'Brude mac Derilei rí Cruithentuath' (Ní Dhonnchadha 1982, 180-1).

On the other hand, the Columban monks of Northumbria are entirely omitted from the list. Although Colman had led a party of the defeated anti-Wilfridians back to Ireland after the Synod of Whitby in 664 (Bede III 26,IV 4), some of the Lindisfarne monks remained behind and an Irish bishop, Tuda, was elected to the see of Northumbria in the same year. Adamnan, as abbot of Iona, retained enough influence in the area to be able to negotiate the return of the Irish hostages taken from Mag Breg in 685 (A.U.687). It is possible the attendance of the Northumbrian Columbans was not required because it was felt improbable that Aldfrith would support the claims of the _paruchia_. It may be that he was even invited during Adamnan's visit to Northumbria but declined. In any event, the absence of Northumbrian signatories to the Cáin indicates that the document is not conclusive proof that there were few Columbans in seventh-century Pictland.

There is, therefore, a certain contradiction between the sources. On the one hand there is the evidence of the Annals of Ulster that the Columbans existed in seventh-century Pictland. This can be supplemented by a number of incidents recorded in the hagiographical texts which appear to derive from a south Pictish oral tradition and which refer to Columban monasteries in the region of the Firth of Forth. On the other hand there is the almost complete absence of Pictish signatories to the Cáin and the total lack of any contemporary Latin documents surviving from Pictland. This dichotomy can, however, be resolved if the Pictish churches were to be considered, not as Columban churches emanating from Iona but rather as daughter houses of the Columban monastery of Lindisfarne, a monastery designed from the outset to function as a missionary

centre (see above, 13).

It must be remembered that, for much of the seventh century,
Northumbria contained large areas of what came to be called
Pictland. In an attempt to attack Aethelfrith of Northumbria c. AD
603, Aedan mac Gabrán had been defeated in the vicinity of
present-day Liddesdale (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 117). During
Oswald's reign, the Northumbrians controlled 'omnes nationes et
prouincias Brittaniae, quae in quattuor linguas, id est Brettonum
Pictorum Scottorum et Angelorum' (Bede III 6). It was not until the
battle of Nectansmere in AD 685 that Northumbrian supremacy in the
north was seriously challenged. Bede describes the consequences
carefully:

> 'Nam et Picti terram possessionis suae quam tenuerunt Angli,
> et Scotti qui erant in Brittania, Brettonum quoque pars
> nonnulla libertatem receperunt; quam et hactenus habent per
> annos circiter XLVI. Vbi inter plurimos gentis Anglorum uel
> interemtos gladio uel seruitio addictos uel de terra
> Pictorum fuga lapsos, etiam reuerentissimus uir Domini
> Trumwini qui in eos episcopatum acceperat recessit cum suis
> qui erant in monasterio Aebbercurnig posito quidem in
> regione Anglorum sed in uincinia freti, quod Anglorum terras
> Pictorumque disterminat'(Bede IV 26).

It is possible, therefore, that the clerics of whom Nechtan wrote
came to the area when it was under Northumbrian control and remained
there after Nectansmere. At least one such Northumbrian foundation
is documented, that of Melrose. Situated in East Lothian, it was
apparently a loyal member of the Columban paruchia (Bede's Prose

<u>Life of Cuthbert</u> VII, VIII ed. Colgrave 1940, 175,181).
Furthermore, Melrose appears to have served as a base for preaching
tours and missionary activity. In two apparently related incidents
in the <u>Anonymous Life</u>, Cuthbert is said to have left the monastery
and gone along the river Teviot 'inter montana', 'docens rusticanos
et babtizat eos' (II 5,6 ed. Colgrave 1940, 84,87).

The saint is also said to have visited the Picts although the
purpose of his visit is not known as his journey was interrupted by
storms:

> 'Alio quoque tempore de eodem monasterio quod dicitur
>
> Mailros cum duabus fratribus pergens et nauigans ad terram
>
> Pictorum ubi dicitur Niuduera regio prospere peruenerunt.
>
> Manserunt autem ibi aliquod dies in magna penuria, nam famis
>
> premebat eos et tempestas maris potestatem iterum nauigandi
>
> prohibuit' (<u>Anonymous Life of Cuthbert</u> II 4 ed. Colgrave
>
> 1940, 82-3).

Although the evidence is tenuous, it can nevertheless be argued
that both Bede's reference to the Columban foundations in Britain
and Adamnan's reference to Columbans in Pictland refer to the same
sites, those in the politically volatile area around the Tweed.
This area was under Northumbrian control for much of the
seventh century but the local population may have included Pictish
groups and the Picts appear to have gained over-all control over
much of the area after Nectansmere. The incidents of the <u>Anonymous
Life</u> suggest that missionary work in the area may have originated
from Lindisfarne or daughter houses such as Melrose. The reduction
of Northumbrian influence in the area after Nectansmere, together

with the political defeat of the Columbans at the synod of Whitby in AD 664 may have resulted in a gradual reduction of Columban clerics and influence in south Pictland which would explain their expulsion in 717 and the few records of their presence which have survived.

One of the advantages of this hypothesis is that it explains the existence of two bodies of rival but apparently equally powerful churchmen within Nechtan's realm. The controversy between Wilfrid and Colman would have been extremely relevant across the border if the Picts had been converted by the same group of clerics. It could explain Bede's occasional use of Pictish oral tradition in relation to the Columbans; he could have learnt such tales in the course of his research into Cuthbert's life at Melrose. It also has the advantage that it localises the Pictish foundations of Adamnan and Bede within an area of known Columban activity without being forced to postulate houses which have left no trace in the written records.

Once the Columban foundations of Pictland have been put into their seventh-century Northumbrian context, the evidence for Irish monks in Scotland becomes both less complicated and more believable. Columba himself appears to have been a church founder in the islands around Iona but may also have acted as a trusted emissary of Aedan in his dealings with foreign kings. His successors continued to expand the _paruchia_ but until Oswald's request for aid (Bede III 3) they had been limited to the shores of the Irish Sea, one of a number of monastic groups working in the area of Scottish Dalriada. That event, occurring as it did at a time of expansionist ideas at Iona, prompted a short period of extensive missionary activity on the east coast of Britain. Missionary houses in the south of the

Pictish lands appear to have been founded under the direction of Lindisfarne. Irish influence in the east was, however, drastically reduced following the synod of Whitby in 664 while their second encounter with the Romanists at Nechtan's court also ended in defeat. This second disaster signalled the end of the Columbans as a missionary federation, crossing linguistic barriers and political divides. Although they continued to play an important role in Scottish ecclesiastical affairs until the eleventh century, their fortunes after 717 A.U., were tied to the Irish dynasties both in Ireland and abroad.

COLUMBAN AND IRISH INFLUENCE IN SCOTLAND AFTER THE SEVENTH-CENTURY

After the expulsion of the Columbans, the documentary evidence for Irish activity in Scotland becomes scarcer. The Hebridean entries in the Annals of Ulster gradually die out and the hagiographical material disappears. Although the material is far more sparse, the role of the Columbans continues to be stressed and it appears that Iona remained the most important of the Scottish monasteries throughout the early mediaeval period.

The setbacks of the early eighth century appear to have had their effect on the leadership of the Columban familia. Possibly even before their expulsion from Pictish territory, they had adopted the Roman Easter (A.U.716) but prior to this, controversy over the issue may have disrupted the monastery on Iona. Herbert has shown how the sequence of abbots in the Liber Confraternitas Sancti Petri Salisburgensis is opposite to that of the annals and the Columban genealogies in the Book of Lecan (Herbert 1986, 50-3). In the

former, Conamail precedes Dúnchad as superior of Iona; in the two latter texts he follows him. The evidence of the annals confuses the issue still further: Dúnchad is given the title _princeps_ in 707 A.U., Conamail dies in 710 A.U. as _ab(bas)_ and Dúnchad himself dies with the title _ab(bas)_ in 717 A.U. In the year 713 A.U., Doirbéne, possible scribe of the _Schaffhausen Adamnan_ obtained the _kathedram Iae_ but died in the same year.

Herbert hypothesises that this confusion in the records denotes controversy over Easter following Adamnan's death and she further suggests that Dúnchad may have been called back to serve as abbot a second time because of the factional fighting within the monastery. She also points out that a later holder of the office of _principatum Iae_ Feidilmid, (722 to 724 A.U.) probably acted as an assitant to the abbot Faelchú who was appointed to the abbacy at the age of seventy-four (Herbert op.cit., 33). The practice of appointing abbots who were already well advanced in years appears to have been the norm at this period; Adamnan himself died at the age of eighty while Baethene had served Columba for some thirty years before he was made his successor in 597 A.U. It may be, therefore, that Dúnchad also served his predecessors, Conamail and Doirbéne in such a fashion.

By c.727 whatever problems had been inherited from Adamnan's abbacy were overcome. The relics of Adamnan were brought to Ireland in that year (A.U.) and the _Cáin Adamnáin_ was promulgated a second time. Further promulgations took place in 753 (by Domnall of Mide) and in 757 when Sléibéne, the then abbot of Iona returned to Ireland. Herbert makes the interesting suggestion that Iona abbots

were accustomed to make a circuit of their _paruchia_ after their accession (ibid., 55) and this appears to be a strong possibility given their difficulties of communication. (The drowning of members of the community is recorded in 691 and in 749 while the drowning of Fáilbe of Applecross with twenty-two boatmen is noted under the year 737). If this is true, the repeated promulgations of the _Cáin_ would not indicate signs of weakness as has been supposed by some scholars (Bannerman 1963, 113-4) but merely the reiteration of an established agreement and, as such, a sign of strength.

The power of the minor Columban houses was also growing in this period. The foundation at Mag Lunge is referenced in 673 and 775 A.U. while the obits of the clerics of Rechru are recorded on a regular basis from 739. On the other hand, no new Columban houses appear to have been founded in Scotland and there appears to have been no effort to regain their former influence amongst the Picts.

During this time Iona retained its position as the most important house in the federation. It was to Iona that pilgrims such as Niall Frosach, high-king of the Cenél nEógain who died in 778 A.U. and Artgal, king of Connaught came (782 A.U.). Dynastic succession based on Iona can be seen both within Iona itself and in relation to its daughter houses such as Rechru (see 799 and 801 A.U.). By 782 A.U., the possessions of the monastery were sufficiently important that the death of the steward (_equonimus_) was recorded while the abbot Cilléne Droctigh who died in 752 was not only an anchorite but held the nickname 'bridge-maker' as well. Such references show not only the power of the monastery but its growing diversification.

This growth is in contrast to the fate of the other Irish foundations in Scotland during the eighth century. There is no reference to Rum or to Tiree after the seventh-century while the last obit from Eigg occurs in 752 in the <u>Annals of Tigernach</u>. The last known abbot of Applecross died in A.U. 737 although a monk from Applecross became abbot of Bangor in A.U.802. Obits for Kingarth continue to be recorded until 790 but by 737 A.U., they had become abbatial rather than episcopal in nature, possibly indicating a loss of status. On the east coast, neither Ros mic mBairend nor Ner - if indeed these are Scottish foundations - are recorded although Melrose does not die out of the written record until c. 977/8 (Easson and Cowan 1976, 47). There is also the single isolated reference to the abbot of Cinrigh Móna in 747 (A.U.) or Cendrigmonaid (Annals of Tigernach). This site has been identified as St Andrews although later accounts ascribe the foundation to Angus, king of Foirtriu in the ninth century (Anderson 1922 I, 266).

The prosperity of Iona suffered a set-back with the coming of the <u>gentiles</u> in the opening years of the ninth-century. In 794 the 'devastation of all the islands in Britain' took place and in 795 A.U., Rechru was burned and Skye was overwhelmed and laid waste. In 802 A.U. Iona itself was burned and in 806 sixty-eight of the monks were killed. In 807 conditions were apparently so bad that a place of safety for the Columbans was built at Kells. Once the buildings had been erected, Abbot Cellach resigned his office and returned to Iona. Herbert has made the point that Kells was not intended to replace Iona and that the safety the Columbans sought was only relative. Violent attacks on their Irish churches and lands by the Irish themselves are recorded in 817,833 and 839 (Herbert 1986, 65).

At the same time, the danger from the Vikings may have been over-estimated (Hughes 1966, 210; Ó Corráin 1972, 82-9). The typical effect on the Hebridean churches in the first half of the ninth century was probably one of short-term devastation only and may be epitomized by the following entry, written in Irish, in 798 A.U.

> The burning of Inis Patraic by the heathens and they took the cattle-tribute of the territories, and broke the shrine of Do-Chonna and also made great incursions both in Ireland and in Alba.

Iona, meanwhile, continued to be occupied while the description of Blamac's martyrdom c.825 A.D. suggests that the monastery retained some at least of its its precious possessions.

> '...Ecce furens maledicta cohors per aperta ruebat tecta, viris minitando pericula saeva beatis. Et reliquis rabida sociis feritate peremptis ad sanctum venere Patrem, pretiosa metalla reddere cogentes, queis sancti sancta Columbae ossa jacent, quam quippe suis de sedibus arcam tollentes tumulo terra posuere carato cespite sub denso, gnari jam pestis iniquiae' (ed. Migne 1852, 1046).

In 849 A.U. Indrechtach, the then abbot of Iona, came to Ireland with relics of Columba and this apparently marks their permanent withdrawal from Iona. Unlike previous accounts of relic movements within the _paruchia_ (see 727 and 730 A.U.) there is no record of Indrechtach's return to the island. The word used to describe the relics is not the Latin _reliquiae_ used to describe the remains of Adamnan in the eighth century but the Irish word _mindaibh_. The

editors of the <u>Annals of Ulster</u> translate the Irish word as
'halidoms' and the Latin as 'relics', indicating, perhaps, that the
difference is not merely one of language.

<u>Minnaib</u> may refer merely to a selection of the relics for a
similar transfer to Dunkeld appears to have taken place at the same
time. The <u>Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland</u> has been dated by Dr
M. Anderson to an eleventh-century source and it deals with the
history of Scotland from the reign of Kenneth mac Alpin to Kenneth
mac Malcolm who died in 995 (Anderson 1973, 44-5). Under the reign
of Kenneth mac Alpin, it reads:

> 'Septimo anno regni sui reliquias sancti Columbe
> transportavit ad eccleisam quam construxit'(ed.Anderson
> 1973, 221).

This church is commonly thought to be Dunkeld, although the
Pictish regnal list Q, which Dr.Anderson has identified as
contemporary for the first half of the ninth century, states that
Dunkeld was founded by Constantine prior to the year 820 (ibid.,
102). Dunkeld is, however, the only church in Scotland besides Iona
whose obits and fortunes are frequently recorded in the Irish annals
and this suggests that the commonly held supposition is correct (see
<u>Annals of Ulster</u> 865,873,1027,1045). If Dunkeld was built before
820 it may have received relics from the Columbans as early as 829.
Under that date the <u>Annals of Ulster</u> record the visit of Diarmait,
abbot of Iona, to <u>Alba</u> with the <u>minnaib Coluim Cille</u>. At this date,
<u>Alba</u> appears to refer to mainland Scotland rather than to the
Hebrides (Bannerman 1974, 118-9).

This division of relics between Dunkeld and Kells and possibly Iona as well, had the effect of diminishing the authority of the mother house. In 854 A.U. the term _heres Coluim Cille_ is used for the first time and the cleric in question died a violent death among the Saxons. The _Annals of Inisfallen_ identify him as Indrechtach macca Finnechta, the man who had been described as _abbas Iae_ four years earlier (Herbert 1986, 67). In 865, Iona is listed as the second of two houses held in joint control by Cellach mac Ailill. This is the first time Iona is listed as a joint possession although joint abbacies involving the minor houses of the Columban _paruchia_ were first recorded in 850 A.U. (Herbert 1986, 68).

Herbert has suggested that the term _coarb of Columcille_ came into use as a direct result of this decrease in Iona's status. The _coarb_ was the saint's representative on earth and, as such, was not tied to a territorial base (ibid., 71). Another explanation could be that a _coarb_ was the guardian of the saint's relics and as such, the term could be used of a number of different saints or houses belonging to the Columban _paruchia_. Thus, in 938,954,989,and 1011 the obit of the _coarb of Adamnan and Columba_ is recorded either in the _Annals of Ulster_ or in the _Annals of Tigernach_ and in 1008 A.U. the obit of the _coarb of Kells_. In 1025 A.U. the death of the obit of Flannabra, _coarb of Í_, and that of Mael Eoin ua Toráin, _coarb of Daire_, were recorded under the same year. In other words the title _coarb_ was not confined to one house as the older title of _abbas Iae_ had been. The fact that this usage came into popularity at the same time as the division of relics between Ireland and Scotland is a further indication of the de-centralisation of the _paruchia_.

Nevertheless, despite this loss in effective control, Iona probably retained its status as the most important Scottish monastery during the latter half of the ninth century. The MacAlpin dynasty retained many of their links with the west and Iona served as the royal burial ground for Scottish kings until the construction of Dunfermline in the middle of the twelfth century (see Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland and the Scottish regnal lists in Anderson 1973, 221-260). The relative isolation of the island does not appear to have deterred the Scottish kings; even those who died in the eastern half of the country such as Constantin Mac-Kinath or Girg Mac-Dungal had their bodies transported to the Columban monastery (Regnal List F ed. Anderson 1973, 274).

Clerics from Iona continued to be documented in the written records. Abbatial obits are recorded in the Annals of Ulster under the years 891, 1005, 1070 and 1099. In 966 the Chronicon Scotorum noted the death of Fingin, bishop of the community of Iona and in 978 the death of the airchinneach of Iona. The airchinneach looked after the abbey's estates but unlike the equonimus who died in 782 A.U., the airchinneach was a layman; indicating that Iona, like other Irish monasteries, was becoming increasingly laicised in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Ryan 1931, 264).

During the first half of the ninth and possibly into the tenth century, clerics of high rank are documented for the first time in some numbers in central and eastern Scotland and some of these appear to have been Columban. As early as 732, the presence of a Pictish bishop of Scotland is recorded in Rome and he was accompanied by Sedulius, a bishop of Britain of the Scottish race

32

(Donaldson 1953, 109). In 865 Cellach mac Aillil, abbot of Iona and Kildare (see above, 31), died 'in regione Pictorum' and in the same year, there is the obit of Tuathal, chief bishop of Foirtriu and abbot of Dún Caillen (Dunkeld). This is the only reference to Dunkeld as the seat of a bishopric and it may have been a short lived creation of the new dynasty.

In the Chronicle of Scotland there are three references to bishops. None have territorial bases but Cellachus is said to be bishop in the reign of Constantine son of Aed who died c. 952 A.U. Together, the two men are said to have

> 'leges disciplinasque fidei atque iura ecclesiarum
> ewangeliorumque pariter cum Scottis in colle credulitatis
> prope regali ciuitati Scoan deuouerunt custodire'(Anderson
> 1973, 253).

A bishop with the Irish name of Maelbrigd' died during the reign of Culenring whose death is recorded c. 971 A.U. Fothach, listed under the rule of king Niger filius Malcolm, is the only one of the three whose career is independently cited: his death is recorded in the late Annals of the Four Masters under the year 963. His title in that work was

> 'scribe and bishop of the islands of Scotland'(Anderson 1922
> 1, 473)

which may mean that he was bishop of Iona; the last known holder of the post being Fingin who died c. AD 966. On the other hand, he may be the 'Fothad son of Bran' who is mentioned in a tenth-century charter belonging to the keledei of Loch Leven and who is identified by Lawrie as bishop of St Andrews (charter III ed. Lawrie 1905, 4).

Apart from these clerical obits, the evidence for the development of the Pictish church is almost non-existent. In a single fragmentary reference in the late Scottish regnal list F, Girg mac Dungal is said to have given certain rights to the clergy:

'et hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesiae Scoticanae quae sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex constitutione et more Pictorum.' (ed. Anderson 1973, 274).

Whether Scotica refers to Iona or to Ireland, the inference is that the Pictish church looked to the Irish churches for advice and possibly leadership.

Although direct evidence is lacking, these sporadic references to bishops in the east of Scotland must imply the growth of a diocesan structure in this period and an increasing complexity of the church. This is also suggested by the sudden emergence of the eastern Keledei houses, in the documentation of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Cowan 1976).

The name Keledei suggests a connection with the eighth-century reforming monks or Céli Dé led by Máel Rúain and based in the south and east of Ireland (O'Dwyer 1981). The word first appears in Scotland in the Scottish regnal lists where it is used to describe the community which Constantin Mac-Kinath joined sometime before 920.A.U.

'Hic dimisso regno sponte Deo in habitu religionis abbas factus keledeorum' (Regnal List F ed. Anderson 1973, 274).

The majority of references appear in later charters and Cowan has argued that it is doubtful whether the term was ever more than a descriptive one, used in Gaelic areas to describe a churchman (Cowan

1976, 253). Furthermore, he would see a distinction between those bodies of _keledei_ who would have served a bishop as _scolloci_ (in the manner of the minster clergy of England) and those who were of a more heremetical nature. The latter would include the _fratres_ of Inchaffray and the _hermetes_ of Loch Leven while the former were based at the later episcopal centres of Brechin, St Andrews and Dunblane (Cowan ibid., 253-7; charters V-VIII ed. Lawrie 1905, 5-7).

Such a distinction accords well with the eleventh and twelfth-century status of the _Céli Dé_ in Ireland where they have been identified as a body of secular canons living within an enclosed community but with their own responsibilities such as the choral office or the guesthouse (Reeves 1864, 129-143). This was probably the type of community found on Iona in the mid twelfth century (see below, 36-7) but whether the _Keledei_ of central and eastern Scotland should be linked exclusively with Iona rather than with Ireland in general is open to doubt. Much work remains to be done on these clerics, both in Ireland and Scotland, and their development and change of status explored in greater depth.

The sheer distance between Iona and central Scotland and the difficulties of communication meant that the establishment of daughter houses (whether episcopal or monastic) was necessary and a certain isolation of the mother house, inevitable. Nevertheless the factor which finally cut the monastery off from its mainland connections was probably a secular one: the unification of the Isles under Godred Crovan and Magnus Barelegs in the late eleventh century. By linking the islands together under nominal

Norwegian control but with a subsidiary king of Man, they imposed a barrier between Iona and the mainland (Chronicle of Man ed. Broderick 1979 f32v-f35r). Traditionally, Magnus Barelegs is also believed to have founded the diocese of the Sudreys, thus further isolating the monastery (Ashley 1958, 11).

The first known bishop of the Isles was Roolwer who died c.1090 although the Chronicle of Man states that

> 'Primus extitit antequam godredus crovan regnare cepisset Roolwer episcopus qui iacet apud ecclesiam sancti Machuti. Multi quidem a tempore beati patricii qui primus fidem catholicam predicasse fertur Mannensibus, in Mannia extiterunt episcopi;sed ad ipso sufficit episcoporum memoriam incoasce'(Broderick 1979, f50v).

The Chronicle is a thirteenth-century source and its testimony is therefore suspect but it may be that this refers to bishops dating back to the time of Fothach, bishop of the islands of Scotland, who died in 963. The bishopric was not formally established until 1134 when Olaf I wrote to the metropolitan of York asking for a bishop per insulas gentium (ed. Manx Society VII, 61; quoted in Ashley 1958, 18).

Although Iona lost its episcopal status through the new establishment, the monastery never lost its ancient prestige within the Irish Sea basin. Olaf's son was buried on the island in 1134. In the mid twelfth century, the monastery still contained high ranking clerics such as the fer légind, the saccart mór, the anchorite and the head of the Céli Dé. In 1164 A.U:

> Select members of the community of Iona, namely the chief

priest Augustine, and the lector Dubsidhe and the anchorite
and the head of the Culdees and in addition the principal
members of the community of Iona came for the sake of the
coarb of Colmcille, that is Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain, that
he should accept the abbacy of Iona on the advice of
Somarlidh and of the men of Airther Gaedhel and of Inis
Gall.

This attempt by Somarlid to persuade the abbot of Derry to return
the Columban relics to the island was unsuccesful but late Gaelic
tradition records that Somarlid founded a nunnery on the island and
that he himself was buried there (History of the MacDonalds ed.
MacPhail 1914 I, 10-11).

CONCLUSIONS

The history of Irish influence on the Scottish church is
dominated by the Columban paruchia and by the eighth century other
Irish foundations had largely died out of the written record.
Nevertheless, the influence and prestige of the Columbans varied
considerably throughout the early middle ages. Following their
largest expansion in the second half of the seventh century, they
were forced to withdraw to the Hebrides and to the Irish mainland.
As an Irish paruchia, both Iona and its daughter houses grew in
prestige and wealth but their position on the western sea board made
them vulnerable to Norse attack and by the mid ninth century, the
leadership of the federation had been fragmented. Some of the
relics went to Kells, others to a foundation in the east, probably
Dunkeld. With the unification of the Picts and the Scots, Iona

became the most important monastery in Scotland. It was the royal burial place for all the MacAlpin kings and their monks may have been amongst the most important clerics in the east. During the later tenth and eleventh century however, the growth of the _keledei_ houses such as Brechin and Dunblane resulted in the increasing isolation of Iona. This was finalised by the unification of the Isles under the Norse leaders, Godred Crovan and Magnus Barefoot and the formalisation of the bishopric of the Isles under the jurisdiction of York. Later Hebridean leaders such as Somarlid tried to restore Iona to its former glory but failed and the history of the monastery from the later tenth century till the twelfth appears to have been one of quiet decline.

This domination of the Scottish church by the Columbans may be the result of a bias in the historical sources for the Columbans appear to have been particularly interested in historiography (see above, 1). At the same time, it would appear that the total number of clerics in Scotland throughout the early mediaeval period was very few in comparison with the contemporary situation in Ireland. What clerics there were appear to have been concentrated in the Hebrides and Scottish Dalriada. The historical sources would, therefore, indicate that although the Irish/Columban church appears to have been the dominant influence in the development of the church in Scotland, this influence was largely limited to the west while the Pictish churches to the east, apart from the short-lived seventh-century foundations and the _keledei_ houses of the tenth and eleventh century, were largely undocumented and probably isolated institutions.

EARLY MEDIAEVAL MONASTERIES IN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND: A REVIEW OF RECENT
RESEARCH

Although the study of 'the Celtic Monastery' has long been
dominated by the belief that there is a pan-Celtic type of early
ecclesiastical site, the techniques and methodology evolved to study
the phenomenon in Ireland and Scotland are very different. In
Ireland, lack of excavation allied to a wealth of often undated
documentary material, has meant that the study has been dominated by
field-work, largely by individuals. Sites are grouped together
spatially rather than chronologically and the locational patterns of
the eastern midlands (Swan 1971), Northern Ireland (Hamlin 1976),
and the south west (Henry 1957; Fanning 1981b; Hurley 1982) have
been examined in some detail. Interpretation has been heavily
biased towards monasteries: even small sites such as Church Island,
with a neighbouring early mediaeval settlement, was identified as 'a
small early Irish monastery' (O'Kelly 1958, 115). Only recently,
have historians and archaeologists sought to identify other types of
church organisation within Ireland during this period (Hurley 1982;
Sharpe 1984).

In Scotland, work on monasteries has been limited, greater
emphasis being placed on the Norse chapels of the Northern and
Western Isles (Cant 1975, 1984; Marstrander 1937; Lowe 1981).
Identification of monastic sites has been largely the work of the
Royal Commission who have based their conclusions on the parallels
with Irish sites and the testimony of local folk-belief. A small
number of sites, such as Iona or the Brough of Birsay have undergone

extensive excavation but much of this work remains to be published. Until very recently, the lack of new material on the subject in both countries has prevented a development of the theoretical position.

The study of 'Celtic' monasteries, as a unified group, has been the work of Professor Thomas. Dr Radford, in his earlier study, simply assumed that the evidence from both sides of the Irish sea was complementary although he stressed that the 'knitting together of these two strands must be done with caution' (Radford 1962, 1). Professor Thomas, on the other hand, used Irish, Welsh and Scottish material in conjunction, although the greater part of his material on the physical form of monasteries was derived from Henry's work in Co.Kerry in the fifties (Thomas 1971a, 1-42).

Thomas believes that monasteries can be distinguished from the sixth century onward and that sites can be divided between 'full monasteries' and 'eremetic monasteries' which latter are judged to be seventh century in date. Full monasteries have been further subdivided by Thomas into four categories as follows:
1. foundations in earlier secular forts
2. foundations which take advantage of natural isolation such as island sites
3. very large rectangular foundations such as Iona or possibly Clonmacnois
4. a very strange category which includes
        'all those where there is reason to suppose that a
        monastic enclosure (normally curvilinear) was
        constructed at or not long after the establishment was
        founded' (Thomas 1971a, 38).

Eremetic monasteries are composed of a hut or cave, the smallest of oratories and a tiny cemetery for the brothers use (ibid., 79).

This system of categorization is largely theoretical rather than practical and is not meant for use in the field. Although there is ample documentary evidence that older secular forts were occasionally given over to ecclesiastical use, this is not helpful in distinguishing the physical appearance of a monastery. Burgh Castle in Suffolk, where the enclosure is probably the remains of a Saxon Shore fort but the buildings within can only be tentatively identified as a monastery, is a case in point (Cramp 1973, 104-8). Isolation too, is impossible to determine without a knowledge of the settlement patterns of the period. An obvious example is Iona which, although isolated today, was visited by Gaulish sailors from Italy, and, exceptionally, by Northumbrian exiles and travellers to the Holy Land in the course of the seventh century (Bede III 3, V 15; Adamnan I 22).

In Ireland, the diagnostic features by which early ecclesiastical sites are recognised are uniform throughout the country although regional differences in the material have yet to be high-lighted. In 1957, Henry defined a typical site in the Waterville area of south-west Kerry as follows:

1. a rectangular oratory with east/west orientation and a door in the west gable

2. a stone cross or pillar/slab with cross

3. a monumental tomb of stone slabs

She added,

   'These sites are nearly always surrounded by a circular or

roughly rectangular wall and the buildings within are built
of carefully laid courses of flat stones covered by a
corbelled domed roof. Occasionally, the lower courses are
lined inside and/or outside by large upright slabs' (Henry
1957, 26).

In 1981, Fanning produced a similar catalogue for the Corkaguiney
area, but added a 'small rectangular grave enclosure' and 'internal
dividing wall' to the list (Fanning 1981a, 242). Hurley, studying
the evidence from both Cork and Kerry, felt that other
characteristic features were holy wells, bullauns, occasionally
souterrains and invariably an ecclesiastical place-name. The
enclosure was a typical feature being composed of an earthen ditch
with one or more banks (Hurley 1982, 314). Oratories in the region
were generally single cell structures, either of drystone as at
Inishvickillane or mortared structures as at Killaloe, Co. Clare.

Swan, working in the eastern midlands, used a list of identifying
features which included 'round towers, high crosses, monastic cells,
monastic ruins, churches, church ruins, church-yards, children's
burial grounds, holy wells and ecclesiastical place-names' (Swan
1971, 25) Similarly, Hamlin found place-names with ecclesiastical
elements to be an invaluable guide; the most important being cill,
eaglais, temple, tech, disert, domnach and monaster. Although she
agreed that enclosures, burials and sculpture were all helpful in
identifying church sites, she also pointed out that such features
could be used separately in other forms of monuments (Hamlin 1976,
84, 113-4, 214).

It would appear that three elements predominate on early ecclesiastical sites in Ireland: an enclosure encircling the site, sculpted stone and an ecclesiastical place-name. A church and/or graveyard are also typical but are not invariably visible on the surface. Holy wells are frequently associated with such sites but their existence depends on local topography rather than on a preconceived plan of settlement. Other monuments such as round towers, free-standing crosses, recumbent slabs or monumental tombs have regional distribution patterns and can only be used to confirm the existence of an ecclesiastical site rather than identify it.

This uniformity of basic plan can disguise important differences between the various sites. Western sites are frequently of drystone construction and the standing remains are correspondingly impressive with domestic structures, cashel walls and other buildings frequently visible on the surface (see for example De Paor 1955, Herity 1977). In the east, wood and earthen structures appear to have been more common and the material remains are therefore biased with less evidence for the layout of the site and greater emphasis on the associated stone monuments which have survived.

It has been postulated in relation to western monasteries that the domestic structures generally lay to the west of the oratory on the far side of an empty space or platea (Herity 1977, 65-8). Unfortunately, the maps presented in support of this contention are very schematized and no consistent pattern is readily apparent. Furthermore, the concluding remarks lack clarity:

'the opposition of oratory, slabs and burials on the north, south and west side with the monk's habitations on the west

side...'
Perhaps further publications on this topic may resolve the
difficulties.

The primitive appearance of many of the western sites and the
relative isolation of their distribution, has encouraged the
supposition that the surviving material dates to the period of the
early mediaeval settlement (see Herity 1977, passim). Excavation
has tended to disprove this hypothesis, exposing a number of
different phases of use. At Reask, for example, a primary lintel
grave cemetery with an ornamented pillar at its north-eastern corner
was succeeded by a settlement with stone built huts, traces of
wooden structures, a drystone oratory and an internal dividing wall
(Fanning 1981b). On the larger sites, the presence of tombstones
which can be dated to the post-mediaeval period or later and
buildings which can be subjected to architectural analysis, has
prevented such views from becoming widespread.

The size and complexity of the sites can also vary. In the west,
for example, Inishmurray with its massive cashel wall, numerous
oratories, many sculptured slabs and separate graveyard is very
different from the tiny sites of Church Island and Reask (Wakeman
1893; O'Kelly 1958; Fanning 1981). Glendalough with its important
school of sculpture, free-standing crosses, round tower and churches
is difficult to compare with sites such as Ballyman or Tully Church
just to the north of it (Barrow 1971; Turner 1983).

A feature of many of the larger sites is the multiplication of
oratories, traditionally, seven. This custom is found throughout

Ireland, both in important monasteries such as Glendalough and minor foundations as at Temple Brecan on the Aran islands (Waddell 1973). It is thought that such oratories may have been built sequentially for many sites include both drystone and mortared structures (see Temple Brecan, Kilmalkedar Co. Kerry, Oughtmama Co. Clare and Inishmurray). Once built they may have been used contemporaneously, smaller buildings being used for private prayer, as at Teach Molaise during the nineteenth century (Wakeman 1893, 43; Petrie 1845, 339).

Pre-Romanesque churches on Irish monastic sites are difficult to date for they remained extremely simple in style until the twelfth century. They have recently been divided by Harbison into four groups:

1. Rectangular oratories built in a corbelling technique
2. Simple rectangular structures with upright walls
3. Simple rectangular structures with antae
4. Churches with rectangular nave and smaller but contemporary chancels.

Types three and four are further subdivided into those with stone roofs (thought to be twelfth century in date) and those with wooden or thatched roofs. The dating of group 1 has varied between the seventh century and the twelfth (Leask 1955, 1-16; Harbison 1970). In the absence of detailed studies of the buildings in the other groups, it is impossible to put forward detailed suggestions for their dating but Harbison suggests a tenth-century date for type 3 and a twelfth-century date for type 4 (Harbison 1982, 618-19, 624).

In Scotland no attempt has been made to classify the diagnostic features of monastic sites in the country as a whole. Site recognition has been through documentary sources as at Coldingham and Melrose (Crawford 1934, 202; RCAHMS Roxburgh II, 323) or through stratification. The church site on the Brough of Birsay, for example, was identified as 'Celtic' because of the Norse material above it (Cruden 1965, 25). Where sites have been identified solely by field-work, Irish parallels are frequently cited as at Ceann a Mhara in Tiree (RCAHMS Argyll III, 165). On the whole, sites have only been recognised in those areas where contacts with Irish monks have been documented in the historical sources: i.e. the Hebrides, the Northern Isles and the south-east coast of Scotland (see above, 1-38). The following tables (tables 1 and 2) include all the sites published by the Royal Commission of Scotland as early mediaeval monasteries together with the evidence on Applecross published by Thomas (1971a, 43) and the excavated site of Ardnadam in Cowal (Rennie 1984).

As can be seen from Table 1, there is a division of sites between ovoid/circular sites and headland sites, cut off by a bank across the neck. There is frequently a large difference in size between the two types: the Brough of Deerness for example covering some 4572 square metres and Cladh a Bhearnaig being less than half that size. This may be fortuitous for the amount of work required to cut off a peninsular site is far less than that required to build a continuous enclosure and the actual space inside may therefore be irrelevant. The large number of subsidiary buildings left inside peninsular sites such as Annait or the Brough of Deerness, does suggest, however, that they had larger populations. There may also be a

TABLE 1 : MONASTIC ENCLOSURES OF SCOTLAND

SITE	SHAPE	SIZE	ENTRANCE
(Hebrides)			
Iona	Sub-rect.	c.360m x250m	S.W?
Eileach an Naoimh	...	...	...
Cladh a Bhearnaig	Circle	c. 60m x 60m	S.S.W.
Ceann a Mhara	Circle	c. 45m x 35m	S.E.?
Ardnadam	Oval	c. 42m x 52m	S.W.
Annait	Peninsula	c. 60m x 49.5m	S.W.
Loch Chaluim Cille	Oval	c. 20.4m x 15m	S.
Sgor nam Ban Naomha	Oval	c. 36m x 36m	S.S.E.
Cille Bharra	...	...	...
Cille Mhoire	...	...	...
Teampull Mhuir	...	...	...
North Rona	Oval	c. 31.5m x 18.6m	S.W.
(Northern Isles)			
St Boniface	...	...	...
St Tredwells	...	...	...
Brough of Deerness	Peninsula	c. 127m x 72m	S.W.
Brough of Birsay	...	...	...
Auskerry	Peninsula	...	...
Chapel Knowe	Sub-rect.	c. 20.7m x 18m	E.N.E.
Papil, Burra	Sub-rect.	c. 81m x 45m	E.N.E.
Kirkaby	Platform	c.29.4m x 25.8m	S.
(Miscellaneous)			
Strathcashel (Stirling)	Oval	c. 27.9m x 24m	E.
Knockinhaglish (Stirling)	Oval	c. 66m x 52.5m	E. and W.
Coludesburh (East Lothian)	Peninsula	c. 26.9m x 132m	...
Old Melrose (East Lothian)	Peninsula	c. 450m x 300m	...
Applecross (Ross)	Oval	c. 180m x 120m	...

geographical distinction between the two types of sites; oval sites tend to be found in the west and peninsular sites in the north and east.

It is possible that two other enclosure types can be distinguished: the sub-rectangular, almost square sites of the Shetlands and the very large sites in Argyll: Iona and Eileach an Naoimh. The latter is an island site with no surrounding _vallum_ but in its dispersed layout and separate enclosed graveyard, it shows obvious parallels with Iona. It was postulated from nineteenth-century estate maps, that another enclosure may have existed at Lismore, also in Argyll, covering some ten acres (MacDonald 1973, 50).

Drystone banks are a constant feature to the north and west of Scotland. Some, such as the ones recently identified at Whithorn or at Iona, are massive affairs with large boulders in the core and faced with rubble (RCAHMS Argyll IV 36-9; Hill 1984, 32). Iona is exceptional in having two banks of stone and rubble separated by a large ditch: this is only found complete in the north-western sector of the _vallum_ and it is possible that it never surrounded the entire site (RCAHMS Argyll IV, 36). Other sites such as Papil and Kirkaby in the Shetlands, are built of raised platforms revetted by earthen and stone banks (MacDonald and Laing 1968, 128-30). In the south, the probable _vallum_ of Old Melrose is an earthen bank and ditch while that at Coldingham is a stone bank cemented by a lime and shingle mortar (RCAHMS Roxburgh II, 323; Crawford 1934, 203). The general tendency is for the enclosure gateways to be in the south or west quadrants and they are occasionally marked by an inturned

passageway as at Ceann a Mhara in Tiree.

Where internal walls exist they appear to run north/south, leaving the majority of the buildings in the western half of the enclosure. Internal walls are a feature of the oval enclosures and the buildings appear to hug the walls in the manner suggested for subsidiary buildings on Irish ringforts by Proudfoot (1961, 103). This may be due to later rebuilding in certain cases (see, for example, Strathcashel, RCAHMS Stirlingshire I, 160).

On the peninsular sites, the buildings are orientated in linear settlement patterns running from the tip of the headland to the _vallum_ wall. At the Brough of Deerness, field survey identified two rows of buildings along a central street. Differences in the design and position of the buildings relative to the street were noted, suggesting changing patterns of use over time (Morris 1977, 70). This linear layout was disrupted in the region of the chapel and it may be that such disruption denotes the later insertion of the building into an already settled area.

Remarkably little sculpture is found on Scottish monastic sites and this appears to be one of the main differences between the Irish and Scottish monastic layout. Where sculpture exists, it appears to be funerary in function and there is no evidence for the _termon_ crosses found in Ireland (see Herity 1983, 275-7 and below, 130,285-89). The large ornate Class II slabs which correspond in date to the Irish high crosses, are found by roadways and on present-day church sites but appear to be found only rarely in association with other monuments of the early mediaeval period (ECMS

III, passim). Such a distribution is in stark contrast to the high crosses and the present Class II sites should be examined in the near future for traces of possible settlement in the early mediaeval period.

Like the Irish sites, multiple oratories are also found. The only site where such a feature still survives is the series of three single cell structures at Cille Bharra but a similar lay out was recorded by Martin at Teampull Mhuir (Martin 1934, 93-4). As in Ireland, these buildings are probably of a varied date; one chapel at Cille Bharra had a doorway facing west while the second, which had three windows on each side wall, faced north (RCAHMS Outer Hebrides, 123-5).

Evidence for the oratories themselves is varied. They tend to be in the south and western areas of the enclosures and the doors generally face west. The exceptional cases face north, examples being found at Ceann a Mhara, Loch Chaluim Chille, and Cille Bharra, all in the northern Hebrides (RCAHMS Argyll III, 169; RCAHMS Outer Hebrides, 165-6, 123-5). They are unicameral but in their length and frequent use of mortar they appear to be later rebuildings (Leask 1955, 16-26 and the relevant RCAHMS volumes).

The only drystone church within a monastery to be excavated in full in a Scottish context, is the chapel at the Brough of Deerness (Morris 1978). It was found that the walls had a clay core at the base with loose earth and stone above and a decorative facing of thick and thin slabs. The floor was pebbled and traces of a stone bench ran along the inside of the south wall. This feature can be

TABLE 2 : INTERNAL FEATURES OF THE MONASTIC ENCLOSURES OF SCOTLAND

SITE	INTERNAL WALLS	GRAVEYARD	SCULPTURE
(Hebrides)			
Iona	North/South wall?	S.W.	Major school c. 400 pieces
Eileach an Naoimh	...	S.W.	4 cross slabs
Cladh a Bhearnaig	North/South wall	...	...
Ceann a Mhara	North/South wall	...	Inscribed boulder
Ardnadam	Semi-circ. W. of the church	S.W.	5 cross slabs
Annait	...	...	...
Loch Chaluim Cille	...	...	...
Sgor nam Ban Naomha	...	...	...
Cille Bharra	...	...	Rune-inscribed stone
Cille Mhoire	...	Graveyard	3 cross slabs
Teampull Mhuir	...	Graveyard	2 slabs; a cross
North Rona	...	S.W.	Cruciform stones and cross
(Northern Isles)			
St Boniface	...	...	Hogback
St Tredwells	...	...	...
Brough of Deerness	Annular wall c.chapel	...	...
Brough of Birsay	...	S.W./ N.E.?	Pictish slab
Auskerry	...	...	...
Chapel Knowe	North/South wall	...	...
Papil, Burra	...	...	Papil Stone; 2 slabs; shrine
Kirkaby	North/South wall	S.	...
(Miscellaneous)			
Strathcashel	...	...	...
Knockinhaglish	...	...	...
Coludesburh	...	...	...
Old Melrose	...	Graveyard	...
Applecross	...	...	Cross?
Whithorn	...	S.	Large numbers of cross slabs

paralleled at Teach Molaise on Inishmurray, where it is known as St Molaise's bed. The tiny enclosure around the chapel, with its splayed entrance in the south wall and curved east wall is similar to that found at Ardoileán off the coast of Galway, (Herity 1977, 65) or at Reask where it surrounded the two beehive huts (Fanning 1981b, 90).

Without excavation it is impossible to be certain about the exact position of the original graveyard but the evidence from field survey is that the graveyard generally lies to the south and west of the chapel or oratory. This is in keeping with the general trend for Christian burial in Britain in the early mediaeval period (Professor R.Cramp pers. comm.). The excavated evidence from the Brough of Birsay is not known: Cruden described the 'Celtic remains' as extending to the south-west and north-east from beneath the later church (Cruden 1965, 60). At Ardnadam in Argyll, more recent excavations have found graves to the south and west of the chapel, possibly centred on the circular trench-cut enclosure in the same area (Rennie 1984, 31).

The classification of the Scottish sites is made easier by the small numbers involved. Under thirty sites have so far been recognised in Scotland as opposed to 123 'definite' sites and 200 more 'possible' sites from Cork and Kerry alone (Hurley 1982, 304). Like the Irish sites, enclosure and sculpture are both frequent elements although the number of ecclesiastical place-names appears to be less. Regional variation is apparent, both in the form of the enclosure and in the style of the sculpture. The peninsular sites with large numbers of interior structures arranged in linear

patterns are apparently unique to Scotland and no Irish parallels were noted.

LOCATION OF CHURCH SITES

The topographical distribution of ecclesiastical sites in Ireland, thus identified, has been studied in some detail. In Cork and Kerry, the distribution of sites is primarily a coastal, riverine one. The favoured altitude is between 30 and 140 metres above sea-level with very few sites above the 200 metre contour. Unlike ringforts, a certain percentage of sites are also found beneath the 30m contour, along the coastline and in river valleys. Such sites would be low and swampy and often difficult of access. Hurley suggests that the element _dísert_ is frequently incorporated into the place-name of such sites while others, situated on marginal or reclaimed land, would include the word _cluain_. The favorite topographical location of the area is the shoulder of a low hill or ridge, often overlooking a river or stream. Sites on hilltops, coastal headlands and islands were also relatively common (Hurley 1982, 307-10). Fanning has explained this coastal distribution as being the result of sea-borne missionary work from Gaul (1981a, 245) while Henry would specify the importance of communications (Henry 1957, 49).

In north Clare, the churches are found in the limestone hills and slate outcrops bordering the Burren. Although the area exploited by the churches is not favoured by ringforts, the type of location chosen is the same. Mytum cites the case of Oughtmama in

particular, which is situated in an intermediate zone between upland grazing and lowland mixed farming; a location which allows exploitation the whole year around (Mytum 1982, 351-3).

In the midlands, Swan has noted a strong tendency to riverine groupings in the Dee, Boyne, Blackwater and Liffey valleys with relatively few sites being found to the north and west of the region. Upland and mountainous areas are avoided and the most favoured location is between 60m and 140m in height. Enclosed sites along the east coast itself are rare, possibly due to the large numbers of root crops grown locally (Swan 1971, 39-40).

The most detailed study of the locational preferences of early ecclesiastical founders is that done by Hamlin in Northern Ireland. Islands are only prominent in Fermanagh where Loch Erne is an important feature of the local landscape. There is no evidence that such sites were eremetical though it is possible that some were. The preference for inland sites close to the coast may have been due to the need for protection from raiders and/or bad weather. Hilltop sites were common, especially in Armagh, Derry and Tyrone and had the advantage of being dry. Promontory sites, also common in upland areas, have very strong defences, both natural and man-made and are possibly to be associated with secular forts. Sites tend to cluster along the edge of higher ground (a feature which is particularly clear in Derry) and 89% of all sites noted are under 140 metres in height. Most sites are related in some way to communication routes - not only along rivers but also by overland routes such as that which ran across south Armagh to Armagh and Clogher (Hamlin 1976, 68-93).

Hamlin's findings are paralleled by Smyth in Leinster. He would argue that churches were founded in low-lying areas, avoiding bog and focusing on the well-drained hill slopes or gravel ridges. The importance of communication routes, boundaries and secular _foci_ are also touched upon (Smyth 1982, 28-9). He sees the rise to power of the midland monasteries as being directly related to their position, hidden deep within the bogs yet with direct access to the Slige Dala, the major communication route across the drumlins of central Ireland.

The results of these regional surveys show a uniform pattern of selection by the ecclesiastical founders of Ireland. They actively sought out the intermediate zones between the highlands and the valley floors as the most favorable areas for settlement. There is a very pronounced correlation between the sites and important river systems, a correlation probably due to the need for good communication routes. Islands do not play an important role in determining site location except where islands form a important part of the local landscape as in Fermanagh or along the west coast of Ireland. To study such sites in isolation, therefore, is a mistake and studies such as the Dingle peninsula survey (Cuppage 1986) covering both island and mainland sites, are urgently required.

In Scotland some scholars still place emphasis on the isolation of the 'Celtic monastery' as a determining characteristic although many sites appear to be situated on good agricultural land with easy access to communications. Lismore for example, at the mouth of Loch Linnhe, is ideally placed on the sea-lanes for Morvern, Iona, Appin, Lorn and the Outer Hebrides as well as controlling the long sea and

land route up the loch to Moray and the Cromarty Firth (MacDonald 1973, 47). Iona is situated on the fertile _machair_ land to the east of the island while the Brough of Birsay and the Brough of Deerness in Orkney are situated on the borders of Grade 4 land, the best land in the region (Land Capability Map for Agriculture, Macauley Institute, Sheet 1). Sites in the Outer Hebrides such as Loch Caluim Cille and Cille Bharra may be on rather poorer land although the greater uniformity of soil types in the area makes this distinction dubious.

The theory that early Scottish monasteries actively sought out isolated areas, has recently been invoked to explain the 'stack sites' of Orkney. These are sea-stacks close to the mainland on which traces of buildings can be seen. Such buildings appear to be similar to Hebridean blackhouses in design (they could only be examined through a telescope) but because of the difficulties of access, they were identified as monasteries. The idea of living on a stack 'would have been in keeping with the ascetic ideals of early monasticism, particularly after the _Culdee_ revival' (Lamb 1973, 84). This interpretation seems unlikely given that the enclosure wall of at least one site, Tam Castle, was made up of 'well laid masonry of quarried stones, carefully laid and incorporating long stretchers' (1980, 519). It is diffficult to imagine that even the most ascetic of monks would have risked carrying quarried stone up a stack site which modern archaeologists cannot even visit.

It seems more probable that the structures were built before the stack itself was formed. The geological bed rock of the area is a soft Old Red Sandstone which is prone to rapid and extensive

erosion. The constant pounding of the sea and wind at the base of the cliffs is exacerbated by the pneumatic action in laminite fissures caused by wave movement. These rapidly expand causing rock outcrops to fall from above (Hunter 1986, 13). If these stacks were formed relatively recently, the identification of such sites as 'monastic' would have to be reconsidered, for there is little to confirm such an hypothesis apart from their present position.

It has been suggested that tribal boundaries were often chosen as sites for monastic foundations (Ó Riaín 1972) but this suggestion requires a greater knowledge of tribal boundaries and their varying position through time than we presently possess, if it is to be substantiated. A number of scholars have, however, examined sites in Ireland in the light of this hypothesis although no work has, as yet, been undertaken on the topic in Scotland. Mytum believed that the marginal position of the churches of north Co.Clare meant that their distribution corresponded to the boundaries of the Corco Mruad lands and Hurley has pointed out that a large number of the south-western sites occur on modern townland boundaries (Mytum 1982, 351-3; Hurley 1982, 314). Over a third of the northern Irish sites are found in parishes which cross barony boundaries (Hamlin 1976, 91). Unfortunately, the study of land divisions within Ireland is in its infancy (see McErlean 1983) and the significance of such distributions in relation to early mediaeval land-use is unknown. A similar distribution in Man and Shetland, however, where the modern land units are thought to date back to Norse times, suggests that further study on this problem would yield interesting results (Lowe 1981, 50 but see below, 250-2).

RELATIONSHIP WITH SECULAR SITES

In order to estimate the relationship between ecclesiastical
sites and the secular population of Ireland, the number and
distribution of ringforts are generally invoked. This is not an
absolute indication for ringforts probably housed only a certain
percentage of the population: perhaps the sóer chéle or noblemen.
Some may have lived in hillforts while others probably lived in
small clusters of wooden huts or clachans which have left no trace
in the archaeological record (Proudfoot 1961, 119). An unknown
number of people may have lived in the suburbana around the larger
monasteries (see Doherty 1982, 301-2; below, 80-83). Despite these
difficulties and the perennial problem of measuring the degree of
loss, ringfort distribution can probably be used to isolate heavily
occupied and under-used areas, relative to each other.

Despite the fact that both secular and ecclesiastical sites
appear to favour the best land in a given district, there is no
uniform relationship between the two types of monuments. South of
the Mourne Mountains, in Co.Down, a large number of churches and
ringforts occurred in conjunction but in central and west Down the
ringforts were confined to the hills with the churches being found
below. In the north-east of the county, there were many church
sites but few ringforts. In Co.Armagh, the ringforts form a dense
band stretching from Armagh city to the edge of the highland zone
with a smaller concentration occurring around the border of
Co.Louth. The distribution of ecclesiastical sites contrasted
strongly with this, showing no concentrations and with many sites

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being found further north. As in Co.Down, east Tyrone and
elsewhere, the church sites were found to be, on average, at a lower
height than the ringforts (Hamlin 1976, 88-90).

Swan noted few ringforts along the east coast and the midlands.
There is a large concentration stretching from Kilala bay to Lough
Mask on the Galway/Mayo border and in Co.Sligo, areas where few
ecclesiastical structures survive. Both ringforts and church sites
avoid the highlands of Donegal, Antrim and Wicklow and the blanket
bog of Mayo and west Galway. There is an apparent tendency to
cluster around lake shores, especially those of Lough Mask, Lough
Neagh, Lough Erne and Lough Corrib and the lakes of Westmeath, Cavan
and Longford (Swan 1971, 40-1).

The distribution of ringforts in Clare (Mytum 1982, 354) shows a
dense settlement to the south with a strip of uncultivated land to
the east where the churches cluster at intervals of one every ten
miles. In both populated and un-populated areas, there are
ecclesiastical sites but in the interior of the Burren, no early
foundations have been identified. (Mytum does not explain what he
means by the term 'early' nor how he distinguishes such sites from
later ones.)

Again, little work has been done in this area in Scotland. At St
Boniface's church on the Orkneys, a settlement known as the
Munkerhoose is found directly west of the church site, covering some
100 yards in extent (RCAHMS Orkney and Shetland III, 184). At the
Brough of Birsay, excavations by Hunter revealed traces of a
settlement which is thought to have been contemporary with the

cemetery. The material was spread over a relatively wide area around the ecclesiastical complex and consisted of gully systems, associated stake and post-holes, spreads of burning and a substantial body of animal bone (Hunter 1986, 30-68). This settlement was later replaced by an extensive complex of Norse habitation while settlement from around the area of the Brough has been found from both Norse and pre-Norse periods (Morris 1983a, Ritchie 1977). Further south, at Coldingham, the _vallum_ of the monastic enclosure may be originally part of a secular, defensive site; a similar suggestion has been made in relation to the Brough of Deerness (Crawford 1934, 203; Lamb 1973, 94). At Whithorn, the early monastery lies directly uphill from a Norse settlement, possibly an Irish Sea trading centre (Mr Peter Hill, pers. comm.).

Although detailed research is lacking for much of Ireland and almost all of Scotland, it does not appear that many of the sites were as isolated as they are today. Even where secular sites are few in number, as they are along the borders of Co.Clare for example, ecclesiastical sites appear to congregate together in relatively large numbers. This is also the case in Scotland where some of the most isolated 'stack settlements' are found in pairs (Lamb 1976). Given that we can only recognise a small percentage of early mediaeval settlements through field-work (for neither the _clachans_ nor the _suburbana_ have left traces on the modern landscape) the concept of isolated monasteries may have to be abandoned.

The number of different associations already noted through field-work imply that there were a number of different relationships between the Church and secular settlements and that further work

needs to be done on the topic. It may not be a simple solution of eremetical and non-eremetical sites: Mytum has pointed out that there may have been a system whereby the nobility gave to the church land which, for political reasons, they could not control themselves (Mytum 1982, 356). This may be the explanation for the large number of sites on the borders of the southern Uí Néill lands in Co. Meath, an area recorded frequently in the annals as the scene of extensive warfare.

Paradoxically, a close association between a large ecclesiastical site and a much smaller one may occasionally be construed as evidence for eremetical sites. On the south peak of Skellig Michael, above the main monastic complex, a tiny living space, complete with rock-cut water basins, man-made terraces and a tiny graveyard has recently been identified. The man who lived at this site must have been dependent on the other monks for food, for the site is far too exposed to have grown anything. It can be shown, in fact, that the stones making up the terracing, are derived from the monastery grounds nearer the shore (Dr J.White Marshall, pers. comm.).

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, it can be seen that the relatively large amount of research on early ecclesiastical sites in Ireland has resulted in a list of monuments which are generally accepted to be typical of such sites. This list is prone to regional variation within the country but the three basic elements of sculpture, enclosure and ecclesiastical place-name hold true throughout. In Scotland early

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mediaeval sites are largely identified through their parallels with Ireland and it is therefore not surprising that many sites also have enclosures and sculptured stones. The number of stones are however much smaller in Scotland and the Class II monuments, unlike the Irish high crosses, are not associated with recognised monastic sites. The small number of sites already identified show both important consistencies and regional variation, particularly in the shape of the enclosure.

Ecclesiastical sites in both countries are frequently located on good agricultural land with access to communications although the 'stack sites' of Orkney may have been deliberately founded in poor areas. Association with secular sites can vary but it would appear that few sites were completely isolated and that contacts with other settlements, whether ecclesiastical or secular, would have been the norm.

The concentration on limited areas such as the Orkneys has meant that much of the Scottish material remains relatively unknown. From the small sample available it does not appear that direct contact between the monastic settlements of the two countries can be identified but similar trends in the location of such sites and the prevalence of enclosure and sculptured stones are apparent.

ENCLOSURES AND BURIAL GROUNDS: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE EVIDENCE

Archaeologically, the study of enclosures is still very much the provenance of the field surveyor although there are a relatively large number of sites which have now been excavated, if only in part. Church Island (O'Kelly 1958), Reask (Fanning 1981b), Clondalkin (Rynne 1965), Kilpatrick (Swan 1976), Movilla (Ivens 1984) and Armagh (Brown and Harper 1984) in Ireland; Ardwall Isle (Thomas 1966, 1967), Barhobble (Cormack 1986), Chapel Finnian (Radford 1950), Whithorn (Hill 1984), the Hirsel (Cramp 1980-84), Iona (Reece 1981; Barber 1981b) and Ardnadam (Rennie 1984) in Scotland; St Bees (O'Sullivan 1981), Dacre (Newman 1985) and Escomb (Gill 1980) in the north of England and Keill Vael,Druidale, on the Isle of Man (Morris 1981). Despite this, however, each site tends to be interpreted primarily according to the theoretical position established through documentary and field-survey sources and only then through parallels on excavated sites (see Hill 1984, 32).

One of the problems in the identification of ecclesiastical enclosures is the influence of preconceived ideas. Starting from the premise that many churches and churchyards have earlier boundaries around them, Swan has examined the evidence for enclosure in Ireland through O.S maps and aerial photography. He notes a large number of sites which are enclosed and he identifies these as Christian sites because of the large proportion which have ecclesiastical elements (Swan 1983). In discussing ecclesiastical enclosures in Cork and Kerry, Hurley writes that these sites can be shown to be ecclesiastical either through documentary or through

material evidence. The 'definitive' material evidence is that many of the sites are enclosed by circular boundary walls (Hurley 1982, 314). O'Sullivan begins her study of curvilinear churchyards in Cumbria by stating:

> 'There is no longer much doubt about the fact that most of the earliest Christian cemeteries, if they were physically enclosed at all, be they dug or cist, were normally surrounded by a circular or at any rate curvilinear boundary' (O'Sullivan 1980, 242).

Recent field-work has, however, shown that although many sites have evidence for boundaries, they are not always circular in shape. Hamlin has noted that 'few' of the sites found which are documented in the early period have circular boundaries. O'Sullivan has noted that only 30% of the curvilinear ecclesiastical boundaries which exist in Cumbria, have independent evidence of pre-Conquest origin (O'Sullivan 1980, 253). Much of this evidence is composed of remnants of early sculpture and their relevance to the dating of churchyard morphology is dubious (see below, 99-102).

Where enclosures exist, they can be of a variety of different forms. In his preliminary studies, Swan has noted an equal number of sites with single enclosures and ones with inner and outer banks. In the former, the diameter ranges from 40m to 152m with an average diameter of 73m. In the latter, the outer bank ranges from 75m to 320m with an average of 159m and the inner bank from 40m to 70m with an average of 59m. The general tendency is for oval-shaped enclosures to be double banked and D-shaped enclosures to be single (Swan 1971, 55). This study is limited to the area of the north

midlands. Hurley, in the Cork and Kerry districts, noted a diameter range of 30m to 300m while O'Sullivan in Cumbria, found that her sites ranged from 0.15 to 0.35 ha. Both scholars limited themselves to a study of curvilinear enclosures (Hurley 1982, 312-4; O'Sullivan 1980, 242-53).

Another type of enclosure has been recognised by Thomas. This is the large sub-rectangular enclosure found at Iona and possibly Clonmacnois (although the latter is now disputed (Dr Hamlin, pers. comm.)). Other scholars have identified similar shapes at Lismore in Argyll and Ardpatrick in Co. Limerick (MacDonald 1973, 50; Norman and St Joseph 1969, 107). All of these were major monasteries in the early mediaeval period and their shape appears to be independent of topographical constraints. It can be seen, therefore, that at least two types of enclosure form, D-shaped and sub-rectangular, exist apart from the circular/oval-shaped ones and further field-work may reveal more.

It must be recognised that there is a subjective element in the recognition of enclosure form. It is often difficult to distinguish between circular, oval and sub-rectangular sites (see site plans in Henry 1957; Herity 1983, 1984; RCAHMS passim) and in many cases, it is the terminology used to describe it which crystallises the evidence into a recognisable form. In attempts to do so, the irregularity of sites such as Drumacoo Co. Galway and Fenagh, Co. Leitrim are frequently ignored (Norman and St Joseph 1969, 109, 115).

The whole argument about circularity, whether in churchyards or in monastic enclosures, is biased by the fact that the surveyors have confined themselves to ecclesiastical material alone and specifically to Early Christian ecclesiastical material. In the aerial photographs taken by Norman and St Joseph, however, clear similarities between ecclesiastical and secular structures can be seen. The semi-circular shape of Dun Aenghus, situated at the edge of the cliff face on Inishmore is paralleled by the ecclesiastical site of Illauntannig in Co. Kerry (Norman and St Joseph 1969, 84-94). Island sites such as White Island in County Fermanagh, are paralleled by secular crannogs as at O'Boyle's Fort in Co. Donegal (ibid., 83). Large circular enclosures surrounding a focal complex are visible at Tara, Dún Aillinne and Navan Fort (ibid., 73-8).

Given such similarities, it is, perhaps, foolhardy to suggest that sites such as Oldstown in County Roscommon are necessarily ecclesiastical, simply because a circular pattern is visible in the local boundaries (see Swan 1983, 268). Further studies such as that by Williams in Co. Antrim and excavations like those at Cush, undertaken by Ó Ríordáin, are necessary in order to establish the type of landscape in which ecclesiastical enclosures were constructed and the place they held in relation to the secular landholdings (Williams 1983; Ó Ríordáin 1940).

There may be a distinction to be made in the material that has not yet been recognised by all scholars (see Laing 1975, 377-80 but see also Hughes and Hamlin 1977, 56-57). On the one hand there are large, often multivallate enclosures with an ecclesiastical focal point at their centre. These are often found on sites known to be

monastic in pre-twelfth century Ireland. Examples are Nendrum, Durrow, Drumcliff, Monaincha and Monasterboice among others. On the other hand there are modern graveyards which are circular in shape. Because these are similar in size to the ecclesiastical complexes found in Kerry, it is occasionally assumed that they originally fulfilled the same function (O'Sullivan 1980, 243) but the evidence for this is still largely lacking.

Much of the survey work on this topic has been done through analysis of O.S. maps which means that the constructional techniques used to build the enclosures are under-studied. Swan refers to wide, low, stone and earthen banks while Hurley mentions earthen banks with occasional ditches (Swan 1983, 270; Hurley 1982, 314). In many cases, however, all that survives on the surface is a cropmark as at Monasterboice in Co.Louth or a curvilinear field wall as at Kiltiernan Co.Galway (Roe 1981b, 74-6; Norman and St Joseph 1969, 103).

Circular parish churchyards on the other hand, are generally raised features, where the ground has built up over time through the insertion of burials. Frequently, there is no enclosing element as such, the form of the graveyard being determined by the contours of the raised ground. Examples of this type are frequent in Cumbria (O'Sullivan 1980, 243-6) and have been identified at Bywell in Northumbria. An excavated Irish example may be the graveyard dug by Macalister at Killeen Cormac in Co. Kildare (Macalister and Praeger 1929).

There appears to be a geographical distinction between enclosures and churchyards as well. Table 3 is composed of information taken from recent county surveys within Ireland. In the first column, the mediaeval churches with no enclosure around them are listed. In the second column are the enclosures which are thought to be ecclesiastical but which have no church or oratory. The third column lists sites which have both a mediaeval church and a circular boundary around them while the fourth lists the mediaeval churchyards with raised graveyards. The evidence from table 3 suggests that where enclosures are most commonly found, there are no raised graveyards. It is only as one moves east and north, away from the small ecclesiastical complexes on which the original argument was based, that raised graveyards become more prominent in the landscape.

There has been a tendency to study ecclesiastical enclosures as a uniform phenomenon. Differences in their shape, function and the degree to which they are paralleled in secular contexts have occasionally been noted but this has not led to a reconsideration of the theoretical position. Sites such as Gallen Priory where no boundary wall was discovered, despite excavation (Kendrick 1939,5), are rarely taken into consideration. Furthermore, the evidence of field survey and excavation have been studied in conjunction despite the fact that the material is of very different quality. The dating of standing remains, be they of earth or stone, around a site is almost impossible without excavation and their attribution to the early mediaeval period depends largely on inference. In contrast the enclosures identified through excavation can be relatively closely dated and can often be tied to a particular phase of

TABLE 3 : DISTRIBUTION OF ECCLESIASTICAL ENCLOSURES IN RECENT COUNTY SURVEYS IN IRELAND

NAME	MEDIAEVAL CHURCHES	ENCLOSURES	ENCLOSURES + CHURCHES	CHURCHES + RAISED 'YARDS
Dingle	16	31	17	0
Donegal	18	17	18	3
Ikerrin	14	4	4	0
Louth	81	11	5	4
Monaghan	14	16	2	5

activity on a site.

Among the excavated sites, (listed above, 64), four main functions for an ecclesiastical enclosure are visible. They can be settlement enclosures, ritual enclosures, cemetery enclosures and chapel enclosures. The settlement enclosures are essentially habitational and/or industrial and they occur at Reask, Church Island, Kilpatrick, Armagh, Killederdadrum, Movilla, Nendrum, Iona, Deerness and possibly Whithorn. At Reask, the enclosure wall was incorporated into structures A,B,C and D while the corn kiln was left outside. At Church Island and at Whithorn habitational debris was heaped up on both sides of the enclosure wall while at the former site, the inner face of the wall was removed in order to fit in the rectangular house on the outside. (The fact that the rectangular house was on the exterior of the enclosure was probably due to topographical reasons, see O'Kelly 1958, 91). At Armagh, the large ditch was quickly silted up with the depositional fragments of industry such as leather and beadwork as well as numerous pits and postholes (Brown and Harper 1984, 112-119). In other words, although these sites were enclosed, the enclosure did not have any

ritual function other than that of demarcating ecclesiastical settlement from the secular. In many cases, the wall once built was then ignored, with areas being knocked down, reused or silted up.

Such an enclosure could be of any date in relation to the site as a whole. At Deerness, it was postulated that the enclosure wall was the earliest monument found on the site, being the boundary wall of an Iron Age promontory fort (Lamb 1974, 94). This may also be the case at Armagh where twigs and branches found at the base of the large ditch gave a calibrated C14 date of AD 130-600 (2 stv.). At Ardnadam, the western section of the enclosure wall predated the first round house on the site for which an early Iron Age date is postulated (Rennie 1984, 37). At Reask, the boundary enclosed a lintel grave cemetery before the habitational structures were built, (although the intervening period may not have been long: see below, 72-3). At Church Island, on the contrary, the enclosure wall was the last structure to be erected on the site and there is some evidence that it was also late at Whithorn, where the wall overlay two coffin burials (Hill 1984, 18). The date of the wall on other sites in relation to the habitation is not known.

The settlement wall can also take a number of different forms: there is a large difference in scale between the Armagh or Nendrum boundaries and the quite ramshackle structures at Reask or Church Island. This is probably to be related to the prestige and importance of the site. Visitors to the great site of Armagh with its claims to metropolitan grandeur would need to be impressed while the clergy of Church Island or Reask probably had an almost identical lifestyle to that of the surrounding population.

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The ritual enclosures have a more prestigious function for they demarcate the spiritual areas of the site. They can be constructed according to a number of different ways. One such is the internal wall within a settlement enclosure, dividing it into western and eastern halves; the ritual area is normally to the east. This method is common in the south-west and western regions of Ireland (Cuppage 1986, 259; Hughes and Hamlin 1977, 54-6). Another method is the annular or rectangular enclosure closely surrounding the oratory as at Ardoileán (Herity 1977, 65) or Deerness (Morris 1977, 76). Where the monastic complex has no external boundary as at Eileach an Naoimh or Sceilg Michael or where the site is a very complex one as at Iona, ritual enclosures can be seen enclosing the burial ground and the habitational areas. More excavation of this type of enclosure is needed in order to determine whether they are generally contemporary with the oratory as at Deerness or Reask or whether the majority belong to a later phase.

A third group of enclosures are found around churches with attached cemeteries. These sites include the Hirsel and the northern English examples at St Bees, Dacre and Escomb. None have been published in total but it would seem, as one might expect, that these walls vary in age and construction and are often multi-period monuments. The Dacre wall was a twelfth-century foundation with two laid faces and a rubble core overlying a bank formed from the upcast of a ditch, both of which had been renewed several times (Newman 1985). The St Bees wall was of mediaeval date, loosely bonded with clay and also overlying a possibly earlier boundary ditch but the Escomb site was merely composed of a low earthen bank of unknown date (O'Sullivan 1981, Gill 1980).

Finally there are the enclosures which are found around chapel sites and do not appear to have had either burial rights or habitational structures. These include Keeill Vael, Druidale on the Isle of Man, Clondalkin in Co. Dublin, Chapel Finnian and possibly Barhobble, both in Galloway. In the first two cases, the enclosures are made up of scarped natural features with the debris from the scarping piled up into a bank. (At Keeill Vael this only extends for half the perimeter of the site.) They are both on natural eminences unlike the Galloway sites which are in low-lying areas enclosed by stone walls with internal facings and upright boulders at the base.

Apart from these four functional interpretations of enclosures there is some evidence for a fifth category: separate cemeteries with no associated church or oratory. Thomas has suggested that these 'undeveloped cemeteries' are 'the primary field monuments of insular Christianity' (Thomas 1971a, 48-70). This hypothesis is supported by the evidence from Reask where a primary lintel grave cemetery was found underlying the later settlement (Fanning 1981b, 149) and by the many Manx keeills which have been shown to overlie earlier graves. These have been listed by Lowe and include: Keeill Pherick a Dromnan in German, Keeill Woirrey in Patrick, St Patrick's Chapel in Jurby, Keeill Woirrey in Maughold, Upper Sulby in Conchan and Sulbrick in Santan (Lowe 1981, 10-13).

On the other hand, if such a suggestion was correct, one might expect that the primary burials would extend over all parts of the site. At Reask, the primary cemetery was found solely along the eastern perimeter of the enclosure wall, in the immediate area of

the 'later' oratory. Given that the graves were found just below the level of the walls (Fanning 1981b, fig 6), and that they clustered around the area of the later church, could the sequence from cemetery to oratory have been rather quicker than the excavator supposed (ibid., 149-59)? Against this was the fact that the oratory disturbed graves no. 14, 13, 12 and 19 and grave no. 18 was found within the oratory (ibid., 81-2). Without a knowledge of the contemporary attitude to graves, it is impossible to determine whether or not this necessarily denotes long usage but if it does, the enclosure was built on a very large scale to incorporate such few remains.

Clustering of graves around the church also took place at Church Island, Ardnadam and apparently at Ardwall, St John's Point, Derry and St Vogues although the fact that the last three sites were not fully excavated limits the usefulness of their evidence. From this it would appear that these sites were not enclosed primarily for burial and that such burials as were found may only have predated the church by a short time. At St John's Point, the burials within the chapel were believed to post-date the period of the chapel's use, a point which may be relevant to the finds at Reask and elsewhere (Brannon 1980).

Thomas's model assumes that cemeteries without churches are, of their nature, an early phenomenon. The evidence of folklore shows that this is not always the case. Burial in calluraghs or unconsecrated ground continued up until the nineteenth century and such sites could be open or enclosed in plan. Typical sites are ringforts, prehistoric monuments, haggards, fields, boundary fences,

cross roads, under lone bushes, in cliff clefts, on the sea-shore or outside the wall of the local graveyard (Ó Súilleabháin 1939, 143-51; Aldridge 1969, 84). Such sites could be used to bury unbaptized children, murderers, adults who died without the Last Rites or shipwrecked sailors.

This is not to say that there were no separate cemeteries in the early mediaeval period but simply that such sites must be recognised through excavation rather than through their morphology. Separate cemeteries have been identified on early mediaeval sites at Parkburn (Henshall 1956), Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977, 108-118), and Martyr's Bay on Iona among others. At Martyr's Bay, C14 dates to within two standard deviations dated the cemetery to AD 1200-1500 or to AD 565-825 (Reece 1981, 105). The nature of the enclosure has not been identified at some of these sites but their status as separate cemeteries is not in doubt.

The main difficulty with Thomas's model is that it sees enclosure as a ritual element in the morphology of a site. I have argued above that, on the contrary, it is a practical measure undertaken to accomodate the living rather than to honour the dead. Separate enclosed cemeteries without oratory or chapel must be regarded as but one of a number of different types of ecclesiastical enclosure to be found in the settled landscape of the early mediaeval period.

Enclosure was important in early mediaeval Ireland, both as a symbol of status and as a practical measure. In the Life of Boecius of Monasterboice, a wolf entered the enclosure because the _vallum_ gate had been left open (Plummer 1910 I, 91). In the seventh-century _Hisperica Famina_ a description is given of agricultural workers digging earthen ditches, and building fences of prickly thorns and massive stone walls (1 175-185 ed. Herren 1974, 76). In the eighth-century laws, an entire tract, the _Bretha Comaithchesa_, is devoted to the same subject. The enclosure wall was the concrete symbol of a man's territorial holding and fines could be imposed for crossing it without permission or damaging it (Ancient Laws V 211). It is in such a context that the evidence for ecclesiastical enclosure in Ireland should be considered.

The documentary sources on ecclesiastical enclosures have been briefly summarized by Lucas (1968, 206-7). The majority of these are from saints _vitae_ and the evidence is correspondingly biased towards monastic enclosures. They range in date from the seventh century to the twelfth and even beyond, transcending the traditional divide between early Irish Christianity and the twelfth-century reform movement which brought Ireland into line with the rest of Europe. The _Annals of Ulster_ report the destruction of 80 houses in Derry in 1162 in order that a new enclosure might be built for the Augustinian canons and the Four Masters recorded the enclosure of a monastery for the Friars Minor in Armagh in AD 1266 (Hamlin 1976, 354; ed. O'Donovan 1851).

There are two words which are commonly used to describe an ecclesiastical enclosure: _vallum_ and _fossa_. Both are used in relation to secular land-holdings as well. In Muirchú's Life of Patrick, the saint reproved workers for digging a _fossa raithi_ on a Sunday (Muirchú II 5) and in the Life of Samthann, a prisoner escaped over the _vallum_ of his captor's fort.

> 'Ille secundam custodien devitans vallum ex alia parte
> transcendit et sic, evadens, tercio die sine ullo periculo
> ad sanctam pervenit Samthann' (_Vita Samthann_VII ed.
> Plummer 1910 II, 255).

According to the sources, the materials used to construct an enclosure could vary: St Aed, St Enda, St Mochuda, St Tigernach and St Finnian dug ditches around their sites or had their monks dig it for them (_Vita Sancti Aedi_ ed. Plummer 1910 I, 40; _Vita Sancti Endei_ ed.Plummer 1919 II, 62; _Vita Sancti Mochua de Tech Mochua_ ed. Plummer 1910 II, 112; _Vita Sancti Tigernachi_ ed. Plummer 1910 II, 265; Heist 1965, 100). This may have been unusual; one version of the Life of St Aed speaks of a professional class of ditch-diggers:

> 'cuidam ars erat fodere terram et muros ciuitatibus
> circumdare'(Plummer 1910 I, 37).

At Scattery Island, and Mayo a wall was built while a late _Life of Maedoc_ has the saint 'arranging its ramparts' (Lucas 1968, 206; Plummer 1922 II, 201). Wooden palisades occur at Kildare (withies), a wicker hedge at Lapis Asper in Galloway (_Life of Malachy_ 40(22) ed. Lawlor 1920, 79) and at Durrow a composite fence of mounds and ' smooth beams in a comely row on every side around the monastery' was built (O'Meara 1982, 82; de Courcy Williams 1899, 220).

This is probably one of the types of fences in the <u>Bretha</u> <u>Comaithchesa</u> discussed by Ó Corráin: these include a ditch, a stone fence, an oak fence and a fence of post and wattles (Ó Corráin 1983). It would appear from the tract that the Durrow palisade was an oak fence for the post and wattle construction was used as a temporary measure around summer pasture. The oak fence was a long term-fence which was used in wooded areas. This too agrees with the Durrow poem:

> 'Cut ye down the bare forest so that it becomes smooth
> beams; three trees for every hairy monk proclaim no weakness
> of effort' (ibid., VIII).

The reference to mounds at Durrow is interesting. Mounds also occur in the seventh-century law tract which deals with the laws of trespass;

> There are with the Feine seven entries which are paid for by
> the person who makes them: entry not withstanding verbal
> agreement; entry after mutual acknowledgement of division;
> entry with an illegal number of stock; entry by a brother
> upon another after non-acknowledgement of division; entry
> into a <u>dun</u> over its door, entry into a church over its mound
> (<u>fert</u>), entry upon a man who offers right and law' (Ancient
> Laws of Ireland V, 211).

This word <u>fert</u> and its significance with regard to trespass has been discussed by Charles-Edwards for it is used explicitly in Tírechan to denote a pagan burial (Tírechan 26). Charles-Edwards has interpreted its use with regard to trespass as indicating that pagan burials took place on the boundaries of land divisions. The dead thus continued 'to play an active part in the affairs of the living' (Charles-Edwards 1976b, 84). The fact that such burials are also

found on church boundaries suggests that church land was acquired as an already enclosed unit, similar to those used in secular society. It also indicates the lack of control that the Church had over burial practices in seventh-century Ireland if even Church land was demarcated by pagan burials. (A later gloss on the law-tract substituted the word _caiseal_ or stone wall for _fert_. Presumably Church control had strengthened in the interim). It must be stated however, that Charles-Edwards' hypothesis has only been tested at Durrow itself where the recent find of an enclosure would favour the translation of 'mound' in this case as a natural phenomenon. Incorporated into the line of the crop mark are small scarped drumlin-like features which could easily be described as 'mounds'. (I am indebted to Mr. Ó Flóinn of the National Museum of Ireland for this information.)

The shape of the enclosure is rarely stated in the documentary sources. At Kildare there was 'a hedge which was circular and made of withies' while St Finnian 'in circutui fossavit' (O'Meara 1982, 82; Heist 1965, 100). However St Aed, St Tigernach, St Mochuda, St Enda and St Gerald merely had their boundaries placed 'circa monasterium' as did the Durrow monks. St Patrick marked out his enclosure of seven score feet at Armagh and as only one measurement is given, it is presumed that this refers to the diameter or radius of a circular enclosure (Stokes 1887 1, 237).

The clearest evidence for the shape of monastic enclosures is the ideogram in the Book of Mulling. Since Lawlor first brought it to the attention of the archaeologists in 1897, this has been interpreted as an accurate sketch of a monastic boundary wall (see

Henry 1965, 81,196). A recent article by Nees however, has shown that this sketch owes much to Carolingian illumination and that the pairing of Prophets and Evangelists on the crosses has no parallel in the Irish sources (Nees 1983, 74-5). The double line of the circle, in particular, is identical with the medallion end-pieces in manuscripts such as the Rufinus codex from Ravenna, the Wearmouth/Jarrow fragment from Utrecht and the Bible of Theodulf at Paris (ibid., 81-4). On the other hand, the plan of Jerusalem in Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis is also schematically illuminated as a circle and it may be that the Mulling plan draws on a much older tradition (ed. Meehan 1958, 47-63 + plates; Professor Cramp pers.comm.).

In the Regula Coenobialis and the lives of Aed, Columba, Enda and Gerald, it is clearly stated that the enclosure surrounds a monasterium. In the Life of Finnian, the saint built his church around an ecclesiam which may or may not have been a monastic establishment. In a later incident taking place at the same site, he rescued a boy who had trespassed on territorio ecclesie for he knew that the boy would later suceed him as abbot of the monastery. Whether this was the monastery of Clonard or this site at Escayr Branan, is not made clear (Heist 1965, 100-1).

The clearest reference to the purpose of a monastic enclosure comes from the Regula Coenobialis in its discussion of penances:
    'Aut extra vallum id est sepem monasterii sine interogatione
    ierit, Superpositiae' (VIII ed. Walker 1957, 155).
The enclosure separated the monastery from the world outside and made the abbot's authority easier to enforce. This was particularly

important when the monasteries were built in well-populated areas as in Merovingian Gaul (where the Regula Coenobialis was probably compiled (Walker 1957, 1/lii)). Transgressions mentioned in the Regula Coenobialis included speaking freely to a woman, making a journey without the permission of a superior and undertaking private work (XV ed. Walker 1957, 165). These indicate that, for the writer at any rate, contacts outside the monastery were common and involvement in the secular world, frequent.

At Iona, the monastic vallum enclosed the Ecclesia, the Refectorium, the Coquinia, the Hospitia, the Platea and probably the Officina Fabri (Reeves 1874, cxix). The Hospitia included individual cells for both the monks and strangers but the abbot's turgurium was probably at some distance from the others, built of planks and placed on higher ground. Beyond the vallum, lay the Bocetum (with cows), the Horreum (with grain), the Canaba, the Melandium (with a pond and millstreams) the Proedium (with its horse and cart) and the portus (ibid., cxix/cxxi). In short the vallum enclosed the domestic and liturgical areas of the monastery while the agricultural material was kept outside.

In Armagh, the evidence from a number of different sources has been collated by Hamlin. There, both the Hospitium (one building ? individual cells?) and the abbot's house had their own separate enclosures but the latter was surrounded by an enclosure which also contained the principal church, the 'North Church', a round tower, the principal graveyard and other houses and buildings (Hamlin 1976, 350-2).

In summary then the documentary sources tell us that the principal function of a monastic enclosure was to separate the spiritual area of the monastery from the rest of the world. In particular, they were used to demarcate such areas from the agricultural lands and the tenantry which the monastery controlled. Such tenants are referred to as the manaig in the early mediaeval documentation.

Working from eighth-century law codes, Charles-Edwards has identified the manaig as 'a member of the body of his church' owing obedience to an abbot or airchinneach. They could be of vaying social classes but as manaig they were automatically free men. Like the céile tenantry of the secular communities, they owed food-renders and agricultural labour to their superiors as well as their goire or pietas (Charles-Edwards 1984, 172-4).

The manaig appear to have included women although they were not always welcome in the church itself. The Old Irish Penitential forbids women when 'the monthly sickness is upon them' to attend Mass while the latin Life of St Albeus depicts the saint as horrified to see a pregnant woman in church as the priest was about to raise the Host (ed. Plummer 1910 I, 53).

The manaig appear to have had access to many of the sacraments. In the Ríagail Pátraic, a document which appears to have been in circulation by c.737 (O'Keeffe 1904, 216), the duties of the Church in relation to its tenants are carefully outlined:

> 'The Church should be on the conscience of an ordained man
> for baptism and communion and the singing of the

intercession for (manach) tenants both living and dead and there should be Offering on its altars on solemnities and Sundays and there should be fittings on each altar and portable altar and linen cloths' (Ríagail Pátraic IX, ed. O'Keeffe 1904, 223).

The same provisions with the same insistence on the importance of the manaig is found in Canon V of the same document. Both canons appear to indicate that the manaig had priviledged access to sacraments such as baptism and communion and that these were not as readily available to the secular communities.

The role of the manaig appears therefore to be crucial to our understanding of an early mediaeval monastic settlement. Although they lived outside the settlement enclosure they owed their loyalty and rent to the clergy who lived within it and they appear to have had greater access to the sacraments than the rest of the population. The enclosure served to distinguish the clerics from their tenants but it did not keep them apart. In short, the manaig may have acted as a filter through which the teaching and the material culture of the Church reached the secular communities.

Another function of a monastic enclosure may have been to provide and control the custom of sanctuary for as one canon law states:
'it cannot be called a holy place in which murderers with their plunder and thieves with their loot and perjurers and hawkers and jesters and prostitutes are accustomed to enter because every holy place ought to be cleansed, not only in its centre but even in its boundaries, which, consecrated by the holy ones, ought to be clean' (trans. Doherty 1982,

302).

To what extent this is pious exaggeration it is difficult to say but it would appear that a floating population may also have existed around the boundaries of the more important monastic settlements.

Another type of ecclesiastical enclosure may be referred to in a seventh-century law tract on trespass:

> 'There are seven ditches according to the Feini, the injuries done by which are not paid for (though such should be done by them) for every person shall be corrected by his surety unless they have been made free; the ditch of a dun-fort, the ditch of a cill-church, the ditch of a fair green, the ditch of a turf bog, a ditch which is at a bridge' (Ancient Laws, IV, 221).

What function a cill-church had is unknown although the context suggests that people had free access to it. Hurley has suggested that, given its position at the bottom of a late list of church types, it should be considered as a local chapel, posibly one without burial rights (Hurley 1982, 323). The later glossator of the laws, however, translated it as cemetery.

In the twelfth-century Life of Malachy, there is a detailed description of an oratory, built for local use at Lapis Asper in Galloway and surrounded by an enclosure.

> 'In the interval, an oratory is constructed of twigs woven into a hedge, he both giving directions and he himself working. When it was finished he surrounded it with a wall and blessed the enclosed space for a cemetery '(ed. Lawlor 1920, 79).

Although cemeteries are mentioned in the sources, they are always referred to in conjunction with monasteries and apart from the Life of Malachy, there is no description of their appearance. In the late mediaeval Life of Maedoc, the saint arranged the monastery's 'fair cemeteries' (Plummer 1922 II, 201). The late Life of Mochoemog states that people who died without benefit of the sacraments could not be buried in consecrated ground but a special enclosed area near the sacristy was used instead (Plummer 1910 II, 173). In earlier sources, cemeteries are confined to special groups of people: a reference of 935 A.U. speaks of the _cimiterio regum_ of Armagh while Plummer has pointed out that in the _vitae_ of some of the British saints, women in childbirth and exiles were also buried in special cemeteries (Plummer 1910 I, cxi).

A privilege granted to many saints was that the royal line of the tribe would be buried in their cemetery (ibid., cx). This would suggest that there was a prestige element involved: that your final resting place depended on the status you had enjoyed when alive. A similar idea lies behind the story of the _praefectus_ Hildmer (_Bede's Prose Life of Cuthbert_ XV ed. Colgrave 1940, 204-5). Although his wife was of noble status, the fact that she was possessed of a devil meant that she was not, in his eyes, legally worthy of being buried at Lindisfarne:

> Obsecro quia uxor mea male habet et uidetur iam proxima
> morti, ut mittas presbiterum qui illam priusquam moriatur
> uisitet, eique dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramenta
> ministret sed et corpus illius hic in locis sanctis sepeliri
> permittas' (ibid., 204).

Whether this status was based on secular power or on the holiness of

the individual is open to question. The lives of the Welsh saints suggest the latter (Davies 1982, 187) but this is probably for hagiographical reasons rather than factual ones.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, the study of these monuments has been biased by the preoccupation with circularity and by the treatment of large, often multivallate enclosures around monasteries and small churchyard sites as being essentially the same. A four-fold division of ecclesiastical enclosures is proposed in order to aid both surveyors and excavations: these are settlement enclosures around the habitational and industrial areas on the site: ritual enclosures surrounding spiritual areas within a large primary complex; chapel enclosures where no such habitational or monastic complex exists and cemetery enclosures which are essentially similar to the chapel enclosures except that they have burial rights attached. Separate cemeteries without a church are known from the early mediaeval period but they cannot be recognised through field survey alone.

According to the documentary sources, many settlements were surrounded by some form of enclosure in the early mediaeval period and the same words are used to describe both secular and ecclesiastical boundaries. The shape of the enclosures is not stressed in the documentary sources although there is some evidence that a circular enclosure was the norm. The enclosures themselves could be built of a variety of different materials. The evidence for the function of ecclesiastical enclosures is biased by the large number of sources focusing on monastic establishments but a

description of an enclosure surrounding an oratory and associated cemetery survives in the Life of Malachy. On a monastic site, enclosures could be used to protect the inhabitants from wild animals, to separate a monastery from its agricultural estates and manaig tenants and to mark the boundaries of sanctuary. Isolated cemeteries do not appear to have been common and graveyards, although they occasionally served specific sectors of the population, appear to be mentioned only in conjunction with monasteries.

In order to try and establish the appearance of an early mediaeval site it is important to try and visualise the sculptured stonework in context. Depending on its function, an ornamented slab of roughly similar dimensions could be a grave cover, an erect pillar, the panel of a reliquary or an altar front. The problem is to try and separate those features which reflect the position of the monument on a site and its possible function from those arising out of fashions in ornament and form.

In order to attempt this, a theoretical framework has been set out in which the sculpture is examined under four headings: form, position on site, ornament and documentary evidence. To control the large amount of data available and because the development of sculptured stones in the east of Scotland appears to have followed different lines (see above, 48-50), this discussion is limited to Ireland and the Irish Sea basin although parallels will occasionally be drawn from elsewhere. No attempt has been made to consider the chronological period of the stonework as this has tended to inhibit the study of function in sculpture in the past (see De Paor and De Paor 1958, 60-70; Henry 1965, 135-62).

The basic division in sculptured monuments lies between those monuments designed to stand erect and those designed to be recumbent. It can however be difficult to decide to which category a monument should belong; a Class 1 pillar stone such as Clynekirtin No.2 measuring four feet by 1.5 ft by 2.5 inches would, on its

proportions alone, be classified as a recumbent monument were it not for the fact that it was first documented as standing erect (ECMS II, xx). Some stones, on the other hand, such as the free-standing three-dimensional crosses are so obviously designed to stand erect that to argue otherwise would be absurd.

The most that can be done is to balance the probabilities in order to determine the most likely solution. In order of liklihood a monument could be classed as erect if it was:

1. A three dimensional monument e.g a cruciform shaped stone

2. A stone which is worked on four of its faces

3. A stone whose base has been modified to help the stone stand erect

Erect monuments can then be further subdivided on the basis of their form into 'high crosses', pillar stones, inscribed boulders and so forth. Until recently it has been assumed that these formal divisons reflect different chronological stages in the history of stonework rather than differences in function (Henry 1937, 279; idem 1965, 138). The exception to this dictum are the sundials: in Ireland these are free-standing pillars with D-shaped dials divided into approximately equal sections by radiating lines as at Nendrum Co. Down or Kilmalkedar, Co. Kerry (Down 1966, pl.74; Cuppage 1986, 308-11). The interval between the lines suggests that their function was to indicate the hours of the offices (Hamlin 1976, 263-65).

Not all erect stones are monoliths: this is particularly true of the free-standing crosses which always have a separate base even where the cross itself is made up of a single stone. The typical

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Irish base is a pyramid-shaped stone with a deep rectangular socket cut in the top to hold the shaft. These are sometimes stepped as at Kilree, Co. Kilkenny (Henry 1965,pl 96(b)) and they are frequently ornamented with abstract or figural sculpture. Their shape is sufficiently distinctive that even where the cross shaft itself does not survive, as in the case of the bases from Castlekeeran Co.Meath (Herity 1983, 271) or from Lindisfarne,(Cramp 1984, 201-2) their function is still easily recognisable.

Some south Hebridean cross bases were constructed rather differently, on a cist-like principle. Examples have been found at St John's Cross, Iona, and Kilnave, Islay. Two thin slabs with rectangular socket-holes cut through the centre were separated by four slabs, morticed together and held in place by a filling of earth and sand (Barber 1981a). A clear idea of function can be gained from the appearance of the socketed slabs but the side-panels are nondescript in form and can only be recognised _in situ_.

Other stones belonging to this category are the carved stone lintels for although they are meant to be viewed horizontally rather than vertically, the visual impact on the observer is similar. These are identified by ornament and position rather than by form, examples being the cross-ornamented stones found above the west door at Fore, Co. Westmeath or Clonamery, Co.Kilkenny (Leask 1955, 57). Examples such as Raphoe where the remnants of the door-ends still survive (Henry 1965, 190) are rare. Identification by form alone can be difficult where the shape is a simple rectangular block (see Carndonagh, Co. Donegal:Lacy 1983, 249) but more convincing where the stone is arched as at Forteviot in Perthshire (ECMS III,

fig.134).

We can identify the order of likelihood that slabs were recumbent
as follows:

1. Single stone sarcophagi

2. Stones which incorporate sockets for erect monuments

3. Stones which have only one flat face eg. hogbacks or solid stone
    skeuomorphic shrines

4. Stones where the sculpture covers the the entire face of the
    monument leaving no areas to act as base.

5. Stones whose thickness is very slight in comparison to their
    length and breadth.

Unfortunately, this categorisation cannot distinguish between
recumbent slabs and dedicatory slabs meant to be placed upright
against a wall. It may be that Irish dedicatory slabs were laid
flat on the ground, as at Termonfeckin, Co. Louth, where the stone
lay beneath the church floor (Macalister 1949, 32-3). On the other
hand, sculpted wall panels, as at Penrith in Cumbria, must have
stood upright (Bailey 1986, 14). The confusion over how to identify
a 'recumbent' slab becomes apparent when one notes that in a
discussion of the national corpus by Lionard, no definition is
offered (Lionard 1961). If one applies the criteria outlined above
to Lionard's illustrated examples, a minimum of fifteen probably
stood erect. (It must be noted, however, that Lionard deliberately
included some erect stones for comparison: these are not
distinguished from the recumbent stones in the accompanying text.)

As noted above, this division does not allow for rectangular
panels used for reliquary panels either. In Ireland these have not

been recognised in the stonework known at present; in Scotland they occur primarily in the 'corner-post shrines' identified by Thomas (Small et al. 1973, 20-31;1971a, 152-60). Their function has been identified by the grooves with which they were fitted together but the position of these could vary from slab to slab. On one slab (Burghead No.11) the stone is sculpted on two faces with grooves on the other two faces (ECMS III, 139) while another from Flotta is carved on the back face so that corner-posts would be superfluous (ECMS III, 23). The Shetland panels did not have grooves but rather tenons which ran the width of the slab on either end (Small et al. 1973, 20-6). The variation in the groove position suggests that there may have been variation in the final form of the monument although this cannot now be recognised.

There is a single example within the Irish Sea area of a composite hollowed out monument, found on Iona in 1956 and believed to be another example of a 'corner-post shrine' (RCAHMS Argyll IV, 217 No.6:106). A panel and two corner-posts survive, linked together by their ornament though found separately. The grooves on the posts are very shallow and wide to have had a functional purpose; if the panels did slot into them, the structure would have been extremely unstable. Another puzzling feature is the length of the grooves, some 16 cm longer then the width of the panel. It is possible that the post was inserted for at least half its length into the ground, this would increase the stability and hide the grooves although it would make the monument as a whole extremely shallow. The rough trimming of the lower part of the post supports such a suggestion.

To date there is no evidence that altar slabs can be recognised by form alone. Where altars have been excavated in the area around the Irish Sea, they consisted of undressed boulders and sand held in position either by corner posts or slabs laid on edge. The only example of an altar top, found _in situ_ was at Knoc y Doonee on the Isle of Man where a dressed stone (0.82m x 0.5m x 0.37m) lay some 0.6m above the pavement (Kermode and Bruce 1968 III, 25). It may be that some ornamented slabs such as the Calf of Man Crucifixion (Megaw 1958) or the Inishmurray stones (Lionard 1961, 131) were altar frontals or _mensae_ but this cannot be shown by their form alone.

A small number of stones which can be grouped together by their form, transcend the divide between erect and recumbent stones. These are portable ornamented stones such as the Eochid stone (RCAHMS Argyll IV, 98 No.6:22), the Logie Coldstone (ECMS III, 196) or the Clocha Breaca on Inishmurray (Wakeman 1893, 62). These have been identified as memorial stones or primary grave markers (Thomas 1971a, 114). The stones generally have two main faces, on one of which the ornament is found but on the Eochid stone an inscription has been found running along the top edge of the stone, suggesting that this stone stood upright. The Clocha Breaca by contrast are far too rounded to have ever stood erect with any stability. It is possible, however, as their small size suggests, that these stones did not have a static position but were carried from place to place, making a distinction between erect and recumbent redundant. Alternatively, they may have been included within the graves of Christian dead (Dr Hamlin, pers.comm.).

There is a third group of stones of various shapes whose leading characteristic is that they are hollowed in some way. The most famous of these, in an Irish context, are those classified as bullaun stones. These are generally undressed stones with a large circular hollow and to date, they are almost exclusively found on ecclesiastical sites in Ireland and west Britain.

In her study of the bullauns of Northern Ireland, Dr Hamlin discovered that there were approximately 63 of them in the province, generally occuring singly in or just outside graveyards (50 examples) and more rarely, at some distance from them. Local stones were used, either earth-fast, living rock or loose boulders. 41 examples were hollowed on one face alone. The tendency was towards oval rather then circular hollows with a range of diameters between 10 and 52.5 cm. and peaks at 17/20 cm., 25/32 cm. and a concentration at 35 cm. Depth varied between 2.5 and 35 cm. while steep-sided and pointed examples both occur (Hamlin 1976, 291-303).

Price argued that these enigmatic structures were imitations of the mortars of post-Roman Britain and intended for the grinding of food, drawing parallels with recent practices in western Scotland and Ireland (Price 1959, 179). This conclusion was supported by Hamlin who believes that this explains the asymmetrical nature of many of the holes. If this was the explanation, however, one would expect to find them on secular sites as well. In fact, what documentary evidence exists for early ecclesiastical milling suggests that the water-mill and querns were the most common implements (Hamlin n.d.). Given the primitive nature of these monuments it is possible that a single explanation is not sufficient

(see below, 279). As with the recumbent slabs, holed stones can be used for a variety of purposes but perhaps the most likely, for these rounded and often steep-sided hollows, is that of the retention of liquid.

Other hollowed out stones but rectangular in shape occur at Keeill Lingan and Maughold Churchyard, both on the Isle of Man and at Iona (Kermode and Bruce 1968 I, 15; IV, 20; RCAHMS Argyll IV, 106). The two stones at Maughold and Iona are roughly similar in their proportions: that at Maughold being 1.35m x 0.7m x 0.37m with a hollow 0.95m x 0.4m x 0.2m deep while the Iona stone was 1.32m x 0.55m x 0.4m with a hollow 0.93m x 0.34m x0.04m deep. At Keeill Lingan, the stone is only 0.65m x 0.3m x 0.2m and the hollow is 0.5m x 0.17m x 0.04m deep. These do not appear to be cross bases as the hollows are both too shallow (at Iona and Keeill Lingan) and too large (as at Iona and Maughold) to have fulfilled such a function. These stones have received little attention to date but Megaw suggested that the Maughold stone may have been part of the mediaeval water system, a suggestion which appears very plausible (Megaw 1950, 171). On Iona the local tradition surrounding the stone is that it was used for washing pilgrims' feet.

Another, most extraordinary stone, was found in the late nineteenth century on Inishmurray. The upper portion is a hollowed-out cube but the lower half is an undressed shaft, presumably for placing within a socket or the ground. A separate stone formed a cover with a round projection to act as a stopper. A second example, more rounded in shape and without the stump was also found. Wakeman suggested these were primitive chrismatories (1893,

63) while Thomas believed that they were relic chambers (1971a, 170).

What then does a study of form tell us of the function of sculptured stone on early ecclesiastical sites? Most importantly, it points out the wide variety in the use of sculptured stone. Apart from the erect or recumbent cross slabs and free-standing crosses: there are sculptured lintels, cross bases, sundials and a large variety of hollowed stonework: corner-post structures, bullauns, and other forms. These should be viewed as fulfilling a variety of uses. Specifically ecclesiastical usages would include reliquaries or chests to hold liturgical vestments and equipment as well as holding water for baptism. At least one vita of the early mediaeval period describes baptism in terms of aspersion (Vita Sancti Ruadani 12 ed. Heist 1965, 165). and if this was common usage, then the small rounded hollows of the bullauns could easily be used to hold holy water. Nor was aspersion limited to baptism: in Wales, territory bestowed on the church had to be purified by clerical blessing and aspersion (Best 1928, 142). On a more domestic level, the larger hollowed stones may have been used as troughs or other elements in the site's water supply.

These hollowed structures give a context in which the ornamented slabs can be assessed more realistically. The shape of recumbent slabs, for example, was not necessarily an aesthetic choice: it could also have the practical function of deterring animals from rooting in a cemetery. One saint's curse ran:

> 'Whatever place thou shalt occupy a church,....,wolves will
> be burrowing in thy cemetery and foxes routing in it with

their snouts' (<u>Life of Naile</u> XI ed. Plummer 1925, 133).

The form of the monument could therefore have a practical application which a study of the ornament alone disguises. At the most basic level, the erect form is intended to be seen from a distance and is therefore more easily used to impress the observer; it is the form which is most apt for a monument designed for communal use. The study of form in fact, can tell us much about the function of sculptured monuments and the widespread use that stone, as a medium was put to.

POSITION ON SITE

Although it is accepted that smaller monuments such as <u>bullauns</u> or corner-post structures, have probably moved from their original position (e.g. Thomas 1971a, 125 et passim; Hamlin 1976, 291) it is tacitly assumed on occasion that many of the larger monuments are still to be found where their sculptors placed them. The De Paors wrote of the erect pillar stones:

> 'From this it seems a natural progression to have the symbol
> of the Christian faith raised up as the centre and mark of
> the monastery even if there was not a founder's tomb to
> justify it' (De Paor and De Paor 1958, 63).

This conclusion presupposes that the position of the stones reflects a mediaeval reality. A similar assumption lies behind the recent field-work of Professor Herity who has identified enclosure outlines in the south-east of Ireland by plotting the free-standing

crosses which occur around known early sites such as Ferns or Moone (Herity 1983, 276).

The recumbent slabs are likewise presumed to have been static in the past:

> 'Unlike Clonmacnois and Gallen, Inishcealtra has preserved
> many of its old tombs in their original state. The dead
> were interred in long-cist-like graves, formed of
> rectangular slabs, some placed erect to form sides and ends,
> others laid flat to cover the tomb; these cover-slabs are
> usually but not always cross-inscribed' (Lionard 1961, 148).

These cist-like graves had, however, a long history in the Irish Sea region. On one of the Manx <u>keeill</u> sites a nineteenth-century washstand was found incoporated into one such grave (Kermode and Bruce 1968 VI, 72) while Francoise Henry could write of Caher Island in the 1940s:

> 'There is in the space north of the chapel a narrow cist of
> slabs about 6ft long which may belong to the period of the
> monastery. Its appearance is not unlike that of the 'tomb
> of the Saint' on Duvillaun. But in the meantime, the method
> which is still used for building tombs on the adjoining
> mainland should make us careful'(Henry 1947, 28).

More recently, similar graves excavated at Reask proved to be above a stratagraphically sealed layer of wall collapse in which a sherd of thirteenth/fourteenth-century pottery was found (Fanning 1981b, 74,115,149). Specifically in relation to sculpted slabs such as those found at Inishcealtra, Macalister pointed out that at Clonmacnois:

'It appears that among the local peasantry these stones are regarded with a reverence well deserved but unfortunately for the study of Irish Art, taking the form of adapting them as tombstones or even of burying them with the coffin in newly made graves' (Macalister 1908, vii).

Nor can it be argued that practices were limited to a superstitious peasantry. Moar describes how the Papil stone in the Shetlands was used until 1897 to cover the family grave of a Baptist missionary (Moar and Stewart 1944, 92).

Free-standing monuments have also been known to change position. The Market Cross at Kells was re-erected on numerous occasions (Roe 1981a, 26) while the Carndonagh Cross (now in the Anglican churchyard) has been moved twice since 1921. Before that date it was in a field by the roadside and was moved in order to facilitate the widening of the road. At Ruthwell in Wigtownshire, it has been argued that the cross was originally erected inside the church (Cramp 1984, 5). Nor are these isolated instances. In his catalogue of Scottish sculpture, Allen notes that by the late nineteenth century, 115 stones were in museums and a further 89 in private houses. These stones, which had definitely been moved (as opposed to the others which might have moved) form approximately 42.6% of the entire corpus (ECMS II, 18).

Obviously some sculptured stones may have remained in situ since the early mediaeval period and the fact that so many bear Christian symbols and are found on early ecclesiastical sites suggest that many did so. What these few examples show, however, is that it

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cannot be assumed _a priori_ that the stones have not been moved. Roman roads for example continued to be used until recent times and there are documented instances of crosses being moved to positions of prominence along important routes as late as the eighteenth century (Pennant 1790, 225).

Even the assumption that stones which are now found on early ecclesiastical sites have always been there is open to question. As the stones bear Christian symbols, they may have been brought to Christian sites at a later stage. Localised studies of sculpture in areas as far apart as central Ireland, the north-east coast of Scotland and the Tees valley have shown that the majority of sculptured stones found on ecclesiastical sites are in secondary positions (Fanning 1980, Lang 1974, Morris 1976). It is possible that, as the churchyard became a more important feature in the landscape and more obviously the spiritual focus of the community, sculpture was transported there from its original site. Such a translocation is clearly seen on the Isle of Man where much of the sculpture from the _keeill_ sites has been placed in the parish churches. The same process has taken place at Whithorn Cathedral/Priory and at Inchgovan (Radford 1967, 180-88).

In theory, the more remote the area, the more likely it is that secondary movement or indeed, secondary usage, of this kind took place; if the premise that changes in style occurred more slowly in rural areas is accepted and that the resources needed to commission such sculpture were less plentiful. This in turn, would suggest that where sculpture is found away from ecclesiastical sites, it may reflect a more accurate picture of mediaeval distribution.

This hypothesis has been tested in Donegal and on the Dingle peninsula in Co. Kerry, using the recent surveys for those areas (Lacy 1983, Cuppage 1986). In Donegal 34 stones (48%) were found in non-ecclesiastical contexts, 17 (24%) were found in ecclesiastical enclosures or separate burial grounds and 20 (28%) were found in churchyards. In Dingle the figures were 40 (46.5%) in non-ecclesiastical contexts, 26 (30%) in ecclesiastical enclosures and 20 (23%) in churchyards. These figures include all the ornamented stones in the regions which in both cases are predominantly roughly dressed slabs with incised figures of the cross. Both areas are still very remote and celebrated for their folk traditions.

At Dingle, the figure of 40 stones found away from ecclesiastical sites can be further broken down: 13 are found in association with holy wells, 8 are found in secular enclosed sites such as raths, 8 are ogham stones, 6 are incised prehistoric standing stones (sic), 4 are in hut circles and 1 is a cross-marked boulder in a cairn. Two of the thirteen holy wells are found on townland boundaries.

The cross-inscribed stones found in secular enclosures and hut circles may be related to the use of these sites as calluragh burial grounds prior to the twentieth century (see above, 73-74). Holy wells, although their origins are undatable, also continued as a religious focus until recent times. The ogham stones have all been found in disturbed contexts such as field walls or drainage ditches. The patterns of distribution of early sculpture in Dingle, therefore, could reflect post-mediaeval usage rather than early mediaeval siting of the stonework.

This conclusion is borne out by the evidence from Donegal. Although the figures can not be broken down in the same way, an earlier article by Price shows that at least 16 of the 34 stones found in non-ecclesiastical contexts were associated with _patterns_ (Price 1941). These, like holy wells, are of uncertain origin but were a common religious focus in rural areas until very recently (Ó Súilleabháin n.d., 73-5). An important part of the Inishmurray _pattern_ included walking along the broken top of the enclosure wall in bare feet . This would suggest that the _pattern_, as it exists today, has been influenced by the present topography of the island (Heraughty 1982, 28). If that is the case, it throws some doubt on the original position of the ornamented stones. Whether the practices grew up because of the stones or whether the stones were placed there to increase the sanctity of the _pattern_ is unknown.

The small percentage of excavated ecclesiastical sites in Ireland has meant a heavy reliance on the evidence of field survey. This is particularly true of what little work has been done on the position of sculpted stone on sites (Thomas 1971a, 140-44; Herity 1983, 275-80; Henry 1965, 164). There is however a sufficiently large body of direct documentary evidence to suggest that such surveys tell us rather more about the later history of the stone than about its original position. The field evidence from Donegal and Dingle suggests that although distribution outside ecclesiastical sites can be related to Christian activity, it is impossible to decide at what era the stones were erected. As holy wells and _patterns_ continued to be a spiritual focus until recently, the stones could have been brought to such sites rather than the churchyards as happened elsewhere. It appears therefore that the only valid information on

the early siting of crosses available to us is found through excavation even though (at present) this only covers a small minority of the sites.

Unfortunately much of the excavated material is also in disturbed or secondary contexts. Of the free-standing crosses, three have been recently excavated in the Hebrides: St John's, Iona, Kilnave, Islay and Keills, Knapdale. A fourth, Kildalton, Islay was excavated in 1874. In each case there is some evidence that they were not in their original position. At Kilnave, a superfluous tenon was found on the base of the cross shaft while at Kildalton, a loose socket-stone corresponding to the dimensions of the cross shaft was found which, again, would have been unnecessary in the present cross base (see below, 284-8; Barber 1981a, 98; RCHAMS Argyll V, 212).

At Keills, no socket-stone at all was found, the shaft being placed in a simple pit capped by an oval plinth and held in place with iron clamps. This circumstance, coupled to the documentary evidence led the excavator to suggest that the cross's present situation may be an arrangement of the early nineteenth century (Cowie 1980, 106). The evidence for St John's is ambiguous but it has been suggested that the cross probably overlies a deposit of soil (found either side of it) which was introduced at the beginning of the thirteenth century (Barber 1981a, 99).

To date the only other category of erect stone whose original position has been verified is the Reask pillar stone (Fanning 1981b, 86). This was found deeply set, its inscribed face to the west,

surrounded by primary packing stones at the primary level of the lintel grave cemetery on its north-eastern perimeter. None of the other stones in this group have been excavated. This is a severe handicap in the attempt to assess their probable position on site and archaeological excavation of such monuments is urgently required. All three of the recently excavated cross bases belong to the cist-type group and there is no corresponding information about the pyramid-shaped cross bases. No study has as yet been done on _bullaun_ stones and the other smaller stones and indeed, it appears from the published material, that none has yet been identified through excavation.

Of the early recumbent slabs, only the Hartlepool slabs in Co. Durham have been found in what was presumably an original context. It was a nineteenth-century find by workmen and the later reports of the excavation are garbled. Small, dressed slabs were found in association with graves orientated north/south but whether they were in the graves or lying above them remains ambiguous (Brown 1921 V, 60-64; Cramp 1984, 94).

A number of the incised stones known as 'primary grave markers' have also been found _in situ_ (Thomas 1971a, 114). At Cronk Yn How, Isle of Man, Burial H (believed to be contemporary with the _keeill_) had a slab above its head with a plain linear cross on its upper face and the botched beginnings of a cross of compass-drawn arcs on the lower face surrounded by graffiti-type incisions (Bruce and Cubbon 1930, 280,284). Another slab from the same site was associated with bone and several pockets of white pebbles.

At Ardwall Isle, only two stones from the excavation appear to have survived in a primary context. Slab no.19 was found in a phase III grave, incised face downwards, resting in the grave with skeleton XXII; its narrow end on his left shin. Slab fragments nos. 22,23,25, and 29 were found dispersed in grave XXIII; No. 22 lay on edge in front of the face, No.23 on the left femur, No. 25 near the north edge of the grave and No. 29 on the south edge. These fragments all appeared to belong to the same slab and Thomas implies that there was evidence that the slab was whole when inserted into the grave (Thomas 1967, 161-2). Both graves lay outside the south wall of the Phase III chapel. A third grave with associated slab No.7 appears from the illustrated plan to have been very disturbed. The slab, which was found just outside the eastern edge of the grave may, therefore, be displaced.

At Gallen, a fragmented stone was found above the head of a skeleton that ante-dated the priory buildings. It was sculptured with a 'mirror' design but had probably been broken before being placed in the grave for the shaft of the cross lay at right angles to the body (Kendrick 1939, pl II fig 2).

'There were at least five grave markers of which some had faint and incised markings' at the site of Ardnadam in Argyll (Rennie 1984, 31). On figure 15, in Rennie's article, two cross-inscised slabs are shown lying beside graves towards the eastern end of the grave. How much importance can be attached to an apparently schematised plan is uncertain but it parallels the case of Ardwall No.19, also found at the eastern end.

Though the evidence from these sites is not detailed enough to come to any firm conclusions it appears that these 'primary grave markers' may have been inserted into the grave, possibly at the eastern end although Burial H and the Gallen 'mirror' stone were definitely associated with the head. It may be, as Thomas has suggested (Thomas 1971a, 112), that both head and feet could be associated with such stones for an early documentary example of a grave-stone also suggests the head:

> 'I keep thinking that I would like the stone on which thou recitest thy pater noster to be laid across my face in burial' (The Expulsion of Mochuda from Rahen VII ed. Plummer 1922 II, 294).

Other sculptured stones turning up in probable primary contexts are rare. At Ardwall Isle, a tiny incised linear cross was found on the top left-hand corner of a slab which formed a central part of the back of the phase III altar. Thomas is ambiguous in his description but either the slab or the cross itself was on a level with the bone deposit in the centre of the altar (Thomas 1967, 158). He believed that the slab was a re-used phase I or phase II grave marker but the fact that the cross is so asymmetrically placed on the slab-face and occupies so little of the available space makes this unlikely. If, as Thomas postulates, the bone deposit marks a relic cavity, a cross in close proximity to it, even though unseen by the observer, still seems to be a likely hypothesis.

At St Trinians, Isle of Man, the paving stones on the south side of the altar were arranged to form the shape of a cross inside a circular border. Kermode suggested, on analogy with Bede's

description of Cuthbert's burial, that this was the setting of an early shrine. This was not confirmed by subsequent excavation but it may be that a portable shrine or a wooden coffin was placed above the paving (Kermode and Bruce 1968 I, 4; E.Cambridge unpub.lecture).

In contrast to these few examples, the majority of excavated sculpture turns up in secondary contexts and often in a fragmentary condition. Of the large number of stones from Iona, Whithorn, Lindisfarne and Whitby, none can be assigned to a definitively 'early' context (RCHAMS Argyll IV, 180-219; Hill 1984 and pers. comm.; Peers 1924; Peers and Radford 1943). At Whithorn in particular, the recent excavations have produced three cross-inscribed slabs which were later broken up and used for rough paving. At Cronk Yn How and Ardwall Isle the stones were incorporated into the foundations of later buildings in such a way that they could not be seen. At Keeill Vael, Druidale, Isle of Man, they were placed upside down in the keeill walls. Trench-Jellicoe interpreted this as a deliberate policy to show the contempt of the keeill builders for the earlier sculpture (in Morris 1981, 42) but given the high proportion of sites whose sculpture suffered similar fates, it must be questioned whether this interpretation is sufficient.

If the main function of cross-inscribed slabs was funerary, as appears to be the consensus (Cramp 1984, 6-7; Thomas 1971a, 91-132), then it is posssible that once the memory of the individual had died away, the stones were ignored or re-used. Future generations might then use the stones simply as a convenient source of building material, as seems to have happened at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow

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(Professor Cramp pers.comm.). Another explanation might be that some of the crosses were specifically incised before incorporation into a building. The primitive nature of the 'primary grave markers' could then be explained by the fact that the stones were not meant to be seen; instead, they were hidden symbols of Christian power and sanctity or, more prosaically, a mason's mark. A third hypothesis is that, having created the stones, a community may have later lost their original awe and respect for Christian symbolism and incorporated what materials they had to hand. This suggestion is in keeping with the fate of the Irish series in modern times. Christian beliefs and superstitions have remained an important factor in the life of many communities in Ireland and, as a direct result of this, a high proportion of sculptured stones are now to be found in prominent positions in the landscape (see above, 96-101).

In short, a study of the position of sculptured stone tells us little about the layout of an early ecclesiastical site. Some stones can be shown to be in close association with graves and were probably interred with the dead; there is one example of a cross-inscised stone incorporated into an altar and another in an early chapel pavement. All of these are extremely simple in form and ornament. Of the vast corpus of more ornate sculpture in Ireland and around the Irish Sea almost none has been excavated to determine their original position. There is a single example of a cross marked pillar in its original position on the edge of a cemetery and a very small group of free-standing crosses which all appear to have been moved. Preliminary investigation suggests that a high percentage of the stones have been translocated at some point and that the more exotic the ornament, the more likely it is that it

would have been put to secondary or tertiary use.

ORNAMENT

In general, the style of ornament appears to differ according to the form of the monument; in other words, the two factors combine to form discrete categories of sculpture. Bullauns and stone receptacles are rarely ornamented and if they are, it is generally in a very simplified fashion (e.g. Kildurrihy East (Cuppage 1986, 359) or the Iona corner-post shrine (RCHAMS Argyll IV 216)). Ornamented lintel stones tend to have the form of a cross centrally-placed: this is either within a circular border as at Fore, Co.Westmeath (Leask 1955, fig 31) or as a free-standing cross on the Carndonagh example (Lacy 1983, 249). Recumbent slabs are characteristically ornamented with an expansional or ringed cross while exotic abstractions of the cross-form are generally found on pillar stones. Narrative scenes are almost exclusively the preserve of the free-standing crosses. This unity of form and ornament is not absolute but it is broadly accurate and is an important indicator that the sculptured stone did have specific and probably separate functions.

The most important element in sculptured ornament around the Irish Sea is the cross. It appears on almost all the known sculpture and in many cases it occurs alone, in which it is unique. This reinforces the idea that sculpture in this period is very strongly influenced by ecclesiastical patronage.

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Simple incised crosses, either of Latin, Greek, Maltese or Marigold shape are the most common form and the most widely distributed, occurring on _ogham_ stones (Cuppage 1986, 247-56) at the beginning of inscriptions (Lionard 1961, 102) on isolated boulders and prehistoric monuments (Henry 1937; Cuppage 1986, 49) and, as has been noted, on undressed grave-slabs and in altars (see above, 103-5). They have been found dispersed throughout Ireland and the Irish Sea region although lack of detailed field-work may have concealed areas in which they do not occur. It is interesting, for example, that only one is known from eastern Northumbria, at Coquet Island (Cramp 1984 I, 170). They are undatable in style and probably continued to be incised on stone until recent times in some areas.

The function of these simple forms is unknown but at the most basic level it is a simple statement of Christian faith, presumably on the part of the patron or the sculptor. Modern folklore studies suggest that it may have been used as a protection against evil or simply as a good luck symbol (Ó Súilleabháin n.d., 21,62). It frequently is found as a minor element on the stone's face, suggesting perhaps, that the monument has a more important primary function unrelated to the cross.

The exceptions are the 'altar-slabs' where five linear 'consecration' crosses form a geometric arrangement on a single face of the stone. Identified as altar tops by their similarity to the portable altar found in Cuthbert's grave (Lionard 1961, 137; Battiscombe et al 1956, 326-36), the cross-forms are often more ornate although always remaining small in relation to the size of

the slab.

Other crosses are more prominent, taking up more of the available space and ornamented with more complex cross-forms. These are generally found on erect 'pillar stones' or large boulders. The cross could take the form of a swastika, a Maltese cross within a circle, a circle of compass-drawn arcs or be made up of double knots or triskele designs (Henry 1937). On some examples, a long shaft is added to and elaborated with the result that the original cross-form is often obscured. The famous Reask pillar, for example, is closer to an abstract flower than to a standard cross in shape (Fanning 1981b, fig.29). Figural sculpture rarely occurs in association with these abstract crosses; an exception is the Ballyvourney figure which climbs the arc of a circular cross head (Henry 1965, pl.50).

This abstract art has been interpreted by Henry as summing up the hope which inspired the lives of early ecclesiastics. She would see the long-stemmed handle on monuments such as Inishkea North (E.face) as being a representative of the _flabellum_ a symbol of watchfulness and faith (Henry 1965,117-8). On a more mundane level, the often flamboyant embellishments indicate that the function of the cross was to impress, over-awe and even perhaps to please the eye as much as they were intended to convey a statement of faith. Although the cross remained pre-eminent, it could be adapted in each case to the sculptor's own design for even those crosses which are most closely related (as for example Ballyvourney and Duvillaun Mór: Henry 1937, 278) show important differences and appear to be designed by different hands. It may be therefore that this ornament held different messages for the different sectors of society: it

impressed the populace at large with the power and mysterious nature of the Church while reminding the clergy of their spiritual calling.

A slightly different style of cross but equally abstract in form was used to decorate the recumbent cross slabs. Their repertoire appears to be descended from the crosses of the pillar stones and on some sites, such as Inishmurray and the Aran Islands, it has sufficiently close links with the latter as to make it difficult, on occasion, to distinguish between the two (Lionard 1961, 151-4). That they belonged to a very different tradition, however, is clearly pointed out in Lionard's concluding remarks:

'That there was a gradual change in the cross-form is quite clear but it scarcely can be called an evolution for most of the cross slabs evolved not on grave-slabs but abroad or in Ireland in different techniques. The artists who designed the slabs do not seem to have made much use of their imagination although they were very selective in what they copied. After their greatest feat, the perfecting of the expansional form they seem to have remained uninspired for fully three centuries' (Lionard 1961, 155).

This lack of individuality is particularly apparent in Lionard's Groups V and VI (Ringed and Expansional crosses). Together with the sheer number of these slabs (over 400 from Clonmacnois and another 200 at Gallen Priory) this suggests that the designers of these slabs were working on a mass-production basis. No studies have been done on the Irish material to see whether two different hands worked on the one stone but the fact that this occurs on the stylistically related stone at Monkwearmouth (Cramp 1984, 11) argues for a similar

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method of production in Ireland. The ornament itself tells us little or nothing about the specific function of such slabs or of the consumers of such a mass-produced market but the inscriptions which occasionally occur in association with it on the slabs are more informative (see below, 121-124).

The three classes of ornament already referred to are unified by their varied use of abstract art and of the cross-form as the dominant motif. In another group of monuments, the cross remains the visual focal point but it is flanked and occasionally superseded by figural sculpure. On the Fahan Mura cross-slab two figures can be seen on either side of the cross shaft, facing the cross. Their bodies are rectangular and they wear ornamented cloaks and what seem to be hoods. Parallels for this iconography can be found on other sites in the Inishowen peninsula such as Drumhallagh, Inishkeel and the Marigold Stone at Carndonagh (Lacy 1983, 263,270,250). They appear to be part of a wider group of monuments, some 14 in all, found especially in eastern Scotland but also in Kirk Maughold, Isle of Man, in Ardchattan in Argyll and in Margam Abbey, Glamorganshire (ECMS III, 13,107; Nash-Williams 1950, 150-2). Similar figures are also known in a different iconographical context as on the east face of the Carndonagh cross (Lacy op.cit., 249) or the Papil stone (ECMS III, 12).

Ecclesiastical paraphernalia is the hall-mark of these figures. Book-satchels (or possibly _chrismatoria_) appear on St Vigeans No.7 (ECMS III, 268), Margam Abbey, and possibly the Marigold stone (Harbison 1986, 54), croziers or staffs on St Vigeans No.7, the Marigold stone and Drumhallagh, books on St Vigeans Nos 7, 11 and 17

and on Aldbar (ECMS III, 246,270,275). At Ardchattan, there are six figures facing away from the cross, all with pointed hoods and playing different types of musical instruments.

At Margam Abbey and Kirk Maughold, the figures are sitting down which has led both Nash-Williams and Romilly Allen to infer that these figures represent the Meeting of St Paul and St Anthony in the Desert. There is nothing in the scene to identify what order of clergy they belong to but the fact that there are two of them, identically dressed, makes a monastic context the more likely. This is supported by the emphasis on books and book satchels.

These figures appear to be commemorative although it is unclear whether they record individuals or monasticism in the abstract. It may be, as the similarity with the Paul and Anthony iconography suggests (see Moone, Henry 1965, pl.70), that they wish to remind their spectators of the important role played by the monastic federations in the early church. On the other hand they may wish to commemorate the patrons who commissioned the cross, a practice which has parallels in late Saxon art (Wilson 1984 figs.203,224,231). In either event, the message appears much more explicit then in the cross slabs already looked at and more obviously directed at the spectators. At the same time, the cross-form is still dominant and the doxology written in Greek on the Fahan Mura slab would have been understood by a very small group of clergy (Higgitt 1986, 128). The most likely context for these slabs, therefore, appears to be a monastic community, where the leading members had sufficient power and wealth to commemorate themselves as individuals on monuments which remained relevant to the entire community.

If the primary impact of these slabs was on a small sector of society, the direct opposite is true of the late series of 'Bishops' crosses' in Co. Clare and elsewhere. The major figure on these free-standing crosses is also an ecclesiastic although some narrative scenes and a variety of abstract ornament are also found. At Kilfenora and Dysert O'Dea the figures are wearing bishops' mitres of the early twelfth century and carrying croziers. The series has been interpreted by De Paor and Harbison as marking the influence of the twelfth-century reformers who strove to bring diocesan organisation and pastoral involvement to the region at the expense of the older monastic dynasties (De Paor 1956, 62-8; Harbison 1981,16). In contrast to the Fahan Mura group therefore, these crosses appear to be directed to a lay population rather than a clerical one and to bear a highly politicised message.

The third category of monuments where the ornament is dominated by figures which are large in relation to the size of the stone are the so-called caryatids whose type-site is White Island, Co. Fermanagh. The figures occur singly without incorporating the cross-form or any other decorative feature. Apart from the six examples on White Island, they occur on the two Carndonagh pillars, on both faces of the Killadeas stone Co. Fermanagh, at Lismore Co. Waterford and, in a related example (which is not functionally a caryatid), on the cross base of the North cross at Castledermot (Henry 1967, pl.68; Hickey 1976, 44-52; Harbison 1986, 54-8).

These figures have proportionately very large heads and can be depicted either in profile, as at Killadeas (north face) and Castledermot or full-face as are all the White Island examples.

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Their bodies are generally given some rudimentary definition
although the Killadeas figure on the south face has only a head
above a rectangle of interlace while another, at Carndonagh, simply
has a head.

At least four of the figures are probably ecclesiastical.
Killadeas (north face) and White Island No.14f (from Hickey's
catalogue) both carry a bell and staff: Carndonagh South (W. face)
has a bell and a rectangular object which may be a book or portable
shrine, Lismore holds an opened book out to face the spectator. The
seated figure with a rectangular object on its knees may also be
carrying a book (or shrine) (White Island 14a) while Harbison has
plausibly suggested that what used to be called the horned figure
(Carndonagh South: south face) is probably tonsured in a similar
manner to the Ballyvourney figure (Harbison 1986, 57). It is just
possible that White Island No.14e which carries a shepherd's crook
may also be a cleric although the bag hanging from his waist and his
short tunic makes Hickey's recognition of him as David, the more
probable (Hickey 1976, 46-8).

Two figures are warriors with shields and swords: Carndonagh
North (east face) and White Island 14d. White Island 14c grasps two
mythical animals; White Island 14a is a naked grinning female
pointing to her genitals; Carndonagh South (north face) is a man
being swallowed by a fish; Carndonagh North (west face) plays a harp
and the Castledermot figure is bound in a crouched position.

The iconographical context for this variety of figures is
probably, as Hickey has pointed out, biblical in origin,

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representing Jonah and the Whale, David the Harper, Christ the Warrior and so forth (Hickey 1976, 36,44-50). The naked female would represent Lust and presumably, (although Hickey does not mention this), the bound figure on Castledermot would be Satan or the Damned. The clerics, in her view, represent similar biblical figures in more recognisable form: Christ as Abbot of the World or one of the Evangelists at Lismore. The long cloak, most atypical of warrior dress, on Carndonagh North and White Island 14d appears to be a clerical garment (Hisperica Famina 1. 70-75, 500-505 ed. Herren 1974, 69,105) and this would support her identification.

The most impressive thing about these figures is their ability to intimidate. If these are indeed personifications from the Bible, then these grotesque figures indicate that many of the mediaeval Irish may have looked upon such people with fear and awe. If, as has been suggested (Henry 1967, 192; Hickey 1976, 36-38), these stones were placed inside an oratory, this awesome quality would have been increased. We know that early Irish churches were dark buildings, lit by candles and lamps (Adamnan III 24; Murphy 1956, 79); in such a setting the massive heads and bulbous eyes which characterise this sculpture might well have been terrifying.

In contrast to those monuments where the cross-form or the figures are the dominating element, the ornament on free-standing crosses is deliberately broken up into visually separate panels and appears to have had a multitude of functions, befitting the wealth and thought that went into creating them. These can be divided into four main trends, the narrative, the liturgical, the iconic and the meditative. In some cases the same ornament can fulfill all these

functions as for example in the case of Christ in Judgement on the Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnois (Henry 1967, pl 93). In others specific areas of ornament are emphasised, as for example the Virgin and Child surrounded by a roundel and placed in the centre of the cross at St Oran's, Iona (Calvert 1978, 131-3).

The majority of the narrative scenes are biblical, most frequently from the Old Testament but also from the New. They go a step further than the caryatid figures for they commemorate stories rather then personages. As such they may have been intended for spectators whose knowledge of the Bible was rather less detailed. They would not necessarily have recognised Christ the Redeemer, holding his griffins (White Island 14c) but they could recognise and be inspired by the Presentation at the Temple (on the Cross of Moone) or the Arrest in the Garden (Muiredach's Cross, Monasterboice). It may be that the caryatids were intended for a clerical community while the crosses were intended for a lay population or even the manaig tenantry of the larger monasteries.

Henry has interpreted the narrative scenes as belonging to the Ordo Commedationis Animae or the Help of God cycle enumerated in an abbreviated form in the Martyrology of Oengus. Alternatively, a system of prefigurations could have been used, such as the Sacrifice of Isaac prefiguring the Crucifixion. There is documentary evidence for this idea (though separated both temporally and geographically from the Irish series) in the decoration of Monkwearmouth by Biscop (Lives of the Abbots of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow VI ed. Farmer 1983, 190).

If such schemes were used, they were not sancrosanct for every cross differs slightly in the scenes chosen (Edwards 1982, fig. 23). Some such as the Fall, the Sacrifice of Isaac or the meeting of Paul and Anthony are common but their position on the cross and in relation to other narrative scenes varies. It has been suggested that different paruchiae could have had individual schemes for the laying out of the cross, but this does not appear to be borne out by recent work on the Columban and the Clonmacnois sculpture (Calvert 1978; Edwards 1982). Similarities between Kells and Iona for example, are more easily explained by the fact that Iona was the channel by which this type of stone sculpture was introduced to the north midlands (Calvert 1978, 101-30 241-262 270-1).

At Ruthwell and Bewcastle Ó Carragáin has pointed out the importance of liturgical inspiration in the laying out of the cross (Ó Carragáin 1978). His examples are taken from devotional rather than narrative scenes (as in the case of John the Baptist bearing the Agnus Dei on the face of Ruthwell) but he points out that the juxtaposition of two narrative scenes can have a hidden liturgical meaning (ibid., 131-4). Such an explanation might account for some of the variations in layout in Ireland.

Unfortunately, Ó Carragáin's research has been limited to the Northumbrian crosses and there is, as yet, little detailed study of the liturgical influences on the Irish series although Miss Roe mentions a liturgical Epiphany cycle in connection with the Ulster crosses (Roe 1981a, 27). One possibility however, is that the cross formed a figurative aid for a preacher. Irish homilies in this period were largely narrative in form although the surviving

material draws heavily on the saints _vitae_ rather then on biblical stories (Stokes 1877).

Much of the devotional and iconic sculpture which has been identified in Ireland appears to owe its inspiration to Northumbria and to be transmitted through Iona. Three crosses from the Hebrides: St Martin's, St Oran's and Kildalton have the Virgin and Child in a prominent position on the west face of the Cross, flanked by angels and, in the case of St Oran's, bordered off from the rest of the monument. These show close parallels with the cross head of Brechin although Christ lies with his head to the left and the angels are outside the border (ECMS III, 250). A number of other symbols also appear in Ireland such as the Exaltation of the Lamb on the north side at the base of the Market Cross, Kells or even Christ in Majesty with the Four Evangelists on the South Cross, Kells (Roe 1981a, 22,40). In many cases, these are in subordinate positions, and often difficult to see (Roe 1981a, 74).

The meditative function behind some of the ornament on free-standing crosses has recently been illuminated by Hilary Richardson in her article on the importance of numbers for early theologians (Richardson 1984). The number eight, for example, could symbolise Sunday, Easter, Regeneration, Baptism, Immortality and the Resurrection. The number five could be the five books of Mosaic law or the five senses of Man. Cubes, bosses, triskeles and lozenges, all could have a symbolic meaning known to the initiated alone. This is particularly important when trying to assess the function of crosses such as the Ahenny monuments or St John's, Iona which have no figural sculpture. On both St John's, Kilnave and Keills, some

of the abstract panels are clearly based on the figure eight while others emphasize four and five. Such art may have meant little to the population at large but would undoubtedly have been important to the theologically-informed as an aid to private devotion and meditation.

On the bases of some Irish crosses such as Bealin, the South cross at Clonmacnois or Kilkieran,are found hunting scenes similar to the Class II cross slabs of Pictland (Henry 1964, 52-8). Henry interpreted these as allegorical - indicating the spread of the Christian faith or, on another level, the soul as a hart, thirsting for God (Henry 1965, 152). Calvert however has suggested that these are essentially aristocratic and secular scenes, possibly representing the people who caused the monument to be erected (Calvert 1978, 157). Their position at the base of many crosses can be shared by inscriptions, asking for prayers on behalf of a patron (Higgitt 1986, 127) and Calvert's explanation appears therefore to be a likely one. Other evidence for direct lay involvement in the erection of crosses is rare in Ireland but one scene at the base the Cross of the Scriptures shows a warrior and a cleric inserting something (a cross?) into the ground (Henry 1965,pl 62).

This short summary of the ornament of free-standing crosses has shown a multitude of different functions at different levels: the same scene could be a pictorial reminder of biblical stories for the lay population, a liturgical aid to community devotion, a focus for private meditation and prayer. The free-standing crosses were designed so that one monument would represent Christian thought for all. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that where such crosses

are shown in pictorial representations, they are surrounded by people: either clerics as on the Papil stone or the Carndonagh lintel (Moar and Stewart 1944, 93; Lacy 1983, 249) or warriors as on the Forteviot arch (ECMS III, 325-6).

One final branch of ornament which must be discussed is the inscriptions. These are potentially the most valuable indicators of function but the use of stereotyped formulae has lessened their attraction for scholars until recently (Higgitt 1986). The language used is almost exclusively Irish while the content suggests that the readers were not necessarily clerical. This would point to a high level of vernacular literacy in the era in which the stones were made.

Of the inscriptions on undressed boulders or pillars, most are commemorative formulae, written in ogham. The common form is ' X (in the genitive), the son of Y' (Macalister 1945, xi). Further details are rare although one stone at Tullig More, Co. Cork commemorates a bishop while another at Arraglen, Co. Kerry commemorates a priest (Macalister 1945, 124-6,140-1). A third on the Isle of Man marks the grave of a druid's son (Kermode 1907, 15,96). The Welsh examples were heavily influenced by the Romans but they too frequently represent a religious community. (Examples are LLanddetty, Brecknockshire, Llantrisant, Anglesey, Aberdaron and Bodafon, Caernarvonshire (Nash-Williams 1950, 63,71,84,86). Approximately 34 of the Irish ogham stones in Macalister's corpus have crosses on them: these are generally simple linear, outline or Maltese crosses.

Of the more ornate pillar stones with the elaborate cross-forms, almost none have inscriptions. One at Inchagoill uses the burial formula of the ogham stones while another at Kilfountan, Co. Kerry reads 'SCI FINTAN' ; an inscription which looks as if it was a dedication stone but might mark the grave of a monk of St Fintan's community (ibid., 178-80). The longest inscription is found on a large pillar, ornamented with a number of incised crosses of different sizes and complexity, from Kilnasaggart, Co. Armagh. It reads:

> 'IN LOC SO TANIMMAIRNI TERNOHC MAC CERAN BIC ER CUL PETER
> APSTAL' (This place did Ternoc, son of Ciaran bequeath under
> the protection of Peter the Apostle) (Macalister 1949, 115).

Ternoc, son of Ciaran, is recorded in the Annals of Tigernach and the Annals of the Four Masters; he died c. AD 714/716. This is the only known example of a stone recording a land-grant in Ireland in the early mediaeval period although a very similar stone is known from Wales which reads 'The small waste plot of Ditoc (which) Occon, son of Asaitgen gave the Madomnuac' (Nash-Williams 1950, 124). It may be therefore that pillar stones often marked gifts of land but were not inscribed in this way, a conclusion supported by an eleventh-century description of Durrow:

> 'The youngest of the valiant children, Torulb, without
> weakness of effort, chose a land without any sorrow. He
> planted a pillar at its corner...' (De Courcy Williams
> 1899, 221).

Approximately fifteen of the free-standing crosses have inscriptions, generally at the base of the cross shaft. The formula

used is _oroit do X_ or 'pray for X'. The exception is the Tower

cross of Kells which reads '_Patricii et Columbae crux_' (Roe 1981a,

56). Between three and six stones ask for a prayer for the patron

who commissioned the cross while another two to four relate to the

craftsmen who made them (Higgitt 1986, 120-22).

By far the most frequent inscriptions occur on the recumbent

slabs. The majority seem to have been funerary or at least

commemorative in nature. The most common _formulae_, with 154

examples in Macalister's corpus (1949) are the related forms _or do_

_X_, _oroit ar X_ or _or ar X_; these are all Irish phrases meaning 'pray

for X'. 81 examples give the name alone, either in the nominative or

the genitive. 7 examples begin _bendacht_ or _bennacht_ ('a blessing on

X') but these are limited in their distribution to the south-west

with one exception in Roscommon (ibid., 74-5). Similarly, the 3

examples of _Crux X_ are limited to Inishmurray (ibid., 19-20) and the

3 _Lec X_ (the stone of X) to Co.Offaly. Other _formulae_ are few. The

most famous is the Tullylease slab, Co. Cork:

    'Quicumque hunc titulum legerit orat pro

    Berechtuine'(Macalister 1949, 92).

Others include _Adraim_ (I adore;ibid., 74) or _Animibus Omnium_

Fidelium (ibid., 82).

Personal details are rarely mentioned on the slabs. Of the 27

examples where some indication is given, there are 4 kings or lords

(Macalister 1949, 64,98,103,86), 3 bishops (ibid., 45,47,65), 3

craftsmen (ibid., 87,198,44), 3 priests (ibid., 90,108,126), 3 whose

tribal origins are specified (ibid., 89,46,53), 2 daughters (ibid.,

36,46), 2 (possible) anchorites (ibid., 81,82), 1 'AP' (=abbot?)

(ibid., 8), 1 pilgrim (ibid., 54) 1 group of canons (ibid., 7), 1 group of 'Romani' (ibid., 6), 1 murdered man (ibid., 66), 1 fosterer (ibid., 88) and 1 beggar whose title was written in _ogham_ (ibid., 9).

Interestingly, almost none can be definitely identified as female. Four to six examples are noted in Macalister's corpus, including the two who were commemorated as being the daughters of X. This is in contrast to the 131 males. However, the pool of unknown names is still very large (c.104 names) so that this heavy preponderance of males may be coincidental.

The inscriptions suggest a strong ecclesiastical patronage of these stones which is hardly surprising given that so many of them turn up on known monastic sites such as Clonmacnois or Nendrum. There is, however, no one grade of cleric who was honoured with these slabs and the fact that an equal number of bishops and priests is mentioned is surprising. This lack of uniformity is even more obvious in the secular examples. It would appear that those who had the wealth and the inclination to commission one of these slabs could do so without constraint. Few women were honoured with inscribed slabs; whether they had ornamented but uninscribed slabs is impossible to tell.

To conclude therefore, ornament can be used to identify the aims of the sculptor and to postulate that the spectators he was trying to reach were Christian but it is rarely a specific indicator of function. Without its inscription we would not know that the Kilnasaggart pillar records a land-grant and we have no information

on how many other similarly ornamented but uninscribed stones do the same. The people who looked at these monuments appear to have been from a Christian society but one whom the sculptors sought to impress in a variety of different ways. The abstract cross-forms of the pillars and boulders speak of the individual unity of the different sites while the recumbent slabs, on the other hand, deliberately restrain their individuality to produce a unified corpus, open to all who had the wealth to purchase it. The Fahan Mura type cross slabs seek to commemorate, the caryatid figures to intimidate and overawe, the free-standing crosses to ornament and to teach.

With the exception of the twelfth-century 'Bishop's Crosses' this ornament appears most at home in a monastic milieu but this phrase conceals a wide variety in the complexity of possible institutions. The more complex the monument, in fact, the greater the emphasis on the 'lay' element among the spectators; a literate, often secularised community with some knowledge of the Bible. Whether this community formed part of a monastic complex as lay-brothers or manaig tenantry or whether they were outside it altogether is at present unknown and must remain so until more work has been done on the manaig and the pastoral work of the early Irish church.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The majority of the documentary references to sculptured stone relate to crosses or cross-inscribed stones. The exceptions are the bullauns. In a vita about Coemgen of Glendalough, for example, a deer left her milk in a holed stone for the saint's foster-child and this was identified by Price as a bullaun (Life of Coemgen III XVII ed. Plummer 1922 II, 159; Price 1959, 188). In the Life of Mac Creiche, a holed stone was found outside the door of the oratory and was used in the same way (II ed. Plummer 1925, 53). Both these references are probably late and the mythological nature of the stories suggests that they were woven around extant features of the site whose function the writers did not know.

Crosses are relatively frequently mentioned in documentary sources but the authors rarely specify what exactly they mean by the word 'cross'. This makes it almost impossible to identify the monuments known from archaeology. In the Tripartite Life, Patrick drew a cross on a flagstone (Stokes 1887 I, 78-9) while Tírechan speaks of raising 'a stone for the sign of the cross of Christ' (Tírechan 45). At least two references speak of wooden crosses: Bishop Patrick's Verse, (ed. Gwynn 1955, 102-3) and an entry in the Annals of the Four Masters for the year 871. We may perhaps assume that when a cross is raised (Tírechan, 45) it is standing (Adamnan III 25) or if it is a monument before which events take place (Bigotian Penitential III 3 ed. Bieler 1963, 225) that the monument is standing erect. Phrases such as 'crux est possita' (Vita Sancti Coemgeni XXXVIII ed. Plummer 1910 I, 253) or 'multe cruces

conspiciuntur' (Vita Sancti Declani ed. Plummer 1910 II, 159) do not tell us anything about the nature of the monument other than that it bore a cross-form.

There can be a difference between the original purpose for which a cross was built and the use to which a cross was later put. In the Life of Cainnech for example, the saint saw a cross beside a roadside, said the office of the ninth hour beside it but was eventually told that it was originally erected over a grave (Vita Sancti Cainnici XXXI ed. Plummer 1910 I, 163). This story warns us that a simple explanation of a cross's function is rarely sufficient; it could have a variety of uses and these could change over time. This is also apparent in some of the later topographical references. In the Annals of the Four Masters under the year 1070, the causeway at Clonmacnois is described as running from the cross of Bishop Etchen to the Irdom Chiarain. In other words the cross formed a convenient topographical reference point but it was not necessarily erected for that purpose.

A crucial difficulty is the lack of certainty regarding the dates for the sources. If crosses changed their function through time, this is not necessarily going to be revealed in the sources which are only roughly datable. In some of the more exotic vitae, which are, for that reason, presumed late, a cross is part of 'church requirements' specifically linked to a mother-church or a parish church (Life of Bairre of Cork XVII ed. Plummer 1922 II, 17; Herbert 1986, 203). This is an anachronistic function for a supposedly seventh or eighth-century church. In the material known to be from the seventh-century: the Lives of Patrick by Muirchú and

Tírechán or the Life of Columba by Adamnan, crosses mark graves (Muirchú II 2; Tírechán 41; Adamnan I 25) or areas where events took place in the past (Adamnan III 24; Tírechán 34,43). Whether these were the only functions assigned to crosses at that period or simply the only ones that these authors happened to mention, is unknown.

Furthermore, the nature of the documents can also have an *effect* on how the cross is portrayed. In the penitentials, the cross was used to swear oaths upon (Old-Irish Penitential XIV ed. Bieler 1963, 267) while in the Rule of Ailbe of Emly the monks would do penance in front of it (25c, 29 ed. O'Neill 1907, 99-103). In the Félire Óengus, crosses indicated extreme holiness (45, ed. Stokes 1905, 19) and in the Monastery of Tallaght (ed. Gwynn and Purton 1911, 151) it was used as a topographical reference. In ecclesiastical ritual, the sign of the cross could be made after Communion, (Rule of the Céli Dé ed. Reeves 1864, 205) or at Baptism. These are all texts which were written for the use of ecclesiastics (generally monks) and the cross and its function are rarely mentioned.

This is not the case with the saints' vitae, written for a wider public and concerned primarily with the importance of the patron saint. In these the cross is frequently mentioned but more often as the sign of the cross than as a monument. The primary function of the sign of the cross is for healing (Vita Sancti Abbani 39 ed. Plummer 1910 I, 26; Life of Malachy 67 ed. Lawlor 1920, 119); other functions include a show of power, protection, a symbol of the Christian faith, or to reinforce a curse (Vita Sancti Comgalli XV, ed. Plummer 1910 II, 18; Adamnan II 15; Jocelyn's Life of Kentigern

XLI ed. Forbes 1874, 109; Life of Ruadan XII ed. Plummer 1922 II, 314). The saints are also shown making the sign of the cross preaching and as a simple act of piety (Amhra Coluimb Cille VII, VIII ed. Stokes 1899; Vita Sancti Colmani de Land Elo 36 ed. Plummer 1922 II, 273). Monumental crosses could heal (Life of Maedoc of Ferns XXI ed. Plummer 1922 II, 202) or could mark a place of sanctuary (Ua Sanaig IV ed. Plummer 1922 II, 303). They could also mark the route of a pattern as in the Life of Maedoc of Ferns (ed. Plummer 1922 II, 274) or denote areas where important events once took place (Vita Sancti Barri VII, ed. Plummer 1910 I, 73). These are all uses which emphasise the power of the cross and its importance in community life. It seems therefore that the monasteries publicised the cross in order to increase their own secular standing whereas in private, although they venerated it, they saw no reason to emphasise its power.

It is in this context that we must understand the few accidental references made to crosses in relation to the topography of early sites. In Adamnan's Vita Columbae a cross was erected before a kiln, another on a roadside outside the monastery (Adamnan I 35, III 24). In the Monastery of Tallaght, the cross was in front of a hostel, in the Life of Mac Creiche, on a ridge between the church and the sea. In the Life of Berach it was found at the end of a causeway and in the Life of Baire (VII ed. Plummer 1910 I, 73; XVII 1922 II, 17) it was in front of the church. In other words the documentary sources imply that a cross could be erected anywhere that was suitable; no guidelines were laid down. Apart from the pictorial reference in the Book of Mulling, none are described as marking the termon or a boundary. Instead the areas which are

emphasised are those where secular population would have been in contact with the monks. This is particularly true of the boundaries of the monastery for these were often occupied by large numbers of people (see above, 80-83).

The present distribution of crosses on early ecclesiastical sites has been affected by later activity but the disparate locations of these monuments is still worthy of note (see for example Hamlin 1987). If the above interpretation of the sources is correct, one of the reasons the crosses are so widely dispersed is because they were not central to the monks' lives; they were erected to show the populace the power of the Church. As such, they could be found anywhere that was under ecclesiastical control and probably more often in those areas where the Church held control over a larger community. This would make the positioning of crosses on borders particularly apt.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this chapter was to elucidate the functions of early mediaeval sculpture through an examination of the different means available to us; their form, their position, their ornament and the documentary sources which record them. By looking at the stones from a number of viewpoints, different aspects of the sculpture are highlighted. Through a study of form, the practical function of much of the stonework and the ways in which stone was used as a domestic medium are indicated. Through a consideration of ornament, it is possible to visualise the sectors of society for whom the

stones were decorated. This information facilitates an assessment of the data from the other two categories which, in both cases, have been affected by time. The position of the stones have been changed through later use and through the value placed upon the sculpture by succeeding generations. The references in the documentary sources are generally incidental to their main theme with the results that few, if any, of the references refer explicitly to monuments which can be recognised in the field.

The nature of the question is such that direct evidence will always be minimal; much depends on the way in which the individual reacts to the ornament he perceives. Although the conclusions must, therefore, remain hypothetical, the exercise does result in a wider appreciation of the context in which stone-carving took place and a more open mind on its possible functions.

The most important source for a study of the early chapels and burial grounds of Islay are the Ordnance Survey Name Books, compiled for the first edition of the six inch map of the island in the 1870s. Subsequent surveys such as the Islay Archaeological Survey and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland have relied heavily on these, making it important to state what exactly is the evidence which the Name Books provide.

Of the 68 sites noted, 42 were burial grounds and 26 were chapel sites. In 21 cases, the chapels and burial grounds were associated. The terminology used to describe them varied considerably. There are two 'supposed' burial sites and a third where the site was 'said to be' a burial ground. Two further burial grounds were described as 'the site of a burial ground'. Eleven graveyards were no longer in use and there was one, by Loch Lossit, whose date of use could not be ascertained. Ten were described as 'ancient' while another four were merely 'old'. Six burial grounds had no qualifying description whatsoever and five were still in use in the nineteenth century. These were Kiells, Kilmeny, Kilarrow, Kilchoman and Kilnaughton and they have continued in use to the present day.

Of the chapel sites all were 'disused' in the sense that all were regarded as being pre-Reformation in date. Many were 'in ruins'. In six cases the site of the chapel alone was noted, while in ten the chapel qualified as 'ancient' and in a further three as 'old'. In seven cases no judgement was made, the 'remains' or 'ruins' alone

TABLE 4 : BURIAL GROUNDS ON ISLAY IN THE O.S. NAME BOOKS

SITE OF	FORMERLY USED	ANCIENT
Cladh Dhubhain	Cill Ronain	Cladh Haco
Cragabus	Bruichladdich	Duisker II
Borricille	Cill Eathain	Craigens
Cill Luchaig	Claggan	Gruniart
Callumkill	Farkin's Cottage	Nereabolls I
	Kilbride	Mulreesh
	Cill Moire	Cill Brennan
	Texa	Laggan
	Cill an Ailein	Cill Tobar Lasrach
	Kilslevan	Trudernish
	Kepollsmore	
	Nave Island	

OLD	UNKNOWN DATE	STILL IN USE
Cill Choman	Loch Lossit	Kiells
Cnoc na Cille		Kilarrow
Duisker I		Kilchoman
Loch Finlaggan		Kilmeny
Gleann na Gaoith		Kilnaughton

	NO DESCRIPTION	
	Cladh Eilister	
	Kilchiaran	
	Kildalton	
	Kilnave	

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TABLE 5 : CHAPELS ON ISLAY IN THE O.S. NAME BOOKS

SITE OF	ANCIENT	OLD
Loch Lossit	Kilslevan	Kilchiaran
Kilarrow	Kilmeny	Gleann na Gaoith
Glenegedale	Bruichladdich	Texa
Bridgend	Nereabolls II	
Ballitarsin	Kildalton	
Killennan	Duisker I	
	Kiells	
	Laggan	
	Trudernish	
	Kilnave	

NO DESCRIPTION
Cill Choman
Craigens
Duisker II
Kilnaughton
Loch Finlaggan
Mulreesh
Nave Island

being recorded.

This variation in the terminology used by the O.S surveyors does not appear to reflect exact shades of meaning. The 'old' burial ground of Finlaggan was traditionally believed to belong to the fourteenth-century Lords of the Isles (O.S. Name Book 39, 132) while the 'ancient' burial grounds of Nereabolls and Laggan were both in use in the seventeenth century (see below, 138). 'Ancient' chapels include four whose mortared remains are still standing today while the 'old' chapel of Texa was recorded as being in use by Fordun in the fourteenth century. It would appear, therefore, that the words 'ancient' and 'old' were regarded as interchangeable terms by the O.S. surveyors and that they are not a guide to the relative age of the site or to the condition of the standing remains.

On the other hand, a clear distinction can be made between those burial grounds formerly in use or where only the sites survived, and those which were still in use. If those for which no qualifying adjectives were used, are added to those used in the nineteenth century, a maximum total of nine sites in use in the nineteenth century emerges. This is far short of the 68 sites documented and is an indicator that all sites were not necessarily in use at the same time in any period.

The Name Books are not the only source to document the Islay sites although they are undoubtedly the most prolific. There are five further sites recorded from local information by the Islay Archaeological Group in the fifties, the Department of the Environment in the sixties and early seventies and the Royal

CHURCH SITES ON ISLAY : KEY

1. Ardilistry
2. Ballitarsin
3. Blackrock
4. Borricille
5. Bruichladdich
6. Callumkill
7. Carn
8. Cill an Ailein
9. Cill Brennan
10. Cill Choman
11. Cill Eathain
12. Cill Luchaig
13. Cill Moire
14. Cill Ronain
15. Cill Tobar Lasrach
16. Cladh Dhubhain
17. Cladh Eathain
18. Cladh Haco
19. Claggan
20. Cragabus
21. Craigens
22. Craigfad
23. Duisker I
24. Duisker II
25. Farkin's Cottage
26. Gartacharra
27. Gartmain

28. Gleann na Gaoi
29. Glenegedale
30. Gruniart
31. Kepollsmore
32. Kilarrow
33. Kilbride
34. Kilcavan
35. Kilchiaran
36. Kilchoman
37. Kildalton
38. Killennan
39. Kilmeny
40. Kilnaughton
41. Kilnave
42. Kilslevan
43. Laggan
44. Loch Finlaggan
45. Loch Finlaggan
46. Loch Lossit
47. Mackenzie Isl
48. Mulreesh
49. Nave Island
50. Nereabolls I
51. Nereabolls II
52. Orsay
53. Texa
54. Tockmal
55. Trudernish
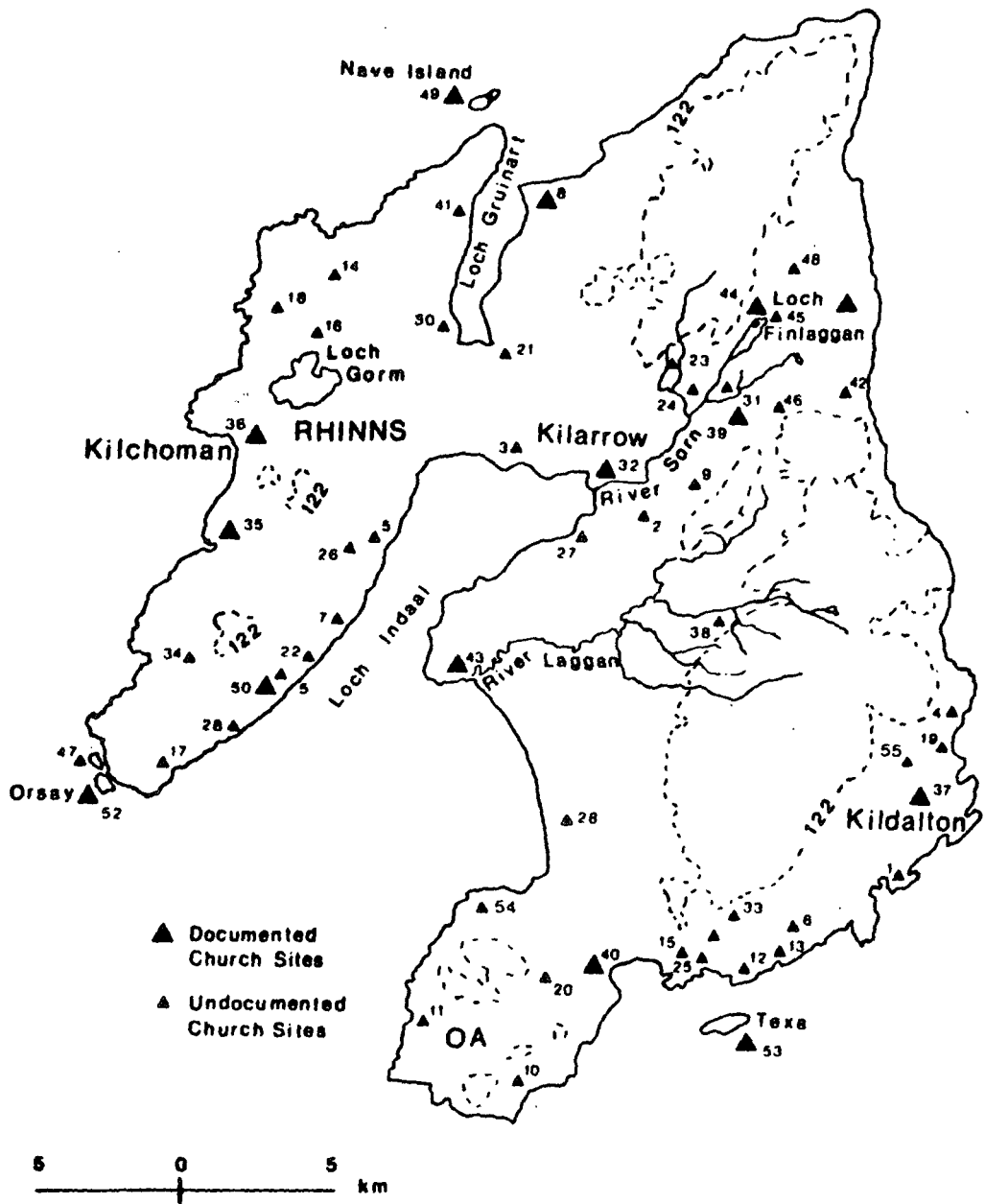
Fig. 2 : Church sites on Islay

Commission in the 1970s and 80s. These include Blackrock (NR 311 636) where no trace of a chapel survives and where local information concerning the site is limited. At Gartacharra (NR 253 615), a circular enclosure has been identified as a possible burial ground although its association with a Bronze Age standing stone makes a firm identification impossible. At Craigfad (NR 232 555), a _caibeal_ (chapel) was ploughed out c. 1975; graves and two mortared stones were reported as having been disturbed by the operation (Mr D. Clark, the farmer of Craigfad, pers.comm.). At Ardilistry (NR 447 486), a chapel was identified by the Royal Commission on archaeological criteria (RCAHMS Argyll V, 157).

In the last century, T.S. Muir recorded 'traces of buildings and a burying ground on the north side of Mackenzie Island' (to the south of the Rhinns) which he believed belonged to a religious house of some kind (Muir 1885, 16). This belief may owe something to the seventeenth-century account in MacFarlane's Geographical Collections which refers to 'hermitts' living on the isle (ed. Mitchell 1907 II, 191). Finally, the memory of a chapel site known as Kilcavan, at Kelsay in the south Rhinns, is recorded by Mr MacEarcharna in a list given to him by a local resident, Mr Gilbert Clark. In his youth, Mr Clark (now in his eighties) was given the list by the minister's nephew but he himself has never visited the sites described. The list also includes other unknown sites such as Cill Chatain and Cill Thomhain, both in the Oa, but as no further information is available, these have been excluded from the following study (MacEarcharna 1976, 52-3; Mr Clark, pers. comm.).

Confirmation of the mediaeval status of these sites by earlier sources is limited. In the Old Statistical Account of 1794, Kilchoman, Texa, Kildalton, Kilnaughton, Kilarrow and Kilmeny are mentioned by name and reference is made to another six sites in the Rhinns. From the description, it appears likely that these were Nave Island, Kilnave, Orsay, Kilchiaran, Nereabolls I and Gleann na Gaoith (Old Statistical Account, ed. Sinclair 1794 XI, 280,290, 294,298,301) Pennant in 1772 mentions Kiells, Kilarrow and Loch Finlaggan as important mediaeval sites (1790 I, 252).

A most important source for our purpose is the late seventeenth-century account by Martin Martin, for after the Name Books, it is one of the most detailed of our sources. In it, Martin describes the chapel of Finlaggan as 'ruinous' and he gives a detailed account of a previously unknown chapel in the north-east of the island known as 'Toubir in Knahar'. As its name suggests, this chapel was the site of a holy well and people who had been cured in its waters would resort to the chapel to give thanks (Martin 1934, 274). More valuable information is provided by Martin's account of the churches in use in his own day. These included:

> 'Kill-Columkill, St Columbus his church near Port Escock,
> Kilchovan in the Rins, on the west side the Isle,
> Kil-Chiaran in Rins, on the west side, Nerbols in the Rins,
> St Columbus his church in Laggan, a chapel in island Nave,
> and Kilhan Alen North-West of Kilrow. There is a cross
> standing near St Columbus's or Port Escock side which is ten
> feet high.... All the inhabitants are Protestants - some
> among them observe the festivals of Christmas and Good
> Friday...' (Martin 1934, 275).

In other words eight or nine churches were in contemporary use in Martin's day. A question mark lies over the church of Kill-Columkill for two areas with this name are to be found on Pont's map of the island in 1654 (see Storrie 1981, 46). One of these is Kiells which is obviously the site of St Columbus near Port Escock. Unlike Callumkill (the second site), on the south-east of the island) Kiells boasts a substantial late mediaeval mortared church, most of which is still standing. As 'the islanders generally speak the Irish tongue' it may be that Martin was merely recording the one site under the two different names by which it was known.

This appears even more plausible when it is noted that Martin only recorded two sites in the south-east of the island; Texa and Dunyveg. Both of these were recorded by Munro in the previous century in his Western Isles Of Scotland, a book which had helped prompt Martin to visit the other islands (Martin 1934, 61). In contrast Martin recorded eight places of interest in the Rhinns and a further fourteen in the north-east. If he had not visited the south-east, it would explain the curious omission of Kildalton from his list of contemporary churches. In 1794, the then Minister of Kildalton recorded that it was about a century since public worship had been recorded in the old parish church and it was in use in 1626 (Smith 1895, 480-2). It cannot, therefore, be automatically assumed that Martin's list is a complete one and it may be that other churches besides Kildalton were also in use at that date.

An obvious contender would be the church of Kilnaughton. In 1626 Kildalton and Kilnaughton were recorded as 'two paroche kirks' of

the island; the others being 'Kilcheran, Kilchoman, Kilmaony and Killmorvin' (sic). Although no other source records either Kilnaughton or Kilmeny as independent parish churches (see Cowan 1967, 105,108 and below, 202). Sibbald's manuscript does suggest that both churches were in operation at this date (ed. Smith 1895, 480-2). Plans were made to erect a third church at Kilbride in 1651 by the Synod of Argyll which would serve, not only Kildalton and Kilnaughton but Jura as well. Although some sort of structure appears to have been built on the site (see RCHAMS Argyll V, 31 and below, 201), the plans to unify the three parishes do not appear to have materialised (Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, ed Mactavish 1943 I, 246).

For the sixteenth century, there is Munro's Description referred to above. Munro recorded (in the past tense) the existence of 'ane fair chappell' at Loch Finlaggan and in the present tense, four parish churches in 'Killmheny, Killmorvin, Kilchoman and Kildalton'. On the lesser islands he records Oresay - 'ane paroche kirk', Tisgay - 'ane kirk' and Ellan-nese - 'ane kirk'. Munro was made Archdeacon of the Isles in 1549 and he spent a year travelling around the diocese with the duty of visiting all its churches and inspecting the parish clergy. He appears to have visited Islay personally for he uses the first person plural in his account of the voyage around the island and his description is probably to be trusted although he left out the site of Kiells.

Kiells is documented as having been held jointly in 1503 and again in 1542 with the chapel at Finlaggan (ref. in RCAHMS Argyll V, 161). As Munro does not mention the site, it might have been held

in absentia during this period.

Another list of church sites is to be found in the 1509 rental, the Fermes of Islay. These include the Capella Sancti Columbe cum terra ejusdem and the Capella de Ylane Inlagane. There was also the Cella Sancti Columbe de Arrobollis identified by the Royal Commission as Nereabolls I. Although the rental goes on to list church lands held at sites such as 'Kilmokew' and 'Kilmane' it does not specify whether the churches on such lands were still in use.

A number of sources in the Papal Registers and elsewhere refer to Islay sites in the fifteenth century. The sites mentioned are the three parish sites of Kilarrow, Kilchoman and Kildalton while the church at Nereabolls is mentioned as a holding of the Abbot of Derry (Cowan 1967, 94,97,99). In 1428, the church of Kilchoman was commended by the Pope to the then Bishop of the Isles for his lifetime in order that he might better 'support his dignity' (Calender of Scottish Supplications to Rome, ed. Lindsay and Dunlop 1956, 197-8). In general, however, the parishes seem to have been perpetual vicarages under the patronage of the Lords of the Isles and held by local men.

There are three sites which may have been in use in the fourteenth century. One is the cella monachorum on Texa mentioned by Fordun (II,x ed. Smith 1895, 484) while the other two are the chapels on an oilean Eorsaigh (Orsay) and oilean Fionlagain (Loch Finlaggan) which are said to have been roofed by Good John of Islay prior to 1380 (Book of Clanranald ed. Cameron 1894, 158-9). Documentary evidence for the existence of Islay churches prior to

the fourteenth century is provided by the Papal Bull of 1203 in
which Innocent III grants the _ecclesias Yle_ to the patrimony of the
Benedictine abbey at Iona but unfortunately, these cannot be
identified:

> 'In quibus sub propriis duximus exprimenda uocabulis locum
> ipsum in quo prefatum monasterium situm est cum omnibus
> partinentijs suis: ecclesias de Insegal. de Mule. de
> Coluansei. de Cheldubsenaig. de Chelcenneg. et de Yle.
> Insulas Hy. Mule. Coluansei. Oruansei. Canei et Calue.
> Terra de Magenburg. de Mangecheles. de Heilnean. de
> Sotesdal. Terras Abberade in Yle de Markarna et de
> Camusnanesre' (ed. Reeves 1874, 354).

As detailed above, we cannot be sure that any of our sources
prior to the Ordnance Survey provides a complete survey of all
churches in contemporary use. Even Munro's description omits the
church of Kiells which is known to have been occupied as late as
1543. Nor do the sources make it clear exactly which churches had
parochial status at what period. There is, on the other hand, a
distinction to be made between those churches which are mentioned in
the sources, many of which are repeatedly mentioned, and those which
are never referred to at all. The former include the churches of
Kilchoman, Kildalton, Kilarrow, Kilmeny, Loch Finlaggan, Texa,
Orsay, Nave Island, Kilchiaran, Nereabolls, Laggan, Kiells, Cill an
Ailein and Kilnaughton. The latter include all the drystone sites
on the island, together with the mortared church at Kilnave. This
is not to say that none of the drystone sites were in use during the
same period; the example of Martin's 'Toubir in Knahar' is a
sufficient warning that small local churches could easily go

undocumented as late as the seventeenth century. At the same time, some distinction between the two groups, whether of status or of age (or both) is apparent.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Although it cannot be ascertained how many churches were in use at any one period, the sources do appear to indicate that not all churches were in use at the same time. This makes a study of the distribution of church sites difficult. The most popular method is to ignore possible chronological differences and to give equal weighting to all churches. This method is of use when discussing the type of location chosen for church sites (see Hurley, 1982 307-10 and above, 54-58) but it is less defensible when trying to assess the distribution of church sites in relation to settlement (see Cant 1984). In this study, each factor will be studied both in relation to undocumented sites and in relation to sites mentioned in the mediaeval records. As this is merely an attempt to identify favoured locations for church sites on Islay rather than an interpretation of their status, the sites will include all those to which reference has been made in the Name Books and other sources, although, as we have seen, the evidence is not of uniform quality.

If significant differences between the two groups are thrown up, it may substantiate the possibility of a long chronological span of foundation. Alternatively, if all churches could be shown to share the same characteristics, this could be interpreted as showing a constant type of church location being favoured on Islay or,

alternatively, a single major phase of foundations.

The most obvious association between church sites and the Islay topography is with the sea. Twenty sites or 50% of undocumented sites are within one kilometre of the coast. Another five sites are further away but still in view of the sea, bringing the percentage of the total to 62.5%. This trend is even more striking in the documented churches where ten of the fourteen churches or 71.4% are within one kilometre.

More important, although not visible from the distribution map (see Fig.2), are the number of sites associated with fresh water, some 75%. In 67.5% of sites, these are streams, springs or rivers; only three sites are associated with fresh water lakes. Interestingly, in each case, there is an important late mediaeval secular site on the same lake. For the documented churches the figures are nine of the fourteen churches associated with fresh water (64.3%), one of which is on Loch Finlaggan, as opposed to five (35.7%) where no association is visible.

This high association with fresh water may mean that the sites were occupied the whole year around. On the other hand, many of the coastal sites today are very exposed for winds along the Islay coastline can attain speeds of 8m per second with an average of 4.4/ 6.2m per second (Brown et al. 1982, 8-9). The average number of days with gale force winds is approximately 35 per year. Rain-fall is even with a total of 130 cm per year, most of which falls between October and March (Storrie 1981, 23).

What relevance these statistics have for the period of the churches' foundations is unknown. Lamb has argued that following a climatic optimum in the years AD 900 to 1300 conditions deteriorated to present day levels or even lower in the later mediaeval period (Lamb 1982, 162-17). If this means that wind speeds were roughly similar to today, then it is worth examining the number of sites which sought protection from such elements. The prevailing wind on Islay is from the south-west, in common with the rest of the Atlantic coastline. The majority of undocumented sites were not protected from the south-west; only 35% or 14 sites. The documented sites provide exactly similar figures ; five of the fourteen or 35.7%. These figures are based on many assumptions but the results may suggest that the large number of sites associated with fresh water is deceptive. It may be that the water was needed for liturgical purposes, and specifically for baptism, rather than for domestic purposes. Alternatively, the church sites could have been loosely associated with a larger settlement which was protected against the wind.

The other important association for the Islay church sites is with slopes; 90% of undocumented church sites and 71.4% of documented church sites are found on or at the base of low hills. These figures break down into 40% at the base (35.7% for documented churches); 22.5% on the middle of a slope or plateau (21.4%) and 27.5% (14.3%) on top of slopes. Only a mere eight sites are found in the centre of the valley floors or on flat land by the sea-shore.

But although 50% of undocumented sites are found on hills (subtracting the 40% at the base) the height in absolute terms is
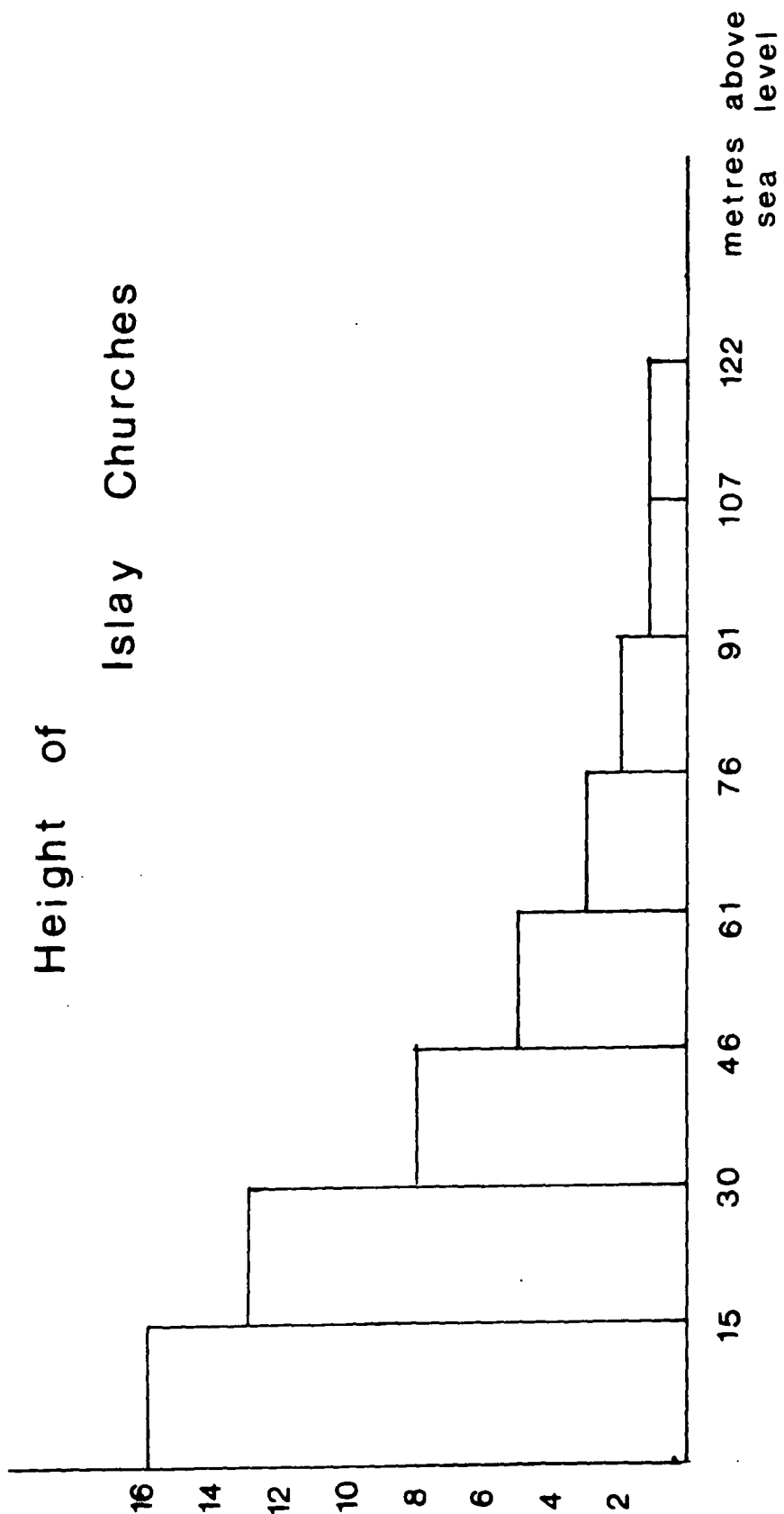
Fig.3 : Height above sea-level of the Islay churches

still very low. Nineteen sites (47.5%) are under 30m above sea-level and only 12.5% (five sites) are over 76m above sea-level. For the documented sites the figures are 71.4% beneath the 30m level and 7.1% or the single site of Kiells above 76m. These low heights indicate that although prominence in the landscape was important, proximity to good land and soil conditions was equally important.

There are a number of problems in trying to discover the agricultural value of a past landscape. The present soil-map of Islay is a provisional one published by the Macaulay Institute in 1981. To investigate the subject one is, therefore, using information which was collected a minimum of five hundred years after the period of the foundation of the churches although we know that soils did not remain static in the intervening period (Limbrey 1975 passim). In particular, the blanket bog which covers a large part of the island and forms an important natural barrier between the south-east and the rest of the island, may have only been in its initial stages or even induced by agricultural practices on the island (ibid., 171).

The second difficulty is that farming practices have changed substantially in the intervening period. As Nieke has pointed out with specific reference to Argyll, traces of rig and furrow still visible show that areas now used only for rough grazing were once extensively cultivated (Nieke 1984, 27). Areas in Islay where this is particularly obvious are the glens of the Oa and the areas around Loch Gorm and the western Rhinns in general. Although the only cereals grown today are for stock consumption (Baguley 1963, 31), the Old Statistical Account stressed the amount of arable land

available while as far back as 1573, Ortelius described the island as 'fertile in grain and rich in minerals' (quoted in Storrie 1981, 5). In 1596 the produce of a single holding was described as follows:

'Ilk merkland in this ile payis yeirlie three mairtis and ane half, 14 wedderis, 28 geis, 4 dozen and 4 pultrie, 5 bollis malt with ane peck to ilk boll, 4 bollis meill, 20 stane of cheis and twa merk of silver and ilk merk land man sustein daylie and yeirlie ane gentleman in meit and claith quhilk dois na labour but is haldin as ane of thair maisters household men and man be susteinit and furneisit in all necessaries be the tennent, and be man be reddie to his maistir's service and adois. Ilk town in this ile is twa merk and ane half and payis yeirlie of gersum at Beltane four ky with calf - 4 yowis with lamb, 4 geis, 9 hennis and 10 shillings of silver' (ed. Smith 1895, 478).

In the same manuscript the island was described as 'plenteous of woodis, quhairen are mony deir, raes and wild foullis' and 'all kinds of fisches and speciallie salmond'. The island as a whole was rated at eighteen score 'merks'.

It seems clear, therefore, that Islay was once more extensively cultivated then it is today and land which is now considered suitable only for rough pasture was then arable land. In other words, the information contained in the soil and land-capability maps is only useful in relative terms not in absolute ones.

Relatively then, the church sites of Islay are concentrated on some of the best lands on the island. Church sites are known from every area of Grade 4 land on the island, around Claggan Bay, and the south-east coast, the mouth of the Sorn and the top of Loch Indaal and in patches on the west and north of the Rhinns. Churches also occur on Grade 5 lands in the uplands of the Sorn and Laggan valleys and in the south of the Rhinns. Only two church sites, both recorded as 'sites of' in the Name Books exist on the Grade 6 lands which covers most of the island. These are Kilbrennan and Kilennan both on the edges of the high hills of the east coast.

The majority are in areas of transitional soil-type ; forty-five out of a total of all fifty-five sites or 83.3%. Unfortunately this tells us relatively little about previous usage for it is a characteristic of the area to find 'marked short-range variation in both soil types and soil properties'. This is due to the varied geological landscape and the interaction between ridges and hollows (Brown et al 1982, 14; see above xvi-xvii). Of the undocumented sites, nine are found on the best land in the vicinity (22.5%); fourteen are found on the worst land (35%) and six on the exact border line (15%). The documented sites have rather different proportions; five on good land (35.7%), four on worse land (28.6%) and two on the border line (14.3%). There does not, therefore, appear to have been a policy of siting Islay churches on peripheral agricultural land, as has been argued for example, in Clare (Mytum 1982). The fact that the sites all occur on some of the best agricultural land on Islay does suggest that cultivable land was attached to the churches and that they were not wholly supported by the community. The high percentage of sites with transitional

Grade 3
Grade 4
Grade 5
Grade 6
Unusable
+ Church Site
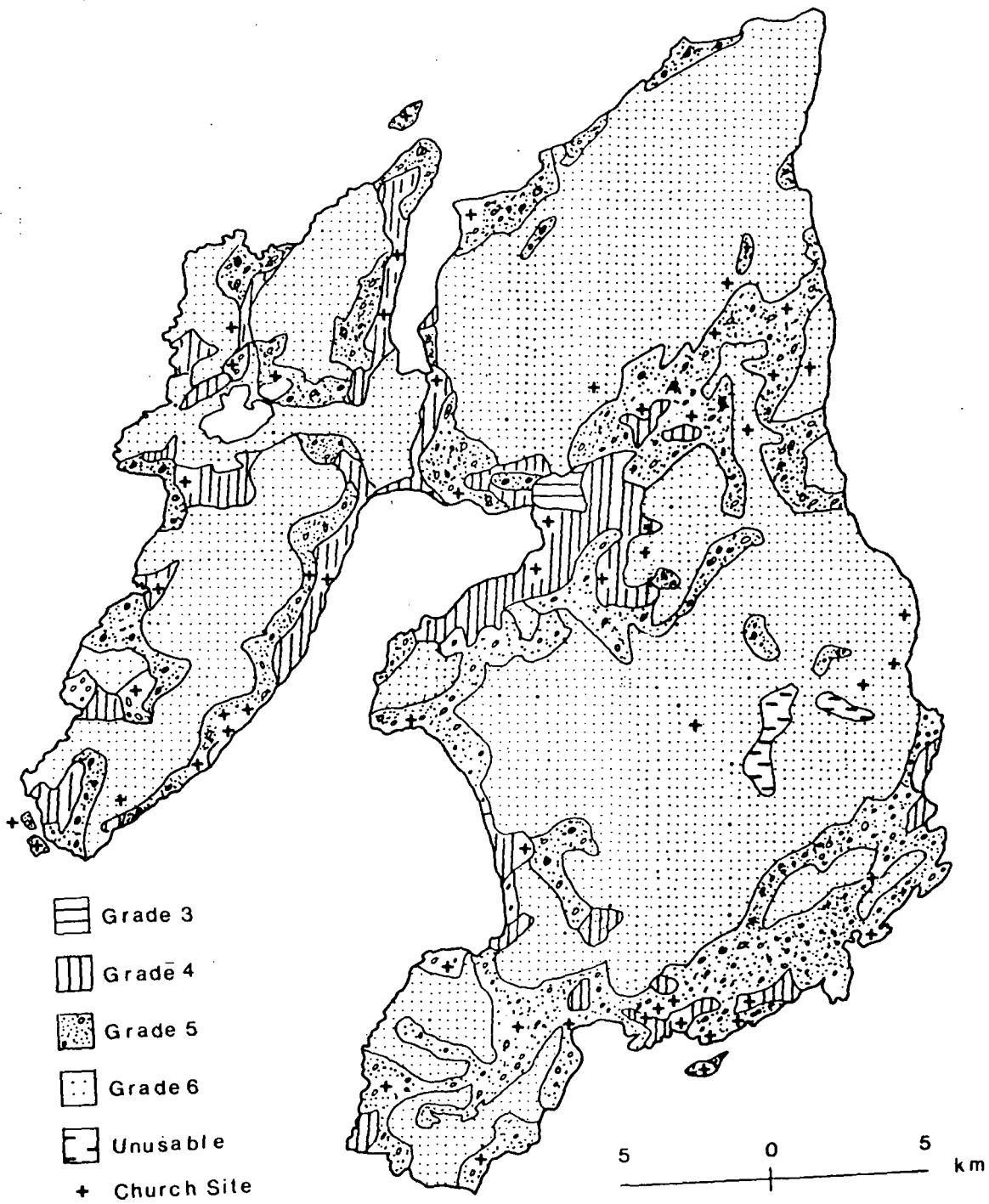
Fig.4 : Church sites in relation to agricultural land
on Islay (see Fig.2 for key)

soil-types may indicate that they practised a mixed agricultural economy such as is indicated in the sixteenth-century sources but the large number of different soil types on the island makes this suggestion impossible to prove.

DISTRIBUTION IN RELATION TO COMMUNICATIONS

The distribution of church sites in relation to communications suffers from many of the same problems as that of topography and soil-types. The earliest depiction of roads on Islay occurs on MacDougall's map of the island in 1751, copies of which survive in the Islay Estates Office. He surveyed the island between 1749 and 1751 when he published the map. Immediately previous to this, local concern over the state of the roads was being recorded in the Stent Book. On February the 18th, 1731, the Islay parliament resolved that 'considering that the highways of Islay want to be mended... that worklooms must be made for that affect' (Ramsay 1890, 14). On the fourteenth of July 1744, the parliament appointed the two last days of summer and the first day of harvest for working on the high roads (ibid., 29). The exact specifications of which roads were to be mended is recorded for the first time on the 14th July 1749:

'They alsoe Appoint that roads be wrought on Upon the 27th,28th,and 29th Curt.as that at places where they last left of. Except that the people of the Oae work from Kentrae towards Lagivilline and that such people as formerly wrought on Carninish road work this year at Killarrow Water where directed, That Rond. Balichlavan and the men about Port Askag work at the key of Port Askag. That the rexive

Surveyors shall direct as to the rest of the roads' (Ramsay 1890, 36).

This interest in road working continued into the 1750s, long notices appearing under the years 1750,1751,1753 and 1754. The road from Lagavulin to Kintra is part of the island system as depicted by MacDougall and the phrase 'where they last left off' may mean that some if not all of his roads are eighteenth-century creations. No roads are visible on Pont's map of the island a hundred years earlier (see Storrie 1981, 46). On the other hand, even if MacDougall's roads are of late date, they appear to reflect mediaeval rather than modern systems of communications. The most important roads lead to Loch Finlaggan, Sunderland and Ballygrant; areas which were important secular centres in the mediaeval period but the two former sites are not on the main road system today. In addition MacDougall does not appear to be depicting roads in the modern sense but rather drove roads or known routes of communication. Between Kintra and Laggan the 'road' goes along Machrie beach, a system of traversing the peat bogs of the Duich which remained in operation until the middle of the nineteenth century (Mrs Freda Ramsay pers. comm.).

A methodology for studying routeways no longer visible in the landscape was outlined by Colm Ó Lochláinn in the nineteen forties. He argued that roads were influenced by the local topography and that place-names such as áth(ford) or bealach(gap) were important pointers to previous lines of communication. Alternatively, one could study the routes taken by travellers documented in the historical sources to see if any consistency emerged which might

indicate a roadway (1940, 466-7).

Difficulties can arise using this method for it is often impossible to date the place-name and in consequence the date of the route. For example, the Irish word droichead which Ó Lochláinn lists as one of the words indicating mediaeval roads, is still the modern Irish word for bridge. It occurs in two Islay place-names: Droichead Bheag, over the River Laggan and Kindrochid, a farmhouse by the River Leoig in the north Rhinns. Both are part of MacDougall's system of roadways but we are fortunate in that the latter is recorded as the name of a holding in the 1509 Crown rental: the Fermes of Islay. That would make it probable that the relevant bridge was indeed of mediaeval date; whether the same can be said of Droichead Bheag depends on the date given to MacDougall's road system.

The other two Islay place-names which incorporate elements from Ó Lochláinn's list are the Caolas nan Gan (the strait between Orsay and Portnahaven) and the Caol Ila or the Sound of Islay between the east coast of the island and Jura. The Caolas nan Gan is not documented prior to the O.S. survey of the nineteenth century but Kyle Ila is found in Munro's description of the island in 1549 (Munro 1961, 57).

The only early mediaeval reference to a journey on Islay is Adamnan's tale of St Cainnich who landed on insula Aithche on his way from Iona to Ireland (II 13). This was identified by Thomas as Texa because, as he argued, 'the Northmen, having dropt the first syllable Ai-Oi or district and added their own genitive form and

generic term _ey_ or island' (Thomas 1884, 259). His conclusions were tentatively upheld by Watson who argued that _Aithche_ was the genitive form of _Odeich_, a district of Islay in the _Senchus fer nAlban_ although he insisted that identification must remain uncertain (Watson 1926, 92).

If the identification of Aithche with Texa is correct, the route he took must have brought him around the south-east coast of Islay. Munro, in his account of his voyage, travelled from the south-east, at Earne Island at the mouth of the Sound, up the west coast to arrive at Nese island (Nave Island) before sailing to Oronsay and Colonsay (Munro 1961, 58-60). Martin Martin describes Gigha (on the west side of Kintyre), Cara, Jura, Islay, Oronsay and Colonsay in that order (Martin 1934, 200-297). Considerations of tide and current which may have influenced their journies are outlined in the _Navigation of King James V around Scotland_, an account written in 1540:

> 'From Lochaber, along the coasts, among the isles of Kerera, Lung, Coili, Sarbay, Dura, Oronssay and Cowlaus, the tide runs E.N.E. and W.S.W. In the road of Ila, the tide runs S. and N. with great force. Betwixt Ila and the Mule of Kintyre, the tide runs S. by E. and N. by W...In the road of Ila it is full sea when the moon is S.W. From the road of Ila to the Mule of Kintyre forty-six miles, course S. by E. ... Betwixt Scarba and Dura there is the most dangerous tide in Europe because of contrary tides which encounter there and run betwixt the Mule of Kintyre and Ila; and, passing through a strait channel, it runs with such force upon the coast of Scarba that it is thrown back upon the

coasts of Dura with a frightful noise. In returning it makes a deep and roaring whirlpool, which forbids all ships to enter; if they unluckily get in there, they were in great danger of being dashed to pieces; but the safest time to pass that place is either at the highest or at the lowest ebb. This passage is commonly called Corrieveckin. The Tarbat of Dura is a good anchorage for ships as also the road of Ila except that the tide runs with a strong current' (ed. Smith 1895, 474).

It is unclear from this description whether the road of Ila is the Sound of Islay or the long inlet of Loch Indaal. The contemporary account by Munro however uses the word reid specifically in relation to Loch Indaal which is 'ane guid reid for schipps' and also to the bay of Leodannis (present-day Port-Ellen). The Old Statistical Account and other late sources also describe Loch Indaal as the best harbour for shipping around the coast (see Sinclair 1794 XI, 299; Smith 1895, 481).

Although considerations of the coastline obviously influence the choice of shipping lanes, currents and tidal waters appear to have been the most important factor. The residual water current (discounting tides) around Islay is from the Mull of Kintyre around the south and west coasts of Islay to the north-west coast of Colonsay. For three hours before high water at Dover the tide runs in a similar fashion but heading south; after high water there is a movement north through the Sound but the strongest tides still run around the south and west (Bickmore and Shaw 1963, 25). This agrees with the information given in the Navigation. It is probable,

therefore, that most north/south traffic went around the west of Islay rather than the apparently quicker route through the Sound.

This is not to say that the Sound was not used. Indeed, the evidence suggests that this was the main outlet for Islay cattle on their way to the mainland. In 1787 an area of between 60 and 80 acres was needed at Port Askaig to take all the cattle waiting to cross to Jura and in 1820 it was estimated that a third of all Islay cattle went through the port (Ramsay 1890, 151,219). From the ferry point at Feorlin, the cattle would walk around the south coast of Jura and then cross to the mouth of Loch Craignish on the mainland, going up the Barlech River to Loch Awe and occasionally, past the west end of Loch Awe and hence to Inveraray (Haldane 1952, 94).

Having established, in so far as is possible, the main routeways of the island in the Middle Ages what is the correspondence between these and the early church sites? Correspondence with the sea-lanes is not particularly good. On the west coast of Islay only four sites are known although all of these have good access to the sea; Orsay, Kelsay, Kilchiaran and Kilchoman. Three of the four are documented churches. The west coast of Loch Indaal has a large number of sites, all very close to the water's edge but on the east coast, the area specified as being the best place for shipping, there is only the single site of Gartmain. On Loch Gruinart which suffers from very shallow waters and is prone to silting, there are five sites while the large cluster of sites between Port Ellen and Lagavulin are all separated visually from the sea and the only one which has easy access to landing facilities is Cill Mhoire in Lagavulin Bay itself.

IONA

Caol
lla

Loch
Gorm

122

River Sorn

+122

River Laggan

122

Caolas nan
Gan

IRELAND

5   0   5
                              km

+ Church Sites
== McDougall's
   Road System
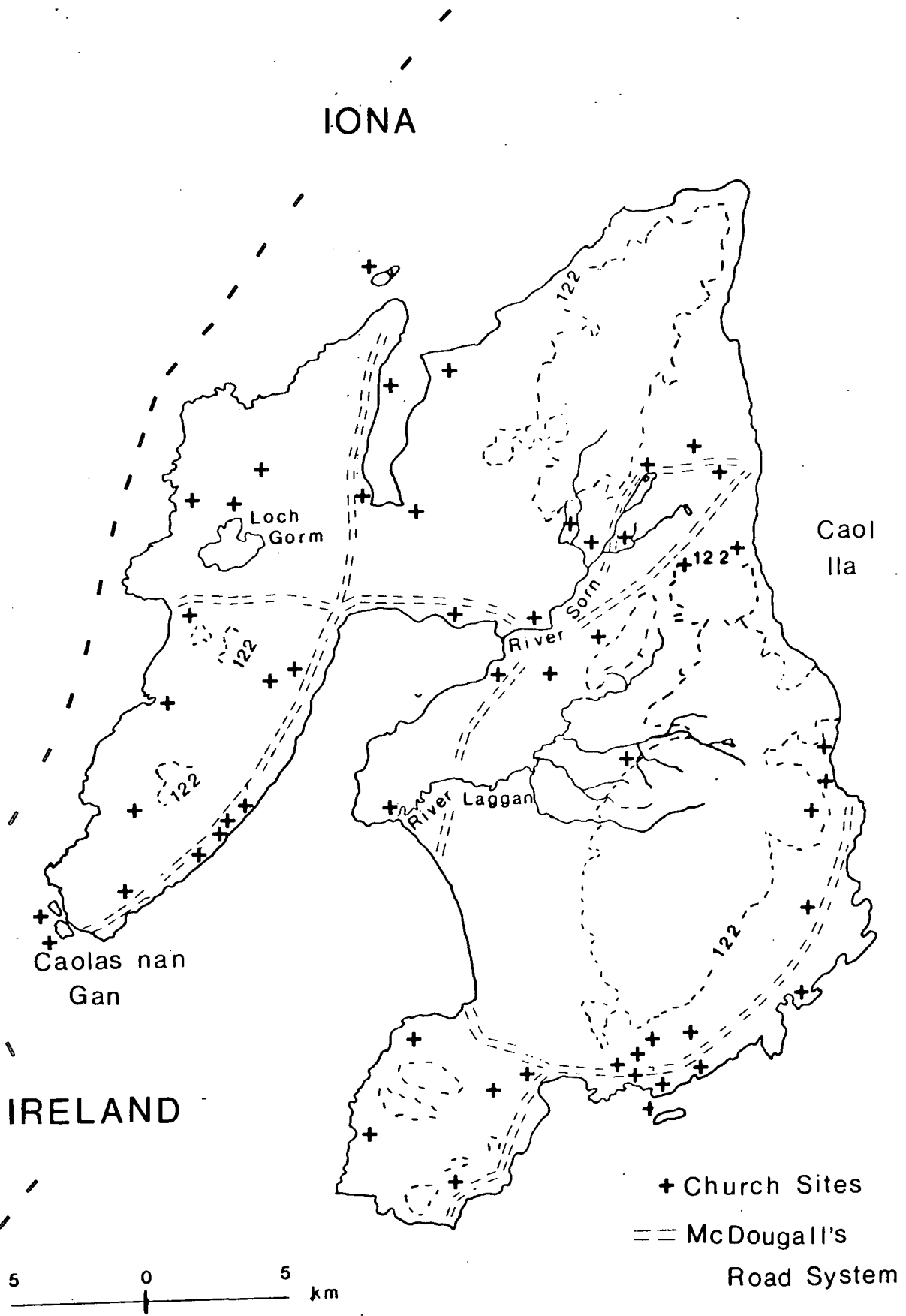
Fig.5 : Church sites in relation to communication routes
on Islay (see Fig.2 for key)

This picture refers only to the overall pattern and not to the documented sites. As already pointed out, the west coast sites are mainly of this group. To these one can add, Nave Island and Texa Island both situated at the head of their respective bays, Orsay overlooking the Caolas nan Gan, Kilnaughton on the large bay of Kilnaughton, Laggan on the sheltered side of Laggan Point and finally Cill an Ailein overlooking the entrance to Loch Gruinart. These nine sites, 64.3% of the documented sites, suggest that access to the sea was indeed an important consideration for their founders.

Communications by land were as important, if not more important than those by sea. Thirty-two of the total of fifty-five sites lie by the side of the routes depicted in MacDougall's map while the site at Cill Rònain is closely associated with the place-name of Kindrochid in the north Rhinns (see Fig.5). This figure includes 23 of the undocumented sites (57.5%) and nine of the documented sites, (64.3%). Four of the nine documented sites and none of the undocumented sites are at cross-roads in the system.

DISTRIBUTION IN RELATION TO SETTLEMENT

It is difficult to relate church sites to a pattern of secular settlement when we do not know the period of the churches' foundation or even of their use. For example, when discussing the secular associations of Kilchoman, one can discuss the nineteenth-century township, the reference of 1626 which stated that 'the Lords of the Isles duelt here sometimes' (ed. Smith 1895, 482); the neighbouring farmstead with the Norse place-name of

Crosprig or even the cluster of Iron Age/early mediaeval forts and duns to the south (RCHAMS Argyll V, 21). Are all these relevant in a discussion of the foundation's secular associations? As it happens there is archaeological evidence for the use of this particular church site in the ninth century, the late mediaeval period and the nineteenth century but the same cannot be said for all Islay churches.

On the following pages two distribution maps are depicted (Fig.6 and Fig.7). The first shows those church sites which were documented in the historical record as having been in use in the later mediaeval period. These are shown in conjunction with the defended sites of the same period as identified by the Royal Commission. With the exception of Loch Finlaggan there is no apparent correspondence although the undocumented site of Loch Lossit, classed as 'ecclesiastical land' in the Fermes of Islay, is closely associated with a defended crannóg site on the loch. There is also a correspondence between the church site of Cill Eileagain and the seventeenth-century defended bastion at the base of the slope at Craigens and between the very obscure site of Cill Mhoire and the important castle of Dunyveg. As the second major castle on Islay in the mediaeval period, Dunyveg might be expected to have a private chapel. Cill Mhoire, however, does not appear to fulfill this function but from its dedication was more likely to have been a mainland possession of the community on Texa (see appendix B for a discussion of church dedications on Islay).

When the defended sites of the early mediaeval period are plotted in association with all known ecclesiastical sites, as in Fig.7,

155

Loch
Gorm

River Sorn

River Laggan

**+ Documented
Churches**

**□ Late Medieval
Settlement**

5   0   5
                    km
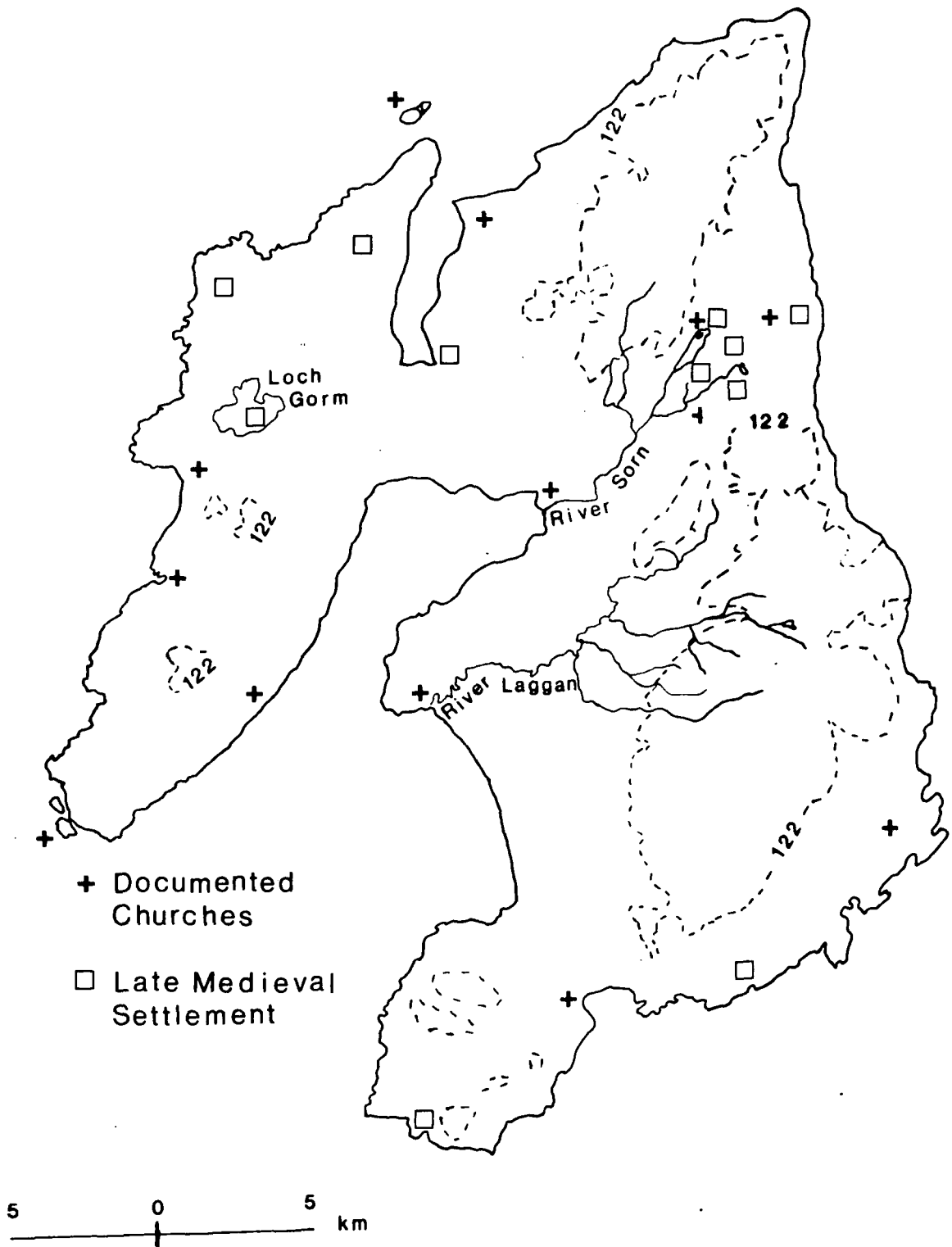
Fig.6 : Churches and late mediaeval settlement on Islay
(see Fig.2 for key and RCAHMS Argyll V, 153-7, 263-84
for details of the late mediaeval settlements)

thirteen sites show close association with forts or _duns_ and eight of these thirteen went on to become documented sites in the later mediaeval period. All three parish sites, Kilchoman, Kildalton and Kilarrow fall into this category. Thirteen sites is quite a small percentage of the entire corpus (24.1%) but these figures take no account of other types of early mediaeval settlement which have left no traces in the landscape. An obvious example would be the settlement excavated by Burgess at Kilellan within a mile of the important site of Kilnave (Burgess 1976). The figures do suggest that at least some of the Islay church sites were probably in operation at the same period as the forts with which they are associated and possibly under their control.

The relationship between ecclesiastical and secular powers cannot be confined to a study of the sites alone. The important question of how the sites fit into the over-all system of land organisation must also be investigated. For example, it can be seen from Fig.6 that although the documented church sites of the later mediaeval period do not show a close association with any one secular site, they are dispersed over the island in a uniform manner. Of the four sites along the River Sorn, Kilarrow controls the area of low ground around the edge of Loch Indaal, Kilmeny controls the lower uplands and Kiells is not only near the important port of Port Askaig (see above, Fig.2) but has a clear view of a large expanse of territory to the south, up into the foothills around Loch Lossit and Loch Fada. Kilnaugton is at the entrance-way to the high ground of the Oa, while Kildalton serves the scattered and broken areas of the south-east corner. Laggan Point is visible from the whole east coast of the Rhinns as well as from Loch Indaal itself and

+Church Sites

△Dun Sites

5   0   5 km
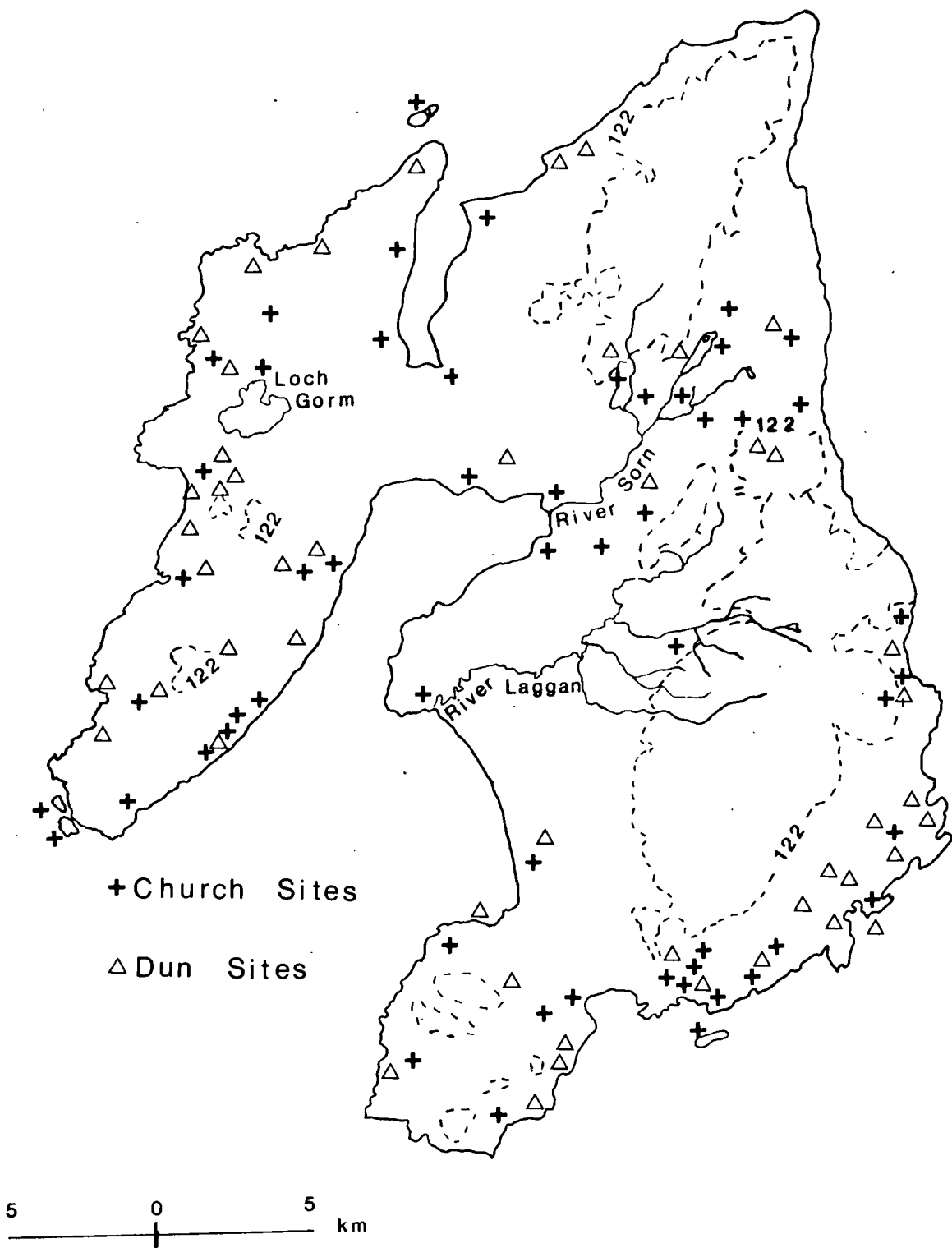
Fig.7 : Churches and early mediaeval settlement on Islay
(see Fig.2 for key and RCAHMS Argyll V,102-123 for details
of the early mediaeval settlements)

Nereabolls is almost directly opposite it, approximately in the centre of the east Rhinns coastline. Kilchoman, though close to Kilchiaran, serves the very different topographical landscape of the flat upland of the north Rhinns while Kilchiaran is separated from the former site by the many drumlins and low hills of its surrounding areas.

The distribution of the entire corpus of church sites is a very different matter because of the increased numbers involved. Correlation must be sought with the smaller units of local land-holdings rather than with the natural topography of the site as a whole. A large holding which shows an important correlation with the church sites is, of course the estate held by the Church. Church lands are listed separately in the _Fermes of Islay_ and they controlled a large percentage of the arable land of the island: possibly as much as a fifth (Lamont 1966, 33). Working from MacDougall's map and the local rentals, Lamont has identified these lands as: a mile wide strip from Ardnahow to Loch Fada (excepting the lands of Port Askaig), Kilmeny and Knockclerich, Balachlaven and around the head of Loch Indaal between Skerrols and Tighanknock. In the Rhinns the whole area north of a line from Leckgruineart to Loch Corr belonged to the Church with small parcels of land around Kilchoman, Nereabolls and Orsay. In the south the holdings included Balivicar, Machrie, Glenmachrie, Kilbride and Kildalton (ibid., 33-4; see Fig.8 for a pictorial representation).

These lands were held by the Abbot of Iona, the Bishop of the Isles, the Monastery of Derry and the Priory at Oronsay. Following the takeover of Man by the diocese of York, the Bishopric had become

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centred on Iona and this arrangement was confirmed by Papal decree in 1498. Thereafter, a single individual held both the abbacy and the bishopric simultaneously (Munro 1961, 13). Most of the Islay holdings listed in the _Fermes_ belonged to this partnership but Nereabolls was owned by Derry while Oronsay controlled the holdings of Sandag, another Sandag, and Sleak. At what period they were given to the church is unknown although the Papal Bull of 1203 refers to the _Terras Abberade in Yle_ and a seventeenth-century account in the _Book of Clanranald_ stated that Donald, Lord of the Isles, gave lands in Islay to Iona around about the beginning of the fifteenth century (Reeves 1874, 354,55).

There are a number of church sites on these lands, which are divided up into thirty-three separate holdings in the rental. Seven or eight sites are to be found in the Rhinns with another four in the south-east and between eight and ten in the north, giving a total of nineteen to twenty-two sites in all. These can be divided up into ten to twelve undocumented sites out of a total of forty (25% - 30%) and ten documented sites out of a total of fourteen (71.4%). Apart from the site of Nereabolls, where two sites occur in very close proximity, the churches occur only singly within a holding ; i.e. approximately twenty Church-controlled holdings have a church site.

With regard to secular holdings, Islay is fortunate in having not only an early sixteenth-century rental covering the whole of the island but also the civil survey of much earlier date published in the _Senchus fer nAlban_ which describes the settlement pattern of the island. The following quotations are from Bannerman's translation:

'A _cét treb_ in Islay, (Oidech) twenty houses, Freg a hundred and twenty houses, (Calad) Rois sixty houses, Ros Deorand thirty houses, Ard hEs thirty houses, Loch Rois thirty houses Áth Caissil thirty there Cenel nOengusa thirty houses, Callann....But small are the _feranna_ of the houses of the Cenél nOengusa .i. thirty-one _feranna_. The expeditionary strength of the hostings of the Cenél nOengusa .i. five hundred men..... Cenél nOengusa has four hundred and thirty houses, two seven-benchers every twenty houses in a sea expedition' (ed. Bannerman 1974, 48-49).

The _Senchus_ also states that it was the great-grandsons of Oengus Mor (a brother of Fergus mac Erc) who divided the lands of Islay but that the Cenél Conchride on Islay were descended from the grandsons or son of Fergus Bec, another son of Erc.

Interpretation of the material is complicated by the fact that the _Senchus_ is a multi-period document. In its present form it has been dated to the eighth century (Anderson 1973, 160) or to the tenth on the basis of its linguistic forms (Bannerman 1974, 39-68). Ó'Corráin's review of Bannerman's edition suggested that Bannerman had 'over-stressed the evidence' in this regard (Ó Corráin 1980, 174). All three authorities appear to agree that the text is based on a seventh-century original. This is on the basis of the internal evidence - the last obit in the text, datable by independent means, is that of Conall Crandomna who died in 660 A.U.

At some point, a number of alterations were made to the original. The word _Alba_ was used by the editor to denote that part of Britain

ruled by the Scots, a usage which must post-date the union of Picts and Scots c. AD 843 (Bannerman op.cit., 118-9). The origin legends were rewritten, either to incorporate a second account of the foundation of Dalriada (Ó Corráin 1980, 174) or else in a deliberate attempt to bring the founding members of the dynasty into line with Patrician traditions (Bannerman 1974, 121).

More importantly, for our purpose, a number of changes may have been made in the civil survey. The section of the Cenél nGabráin has probably lost a list of townships similar to those surviving for the Cenél nOengusa and the Cenél Loairn (ibid., 130). The organisation of the house list for the Cenél Loairn is by both sept and local leaders in the case of the Cenél Fergusa Shalaig and by sept alone in the case of the Cenél Cathbath. Bannerman believed that this reflects the original seventh-century document and that the compiler was forced to use the cumbersome method of listing houses by leaders because of a lack of familiarity with the area (ibid., 140). Ó Corráin, while agreeing that both were contemporary, believed that the mainland houses were listed by lineage because control over territory was weaker there and the exact amount of land varied more frequently. (This would surely affect the number of houses under the control of each leader more quickly then it would affect the houses' geographical distribution?)

The possibility that the civil survey was still relevant after the seventh century or was altered to suit the needs of the later editor of the text was mentioned by Anderson although she did not go into the matter in detail (Anderson 1973, 159). Bannerman believed that the survey 'would very soon have been out of date and useless

for all practical purposes' (ibid., 131) but did not give adequate reasons why the text should have been included in the later edition.

Evidence to support this possibility is to be found in the inconsistencies within the text, particularly with regard to the various figures. There is no apparent relationship between the thirty-one _feranna_ and the 350 houses listed in the _cét-treb_ or the 430 houses listed at the end of the text. It may be that there was a scribal error in adding the 1 to 31 for seven of the eight groupings listed in the _Senchus_ under Islay have multiples of thirty houses. The twenty house-unit of the naval assessment cannot easily be correlated with either 350 houses or 430 houses while it seems odd that the seventeen-odd ships to be supplied must be manned by a minimum of 602 men although the military strength of the island was 500 men. Dr Anderson believed that this could be resolved by dividing the number of men by the number of houses i.e. 500 military men divided by 350 houses and 602 naval men divided by 430 houses both come out at about one and a half men per house (Anderson 1973 158-9). One would have thought that if twenty houses were supplying a ship (presumably an expensive item of equipment) the number of men which they would have supplied in addition would have been rather less. (The _Senchus_ does not specifically say that the house-unit has to supply men to row the ships but it is hard to imagine where the oarsmen would have come from if they did not.)

The meaning of _cét treb_ is 'a hundred villages or townships' and as all three scholars have pointed out, this figure is impossible to correlate with the others in the text. Bannerman argued that its use here was cognate with the Welsh word 'cantref' and is to be

understood as sept or tribe. Ó Corráin suggested that the words í n'Íle (in Islay) were probably an interpolation and that cét treb should be understood literally as one hundred houses in Odeich. That, however, would leave the twenty houses listed to the right of Odeich in the text unaccounted for. If Odeich is misplaced and the text should read 'Odeich 120 houses' that would mean that all eight districts/groupings would be multiples of 30 which would agree with the feranna. Both scholars agree that tech as used here is the house of a free-man, probably of sóer-chele status as outlined in the Críth Gabhlach.

The word feranna means lands and Bannerman suggests that the reason lands on Islay were small was because of the geographical constraints of the island. He also suggests that feranna is generally used in later texts and that its use by the author of the Senchus is unusual. It may be a later interpolation which was incorporated in the text (by the tenth-century editor?) (ibid., 58-9). However, as I have suggested above, you only need to postulate one minor clerical error to bring the feranna into relationship with the number of houses in the smaller districts and I would suggest that the feranna were the lands attached to each individual house.

This suggestion would also explain the odd phrase about the feranna of the Cenél nÓengusa being small. The Cenél nÓengusa, as described by the Senchus, only controlled thirty houses which is a very small unit in comparison with the hundred and twenty controlled in Freg and the possible hundred and twenty in Odeich. The later editor of the text, puzzled by the small number of houses listed for

one of the three major septs in Dalriada, added a comment to the effect that the lands actually under their control (as opposed to those under their leadership) was quite small. This was then incorporated into his edition of the text.

Perhaps the small number of houses which the Cenél nÓengusa controlled is the reason why their houses were listed by sept rather than by geographical district. It is possible that the other septs, such as the Cenél Conchride, had their houses grouped together in one area while the houses of the Cenél nÓengusa, were dispersed through these areas in order to control them better. The same idea of dispersed settlement within a larger community may lie behind the sept/client lists of the Cenél Loairn, making it impossible to list their distribution by geographical area.

This explanation of the word _feranna_ has ironed out a number of the inconsistencies within the _Senchus_ but it does nothing to explain the problems with the figures. It may be that in looking for a hierarchical relationship between the figures we are imposing a false logic on what may have been a complicated arrangement of exactions and exceptions. On the other hand, the naval and military provisions were perhaps more likely to be periodically revised, depending on the relative strength and weakness of the Dalriadic leaders. It is possible, therefore, that the naval/military assessment was a product of the later edition of the text. After examination of the text, it does appear that the division of Islay into geographical units is consistent and probably reflects a seventh-century rather than a tenth-century reality in that the Cenél nÓengusa are described as smaller in numbers than the septs

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they controlled.

Unfortunately, the list of districts is incomplete and there is no information as to how many districts may have existed on Islay at the time of the survey. If Ó Corráin's explanation of the _cét treb_ is correct and _i n'Íle_ was a later interpolation, this would give a total number of 430 houses which is the figure given at the end of the text. We would however, have to assume that the houses of the Cenél nOengusa were listed twice: once in relation to the total number of houses which they controlled and once as part of the total number of houses in each geographical district. This explanation has the advantage that we do not need to try and identify other districts in the survey which have since been lost.

Before going on to try and identify the districts on Islay it may be worth recapping the consequences of substituting thirty for thirty-one _feranna_. It brings the _feranna_ of the Cenél nOengusa into a one-to-one relationship with the houses of the Cenél which in turn led to the suggestion that the reason the _feranna_ were mentioned was because of the editor's surprise at the number of houses listed for the sept. The unique nature of the distribution of the Cenél's houses can be used, if we accept Ó Corráin's suggestion about _i n'Íle_, to bring the number of houses in the district list to the number of houses given for the Cenél nOengusa at the end of the text. The nature of the civil survey, with regard to settlement on Islay is, therefore, made clear at the expense of one clerical error, one interpolation and one omission of a unit of thirty houses as was documented for seven of the other nine districts.

Four, or possibly five, of the districts include topographical elements in their names. Ros Deorand, Clad Rois, and Loch Rois all include the element _ros_ or promontory while a fourth, Ard hEs includes the element 'height' and the fifth 'Átha Caiseil' the element _áth_ or 'ford'. These have been used by various scholars in an attempt to identify the districts with the geographical reality of Islay. There have been two major attempts to do this (Thomas 1884, 254-259; MacEacharna 1976, 28-31) and the results are tabulated in table 6. They show a certain amount of agreement although this was not total. The most difficult to identify was Ros Deorand because it was felt to be redundant. Thomas identified it as Jura, while MacEacharna suggested, on the basis of a very dubious etymology, that it was the Ardnave peninsula.

Working purely from the island's topography and with no real supporting evidence I would like to suggest a possible identification with Laggan Point. As already stated,it is an important feature in the island topography, being the immediate landmass on the horizon from most areas of the Rhinns and Loch Indaal basin. In this sense, it would aptly merit the adjective 'divider' which is one of the etymologies suggested by Bannerman (1974, 57).

The identification of Clad Rois with the south Rhinns is interesting given the importance of this area in the sea-lanes around Islay. The name is recorded twice in the Annals of Ulster, once in 678 A.U. when Domnall Brecc was defeated there and secondly in 736 A.U. when an important battle between Dalriada and Foirtriu took place and the son of Ainfchellach was forced to flee.

TABLE 6 : IDENTIFICATION OF SENCHAS DISTRICTS
ON ISLAY

DISTRICT	THOMAS 1884	MACEARCHARNA 1976
Odeich	c. Port Ellen	c. Port Ellen
Freag	c. Kilarrow	c. Kilarrow
Atha Caisil	Oa	Oa
Loch Rois	North Rhinns	North Rhinns
Clad Rois	South Rhinns	South Rhinns
Ros Deorand	South Jura	Ard Nave
Ard hEs	North Kilmeny	North Kilmeny
Caillnae	N.E. Kildalton	N.E. Kildalton

Having identified the regions, we can at last turn to the
question of correspondence with church sites. Table 7 shows the
different regions, the number of houses they controlled and the
number of church sites found in them as they have been identified
above.

The correlation between the two sets of figures does not appear
to be significant although it may be worth noting that the three
districts with the largest number of houses also has the greatest
number of church sites. This however, probably says more about the
constant agricultural value of areas such as the Sorn valley and the
fertile areas of the south-east than it does about seventh-century
relationships between church and state.

Between the Senchus and the later mediaeval rentals of 1408, 1506
and 1509, no contemporary documentation for the land administration
of Islay exists. However a minimum of two possible systems with a
possible third have been identified for this period through the
evidence of the later sources. Of these, the third is the most

TABLE 7 : CHURCH SITES IN THE SENCHAS DISTRICTS
OF ISLAY

	HOUSES IN SENCHAS	CHURCH SITES IN AREA
Odeich	*(1)20? houses	8 church sites
Freg	120 houses	14 church sites
Calad Rois	60 houses	10 church sites
Ros Deorand	30 houses	4 church sites
Ard hEs	30 houses	3 church sites
Loch Rois	30 houses	7 church sites
Ath Cassil	30 houses	4 church sites
Caillnae	?30 houses	5 church sites

* The figure is either 120 or 20 depending on whether 'a hundred houses'
is the literal meaning of cét treb.

easily dealt with.

Following the Norse occupation of the Hebrides in the
ninth century, a system of taxation was brought in, the basic unit
of which was the 'ounceland'. This was subdivided into twenty
'pennylands'. This system is thought to be Norse in origin because
it is only to be found in areas of Norse occupation (McKerral 1949,
54). Its occurrence in the geographically separated Norse colony of
Wexford substantiates this theory (McErlean 1983, 317). The
division of the 'ouncelands' by twenty is thought to show an
adaptation to the existing land-divisions as exemplified by the
Senchus. As we have seen, however, the twenty house unit was one
used for naval and military assessment whereas McKerral would see
the 'ounceland' as being a tax on the arable land available to each
Celtic township or house.

Both McKerral and Lamont describe Islay as showing no traces of
this Norse system of taxation, the argument being that Islay was

either too Gaelicized to be brought under Norse rule (Lamont 1957, 184) or as the centre of the Lordship (sic), it was not taxed ((McKerral 1949, 57). Lamont does mention that a system based on pennies and shillings came into use in the eighteenth century but he would argue that this had no relationship with the Norse 'pennylands' (ibid., 201). However one earlier reference to a 'pennyland' is documented in Innes' Origines Parochiales where an Irish charter of 1662 is listed (Innes 1852, 61). In it, the single pennyland of Scar which used to belong to the monastery of Devenish in County Fermanagh was handed over to Sir George MacKenzie along with certain other lands on Islay. It is just possible, therefore, that the 'ounceland' system was once used on Islay but whether because of lack of contemporary documentation or, more likely, because it did not prove viable, it has left almost no trace in the later records.

The second system is that of 'Merklands', the evidence for which has already been quoted above in the section on agricultural practices (see above, 147). The Merkland assessment is thought to have come into use in the fourteenth century in order to provide an agricultural equivalent for the cost of a knight's fee (McKerral 1949, 62). It was certainly in use on Islay by 1408 for it is the system used in the MacKay charter of that year (Lamont 1960). At some later period, presumably when the merk was superceded by the pound, the 'poundland' came into use with an value of one and a half 'merklands'.

The third system has been discussed in detail by Lamont (1957, 1960) and is the system of assessment which uses the unit known as

the 'cowland'. This unit occurs nowhere else in the Hebrides but it is the common mediaeval assessment of Ulster, being found under the name 'Ballyboe' (baile bó or cow-land) in Armagh, Derry, Donegal, Down and Tyrone (McErlean 1983, 317). Where a relationship between the Islay 'cowland' and the 'merkland' and 'poundland' is known, the 'cowland' is the equivalent of a quarter of a 'merkland' and a sixth of a 'poundland'.

For an explanation of a 'cowland', Lamont looked at the Senchus and other early Irish sources. From scattered references in the rentals, he argued that the typical Islay holding was three, four, six or nine 'cowlands' (Lamont 1966, 81). Lamont then identified the 'cowland' as being the amount of land which paid one cow in rent per year which in turn meant that each 'cowland' had grazing for seven cows. This meant that the units of three, six and nine 'cowlands' had grazing for twenty-one, forty-two and sixty-three cows respectively. These figures of 21, 42 and 63 are exactly paralleled in the eighth-century Críth Gabhlach where they are listed as the number of cows controlled by the Óg-Aire, the Bó-Aire and the Bruigfer respectively. Therefore, Lamont argued, the 'cowland' system was the one in use in early mediaeval Islay.

There are two weak points in Lamont's argument. The first is the equation of a 'cowland' with the amount of land capable of grazing seven cows and which was taxed at the rate of one cow per year. His authority for this statement is Sullivan's introduction to O'Curry's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish although in his notes Lamont admitted that Sullivan 'had assumed' the correlation and at some later stage (not specified) had discarded it (Lamont 1957,

203).

The second point is that there are very few references to
'cowlands' in the earlier rentals. In the three charters of 1408,
1494, and 1506 there is only a single reference to the six
'cowlands' of Proaig. In the latter two rentals, where the unit of
land is specified, the unit is the fourth part or the half of a
fourth part (1494 rental, ed. Smith 1895, 24-26) or the
'quarterland' and the eighth part (1506 rental, ibid, 32-33) As the
listed estates include the holding 'Octownruch' a name derived from
the Irish _ocht_ or eight, these units are presumably of some
antiquity.

The whole system of 'cowlands' and mediaeval land assessment in
Ireland has been illuminated by an important article by McErlean.
He found that the 'cowlands' were limited to north-west Ulster in
their distribution with a single outlier in Co. Wicklow. (In the
latter area, the unit was known by the English name of 'cowland'
rather than the Irish 'ballyboe'.) In Ireland four 'cowlands' made
up a medium-sized unit known as the 'quarterland' while four
'quarterlands' made up a large unit known as the _Bailebiatagh_ or,
occasionally, the _Baile_. The date of this method of assessment is
unknown although McErlean has argued that the close correspondence
between the _Bailebiatagh_ and the parish unit in Monaghan, Derry,
Donegal, Fermanagh Tyrone and Cavan means that the system must have
been in use when the parochial network was established. This would
date the earliest known period of use to between 1111 when the
decision to introduce parishes was made, and 1306 when the Papal
Taxation List shows that the structure was complete (McErlean 1983,

332-3).

As we have seen, this agrees broadly with the Islay system in that the fourth part or 'quarterland' was the normal mediaeval holding. Four of the Islay 'cowlands' made up an Islay 'merkland' and the 'merkland' was reckoned in the early sixteenth century to be the normal holding. It would appear, therefore, that the 'merkland' was simply another term for the Irish 'quarterland' and that both terms were used on Islay.

By the time the system began to be documented in the rentals, the large unit of the baile biatagh had presumably been lost. Perhaps it was thought to be too large to be viable in the restricted agricultural landscape of Islay. Instead, fractions of the 'quarterland'/'merkland' were used. By 1626 holdings of two and a half merks represented a large settlement or town (see above, 146). This then, may have been the Islay equivalent of the baile biatagh although it is not documented in the earlier sources.

So far these units have been discussed without attempting to relate them to the landscape. To do so, one is forced to use two further sources: the 1509 Fermes of Islay and MacDougall's map of the island in 1752, both of which are referred to above. The Fermes of Islay is the first rental to cover the entire island; it was compiled by the Crown Commissioners following the forfeiture of the island in 1498. Sixty-one of the one hundred and forty land-holdings which it lists are to be found on MacDougall's map. Eight of the ten land-holdings described in the 1408 rental are also identified by MacDougall, thirteen of the fifteen holdings in 1494

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+ Church Sites

Church
Holdings

8 km
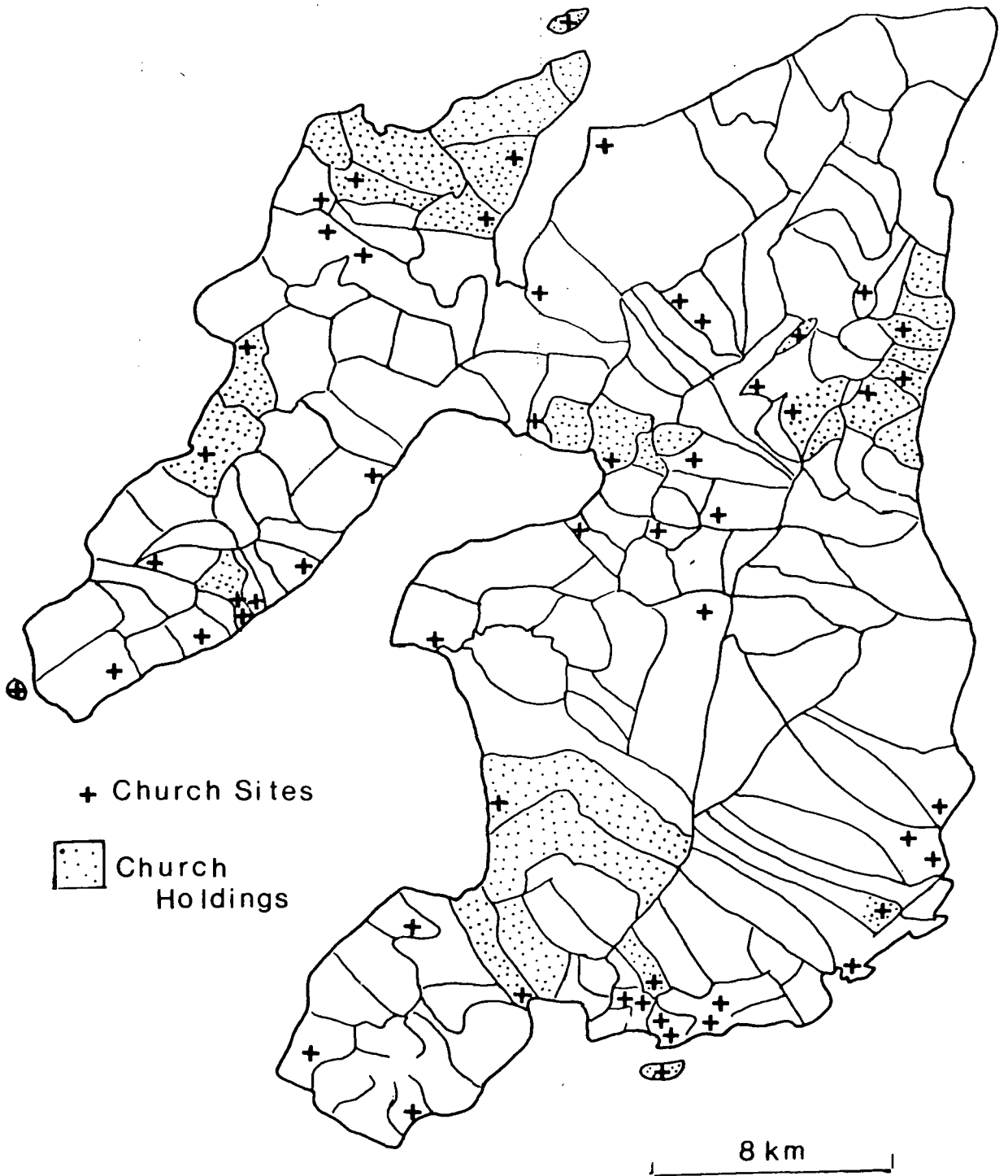
Fig.8 : Churches in relation to land-units on Islay
(see Fig.2 for key. The land-units are based on fig.34
in Storrie 1981, 70)

and two of the three holdings in 1506. Given the discrepancies in the post-mediaeval evidence, can one assume, that the 1509 rental portrays a system of land-units which had remained unchanged throughout the mediaeval period?

A difficulty with such an assumption is that the lands are not assessed in terms of the old 'quarterland'/'merkland' system but in a totally new system with units of 33 shillings and 4d which was brought in by the Commissioners and remained divorced from the local units of assessment up until the eighteenth-century (Lamont 1957, 187-9). According to McKerral, the merk was the equivalent of 13sh.4d. If two and a half merks was the normal large unit on Islay, its equivalent in shillings comes to 33 sh.4d. This unit was listed 77 times out of the total 102 holdings. As fractions or multiplications of 13 sh.4d it is mentioned a further seventeen times making a total of 94 cases out of 102. It has been argued above that such a unit was the probable equivalent of the Irish Bailebiatagh which has been dated to the end of the early mediaeval period if not before. It seems likely, therefore, that the evaluation, although using different terminology from the earlier rentals, did not substantially change the actual units themselves. Without suggesting that no change occurred over the previous five hundred years, it does appear valid to accept the evidence of the Fermes and MacDougall as the best approximate guide to the land units in use on Islay in the early mediaeval period.

The distribution of church sites in relation to the probable land-units can thus be examined; there appears however to be no systematic correlation (see Fig.8). Between thirty and thirty-three

church sites are situated on the secular land-holdings of the 1509 rental. These include four documented and approximately twenty-eight undocumented sites. In so far as they can be located on the map, they are situated peripherally within the holdings as has been suggested for the Manx <u>keeill</u> sites by Lowe (in Morris 1983b, 124). There is no uniform method of dispersal between the land-holdings; on the contrary they are concentrated in those areas with good agricultural land. In the single holding of Dowasker (Duisker) there are two church sites but the others are distributed singly, as with the ecclesiastical lands (see above, 157-8). There is no evidence for the type of church organisation postulated by Marstrander (1937) and more recently by Cant (1984) where each land-holding is served by a minor chapel or church site (see below, 250-52). Given that this survey is based on the maximum number of sites which have been reported on Islay, the fact that no systematic correlation can be seen with any of the known mediaeval land-holdings makes such a suggestion untenable.

CONCLUSIONS

In trying to evaluate the type of location chosen for church sites on Islay, it is impossible to be definite. Not only are there a large number of assumptions inherent in the process of comparing present-day landscapes with unknown ones, but the statistical basis for such a comparison is poor. For the documented sites we are dealing with a total of fourteen sites; for the undocumented, forty. Such groups are too small to be tested for degrees of significance or for valid correlations. Although percentages have been used up

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to now as a back-up to the numbers of church sites in each category, these are simply a short-hand way of indicating tendencies rather then firm conclusions. Despite these limitations, differences between the documented and the undocumented sites can be identified.

Documented sites tend to be closer to the sea then undocumented ones and they generally have a harbour situated near by. They are to be found close to roads, especially to cross-roads. Most frequently, they are found on low land, generally the best land in the vicinity and most frequently on lands owned by the church in the later mediaeval period. There appears to have been a desire on the part of their founders to spread the churches throughout the whole of the inhabited areas of the island although there is no obvious connection with later mediaeval defended sites (the chapel on Loch Finlaggan being the exception) which are similarly distributed.

Undocumented sites show a closer connection with fresh water than do the documented sites and they are more frequently found on or at the top of slopes. They are frequently associated with roads but there seems to have been no particular interest in the sea routes. They are most frequently found on the worse lands in any given area although sharing with the documented sites a distribution focusing on the best agricultural land over the island as a whole. There is no particular bias in their distribution between secular and ecclesiastical holdings or in their proximity to other forms of settlement. Together with the documented church sites, the best connection is with the defended sites of the later Iron Age and early mediaeval period but this is not conclusive. Both groups do not appear to seek shelter from the prevailing south-west winds.

Whether these differences suggest two different periods of church foundation is difficult to tell. The more valuable siting of the documented sites could suggest that they were the first churches on Islay with the undocumented sites filling in the distribution. They could then have gone on to become the late mediaeval centres because of their natural advantages. On the other hand, the undocumented sites may reflect the presence of a less powerful Church, situated on the outskirts of settlement. The question can only be resolved in conjunction with the other information to be gleaned from the sites but it seems clear that whatever form of Church organisation produced the Islay church sites, ideals of asceticism and retreat did not play an important role in determining the sites chosen for their location (see above, 53-61).

CHARACTERISTICS OF DRYSTONE CHURCHES ON ISLAY

One of the most dramatic features of the ecclesiastical sites of Islay are the large number of drystone churches on the island. These are in varying states of disrepair, from Trudernish which stands over two metres in height to Bruichladdich or Carn where only one course of walling survives. In this chapter, the ground-plans and the construction techniques used to erect these buildings are examined and an attempt is made to classify them according to their diagnostic features.

The data base for this study is the twenty possible churches listed in table 8. These comprise all drystone churches on the island examined through field-work and it is probable that they include all the church sites with surviving remains of drystone chapels or oratories which still exist on the island. As an aid in interpretation, a control group comprising the eleven mortared churches was studied in conjunction with the drystone sites. With the exception of Kildalton (late twelfth/thirteenth-centuries) and Nave Island (late thirteenth-century) these have been dated by the Royal Commission to the 'late mediaeval period' (RCHAMS Argyll V, 32-35). It is implied in the text (though not stated) that this phrase refers to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. (On the basis of an eighteenth-century painting, Kilarrow has been dated to the late thirteenth century but as no information has survived concerning its ground-plan, it has been omitted from this survey.) The control group, therefore, has a maximum range of approximately four hundred years and this should be borne in mind when comparing

TABLE 8 : SURVIVING MEDIAEVAL CHURCHES ON ISLAY

MORTARED CHURCHES	DRYSTONE CHURCHES
Finlaggan	Ardilistry
Kiells	Bruichladdich
Kilchiaran	Carn
Kildalton	Cill Chomhan
Kilnaughton	Cill Eathain
Kilmeny	Cill Eileagain
Kilnave	Cill Tobar Lasrach
Nereabolls I	Cill Luchaig
Nave Island	Cladh Eilisteir
Orsay	Duisker I
Texa	Duisker II
	Gartmain
	Gleann na Gaoith
	Kilbride
	Kilslevan
	Lagavulin
	Mulreesh
	Nereabolls II
	Tockmal
	Trudernish

the uniformity of the control group against that of the drystone churches.

The features on the site which were studied included length, breadth and area, ratio of length to breadth, orientation, internal furniture, door position and door width, corners of buildings both internal and external and the presence or otherwise of platforms under the churches. Because of the small size of the samples and their non-parametric nature, statistical analysis of these features was limited to simple frequency counts. It was discovered that correlations between the various factors were good enough that convincing groupings could be sorted out by this method.

The division between mortared and drystone churches which forms the basis for the survey is only an approximate one. The use of lime mortar in church buildings on Islay is limited to those identified by the Royal Commission as belonging to the later mediaeval period (i.e. twelfth century or later). This dating depends on their architectural features. Of the other churches on Islay, the Royal Commission has categorised only one, Gleann na Gaoith, as being constructed of clay mortar (RCHAMS Argyll V, 182). (The Royal Commission has surveyed and drawn plans of each of the Islay churches discussed in this report; see appendix D). After examination of all the churches, my own conclusion is that there is no more evidence for clay mortar in Gleann na Gaoith than in any other of the buildings of roughly shaped masonry. This is recognised by the Royal Commission who use phrases such as 'built without lime mortar' or 'no identifiable mortar' (RCHAMS Argyll V, 223,163) when discussing similarly constructed buildings. Given the

overgrown nature of all these sites, it is impossible to be definite about the use of clay mortar without extensive cleaning operations or even excavation of the sites. In this chapter, therefore, the division is simply between mortared buildings which are used as the control group and unmortared buildings (or 'drystone' buildings) which are the subject of the study.

PLATFORMS

Five of the drystone churches of Islay appear to be built on artificial platforms of some kind. These are Cill Eathain, Cill Tobar Lasrach, Gartmain, Mulreesh and Nereabolls II. They are generally at the foot of a ridge or hill with the build-up at the base of the site. On such sites, it appears to be a device to make the land level for building. On the other hand, there are also sites such as Gartmain or Cill Eathain where the entire site is built up from relatively flat land.

There is no evidence from any of the church sites as to the causes of these platforms; whether they are due to natural build-up from burials or whether they are totally artificial. The only stones visible are facing stones around the edge of the enclosure/platform. On a 'platform' site without a building, at Cill Rònain, the turf cover has slipped to show a clear construction layer of small stones laid in courses and turf. This phenomenon will be investigated more closely in chapter 8 but it is worth pointing out that it also occurs on the Isle of Man where Kermode explained it as a levelling device (Kermode and Bruce 1968 III, 15; confirmed by Chris Lowe pers. comm.).

AREA ANALYSIS

In studying the internal area of a church, the fundamental problem lies in determining whether variation in size is due to change through time or change through function. There has been a tendency in the past to make the assumption that, for churches in the Irish Sea area, size is related to age (see Leask 1955, Walsh 1976 for examples of this assumption and Harbison 1970 for a discussion of its validity). In other words, the smaller the church is, the more likely it is to be old and the differences in size between the Skellig Michael oratory and Glendalough Cathedral have as much to do with their different ages as with their varying function.

In Islay, the control group shows a clear pattern of size related to function. The only surviving mediaeval parish church on the island, Kildalton, is by far the largest of the mortared structures. Subsidiary parish chapels which serve large areas without being accorded parochial status are smaller while the smallest buildings are those on the outlying islands which, one presumes, served the smallest congregations.

This system shows up on a scatter diagram of length against breadth as an almost linear relationship between the various churches (see Fig.9). Among the drystone churches, the diagram shows a greater degree of clustering although this is not absolute. If the size of the church is related to function as the control group suggests, then the clustering could be explained by an ecclesiastical system whereby much smaller communities had their own
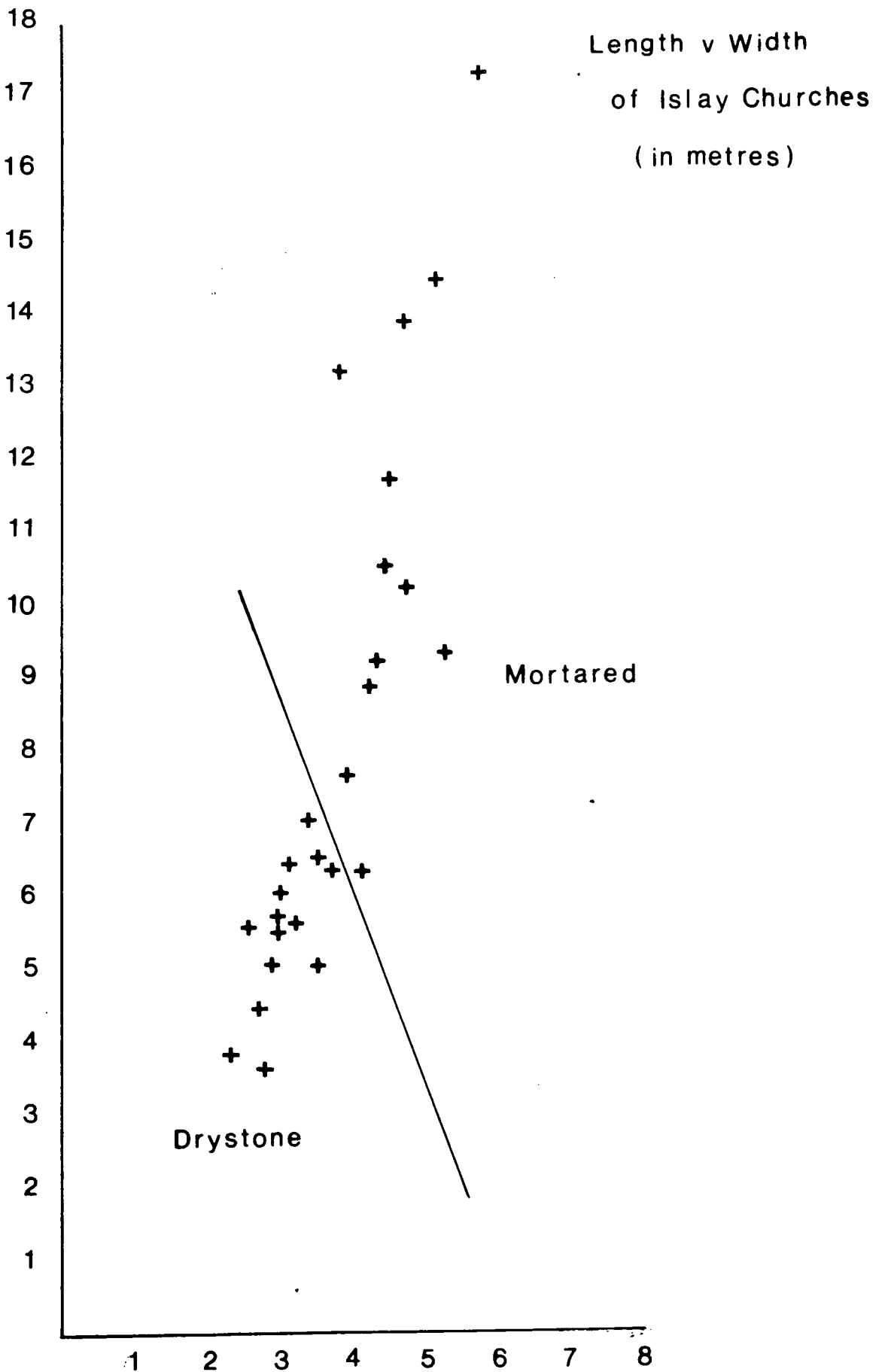
Fig.9 : Scatter diagram of length and width of Islay churches

church. Such churches were very sensitive to the size and wealth of the congregation they served. This model assumes that all the drystone churches were contemporary, providing blanket coverage of the island, much in the way the Manx keeill sites or the Shetland chapels are assumed to do (see below 250-52). An alternative explanation is that this clustering is in fact due to differences through time and reflects different architectural traditions. As we have seen, the overall distribution of the church sites does not support the first hypothesis while the second explanation agrees rather better with the data (see below, tables 15/19).

Another feature which shows up on the scatter diagram is the clear differentiation between mortared and drystone churches in terms of size. With the exception of Kilbride and Cladh Eilister, two probable sixteenth-century buildings (see RCHAMS Argyll V, 193), no drystone building is greater then 7m in length. In addition, only one mortared building is less than 7.5m in length while in terms of area the distinction is even more clear; the largest drystone church is Cill Tobar Lasrach with 23.8 sq.m. while the smallest mortared church is Nave Island with 27.47 sq.m.

The ratio of length to breadth is sometimes thought to be chronologically significant. It was believed by Leask that a ratio of 3:2 denoted an early church building (Leask 1955, 7). This was subsequently dismissed by both Radford and Harbison who pointed out that the text on which Leask (and Petrie before him) based his conclusions was in fact of the Middle Irish period (i.e. the tenth and eleventh centuries or even later) (Radford 1977, 1-2; Harbison 1982, 625). It cannot be assumed to be representative of early

buildings _per se_. The scatter diagram does show a tendency to increase length rather than width, hence there are short stubby buildings and longer narrower ones. This is probably related to constructional factors; if extra space is required, it is easier by far to increase length of a roof than it is to increase its width.

ORIENTATION

The orientation of churches in Britain has not been studied in great detail. Building churches which were orientated east/west has been a custom of Christian communities since the days of the Roman Emperor, Constantine 1, in whose reign the first churches were built (Davies 1952, 80-84).

Archaeologically, it has long been recognised that church buildings tend to be roughly east/west in their alignment and the orientation appears to be one of the most important aspects in the Royal Commission's assessment of dubious church sites (see RCHAMS Argyll II, 123). It has also been shown, however, that this east/west alignment is at best, only an approximation, and that a wide range of orientations are possible.

In 1823, Wordsworth put forward the suggestion that this variation was due to a desire on the part of the early church builders for their structures to face the rising sun on the feast day of the saint to whom they were dedicated. This theory has been discussed by Eeles, Airey and Benson but while Eeles and others found that their data did not support such a conclusion, Benson believed that there was a significant correlation between the

dedication and the orientation of churches dedicated to St Peter (Eeles 1914; Airey 1856; Benson 1956). It appears that Benson went into the subject in far more detail than did Eeles or the other scholars and was more specific in his requirements. Instead of relying solely on the orientation, Benson talks of sunrise tables, local horizons, latitude and so forth. His hypothesis does, however, assume that dedications have remained constant since the early mediaeval period and this appears to be a dubious proposition (see below, 336).

Another scholar, Cave, studied the orientation pattern of churches slightly differently. He pointed out that only 1.6 % of 647 churches from all periods faced exactly east/west although if you included all churches which lay in the range 87.5 - 92.5 degrees (thus allowing for slight error) this percentage rose to 16.25 %. In contrast, 48 % lay between 67.5 and 87.5 degrees and 55 % were north of 87.5 %. 29 % were south of 92.5%. He believed that the large number of churches between 67.5 and 87.5 degrees were due to builders aligning their buildings on the rising sun. A fifth writer, Honeyman, believed that the divergences were linked to liturgical beliefs and suggested that the churches which faced north of east were built by British and/or Irish masons (Cave 1950; Honeyman 1935).

According to the Astronomy Department of the University of Durham, it is difficult if not impossible to determine the exact day when the sun rises in precise line with the orientation of a chapel. In addition to problems in determining the exact orientation in cases where the buildings are almost destroyed, the exact position

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TABLE 9 : ORIENTATION OF CHURCHES ON ISLAY

MORTARED CHURCHES ; ORIENTATION		DRYSTONE CHURCHES : ORIENTATION	
Kiells	: 270 degrees	Ardilistry	: 270 degrees
Kilchiaran	: 280 degrees	Bruichladdich	: 298 degrees
Kildalton	: 270 degrees	Carn	: 260 degrees
Kilnaughton	: 290 degrees	Cill Chomhan	: 278 degrees
Kilmeny	: 272 degrees	Cill Eathain	: 218 degrees
Kilnave	: 270 degrees	Cill Eileagain	: 260 degrees
Nereabolls I	: 273 degrees	Cill Tobar Lasrach	: 286 degrees
Nave Island	: 270 degrees	Cladh Eilisteir	: 258 degrees
Orsay	: 270 degrees	Duisker I	: 245 degrees
Texa	: 270 degrees	Duisker II	: 218 degrees
Finlaggan	: 285 degrees	Gleann na Gaoith	: 272 degrees
		Kilbride	: 270 degrees
		Kilslevan	: 240 degrees
		Mulreesh	: 260 degrees
		Nereabolls II	: 254 degrees
		Tockmal	: 300 degrees
		Trudernish	: 260 degrees

of the rising sun has changed slightly over time. As can be seen at Stonehenge or at Newgrange, the position of the rising sun also changes very slightly over a week so the most that can legitimately be hoped for is to have a correct alignment for the week in which the saint's feastday occurs. The Astronomy Department suggests that an attempt to correlate orientation with one day is therefore too specific to be accurately answered but they would argue that it should be perfectly possible to get a reliable answer to within a month.

In Islay the range of orientations lies between 218 degrees and 300 degrees or up to 52 degrees away from true east/west. Except for Cill Eathain and Dusiker II, the furthest from true east/west, the range of the orientations of all the churches lies within the range of the sunrise pattern of the island (Dr F.Stevenson of the Astronomy Department, Durham; pers.comm.). Only two examples from

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the drystone churches are facing directly east/west and one of these was Kilbride, which, as has been pointed out, may be sixteenth century in date. This is out of a total of seventeen churches. Among the mortared churches, on the other hand, the range was merely 270-290 degrees and five out of eight churches faced east/west. It would seem therefore, that there is a tightening up of 'orientation policy' on Islay in the later mediaeval period. Whether this was due to greater accuracy in measuring compass points or because of tighter liturgical constraints, it is impossible to tell.

CONSTRUCTIONAL FABRIC

The Royal Commission survey of Islay made no systematic examination of the constructional fabric of the drystone church buildings although they did use words such as 'rubble' or 'roughly dressed squared stones' on occasion. (Rubble is defined as 'masonry of rough unsquared stones' (RCAHMS Argyll V, 356).) Unfortunately they do not do this in every case so that their comments cannot be used as a data base. Examination in the field, however, means that a division can be made between buildings where roughly shaped rectangular squared stones were used and those where the stones appear totally unshaped. These 'squared stones' are rectangular and range in size from a minimum of 20 x 10 cm to an average maximum of 60 x 30 cm. In 5 of the 7 churches built of shaped stones or 'squared stones', the larger stones occur at the base with slightly smaller ones above. (This is probably not of architectural significance but simply a matter of common sense.) In all, some sort of coursing existed although it could vary between rough and
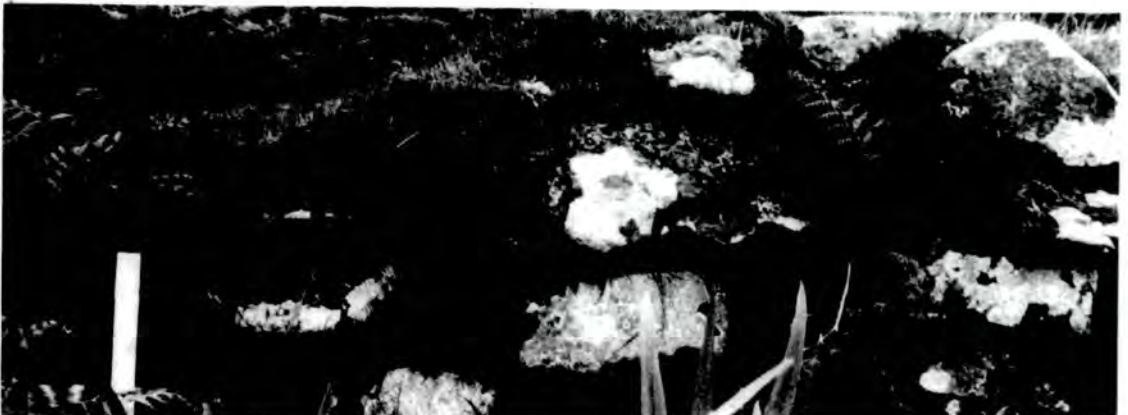
Plate I: Construction Fabric of Churches
        Tockmal (top) Cill Tobar Lasrach (second)
        Gleann na Gaoith (third) Kilslevan (bottom)

well-coursed. The pinnings were horizontal rather than vertical but the degree to which they were used varied from site to site.

This division into 'squared stone' and 'rubble' churches could be due to differences in the stone used to build the churches (see Plate I), but investigation proved this to be unlikely. Except for the limestone and basalt region around Cill Chomhan, both 'squared stone' churches and 'rubble' churches were built on similar geological locations (Geological Survey of Scotland sheets 19,20,27). On Cill Chomhan itself, local limestone was incorporated into the wall of the enclosure. Unfortunately, I lacked the training to be able to identify the other stones used in the buildings.

It could also be argued that this division is due to the extent to which the buildings survive. With the exception of Duisker I and Bruichladdich, (both 'squared stone' churches which are under 50 cm in height) and Tockmal ('rubble') which survives to a height of 1.2 m, the buildings in the 'squared stone' group survive to a much greater height than do those of the 'rubble' group (see Plate III). In other words, rubble may have been used for the foundations in all drystone churches. This is a valid argument. However the base stones of the 'squared stone' churches have the same shape and amount of dressing as the ones higher in the walls. Since no church is included which does not have a minimum of one course visible, with the exception of Cill Eathain, it is assumed that the difference between 'squared stone' and 'rubble' churches is valid. The fact that the majority of 'squared stone' churches survive to a greater height is probably due to their 'squared stone' nature

TABLE 10: CONSTRUCTIONAL FABRIC OF DRYSTONE CHURCHES

SQUARED STONE CHURCHES	RUBBLE CHURCHES
Bruichladdich	Ardilistry
Cill Chomhan	Carn
Cill Tobar Lasrach	Cill Eathain
Cladh Eilisteir	Cill Eileagain
Gleann na Gaoith	Duisker II
Kilbride	Gartmain
Kilslevan	Kildalton II
Trudernish	Lagavulin
	Mulreesh
	Tockmal

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rather than being merely a fortuitous accident. The buidings are structurally more sound and therefore survive better.

There are many churches on Islay which look as if the exterior corners are rounded and in some cases they are portrayed as such on the Royal Commission plans (see table 11). However the numbers of churches which actually have evidence for circular, exterior corners, is quite limited. In some cases the corners are either not there at all or are overgrown and are probably covered by fallen stone and rubble.

The churches with definitely circular exterior corners are Cill Tobar Lasrach, Duisker I, Gleann na Gaoith, Mulreesh, Tockmal and Trudernish. In each case the evidence for circular corners consisted of oval stones laid flat face down into the wall to produce a circular effect. Only at Trudernish did the upper walls survive and this effect could be seen as part of an overall structural technique (see Plate III). On all these sites the internal corners are square.

TABLE 11 : THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CORNERS
OF DRYSTONE CHURCHES ON ISLAY

NAME	SQ.INT.	SQ.EXT.	CIRC.INT.	CIRC. EXT.
Bruichladdich	...	...	X	X
Carn	X	...	...	X
Cill Chomhan	X	X	...	...
Cill Eathain	...	...	...	X
Cill Eileagain	X	X	...	...
Cill Tobar Lasrach	X	...	...	X
Cladh Eilisteir	X	...	...	X
Duisker I	X	...	...	X
Duisker II	X	...	...	X
Gleann na Gaoith	X	...	...	X
Kilslevan	X	X	...	...
Kilbride	X	X	...	...
Mulreesh	X	...	...	X
Nereabolls II	...	...	X	X
Tockmal	X	...	...	X
Trudernish	X	X(2)	...	X(2)

Other combinations of corner shapes occur although these are less common and are subject to the same difficulties as the circular ones. There are two churches of the drystone group with square corners both internally and externally, two churches with circular interior and exterior corners and one where only the external corners could be defined as probably being circular.

In four cases the internal square corners are produced in a distinct manner. In Kilbride and Cill Eileagain there is a diagonal stone which binds the two stones together while at Duisker II, the arrangement is similar but the diagonal stone leans forward into the interior at an angle of approx. 45 degrees. (This could be due to settlement of the building's stonework.) Bruichladdich is also arranged in a similar manner to the other three but instead of

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closing in a square, the diagonal stone is laid flat into a turf bank producing an open circular *e*ffect. On other sites, the interior stones are lightly bonded together without the diagonal stones, the width of each wall providing the necessary support.

There is one indication that the division into squared versus round angled churches is too simplified. At Trudernish there is definite evidence of all four corners and on the RCAHMS plan, the two northern corners are circular while the two southern ones are square (see below, Appendix D). (Field work suggests that this may be deceptive. The base stone of the S.E. corner of the chapel at Trudernish, is a large boulder extending some 80 cm beyond the enclosure wall while the S.W. corner is now obscured by rubble.) The Royal Commission produced a plan for Cill Tobar Lasrach in which they suggested that the same thing occurred there although the evidence for two corners is missing (see below, Appendix D). Of the other churches with circular exterior corners, Gleann na Gaoith has evidence for circular corners on all four sides; Mulreesh is probably the same (a slight question mark over one corner) and Tockmal has four round corners but with one squared off stone in line with the south wall at the base of the wall.

DOOR POSITION

Door position is potentially a very useful method of
distinguishing groups amongst the drystone churches. Unlike area,
it is difficult to see how changes in door position can represent
anything other then changes in architectural traditions. The
exception to this dictum are those cases where topography or busy
communication routes put constraints on the builders. An example of
the former would be the site of Keeill Vael, Druidale on the Isle of
Man where the door in the north wall appears to be a direct result
of the relative positions of the church and the surrounding scarp
(Morris 1981, 40-44).

Door position is one category of information where a control
group can be very useful in testing an hypothesis. The door
positions of both mortared and drystone churches have been plotted
in table 12. Where the orientation of the building is roughly
south-west/north-east, the walls corresponding most closely to west,
east etc. have been renamed as such to facilitate comparisons.

It is immediately obvious that the control group has a strong
bias towards north and south doors. The one exception is Kilnave
which closely resembles in plan the twelfth-century chapel of St
Oran on Iona (RCHAMS Argyll V, 219) although it also possesses late
thirteenth-century features. Of the others, Kildalton, (the parish
church) Kilnaughton and Kilchiaran (the two largest of the
subsidiary parish churches) have doors in both the north and south
walls although the position of the south door in Kilchiaran differs
from the others, and opens onto the chancel.

TABLE 12 : DOOR POSITION IN ISLAY CHURCHES

POSITION OF DOOR IN MORTARED CHURCHES

NAME	WEST WALL	NORTH WALL	SOUTH WALL
Finlaggan	...	...	X
Kiells	...	...	X
Kilchiaran	...	X	X
Kildalton	...	X	X
Kilnaughton	...	X	X
Kilnave	X	...	...
Nave Island	...	X	...
Nereabolls I	...	...	X
Orsay	...	...	X
Texa	...	...	X

POSITION OF DOOR IN UNMORTARED CHURCHES

NAME	WEST WALL	NORTH WALL	SOUTH WALL
Ardilistry	X	...	...
Bruichladdich	X	...	...
Cill Chomhan	...	X	...
Cill Eileagain	...	X	...
Cill Tobar Lasrach	...	...	X
Duisker I	X	...	...
Gleann na Gaoith	...	X	...
Kilbride	...	...	X
Kilslevan	X	...	...
Nereabolls II	X	...	...
Tockmal	...	X	...
Trudernish	...	...	X

Of the smaller mediaeval sites, Nave Island has a door in the north wall and Nereabolls, Texa, Finlaggan and Orsay all have doors facing to the south. This distribution suggests that the difference between north/south and west positions is indeed liturgical/architectural but the difference between two doors and one door is one of function. This is not a particularly surprising conclusion but what is worthy of note is that, on the basis of the control group, there is no reason to differentiate between north and south doors except to state that north doors are rather less common.

However ten sites are not really a valid basis for conclusions such as these so the search was extended to the rest of Argyll with interesting results. These are tabulated in table 13 in columns refering to the century which they have been assigned to on the basis of their architectural features. The data has been drawn from the five volumes by the Royal Commission on Argyll. Allowing for the small numbers of sites, it would appear that western doorways for mortared churches were never popular in Argyll, accounting for only four of the twenty-five sites known and ranging in date from the thirteenth century to the later mediaeval period. Lateral entry through north and south walls is the norm. There is no clear division between which side wall is used in chronological terms although there may be one in functional ones.

Unfortunately, this data is biased. In a number of cases, where the building had few architecturally datable features, the Royal Commission (and presumably other authorities as well) would date it by comparing its ground plan with those of other churches (see for example Kilnave, RCAHMS Argyll V, 219). It is obvious that you

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TABLE 13 : DOOR POSTION IN MORTARED CHURCHES IN ARGYLL

NAME	TWELFTH	THIRTEENTH	MEDIEVAL*	LATER MEDIEVAL*
Caibeal Mheamhair	...	...	...	N
Cill an Ailein	...	S	...	...
Dunstaffnage	...	S/N	...	...
Eilean Munde	...	...	...	S
Gigha	...	S	...	...
Inch Kenneth	...	N	...	...
Inishail	...	...	...	S
Iniss Sèa-Ràmhnach	...	...	...	N
Keil	...	...	...	N
Kilbrannan,Skipness	...	N/S	...	...
Kilchenzie	S?	...	...	...
Kilkenneth	...	...	...	W
Kilkivan	...	N	...	...
Killean	...	...	N	...
Killean	N?S?	...	...	...
Kilvickeon	...	N	...	...
Kirkapoll	...	...	W	...
Kirkapoll II	...	S	...	...
Pennygown	...	N	...	...
St Columba's Southend	...	W	...	...
Kilvickeon	...	N	...	...
Kirkapoll	...	...	W	...
Kirkapoll II	...	S	...	...
Pennygown	...	N	...	...
St Patrick's, Tiree	...	...	...	N

* as described by the RCAHMS

cannot use the ground plan to date the church and then use the date of the church to date the position of the door.

The important question is not the actual date of the various possible door positions (though this is interesting) but rather whether the changing position of the door is something which is due to differences through time. For this reason I have used a second basis of comparison for this category, the Saxon churches of England. Although they belong to different architectural traditions from the ones under discussion, they form a useful corpus from which to make comparisons. Taylor has written: 'Neither the position nor the detailed construction of the doorways will at present serve to give clear indications of date within the (Anglo/Saxon) era' (Taylor 1978, 799).

However, Taylor was writing in refutation of the belief that the position of the door could be used to date individual churches. The interest for this study is in using the door position as a grouping mechanism and one is not interested in single churches but the over-all trend.

Taylor grouped his sites into five categories: churches with doors in the west wall and nowhere else, churches with western doorways and possible lateral doorways, churches with lateral doorways and western ones, lateral doorways with possible western entrances and lateral doorways with no western entrances. In table 14, I have listed these five groups with the dating which the Taylors give them in their text. The results are, I think, convincing. Although it is not the case throughout, the majority of

TABLE 14 : DOOR POSITION IN SAXON CHURCHES

DOORS IN WEST WALL ONLY **DOORS IN WEST WALL (+ OTHERS)**

Bradwell	: A2*	Barsey	: B	Bracebridge	: C
Canterbury M	: A1	Brixworth	: A2	Canterbury	: A
Canterbury B	: A3	Deerhurst Miv	: A	Dunham	: C3
Chithurst	: C3	Holton	: C3	Jarrow	: C3
Elmham South	: A3/B	Kirkdale	: C3	Ledsham	: A
Thetford	: C ?	Pentlow	: Saxo-Norman	Sherborne	: C2

LATERAL ENTRY ONLY

Little Bardfield	: C3	Corhampton	: C3
Barsham	: C3	Deerhurst O.	: C3
Barton	: C1	Escomb	: A
Beechamwell	: C3	Framington	: C3
Bosham	: C3	Heysham Patrick	: B
Breamore	: C1	Lavendon	: C
Broughton	: C3	Lexham	: C
Clayton	: C	Norwich J.	: poss.C
Coln Rogers	: C3	Rumboldswhyte	: C

LATERAL ENTRY + POSSIBLE WEST DOOR

Boarhunt	: C	Miserden	: C3
Daglingworth	: C	Quarley	: Saxo-Norman
Framington	: C	Seaham	: A2
Jarrow E.	: A2	Selham	: C3
Bradford	: A2	Stanley	: C
Dover	: C2	Stoughton	: C3
Greensted	: C	Thornage	: C3
Hammerton	: C	Wareham M.	: C (poss. earlier)
Lusby	: C	Worth	: C3 (poss. earlier)
Melton	: C		

ENTRANCES BOTH IN WEST WALL AND FROM THE SIDE

Deerhurst A.	: A3 (prob.)	Potterne	: pre-Conquest
Elmham	: C2	Reculver	: A2

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* A1=600-650 A.D.   A2=650-700 A.D.   A3=700-800 A.D.
  B1=800-850 A.D.   B2=850-900 A.D.   B3=900-950 A.D.
  C1=950-1000 A.D. C2=1000-1050 A.D. C3=1050=1100 A.D.
  (Taylor and Taylor 1965 I, 17)

western doorways occur in period A churches and the majority of
lateral doorways appear in period C. This explains the Taylors'
third remark about doorway position, that lateral entrances were the
most common in the Saxon period (Taylor and Taylor 1978, 822).
There are more period C churches than there are period A sites:
therefore there are more churches with lateral entrance-ways.

Having established that the most likely way for door position to
change is through time, it is now possible to analyse the drystone
churches on Islay. As in the control group there are three possible
positions for doorways, west, north and south. (The only possible
exception is Duisker I where the Royal Commission believed there to
be a door in the ESE wall. There was no trace of any door to be
seen in 1986.) Unlike the control group, the majority of doorways
were found to be in the west wall (five out of the twelve, see table
12). But this majority was by no means as clear cut as in the
control group and when south and north doors were added together as
the control group suggests that they should be, the result is a
slight majority in favour of lateral doorways (seven out of twelve).
In addition, despite the Manx evidence, there is no evidence that
topography has affected this picture.

We have established that door position probably changed through
time; what we have yet to decide are the reasons for the change.
What were the pressures, liturgical or architectural, which meant
that lateral entry became preferable over direct entry through the
west? Does the change from west to north/south occur for the same
reasons in Saxon England and in the Highland Zone ?

It can be argued that the reasons behind the change are similar because the change in both cases is from west to north/south. Fisher has suggested that the change occurred in Sussex with the advent of parochial churches (Fisher 1970, 17) and this would agree with Taylor's dating of the change to the period between AD 800 and AD 950 (see above, 195). Although the introduction of a parochial system took place at a later date in Scotland (Cowan 1961), it may be that the change-over from west to north/south is also linked to the creation of parishes in the north.

The evidence for door construction among the drystone churches on Islay is slight, the majority of drystone entrances are too badly damaged to ascertain their structure. In the few doorways which remain there is no evidence for doors which incline inward and are built of separate squared stones in the manner of many Irish stone churches or as found at Escomb in Co. Durham. Nor is there any evidence for single stone inclining jambs which can also occur in Ireland (see for example Labba Molaga (Leask 1955, 61)). What evidence we have shows that doorways were not differentiated from the surrounding stonework by use of differently shaped or provenenced stones and that they were generally a simple rectangle in shape. In two cases, Gleann na Gaoith and Trudernish, there is evidence of splay to the exterior. The analysis for door width is limited to those cases where both jambs clearly survive. The average width is between 60 and 70 cm. and this also holds true for the control group.

INTERNAL FURNITURE

This is limited to altars and aumbries. There is no other
evidence for internal furniture within the drystone sites, nor does
any trace of window sills or forms survive.

It would appear probable that chance plays a large part in
determining whether or not an altar survives above ground. More
specifically, it would depend on how long the church remained in
use. It is unlikely that altar survival can be used as a dating
mechanism in its own right. Having said that, of the four sites
with altars, three are churches built in the 'squared stone'
technique: Cill Tobar Lasrach, Bruichladdich and Gleann na Gaoith.
The exception is Nereabolls II.

The altars are approximately centrally placed against the east
wall. The remains at Bruichladdich were too indistinct to be
accurately measured while those at Gleann na Gaoith and Nereabolls
II are less distinct at their northern edges. At Cill Tobar
Lasrach, the measurements are 1.6m north/south extending 0.7m from
the east wall. It stood 1m from the NE corner of the chapel and
0.7m from the SE. At Nereabolls II , the altar is 1.2m x 0.8m and
0.4m from the SE corner, and at Gleann na Gaoith (which is slightly
larger than Nereabolls II), the altar was 1.2m x 1m, 0.7m from the
SE corner and 1.2m from the SW (see Plate II). The asymmetric
position of the altar may be due to a centrally placed east window
which would have been blocked by the celebrant while he was
celebrating mass (Professor Cramp pers.comm.).
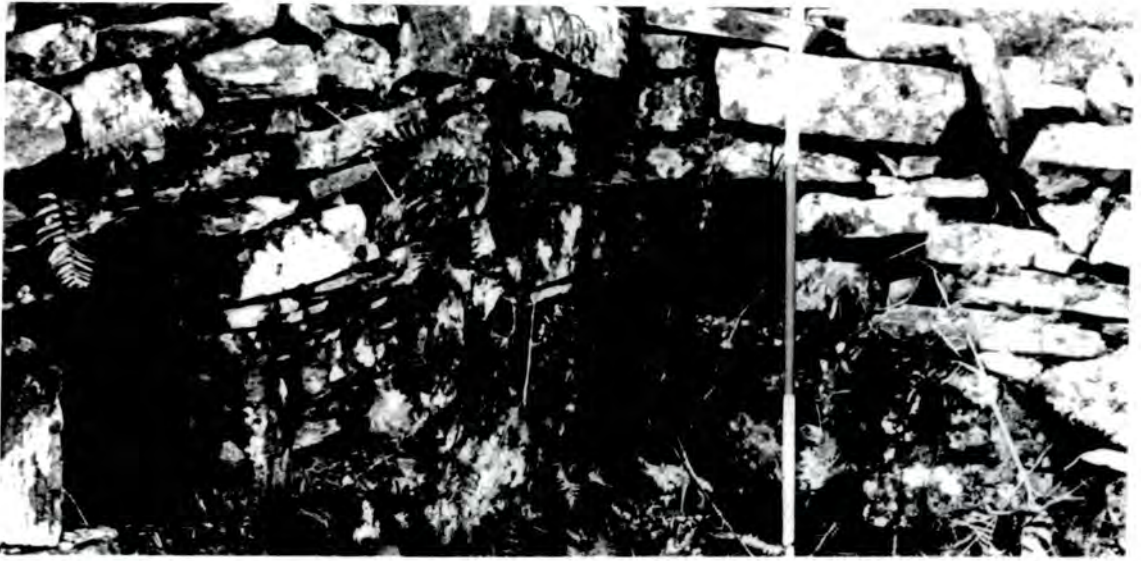
Plate II: Internal Furniture
Trudernish East wall (with rod) and North wall aumbries
Cill Tobar Lasrach altar (middle left)
Gleann na Gaoith altar (right bottom)

These measurements compare with the two altars in the control group, in dimensions if not in size. At Kilnave the altar is 1.6m x 1m and 1.2m from SE and NE corners. At Kilchiaran, it is 2m x 1m and lies 1.3m from the SE and NE corners. (In this last case, the measurements have been confirmed by excavation (RCHAMS Argyll V, 194). In other words, in both mortared and drystone churches on Islay, the altar lies against the east wall, in an approximately central position and covers between a third and a half of the wall space. It is most likely therefore that the altar was the focus of all seven buildings where we have evidence for its survival.

Aumbries are rare in drystone churches, only occurring in the three sites of Tockmal, Cill Tobar Lasrach and Trudernish. Cill Tobar Lasrach and Tockmal have one aumbry apiece; Trudernish is unique among drystone churches in having four, one on each wall but with three at the eastern end of the building (see Plate 11). In each case they have a lintelled roof, the sides are built of horizontally-placed slabs while the construction of the base can vary. Their size ranges from a minimum of 0.35m x 0.25m x 0.35m in the south wall at Trudernish to a maximum of 0.4m x 0.3m x 0.5m at Tockmal. They are approximately square in shape though occasionally narrowing to a point at the back and are placed close to the present ground level. (At Tockmal, there is clear evidence of later build-up within the church and build-up may have occurred within the other two buildings as well.) At both Cill Tobar Lasrach and Tockmal, the aumbries are in the south wall but in the former it is in the western half and in the latter it is placed on the SE corner. The largest aumbry at Trudernish is on the north wall while the smallest is on the south.

Four churches from the control group have aumbries: Kildalton, Kilnaughton, Kilchiaran (which has three) and Nave Island. In each, the aumbry is found on the east wall; in Kildalton and Kilchiaran at the SE corner close to ground level while in Kilnaughton and Nave Island it is at the north-east corner, also close to ground level. The two other aumbries at Kilchiaran are in focal positions above the north and south corners of the altar. In shape they vary more than do those of the drystone group; the two higher examples from Kilchiaran are 1m x 0.6m and 1.1m x 0.5m respectively each with a depth of only 0.1m. The more northerly of the two has a pointed head of two opposed slabs at an angle of 45 degrees while the southern example has a flat lintelled head. In Kilnaughton, the aperture is of a square shape similar to the drystone examples but it extends some 0.8m behind the stonework to the south, thus producing an L-shaped cavity. In Kildalton the aumbry has arrised jambs of freestone (RCHAMS Argyll V, 203).

As has already been mentioned, both Kilchiaran and Kilnaughton were the most important subsidiary parish chapels to survive from the mediaeval period while Kildalton is the only parochial church. Nave Island appears to have belonged to the monastery at Iona (see above, 157-8). It is possible that aumbries, which presumably held chalices, the Eucharist and so forth, were only constructed in the more important churches of the area, where such articles were stored.

CONCLUSIONS

In tables 15 to 19 I have put forward the groupings of the drystone churches which I find to be the most convincing. These are: A: churches of 10 square metres or less, B: churches of c. 16 square metres and C: churches of 19 to 24 square metres. There is a subgroup of C, C1 where the churches are slightly smaller but share many of the characteristics of the group. Finally there is also a group D where the dubious churches have been placed. These buildings were recognised by the Royal Commission as being unlikely church buildings and they have consistently differed from each other and the other drystone churches in each category. In these I include the buildings at Cladh Eilisteir and Kilbride which, although they are probably churches, do not appear to be of the same tradition as the other churches on the island. The suggestion put forward by the RCAHMS that they are sixteenth century in date appears to be a plausible one (RCAHMS Argyll V, 31) for although they have certain characteristics in common with Group C churches, they have even more in common with the control group.

The three main groups are not distinguishable by area alone. Group C is the group of 'squared stone' churches or in other words, churches whose building stones have been roughly shaped into rectangular squared stones. The majority of altars and aumbries are found in this group. Apart from one exception at Kilslevan, their doors all face either to the south or to the north. Their orientations are within one standard deviation of true east/west alignment. There are three sites with variant features in the C group; Cill Tobar Lasrach and Trudernish have very similar

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Plate III: Churches
Trudernish (top) Trudernish N.E. external corner (middle)
Bruichladdich (bottom)

characteristics and probably share the feature of square external corners on the south wall and circular corners on the north. On the other hand, Gleann na Gaoith, although built of rectangular squared stones, shows much closer affiliations in all its other characteristics with Tockmal and Cill Eileagain, both of which are built of 'rubble' stone.

Group B churches are all approximately sixteen metres square. They have neither altars nor aumbries and none of them are built of 'squared' stones. In every case, with the exception of Ardilistry, the door is indistinct and it is impossible to be definite about its position. This may be due to the use of wood for doorposts on these churches. At Ardilistry, in contrast, the door can clearly be seen in the centre of the west wall. The orientation of the buildings, again with the exception of Ardilistry is far from true east/west. Finally, all the churches are found on built - up foundations or 'platforms' and they are the only churches to do so.

Group A churches range between 8.5 square metres and 12 square metres. One is probably built of 'squared stone' stonework but only one course survives. The rest are 'rubble' constructed. None of the buildings have aumbries but two have surviving altars. All, except one, have doorways which face west.

These three groups have different distributions. Group C which is the largest group, is also the most scattered with two churches on the Oa, one in the area around Port Ellen, one among the hills of the east coast, one on the edges of the Sorn valley and one just south of Loch Gruinart. Their far ranging distribution means they

could have served communities throughout the island with the possible exception of the north Rhinns.

Group B churches are also scattered although not so widely as the C sites. There are no Group B churches in the Rhinns at all. Mulreesh lies on the northern edge of the Sorn valley while Gartmain is at the head of Lochindaal. Ardilistry is on the south-east tip of the island at the southern end of the Jura Strait and there is one site on the west coast of the Oa, Cill Eathain.

This pattern of widely scattered churches is in total contrast with the distribution of the Group A churches. Of the four Group A sites, three are found in a tight cluster on the eastern coast of the south Rhinns within an hour's walk of each other. The fourth lies about twenty miles to the north-east in the River Sorn area.

It can be seen that the varying distributions of Group C and Group A churches tend to complement one another (see Fig.10). Group C churches are found along the south-east coast and around the Sorn valley, Group C1 at the entrance to Loch Indaal while Group A churches cluster around the northern end of the same loch. Whether one can infer from this that there are two separate areas of influence is difficult to say.

It is impossible as yet to put forward a dating range for the churches. It would seem likely that the Group C churches which are closest to the control group in their characteristics are in fact nearest to the control group in their dating. However it is impossible to extend this argument to provide a relative dating for

groups A and B as neither share the characteristics of the control group to a significant degree. On the basis of their door position it is possible that group C churches are twelfth century or later (see above, 197) and that groups A and B precede them.
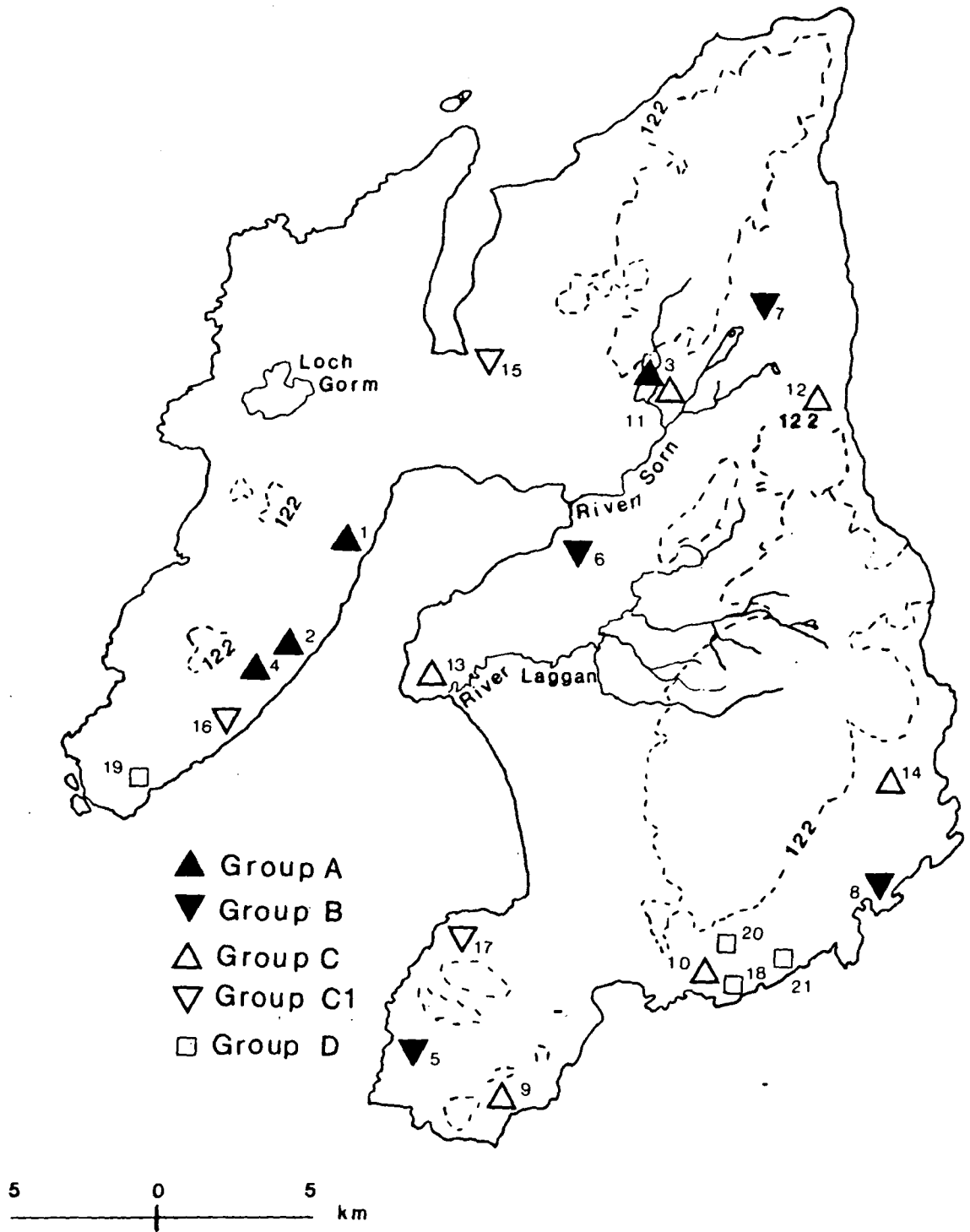
Fig.10 : Drystone churches on Islay

TABLE 15 : GROUP A CHURCHES ON ISLAY

NAME	PLATFORMS	SIZE
Bruichladdich	...	4m x 2.5m = 10.5m sq.
Carn	...	3.9m x 2.2m = 8.58 m sq.
Duisker II	...	3.6m x 2.8m = 10.08m sq.
Nereabolls II	...	4.4m x 2.7m = 11.88m sq.

NAME	ORIENTATION	CONSTRUCTION	CORNERS
Bruichladdich	298 degrees	'squared stone'	Cir.Cir.
Carn	260 degrees	'rubble'	Sq.Circ.
Duisker II	218 degrees	'rubble'	Sq.Circ.
Nereabolls II	254 degrees	'rubble'	?.Circ.

NAME	DOOR POSITION	DOOR WIDTH	ALTARS
Bruichladdich	W.	1m	X
Carn	W?S?	...	...
Duisker II	W.	O.6m	...
Nereabolls II	W.	...	...

NAME	AUMBRIES
Bruichladdich	...
Carn	...
Duisker II	...
Nereabolls II	...

TABLE 16 : GROUP B CHURCHES ON ISLAY

NAME	PLATFORM	SIZE
Cill Eathain	X	4.85m x 3.3m = 16m sq.
Gartmain	X	5m .....
Mulreesh	X	5m x 3.3m = 16.5m sq.
Ardilistry	...	5m x 3.3m = 16.5m sq.

NAME	ORIENTATION	CONSTRUCTION	CORNERS
Cill Eathain	218 degrees	'rubble'	...
Gartmain	...	'rubble'?	...
Mulreesh	256 degrees	'rubble'	Sq.Circ.
Ardilistry	270 degrees	'rubble'	...

NAME	DOOR POSITION	DOOR WIDTH	ALTARS
Cill Eathain	...	...	...
Gartmain	...	...	...
Mulreesh	...	...	...
Ardilistry	W.	0.6m	...

NAME	AUMBRIES
Cill Eathain	...
Gartmain	...
Mulreesh	...
Ardilistry	...

TABLE 17 : GROUP C CHURCHES ON ISLAY

NAME	PLATFORMS	SIZE
Cill Chomhan	...	6.35m x 3.55m = 22.5 sq.m.
Cill Tobar Lasrach	X	7m x 3.4m = 23.8 sq.m.
Duisker I	...	6.5m x 3.5m = 22.75 sq.m.
Kilslevan	...	10m x 4.2m = 42 sq. m.
Trudernish	...	6.26m x 3.3m = 20.66 sq.m.
Laggan	...	7.3m x 3m = 21.3 sq.m.*

*No further information is available for Laggan which
 disappeared through erosion in the nineteenth century.

NAME	ORIENTATION	CONSTRUCTION	CORNERS
Cill Chomhan	278 degrees	'squared stone'	Sq.Sq.
Cill Tobar Lasrach	286 degrees	'squared stone'	Sq.Cir.
Duisker I	245 degrees	'squared stone'	Sq.Cir
Kilslevan	270 degrees	'squared stone'	Sq.Sq.
Trudernish	260 degrees	'squared stone'	Sq.Cir.

NAME	DOOR POSITION	DOOR WIDTH	ALTARS
Cill Chomhan	N.	0.5m	...
Cill Tobar Lasrach	S.	0.7m	X
Duisker I	...	....	...
Kilslevan	W.	1.3m	...
Trudernish	S.	0.75/1.1m	...

NAME	AUMBRIES
Cill Chomhan	...
Cill Tobar Lasrach	X
Duisker I	...
Kilslevan	...
Trudernish	...

TABLE 18 : SUB-GROUP C1 CHURCHES ON ISLAY

NAME	PLATFORMS	SIZE
Cill Eileagain	---	5.5m x 2.74m = 15.12m sq.
Gleann na Gaoith	---	5m x 2.9m = 14.5m sq.
Tockmal	---	5.25m x 2.9m = 15.9 msq.

NAME	ORIENTATION	CONSTRUCTION	CORNERS
Cill Eileagain	260 degrees	'rubble'	Sq.Circ.
Gleann na Gaoith	272 degrees	'squared stone'	Sq.Circ.
Tockmal	300 degrees	'rubble'	Sq.Circ.

NAME	DOOR POSITION	DOOR WIDTH	ALTARS
Cill Eileagain	N.	...	...
Gleann na Gaoith	N.	0.6m	X
Tockmal	N.	0.7m	...

NAME	AUMBRIES
Cill Eileagain	...
Gleann na Gaoith	...
Tockmal	X

TABLE 19 : GROUP D CHURCHES ON ISLAY

NAME	PLATFORMS	SIZE
Cill Luchaig	....	2.25m x II = 38.5m
Kilbride	....	10m x 4.2m = 42 sq. m.
Cladh Eilister	....	10.5m x 4.5m = 47.25 sq.m.
Lagavulin	....	(4.55m)sq. x II = 65m sq.

NAME	ORIENTATION	CONSTRUCTION	CORNERS
Cill Luchaig	...	'rubble'	...
Cladh Eilisteir		'squared stone'	Sq.Circ.
Kilbride	270 degrees	'squared stone'	Sq.Circ.
Lagavulin	...	'rubble'	Circular

NAME	DOOR POSITION	DOOR WIDTH	ALTARS
Cill Luchaig	...	...	...
Cladh Eilisteir	...	...	...
Kilbride	S.	1.0m	...
Lagavulin	N.E.	0.6m	...

NAME	AUMBRIES
Cill Luchaig	...
Cladh Eilisteir	...
Kilbride	...
Lagavulin	...

In the last chapter I proposed a scheme of categorisation for the drystone churches of Islay. Unless parallels are sought outside the island, however, the study loses much of its significance. A major problem in the search for such parallels is the lack of published inventories for much of the area and the limited information which such compilations can offer without field-work (see above, xviii-xxii). Indeed, even field-work is not totally satisfactory for the excavations at Church Island (O'Kelly 1958), Reask (Fanning 1981b) and Keeill Vael,Druidale (Morris 1981, 1983b) have shown that drystone churches are frequently multi-period sites. Any conclusions arrived at in this study must therefore be regarded as purely theoretical and must at some later date be tested through excavation.

Because of the variation in written sources, Islay churches will be studied in relation to four control groups: that portion of Argyll which is covered in the Royal Commission volumes, the Isle of Man, north of Ireland (including the six counties and Donegal) and the Dingle peninsula. It was considered that these were the only areas where enough information was provided about drystone church buildings for such analysis to be worth while.

Until recently the study of churches around the Irish Sea was based on a conception of change through time. Bruce summarized this briefly when discussing the Manx keeills:

'In view of (these)... difficulties, it would be hazardous to attempt anything beyond a rough sequence based on

structural type eg. sod-built, stone-revetted, stone-built, mortar-rendered etc' (Kermode and Bruce 1968 VI, 71).

In 1976, Hamlin argued that there was a sequence from drystone through clay-bonding to mortared churches and her dating of the early churches in Northern Ireland was based on such a sequence (Hamlin 1976, 134). This is still generally accepted and has formed the basis for dating other churches but as there is no generally accepted date for the arrival of mortar in the Irish Sea area, the dating can vary widely. (Compare the Royal Commission's date for a lime-mortared structure with _antae_ on Iona (ninth century) with Hamlin's dating of a clay-bonded structure without _antae_ (late eleventh century) in Co. Down (RCAHMS Argyll IV, 216; Hamlin 1976, 134).) On this point, it may be worth considering the evidence of the round towers. These monuments are referred to in the written sources from the mid tenth century and they are dependent on a sophisticated use of lime-mortar for their erection (Barrow 1979, 23). The introduction of mortar to the eastern half of Ireland probably took place, therefore, prior to the tenth century.

SPECIFIC PARALLELS FOR ISLAY CHURCHES

A regional study of the Islay churches resulted in a typological classification of the churches into three groups. Each group has good parallels elsewhere. On Man, Cabbal Druiaght in the Parish of Marown fits the parameters outlined for a group A church as does Ballahimmin (although excavation proved that the walls had been clay-bonded on the latter site) (Kermode and Bruce 1968 I, 9-11; II, 12-16). Other examples were Earey Mooar, Ballacarnane-Beg and Knock Rule (ibid. II, 16-17; III, 8-11; V, 15). Apart from these Manx

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sites no other parallels for Group A churches were found.

Parallels for Group B churches were more difficult to distinguish in the written sources as their most striking feature is the artificial platform, which is rarely recorded. There was, for instance, no detailed information about platforms available for Islay before field-work was undertaken. This in turn means that the only distinguishing feature of a Group B church is its spatial dimensions and one must ask whether one distinguishing feature is sufficient to differentiate between groups. This question will be dealt with below. For the moment, we can note that there are two definite parallels for B churches, at Knoc y Doonee and Ballavarkish on the Isle of Man (ibid. III, 23-8, 32-3). It is possible that Upper Sulby and Keeill Mertin on Man and Crackaig on Mull are also members of this group although they do not fit all the parameters (ibid. V, 7-10; RCAHMS Argyll III) If we further extend the group to include all drystone churches of similar dimensions we could also include Derry South in Co.Down (Waterman 1967).

Group C churches are rather more common. Examples can be found at Killundine in Mull, Cill Chaluim Chille on Jura, Ardnadam in Mid-Argyll, Ballakilley on Man and Ardwall Isle in Galloway (phase 3) (RCAHMS Argyll III, V, 162; Rennie 1984, 31-2; Kermode and Bruce 1968 VI, 7-10; Thomas 1967). Other sites which are likely candidates but do not share all the Group C characteristics are Keeill Chiggyrt, Cabbal Pherick on the Isle of Man, Ballymore in Co.Donegal, Cill Caitriona on Colonsay, Kilmun in Lorn and Eileach an Naoimh (Kermode and Bruce 1968 IV, 29-31; III, 4-9; Lacy 1983, 243; RCAHMS Argyll V, 160, 11, 155, V, 178-9). The sub-group C1 has

parallel sites at Creag a'Chaibeil in Lorn and Corrody on the Isle of Man and possibly Keeil Vael in Druidale (RCAHMS Argyll II 123; Kermode and Bruce 1968 III, 37; Morris 1981, 1983b).

The best parallels, therefore, are with the Isle of Man where there are definite examples of all three groups to be found. It is the only area where Group A churches are found and it is interesting that they share the same close distribution as the Islay churches. The Manx examples are all found in the central low-lying belt between Douglas and Peel. Similarly, with Group B churches, the only definite parallels are t be found on Man but in this case they differ from Islay in that they are also found close to one another. In proportion to the number of Groups A and B churches, Group C sites are rare on Man but as on Man and in the Hebrides elsewhere, they are widely scattered in their distribution.

Although the parallels can be found, the numbers of churches involved and the percentages which they form of a region's drystone churches are very different. On Islay, these four groups A,B,C and C1 include almost all the drystone churches which survive on the island (80.9%). 19% of all drystone churches on Islay can be found in Group A; 19% and 28.6% in Groups B and C respectively and 14.3% in Group C1.

In the rest of Argyll, there are no direct parallels for group A (0%) in the 13 drystone churches known. There may be a parallel at Crackaig for a group B church (7.6%) while in Group C there are three definite sites (23.1%) and a posible further three examples. There is a single parallel for a C1 church. This gives us a minimum

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figure of 30.7% of Argyll churches which belong to the categories outlined for Islay and a maximum figure of 61.4%.

On the Isle of Man there are 29 drystone or clay-bonded _keeill_ sites where sufficient data has been recorded for the purposes of this survey. Of these, 5 sites belong to Group A (17.2%); 2 sites possibly 4, belong to Group B (6.9% - 13.8%) and 1 site possibly 3 in Group C.(3.4% - 10.3%) One site, possibly two, belong to Group C1 (3.4% - 6.9%). Added together, this results in a minimum figure of 30.9% and a maximum figure of 48.2%.

In the north of Ireland (comprising present-day Northern Ireland and Co.Donegal) there are ten drystone churches of which five occur in Co.Down. There are no parallels for groups A or B with the possible (but improbable) exception of Derry South in Group B (11.2%). (Derry South agrees with the spatial criteria for group B but has _antae_ on its gable-ends.) There are two possible examples of Group C churches on Tory Island and at Ballymore in Co.Donegal. Here there is a minimum figure of 0% and a maximum figure of 30%.

In Dingle, out of a total of 14 drystone churches, there are none which correspond to the Islay groups.

These figures show that although parallels for Islay churches can be found, they are not absolute. One could argue that Islay is unique among the five areas studied, for the uniformity of its drystone building techniques. Elsewhere in the Hebrides, regional variation was such that no one system of classification would be sufficient to include all the sites known. This would suggest that

Islay was a centre for church buildings of the types outlined. Such an hypothesis would explain why all church buildings on the island can be categorized according to type. Elsewhere, the putative Islay architect would be in conflict with local styles and local pressures resulting in hybrid forms.

A more likely hypothesis is that there is pronounced regional variation in these monuments. The isolation of each island/region was such that techniques used in each area showed a certain amount of uniformity but little contact with other regions. No scheme of classification which is worked out for one area is necessarily applicable to another. In each of the regional control areas, therefore, a different categorization using the same parameters should be sought in order that allowance is made for local styles.

CLASSIFICATION OF DRYSTONE CHURCHES OUTSIDE ISLAY

This hypothesis has the advantage that it is testable, preferably in the field but alternatively, as here, in the written sources. (It should be remembered, however, that the information for the Islay churches was as extensive as that published on the other control groups and yet no classification was possible until the sites had been examined in the field.) Each of the control groups can be examined and tested for uniformity within their own area. Any categories which emerge from the regional studies can then be used for all drystone churches around the Irish Sea in order to see whether the correlation is better or worse than with the categorization scheme based on Islay.

For the purposes of this survey, it has been decided that churches must share at least two features in common before they can be classified as a group. Where a church lacks one of the two features in question (due to delapidation or similar reasons), it may still be included in the group provided that it agrees in all other respects to the parameters of the group. If a church does not have the distinguishing feature of a group but has some other feature to replace it (e.g. a south door instead of the west door which is the group norm) it cannot be classed as a member of the group.

The parameters for this survey are size, masonry (shaped stone and rubble), clay or drystone building, shape, door position, altars, aumbries and _antae_. With the exception of the variable _antae_ and without including the variable 'orientation' (on which there is little information in the published sources) these are the same parameters as were used to distinguish groups on Islay.

The results from the northern Ireland survey are summarized in table 20. From this we can see that the churches are unified regionally. They are plain rectangular churches with no subdivision into chancel and nave areas. In size they are either under 20 square metres or over 37 square metres in internal area. They have no second door and there are no aumbries amongst them. At Raholp a reconstructed altar was found overlying an earlier stone grave (Down 1966, 295) and at Derry North and Tory Island there are traces of a reconstructed altar. (At Tory Island the church still plays a role in the life of the islanders (Fox 1978, 19).) The only clay-bonded church with _antae_ is Derry South.

TABLE 20 : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF THE NORTH OF IRELAND

SIZE		SHAPE OF EXTERIOR CORNERS	
Rathlin O'Birne	3.74 sq.m.	Rathlin O'Birne	: Sq..ext.
Laghill	13.09 sq.m.	Laghill	: Circ.ext.
Derry (South)	16.33 sq.m.	Derry (South)	: Sq.ext.
Ballymore	19.50 sq.m.	Ballymore	: Sq.ext.?
Chapel Island	37.84 sq.m.	Chapel Island	: Sq.ext.
Raholp	41.43 sq.m.	Raholp	: Sq.ext.
Temple Cormick	40.09 sq.m.	Temple Cormick	: Sq.ext.
Derry (North)	57.91 sq.m.	Derry (North)	: Sq.ext.
Saint's Island	58.95 sq.m.	Saint's Island	: Sq.ext.
Tory Island	...	Tory Island	: ...

RUBBLE	SHAPED STONES
Derry (North)	Derry (South)
Raholp	Tory Island
Chapel Island	Rathlin O'Birne
Ballymore ?	
Laghill	
Saint's Island	
Temple Cormick	

CLAY-BONDED	DRYSTONE
Derry (South)	Ballymore
Derry (North)	Saints Island
Raholp	Rathlin O'Birne
Chapel Island	Temple Cormick
Laghill	

WEST DOOR	SOUTH DOOR
Derry (South)	Derry (North)
Raholp	Chapel Island
Tory Island	Ballymore
Rathlin O'Birne	

ALTARS	AUMBRIES
Derry (North)	Raholp
Raholp	Rathlin O'Birne
Tory Island	

Within the group there are no separate types visible. As an experiment, the churches were compared with the lime-mortared but equally plain churches with which Hamlin compared them (Hamlin 1976, 133). These had a higher number of _antae_ and were more uniform in the door position (all in the west wall). Unlike the drystone structures, the walls in each case were of shaped stone rather than of rubble or boulders. In size there was nothing to distinguish the two groups and, as in the drystone churches, aumbries were rare, ocurring only at Killevy, Co.Armagh (Dr.Hamlin, pers.comm.).

The thirteen drystone structures from Argyll are tabulated in table 21. Those churches which had western doorways showed no uniform characteristics, differing in size, shape, masonry, clay-bonding and drystone techniques. None had altars or aumbries. Churches with south doors on the other hand, were almost all of drystone and of a similar size (16.32 sq.m. to 33.62 sq.m.). (Ardnadam proved to be the exception in both cases.) Three of the five are built of shaped stones and the same three have squared external corners. No aumbries existed in this group but there were two sites with altars.

Apart from the churches with south doors, there was less evidence for uniformity among the drystone churches of Argyll. As in the north of Ireland there were no aumbries and no secondary doors and only two of the thirteen churches had altars. On the other hand, the variation in size and shape is greater and the proportion of clay-bonded churches to drystone structures is rather different. (50% of known drystone churches in the north of Ireland were clay-bonded but only 30.8% of known Argyll churches used this

TABLE 21 : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF ARGYLL

SIZE

Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)	:	5.5m	x	2.5m	=	13.75 sq.m.
Ballachuan (Lorn)	:	5.7m	x	2.9m	=	14.25 sq.m.
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)	:	5.1m	x	3.2m	=	16.32 sq.m.
Crackaig (Mull)	:	5.5m	x	3.3m	=	18.12 sq.m.
Killundine (Mull)	:	7.6m	x	3.0m	=	22.80 sq.m.
Kilmun (Lorn)	:	6.7m	x	3.5m	=	23.45 sq.m.
Eileach an Naoimh	:	6.6m	x	3.6m	=	23.76 sq.m.
Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)	:	7.1m	x	3.5m	=	24.85 sq.m.
Cill Chaluim Chille (Jura)	:	7.8m	x	3.4m	=	26.52 sq.m.
Cill Mhoire (Colonsay)	:	7.0m	x	4.0m	=	28.00 sq.m.
Cladh an Disirt (Iona)	:	7.9m	x	4.2m	=	33.18 sq.m.
Cladh Uaine (Lorn)	:	8.2m	x	4.1m	=	33.62 sq.m.
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	:	10.1m	x	6.4m	=	64.64 sq.m.

CIRC. CORNERS INT./EXT.	SQ.CORNERS EXT.;CIRC.EXT.
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	Cladh an Disirt (Iona)
Cladh Uaine (Lorn)	Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)
Cill Mhoire (Colonsay)	Crackaig (Mull)

SQ.CONERS INT/EXT.

Ballachuan (Lorn)
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)
Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)
Cill Chaluim Chille (Jura)
Eileach an Naoimh (Garvellochs)
Kilmun (Lorn)
Killundine   (Mull)

TABLE 21(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF ARGYLL

RUBBLE	SHAPED STONES
Ballachuan (Lorn)	Cladh Uaine (Lorn)
Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)	Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	Crackaig (Mull)
Kilmun (Lorn)	Cill Chaluim Chille (Jura)
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)	Cill Mhoire (Colonsay)
	Eileach an Naoimh (Garvellochs)
	Killundine (Mull)

CLAY-BONDED	DRYSTONE
Eileach an Naoimh (Garvellochs)	Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	Cill Chaluim Chille (Jura)
Ballachuan (Lorn)	Cill Mhoire (Colonsay)
Ardnadam (mid-Argyll)	Crackaig (Mull)
	Cladh Uaine (Lorn)
	Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)
	Kilmun (Lorn)
	Killundine (Lorn)

WEST DOOR	SOUTH DOOR
Crackaig (Mull)	Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	Cladh Uaine (Lorn)
Eileach an Naoimh (Garvellochs)	Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)
Kilmun (Lorn)	Cill Chaluim Cille (Jura)
	Killundine (Mull)

NORTH DOOR	ALTAR
?Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	Cill Chaluim Cille (Jura)
Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)	Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)

technique.)

On Man two further parameters were added to the list: sites with earthen banks revetting them and those which were built with an inner and outer facing of stone and a rubble core. (Although many of the churches outside Islay and Man probably used the technique of a rubble core with outer facing, the sources are not sufficently detailed to identify these.) Despite the increased number of churches and the advantage of a larger number of parameters, however, no system which covered all the churches on the island could be distinguished.

A broad distinction was made by Cubbon between churches with internal dimensions of c.3.75m/5.25m by 2.1m/3.0m (about 60% of all Manx drystone churches) and a smaller group which averaged some 6.6m by 3.9m (Cubbon 1982, 346). The door tends to be in the west wall (75.9%) no matter what the size of the building, its shape or its masonry is like. Buildings with doors in the south (20.7%) varied in size, building technique and internal furniture. Neither clay-bonding, nor rounded external corners nor size served to differentiate one category of church from another.

As elsewhere, none of the drystone churches had a second door and only two of the twenty-nine sites had aumbries. The increased percentage of altars (58.6%) and the relatively high proportion of clay-bonded churches (27.6%) can probably be put down to the fact that the majority of these Manx sites have been excavated.

TABLE 22 : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF MAN

SIZE

Keeill Vael (Michael)	3.3m	x 2.0m	=	6.60 sq.m.
Earey Mooar (German)	4.2m	x 2.1m	=	8.82 sq.m.
Skyhill (Lezayre)	4.5m	x 2.1m	=	9.45 sq.m.
Lag ny Keeilley (Patrick)	3.9m	x 2.5m	=	9.71 sq.m.
Keeill Vreeshy (Marown)	3.7m	x 2.6m	=	9.73 sq.m.
Cabbal Druiaght (Marown)	4.1m	x 2.5m	=	10.32 sq.m.
Ballacarnane-Beg (Michael)	3.7m	x 2.8m	=	10.54 sq.m.
Keeill Lingan (Marown)	3.9m	x 2.8m	=	11.11 sq.m.
Knock Rule (Braddan)	4.8m	x 2.4m	=	11.52 sq.m.
Keeill Woirrey (Maughold)	4.05m	x 2.8m	=	11.54 sq.m.
Ballahimmin (German)	4.5m	x 2.7m	=	12.15 sq.m.
3ulbrick (Santan)	5.1m	x 2.5m	=	13.00 sq.m.
Corrody ((Lezayre)	5.2m	x 2.7m	=	14.17 sq.m.
Keeill Vael (Arbory)	4.9m	x 2.9m	=	14.21 sq.m.
Keeill Mertin (Conchan)	5.4m	x 2.7m	=	14.58 sq.m.
Ballaquinney (Marown)	4.8m	x 3.1m	=	15.12 sq.m.
Keeill Pherick a Dromma (German)	5.4m	x 2.8m	=	15.12 sq.m.
Upper Sulby (Conchan)	6.3m	x 2.4m	=	15.12 sq.m.
Knoc y Doonee (Andreas)	5.1m	x 3.3m	=	16.83 sq.m.
Ballakilley (Malew)	6.3m	x 2.7m	=	17.01 sq.m.
Ballavarkish (Bride)	5.2m	x 3.3m	=	17.32 sq.m.
Camlork (Braddan)	5.7m	x 3.3m	=	18.81 sq.m.
Maughold (Middle keeill) (Maughold)	5.7m	x 3.45m	=	19.66 sq.m.
Keeill Chiggyrt (Maughold)	6.0m	x 3.3m	=	19.8 sq.m.
Keeill Vael (Lonan)	6.0m	x 3.3m	=	19.8 sq.m.
Maughold East keeill (Maughold)	6.3m	x 3.3m	=	20.79 sq.m.
Cabbal Pherick (Michael)	6.9m	x 3.9m	=	26.91 sq.m.
Keeill Vian (Lonan)	7.8m	x 3.9m	=	30.42 sq.m.
Cronkbreck (German)	7.5m	x 4.2m	=	30.2 sq.m.

ROUNDED EXTERNALLY	SQUARED EXTERNALLY

Cabbal Druiaght (Marown)	Skyhill (Lezayre)
Ballaquinney (Marown)	Corrody (Lezayre)
Ballahimmin (German)	Maughold Middle Keeill (Maughold)
Keeill Vael (Michael)	Maughold East Keeill (Maughold)
Earey Mooar (German)	

TABLE 22(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF MAN

ROUNDED EXTERNALLY(cont'd)	SQUARED EXTERNALLY(cont'd)
Cabbal Pherick (Michael)	Keeill Chiggyrt (Maughold)
Ballacarnane - Beg (Michael)	Keeill Woirrey (Maughold)
Knoc y Doonee (Andreas)	Keeill Vael (Lonan)
Knock Rule (Braddan)	Ballakilley (Malew)
Camlork (Braddan)	Keeill Vael (Arbory)
Sulbrick (Santan)	Keeill Vreeshy (Marown)
Keeill Lingan (Marown)	Lag ny Keeilley (Patrick)
	Keeill Pherick a Dromma (German)
	Cronkbreck (German)
	Keeill Vian (Lonan)

SQUARE INTERNALLY BUT UNCERTAIN EXTERNALLY

Ballavarkish (Bride)
Upper Sulby (Conchan)
Keeill Mertin (Conchan)

RUBBLE	SHAPED STONES
Ballakilley	
Maughold East Keeill (Maughold)	Corrody (Lezayre)
Keeill Chiggyrt (Maughold)	Keeill Vian (Lonan)
Keeill Woirrey (Maughold)	Keeill Vreeshy (Marown)
Ballaquinney (Marown)	Knoc y Doonee (Andreas)
Keeill Lingan (Marown)	Ballameanagh (Lezayre)
Lag ny Keeilley (Patrick)	Maughold Middle Keeill
Keeill Pherick a Dromma (German)	(Maughold)
Ballahimmin (German)	
Earey Mooar (German)	
Ballacarnane-Beg (Michael)	
Ballavarkish (Bride)	
Upper Sulby (Conchan)	
Keeill Mertin (Conchan)	
Keeill Vael (Michael)	
Knock Rule (Braddan)	
Camlork (Braddan)	
Sulbrick (Santan)	
Keeill Vael (Lonan)	
Cabbal Druiaght (Marown)	
Cabbal Pherick (Michael)	
Keeill Vael (Arbory)	
Skyhill (Lezayre)	

TABLE 22(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF MAN

CLAY-BONDING	DRYSTONE
Keeill Vreeshy (Marown)	Cabbal Druiaght (Marown)
Ballaquinney (Marown)	Keeill Pherick a Dromma
Lag ny Keeilley (Patrick)	Cabbal Pherick (Michael)
Ballahimmin (German)	Ballacarnane-Beg (Michael)
Cronkbreck (German)	Knoc y Doonee (Andreas)
Ballakilley (Malew)	Upper Sulby (Conchan)
Keeill Lingan (Marown)	Keeill Mertin (Conchan)
Earey Mooar (German)	Knock Rule (Braddan)
	Camlork (Braddan)
	Sulbrick (Santan)
	Skyhill (Lezayre)
	Ballameanagh (Lezayre)
	Corrody (Lezayre)
	Maughold Middle Keeill (Maughold)
	Maughold East Keeill (Maughold)
	Keeill Chiggyrt (Maughold)
	Keeill Woirrey (Maughold)
	Keeill Vael (Lonan)
	Keeill Vian (Lonan)
	Keeill Vael (Arbory)
	Keeill Vael (Michael)

SOUTH DOOR	NORTH DOOR
Skyhill (Lezayre)	Corrody (Lezayre)
Keeil Vreeshy (Marown)	Keeill Vael (Michael)
Keeill Lingan (Marown)	
Ballahimmin (German)	
Keeill Vael (Arbory)	
Ballakilley (Malew)	

TABLE 22(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF MAN

WEST DOOR

Ballameanagh (Lezayre)
Maughold Middle Keeill (Maughold)
Maughold East Keeill (Maughold)
Keeill Chiggyrt (Maughold)
Keeill Woirrey (Maughold)
Keeill Vael (Lonan)
Cabbal Druiaght (Marown)
Ballaquinney (Marown)
Lag ny Keeilley (Patrick)
Keeill Pherick a Dromma (German)
Ballahimmin (German)
Cronkbreck (German)
Cabbal Pherick (Michael)
Ballacarnane-Beg (Michael)
Earey Mooar (German)
Knoc y Doonee (Andreas)
Ballavarkish (Bride)
Upper Sulby (Conchan)
Keeill Mertin (Conchan)
Knock Rule (Braddan)
Camlork (Braddan)
Sulbrick (Santan)

ALTAR	AUMBRIES

Skyhill (Lezayre)	Keeill Chiggyrt (Maughold)
Keeill Woirrey (Maughold)	Keeill Vreeshy (Marown)
Keeill Vreeshy (Marown)	
Ballaquinney (Marown)	
Lag ny Keeilley (Patrick)	
Keeill Pherick a Dromma (German)	
Earey Mooar (German)	
Cabbal Pherick (Michael)	
Ballacarnane-Beg (Michael)	
Keeill Vael (Michael)	
Knoc y Doonee (Andreas)	
Upper Sulby (Conchan)	
Keeill Mertin (Conchan)	
Knock Rule (Braddan)	
Sulbrick (Santan)	
Keeill Vael (Lonan)	
Cronkbreck (German)	

TABLE 22(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF MAN

EARTHEN BANKS REVETTING KEEILL	DOUBLE STONE FACING WITH RUBBLE CORE
Camlork (Braddan)	Knoc y Doonee (Andreas)
Upper Sulby (Conchan)	Cabbal Pherick (Michael)
Keeill Mertin (Conchan)	Camlork (Braddan)
Ballameanagh (Lezayre)	Upper Sulby (Conchan)
Keeill Woirrey (Maughold)	Keeill Mertin (Conchan)
Keeill Vael (Lonan)	Ballameanagh (Lezayre)
Cronkbreck (German)	Keeill Woirrey (Maughold)
Cabbal Druiaght (Marown)	Keeill Vael (Lonan)
Keeill Lingan (Marown)	Keeill Pherick a Dromma
Keeill Vael (Michael) ?	(German)
Lag ny Keeilley (Patrick)	Ballahimmin (German)
	Ballaquinney (Marown)
	Keeill Lingan (Marown)

In Kerry, much emphasis has been laid on the importance of boat-shaped oratories, both for Irish architecture in general and in the south-west in particular. It is interesting, therefore, that the recent Dingle survey showed that such structures were a minority among the drystone churches of the peninsula. There are nine plain examples and five boat-shaped oratories. In addition, there was nothing to differentiate between the two groups, apart from the method of roofing. As it is impossible to be certain about the other methods used to roof drystone churches this single characteristic is not deemed sufficient to separate the two groups. For the purposes of this survey therefore, the drystone churches of Dingle should be considered as a single regional group. (As the only category of drystone churches from Britain or Ireland to have been closely examined in recent years (Harbison 1970), boat-shaped oratories are examined in further detail in Appendix C.)

On the basis of this survey, there is no evidence that the control groups can be internally subdivided by their characteristic features. This may be due to the lack of detailed information available in the published sources. On the other hand, the greater variation may indicate a more locally-based technology in these areas. It could also indicate a long phase of construction for these monuments. In contrast, the Islay churches appear to have shared very similar methods of construction. Their more uniform nature may be the result of a shorter phase of foundation or the relative isolation of the island.

If the variation outside Islay is due to a number of different influences through time, it might be possible to identify the areas

TABLE 23 : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF DINGLE, CO.KERRY

SIZE

Brendan's Oratory (Mt Brandon)	3.85m	x	0.85m	= 3.27 sq.m.
Illauntannig (Small oratory)	2.35m	x	2.20m	= 5.17 sq.m.
Ballywiheen	3.60m	x	2.60m	= 9.36 sq.m.
Reask	3.50m	x	2.70m	= 9.45 sq.m.
Inishtooskert	3.40m	x	2.94m	= 9.99 sq.m.
Kilmalkedar (Oratory)	3.30m	x	3.06m	= 10.09 sq.m.
Kilfountan	3.75m	x	3.15m	= 11.81 sq.m.
Inishvickillane	3.96m	x	3.08m	= 12.20 sq.m.
Illauntannig (Large oratory)	4.30m	x	2.90m	= 12.47 sq.m.
Templemanaghan	4.40m	x	3.35m	= 14.74 sq.m.
Kilmalkedar (St. Brendan's)	5.33m	x	2.80m	= 14.92 sq.m.
Lateevemore	4.55m	x	3.35m	= 15.24 sq.m.
Killelton	4.87m	x	3.42m	= 16.65 sq.m.
Annagap	8.85m	x	3.60m	= 31.86 sq.m.
Gallarus	6.86m	x	5.74m	= 39.37 sq.m.

ROUNDED EXTERNALLY	SQUARED EXTERNALLY
Annagap	Templemanaghan
Reask (?)	Ballywiheen
	Gallarus
	Illauntannig (Large)
	Inishtooskert
	Killelton
	Kilmalkedar (Oratory)
	Lateevemore
	Kilmalkedar (St Brendan's)
	Brendan's Oratory
	(Mt.Brandon)

EXTERNAL APPEARANCE UNCERTAIN

Illauntannig (Small Oratory)
Inishtooskert
Kilfountan

TABLE 23(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF DINGLE, CO.KERRY

DRYSTONE	CLAY-BONDING
Annagap	Kilmalkedar (Oratory)
Brendan's Oratory (Mount Brandon)	
Templemanaghan	
Ballywiheen	
Gallarus	
Illauntannig (Large Oratory)	
Illauntannig (Small Oratory)	
Inishtooskert	
Inishvickillane	
Kilfountan	
Killelton	
Lateevemore	
Reask	

RUBBLE	SHAPED STONES
Templemanaghan	Annagap
Ballywiheen	Gallarus
Killelton	Illauntannig (Large)
Kilmalkedar (St.Brendan's)	Illauntannig (Small)
Reask	Inishtooskert
	Inishvickillane
	Kilfountan
	Kilmalkedar
	Lateevemore

WEST DOOR	SOUTH DOOR
Brendan's Oratory (Mount Brandon)	Kilmalkedar (Oratory)
Templemanaghan	
Ballywiheen	
Gallarus	
Illauntannig (Large Oratory)	
Illauntannig (Small Oratory)	EAST DOOR
Inishtooskert	
Kilfountan	Inishvickillane
Killelton	
Kilmalkedar (St. Brendan's)	
Lateevemore	
Reask	

TABLE 23(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES OF DINGLE, CO.KERRY

ALTARS	AUMBRIES

Illauntannig (Large Oratory)	Templemanaghan (N.wall)
Inishtooskert	Killelton (E.wall)
Inishvickillane	
Kilmalkedar (St. Brendan's)	

CORBELLED ROOFS

Templemanaghan
Ballywiheen
Gallarus
Illauntannig (Large Oratory)
Kilmalkedar (St. Brendan's)

----

from which such influences came. Through a study of the individual church types in the whole of the Irish Sea area, general trends can be elucidated. Church types studied were

1. churches with aumbries
2. drystone churches with rounded external corners
3. drystone churches with squared external corners
4. churches whose walls are clay-bonded
5. churches with lateral doorways.

As there are churches with, for example, aumbries and a south door, many sites appear in more than one category.

This survey is based on approximately 70 drystone churches situated along the Atlantic sea-board of Great Britain and Ireland and described in one of the published surveys mentioned above (see above, 218). Each of the buildings is a single-cell construction with no evidence for a structural division between nave and chancel. It is possible that a wooden screen may have been erected in the larger churches but it is most unlikely that this was ever the case in churches with less than 20 sq.m. internal area; there would not have been the space. None had a second doorway and only six of the sixty-seven had aumbries. The majority (62.7%) had doors in the west wall. Of the fifteen churches with a south door, twelve are in Argyll, the north of Ireland or the Isle of Man and only one in the south-west of Ireland.

The six examples of aumbries outside Islay were divided between Man, with two examples, the north of Ireland with two examples and Kerry. The two Kerry examples were found in buildings which resembled each other closely while those on Man differed in size,

TABLE 24 : UNMORTARED CHURCHES WITH AUMBRIES

NAME	AREA
Templemanaghan (Kerry)	4.4 m x 3.35m = 14.75 sq.m.
Killelton (Kerry)	4.87m x 3.42m = 16.65 sq.m.
Keeill Vreeshy (Man)	3.90m x 2.90m =11.31 sq.m.
Keeill Chiggyrt (Man)	6.00m x 3.30m = 19.80 sq.m.
Rathlin O'Birne (Donegal)	2.20m x 1.70m = 3.74 sq.m.

NAME	MASONRY	MORTAR
Templemanaghan (Kerry)	Rubble	Drystone
Killelton (Kerry)	Rubble	Drystone
Keeill Vreeshy (Man)	Rubble	Clay-bonded
Keeill Chiggyrt (Man)	Rubble	Drystone
Rathlin O'Birne (Donegal)	Shaped stone	Drystone

NAME	SHAPE	DOOR
Templemanaghan (Kerry)	Sq. ext. corners	West wall
Killelton (Kerry)	Sq. ext. corners	West wall
Keeill Vreeshy (Man)	Sq. ext. corners	South wall
Keeill Chiggyrt (Man)	Sq. ext. corners	West wall
Rathlin O'Birne (Donegal)	Sq. ext. corners	West wall

NAME	ALTARS	AUMBRIES
Templemanaghan (Kerry)	...	North wall
Killelton (Kerry)	...	East wall
Keeill Vreeshy (Man)	X	East wall
Keeill Chiggyrt (Man)	...	South wall
Rathlin O'Birne (Donegal)	...	North wall

door position, mortar and masonry and those in the north of Ireland differed in size, mortar and masonry. As a point of interest, however, and without being able to provide figures, it was noted that aumbries were much more common in lime-mortared buildings with separate chancels. It may be that drystone churches with aumbries are of the same date as their mortared counterparts, dated by Harbison to the twelfth century (Harbison 1984, 624).

Churches with rounded external corners tended to be found in the north Irish Sea area but this distribution is possibly suspect. In Ireland, drystone churches, and oratories have frequently been the object of local veneration, occasionally being used as _callur

aghs_ or as centres of pilgrimage up until the last century (see for example Wakeman on Inishmurray (1893), Fox on Tory island (1978), Walsh on Rathlin O'Birne (1983).) This in turn may mean that those churches which have survived, have done so because of these local cults. In Scotland although the old churches frequently retained much of their former importance after the Reformation (see Martin 1934, passim) such local veneration waned at a much earlier date. Since written sources fail to distinguish between churches with deliberately rounded corners and those where fallen rubble has disguised the original outline, it is possible that the increased number of churches with rounded exteriors is due to increased delapidation. At the same time, the longer period of use in Ireland increases the likelihood that some of the Irish churches may have been refurbished or rebuilt in recent times.

As a type, such churches vary in internal area from Keeill Vael, Druidale on the Isle of Man with 6.60 sq.m. to Cille Bhride in

TABLE 25 : UNMORTARED CHURCHES WITH ROUNDED EXTERNAL CORNERS

NAME	AREA			
Cladh Uaine (Lorn)	8.2m x 4.1m	=	33.62	sq.m.
Crackaig (Mull)	5.5m x 3.3m	=	18.12	sq.m.
Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)	7.1m x 3.5m	=	24.85	sq.m.
Cill Mhoire (Colonsay)	7.0m x 4.0m	=	28.00	sq.m.
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	10.1m x 6.4m	=	64.64	sq.m.
Laghill (Donegal)	4.8m x 2.7m	=	13.09	sq.m.
Camlork (Man)	5.7m x 3.3m	=	18.81	sq.m.
Cabbal Druiaght (Man)	4.1m x 2.5m	=	10.32	sq.m.
Ballaquinney (Man)	4.8m x 3.1m	=	15.12	sq.m.
Keeill Lingan (Man)	3.9m x 2.8m	=	11.11	sq.m.
Ballahimmin (Man)	4.5m x 2.7m	=	12.15	sq.m.
Keeill Vael, Michael (Man)	3.3m x 2.0m	=	6.60	sq.m.
Earey Mooar (Man)	4.2m x 2.1m	=	8.82	sq.m.
Ballacarnane-Beg (Man)	3.7m x 2.8m	=	10.54	sq.m.
Knoc y Doonee (Man)	5.1m x 3.3m	=	16.83	sq.m.
Knock Rule (Man)	4.8m x 2.4m	=	11.52	sq.m.
Sulbrick (Man)	5.1m x 2.5m	=	13.00	sq.m.
Annagap (Kerry)	8.8m x 3.6m	=	31.86	sq.m.

NAME	MORTAR	MASONRY
Cladh Uaine (Lorn)	Drystone	Shaped Stones
Crackaig (Mull)	Drystone	Shaped Stones
Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)	Drystone	Rubble
Cill Mhoire (Colonsay)	Drystone	Shaped Stones
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	Clay-bonded	Rubble
Laghill (Donegal)	Clay-bonded	Rubble
Camlork (Man)	Drystone	Rubble
Cabbal Druiaght (Man)	Drystone	Rubble
Keeill Lingan (Man)	Clay-bonded	Rubble
Ballahimmin (Man)	Clay-bonded	Rubble
Ballaquinney (Man)	Clay-bonded	Rubble
Keeill Vael, Michael (Man)	Drystone	Rubble
Earey Mooar (Man)	Clay-bonded	Rubble
Ballacarnane-Beg (Man)	Drystone	Rubble
Knoc y Doonee (Man)	Drystone	Shaped Stones
Knock Rule (Man)	Drystone	Rubble
Sulbrick (Man)	Drystone	Rubble
Annagap (Kerry)	Drystone	Shaped Stones

TABLE 25(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES WITH ROUNDED EXTERNAL
CORNERS

NAME	DOOR	ALTARS
Cladh Uaine (Lorn)	S	...
Crackaig (Mull)	W	...
Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)	S	...
Cill Mhoire (Colonsay)	...	...
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	N?	...
Laghill (Donegal)	...	...
Camlork (Man)	W	...
Cabbal Druiaght (Man)	W	...
Ballaquinney (Man)	W	X
Keeill Lingan (Man)	S	...
Ballahimmin (Man)	W	...
Keeill Vael,Michael (Man)	N	X
Earey Mooar (Man)	W	X
Ballacarnane-Beg (Man)	W	X
Knoc y Doonee (Man)	W	X
Knock Rule (Man)	W	X
Sulbrick (Man)	W	...
Annagap (Kerry)	...	...

Kintyre with 64.64 sq.m. Those with doors in the west wall amounted to ten of the fifteen churches with surviving doorways and thirteen were built of rubble. Round-cornered churches may also vary widely in date: Cille Bhride (Kintyre) is a good parallel for Cladh Eilister and Kilbride on Islay, both dated to the sixteenth century.

Churches with squared external corners are more common in Ireland, 47.5% of sites in this class being found there. This percentage will probably increase with greater knowledge of the Irish sites. It is probable that churches with squared external corners were seen as something to be aimed for as these were the norm in England and on the Continent (Taylor and Taylor 1975). They are therefore more likely to be widespread then those with rounded corners.

Because of this resemblance to the European norm, it is unlikely that churches of this category ever formed a single class. Although regional patterns in their distribution could not be distinguished in the published sources, this category of church building is one which would probably benefit most from regional field-work and locally-based analysis. In size they vary as much as those with rounded external corners; the smallest known example being Brendan's Oratory at Kilmalkedar at 3.27 sq.m. and the largest being Derry North with 57.91 sq.m.

Clay-bonded churches also vary in size. The results of this survey cast a doubt over the sequence outlined by Hamlin, of drystone through clay-bonded to lime-mortared churches. Although clay-bonded churches, as a class, tend to be large, there is not the

TABLE 26 : UNMORTARED CHURCHES WITH SQUARED EXTERNAL CORNERS

NAME	AREA				
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)	5.10m	x	3.10m	= 16.32	sq.m.
Ballachuan (Lorn)	5.70m	x	2.90m	= 16.53	sq.m.
Eileach an Naoimh	6.60m	x	3.60m	= 23.76	sq.m.
Killundine (Mull)	7.60m	x	3.00m	= 22.80	sq.m.
Cill Chaluim Cille (Jura)	7.80m	x	3.40m	= 26.52	sq.m.
Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)	5.50m	x	2.50m	= 13.75	sq.m.
Kilmun (Lorn)	6.70m	x	3.50m	= 23.45	sq.m.
?Ballymore (Donegal)	6.50m	x	3.00m	= 19.50	sq.m.
Derry South (Down)	4.90m	x	3.30m	= 16.33	sq.m.
Derry North (Down)	11.7m	x	4.9m	= 57.91	sq.m.
Chapel Island (Down)	8.70m	x	4.30m	= 37.84	sq.m.
Raholp (Down)	8.30m	x	4.90m	= 41.43	sq.m.
Temple Cormick (Down)	8.10m	x	4.95m	= 40.09	sq.m.
Saint's Island (Donegal)	9.00m	x	6.50m	= 58.95	sq.m.
Rathlin O'Birne (Donegal)	2.20m	x	1.70m	= 3.74	sq.m.
Keeill Pherick a Dromma (Man)	5.40m	x	2.80m	= 15.12	sq.m.
Keeill Vael,Arbory (Man)	4.90m	x	2.90m	= 14.21	sq.m.
Keeill Vael,Lonan (Man)	6.00m	x	3.30m	= 19.80	sq.m.
Keeill Vreeshy (Man)	3.90m	x	2.90m	= 11.31	sq.m.
Cronkbreck (Man)	7.20m	x	4.20m	= 30.24	sq.m.
Ballakilley (Man)	6.30m	x	2.70m	= 17.01	sq.m.
Skyhill (Man)	4.50m	X	2.10m	= 9.45	sq.m.
Corrody (Man)	5.25m	x	2.70m	= 14.17	sq.m.
Maughold Middle Keeill (Man)	5.70m	x	3.45m	= 19.66	sq.m.
Maughold East Keeill (Man)	6.30m	x	3.30m	= 20.79	sq.m.
Keeill Chiggyrt (Man)	6.00m	x	3.30m	= 19.80	sq.m.
Keeill Vian (Man)	7.80m	x	3.90m	= 26.91	sq.m.
Keeill Woirrey (Man)	4.05m	x	2.85m	= 11.54	sq.m.
Cabbal Pherick (Man)	6.90m	x	3.90m	= 26.91	sq.m.
Brendan's Oratory (Kerry)	3.85m	x	0.85m	= 3.27	sq.m.
Inishtooskert (Kerry)	3.40m	x	2.94m	= 9.99	sq.m.
Killelton (Kerry)	4.87m	x	3.42m	= 16.65	sq.m.
Templemanaghan (Kerry)	4.40m	x	3.35m	= 14.75	sq.m.
Ballywiheen (Kerry)	3.60m	x	2.60m	= 9.36	sq.m.
Gallarus (Kerry)	6.86m	x	5.74m	= 39.37	sq.m.
Illauntannig Large (Kerry)	4.30m	x	2.90m	= 12.74	sq.m.
Kilmalkedar (Oratory)	3.30m	x	3.06m	= 10.09	sq.m.
Kilmalkedar (St. Brendan's)	5.33m	x	2.80m	= 14.74	sq.m.
Lateevemore (Kerry)	4.55m	x	3.35m	= 15.24	sq.m.
Reask (Kerry)	3.50m	x	2.70m	= 9.45	sq.m.

TABLE 26(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES WITH SQUARED EXTERNAL CORNERS

NAME	MASONRY	DOOR
Ardnadam	Rubble	South wall
Ballachuan (Lorn)	Rubble	...
Eileach an Naoimh	Squared stones	West wall
Killundine (Mull)	Squared stones	South wall
Cill Chaluim Cille (Jura)	Squared stones	South wall
Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)	Squared stones	North wall
Kilmun (Lorn)	Rubble	West wall
?Ballymore (Donegal)	Rubble ?	South wall
Derry South (Down)	Squared stones	West wall
Derry North (Down)	Rubble	South wall
Chapel Island (Down)	Rubble	South wall
Raholp (Down)	Rubble	West wall
Temple Cormick (Down)	Rubble	...
Saint's Island (Donegal)	Rubble	...
Rathlin O'Birne (Donegal)	Squared stones	West wall
Keeill Pherick a Dromma (Man)	Rubble	West wall
Keeill Vael,Arbory (Man)	Rubble	South wall
Keeill Vael, Lonan (Man)	Squared stones	West wall
Keeill Vreeshy (Man)	Rubble	South wall
Cronkbreck (Man)	Rubble	West wall
Ballakilley (Man)	Rubble	South wall
Skyhill (Man)	Rubble	South wall
Corrody (Man)	Squared stones	North wall
Keeill Woirrey (Man)	Rubble	West wall
Maughold Middle Keeill (Man)	Squared stones	West wall
Maughold East Keeill(Man)	Rubble	West wall
Keeill Chiggyrt (Man)	Rubble	West wall
Keeill Vian (Man)	Squared Stones	...
Cabbal Pherick (Man)	Rubble	West wall
Killelton (Kerry)	Rubble	West wall
Templemanaghan (Kerry)	Rubble	West wall
Ballywiheen (Kerry)	Rubble	West wall
Gallarus (Kerry)	Squared Stones	West wall
Illauntannig Large (Kerry)	Squared Stones	West wall
Kilmalkedar (Oratory)	Squared Stones	South wall
Kilmalkedar (St.Brendan's)	Squared Stones	West wall
Lateevemore (Kerry)	Squared stones	West wall
Reask (Kerry)	Rubble	West wall

TABLE 26(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES WITH SQUARED EXTERNAL
CORNERS

NAME	ALTAR	AUMBRIES
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)	X	...
Ballachuan (Lorn)	...	...
Eileach an Naoimh	...	...
Killundine (Mull)	...	...
Cill Chaluim Cille (Jura)	X	...
Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)	...	...
Kilmun (Lorn)	...	...
?Ballymore (Donegal)	...	...
Derry South (Down)	...	...
Derry North (Down)	X	...
Chapel Island (Down)	...	...
Raholp (Down)	X	East wall
Temple Cormick (Down)	...	...
Rathlin O'Birne (Donegal)	...	North wall
Keeill Pherick a Dromma (Man)	X	...
Keeill Vael,Arbory (Man)	X	...
Keeill Vael, Lonan (Man)	...	...
Keeill Vreeshy	X	...
Cronkbreck (Man)	X	...
Ballakilley (Man)	...	...
Skyhill (Man)	...	...
Corrody (Man)	...	...
Keeill Woirrey (Man)	X	...
Maughold Middle Keeill (Man)	...	...
Maughold East Keeill (Man)	...	...
Keeill Chiggyrt (Man)	...	South wall
Keeill Vian (Man)	...	...
Cabbal Pherick (Man)	X	...
Killelton (Kerry)	...	East wall
Templemanaghan (Kerry)	...	North wall
Ballywiheen (Kerry)	...	...
Gallarus (Kerry)	...	...
Illauntannig Large (Kerry)	X	...
Kilmalkedar Oratory (Kerry)	...	...
Kilmalkedar St.Brendan's	X	...
Lateevemore (Kerry)	...	...
Reask (Kerry)	...	...

uniformity which one might expect if all clay-bonded churches were of the same period. When discussing St Patrick's Chapel, Jurby on the Isle of Man, Kermode noted that the original church was a lime-mortared building of the thirteenth or fourteenth century but that it had been extended east-wards using clay-bonding techniques in the seventeenth century (Kermode and Bruce 1968 III, 15-16). In Ireland, the work of Ó Danachair on vernacular building traditions suggests that the technique was used until late in the post-mediaeval period (1957). On the whole it would appear that clay-bonding is most useful in distinguishing regional variability rather than a particular style of architecture common to the Atlantic region at a single chronological period.

Used in church buildings, the technique appears to be a northern phenomenon, being found in Argyll, Galloway, the north of Ireland and the Isle of Man. 73.7% of clay-bonded churches have squared exterior corners while a further 73.7% are built of rubble.

Distinguishing between rubble and shaped stones is difficult as there appears to be no consistency in the published sources. In addition, local geology must play a large part in determining the type of building stone one uses. It is hardly valid to make distinctions between a piece of slate which shatters naturally into a rectangular shape and a piece of sandstone which has been roughly trimmed to achieve the same result. Local geology probably has an effect on the mortaring techniques used as well; the high proportion of clay-bonded churches built of rubble suggests that clay-bonding was occasionally used where a drystone built structure would have been unstable.

TABLE 27 : CLAY-BONDED CHURCHES

NAME	AREA				
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)	5.1m x 3.2m = 16.32 sq.m.
Eileach an Naoimh (Garvellochs)	6.6m x 3.6m = 23.76 sq.m.
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	10.1m x 6.4m = 64.64 sq.m.
Ballachuan (Lorn)	5.7m x 2.9m = 16.53 sq.m.
Deerness (Orkneys)	4.8m x 2.9m = 13.92 sq.m.
Ardwall Isle(Galloway)	6.9m x 3.9m = 26.91 sq.m.
Laghill (Donegal)	4.8m x 2.7m = 13.09 sq.m.
Derry South (Down)	4.9m x 3.3m = 16.33 sq.m.
Derry North (Down)	11.7m x 4.9m = 57.91 sq.m.
Raholp (Down)	8.3m x 4.9m = 41.43 sq.m.
Chapel Island (Down)	8.7m x 4.3m = 37.84 sq.m.
Kilmalkedar (Kerry)	3.3m x 3.1m = 10.09 sq.m.
Keeill Vreeshey (Man)	3.7m x 2.6m = 9.73 sq.m.
Ballaquinney (Man)	4.8m x 3.1m = 15.12 sq.m.
Keeill Lingan (Man)	3.9m x 2.8m = 11.11 sq.m.
Lag ny Keeilley (Man)	3.9m x 2.5m = 9.71 sq.m.
Ballahimmin (Man)	4.5m x 2.7m = 12.15 sq.m.
Cronkbreck (Man)	7.7m x 4.2m = 30.24 sq.m.
Ballakilley (Man)	6.3m x 2.7m = 17.01 sq.m.

NAME	SHAPE	MASONRY
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)	Sq. ext.	Rubble
Eileach an Naoimh	Sq. ext.	Shaped Stones
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	Circ. ext.	Rubble
Ballachuan (Lorn)	Sq. ext.	Rubble
Deerness (Orkneys)	Sq. ext.	Shaped Stones
Ardwall Isle(Galloway)	Sq. ext.	Shaped Stones
Laghill (Donegal)	Sq. ext.	Rubble
Derry South (Down)	Sq. ext.	Shaped Stones
Derry North (Down)	Sq. ext.	Rubble
Raholp (Down)	Sq. ext.	Rubble
Chapel Island (Down)	Sq. ext.	Rubble
Kilmalkedar (Kerry)	Sq. ext.	Shaped Stones
Keeill Vreeshey (Man)	Sq. ext.	Rubble
Ballaquinney (Man)	Circ. ext.	Rubble
Keeill Lingan (Man)	Circ. ext.	Rubble
Lag ny Keeilley (Man)	Sq. ext.	Rubble
Ballahimmin (Man)	Circ. ext.	Rubble
Cronkbreck (Man)	Circ. ext.	Rubble
Ballakilley (Man)	Sq. ext	Rubble

TABLE 27(cont'd) : CLAY-BONDED CHURCHES

NAME	DOOR	ALTAR
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)	South door	X
Eileach an Naoimh	West door	...
Cille Bhride (Kintyre)	?North door	...
Ballachuan (Lorn)	...	...
Deerness (Orkneys)	West door	X
Ardwall Isle(Galloway)	West door	...
Laghill (Donegal)	...	...
Derry South (Down)	West door	...
Derry North (Down)	South door	X
Raholp (Down)	West door	X
Chapel Island (Down)	South door	...
Kilmalkedar (Kerry)	South door	...
Keeill Vreeshey (Man)	South door	X
Ballaquinney (Man)	West door	X
Keeill Lingan (Man)	South door	...
Lag ny Keeilley (Man)	West door	X
Ballahimmin (Man)	West door	...
Cronkbreck (Man)	West door	...
Ballakilley (Man)	West door	...

TABLE 28 : UNMORTARED CHURCHES WITH LATERAL ENTRY

NAME	AREA
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)	5.1m x 3.2m = 16.32 sq.m.
Killundine (Mull)	7.6m x 3.0m = 22.80 sq.m.
Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)	7.1m x 3.5m = 24.85 sq.m.
Cill Moire (Colonsay)	7.8m x 3.4m = 26.52 sq.m.
Cladh Uaine (Lorn)	8.2m x 4.1m = 33.62 sq.m.
Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)	5.5m x 2.5m = 13.75 sq.m.
Ballymore (Donegal)	6.5m x 3.0m = 19.50 sq.m.
Derry North (Down)	11.7m x 4.9m = 57.91 sq.m.
Chapel Island (Down)	8.7m x 4.3m = 37.84 sq.m.
Temple Brecan (Galway)	7.2m x 4.2m = 30.42 sq.m.
Keeill Vael, Michael (Man)	3.3m x 2.0m = 6.60 sq.m.
Ballakilley (Man)	6.3m x 2.7m = 17.01 sq.m.
Keeill Vael, Arbory (Man)	4.9m x 2.9m = 14.21 sq.m.
Skyhill (Man)	4.5m x 2.1m = 9.45 sq.m.
Corrody (Man)	5.2m x 2.7m = 14.17 sq.m.
Keeill Vreeshey (Man)	3.7m x 2.6m = 9.73 sq.m.
Keeill Lingan (Man)	3.9m x 2.8m = 11.11 sq.m.

NAME	SHAPE	DOOR
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)	Sq. ext.	South
Killundine (Mull)	Sq. ext.	South
Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)	Circ. ext.	South
Cill Moire (Colonsay)	Sq. ext.	...
Cladh Uaine (Lorn)	Circ. ext.	South
Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)	Sq. ext.	North
Ballymore (Donegal)	...	South
Derry North (Down)	Sq. ext.	South
Chapel Island (Down)	Sq. ext.	South
Temple Brecan (Galway)	Sq. ext.	South
Keeill Vael, Michael (Man)	Circ. ext.	North
Ballakilley (Man)	Sq. ext.	South
Keeill Vael, Arbory, (Man)	Sq. ext.	South
Skyhill (Man)	Sq. ext.	South
Corrody (Man)	Sq. ext.	North
Keeill Vreeshey (Man)	Sq. ext.	South
Keeill Lingan (Man)	Sq. ext.	South

TABLE 28(cont'd) : UNMORTARED CHURCHES WITH LATERAL ENTRY

NAME	MORTAR	MASONRY
Ardnadam (Mid-Argyll)	Clay-bonded	Rubble
Killundine (Mull)	Drystone	Shaped Stone
Cill Caitríona (Colonsay)	Drystone	Rubble
Cill Moire (Colonsay)	Drystone	Shaped Stone
Cladh Uaine (Lorn)	Drystone	Shaped Stone
Creag a'Chaibeil (Lorn)	Drystone	Shaped Stone
Ballymore (Donegal)	Drystone	Rubble
Derry North (Down)	Clay-bonded	Rubble
Chapel Island (Down)	Clay-bonded	Rubble
Temple Brecan (Galway)	Drystone	Rubble
Keeill Vael,Michael (Man)	Drystone	Rubble
Ballakilley (Man)	Clay-bonded	Rubble
Keeill Vael,Arbory (Man)	Drystone	Shaped Stone
Skyhill (Man)	Drystone	Rubble
Corrody (Man)	Drystone	Shaped Stone
Keeill Vreeshey (Man)	Clay-bonded	Shaped Stone
Keeill Lingan (Man)	Clay-bonded	Rubble

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In fact door position appears to be the most useful parameter for distinguishing categories and groups on the north Atlantic seaboard. Those with north doors show very similar characteristics to the group C1 churches on Islay with the exception of Cille Bhride in Kintyre. Those with doors on the south, are less uniform but also show common trends and a common distribution. Irish sites are almost uniformly built with western doorways. (The east door at Inishvickillane is probably to be put down to local topography.)

It seems likely, however, that the distinction between the south-door group and all other churches is not a valid one in chronological terms. Sites such as Maughold (Middle and East Keeills), Keeill Chiggyrt, Keeill Woirrey and Keeill Vian on the Isle of Man (all with western doors) are of a similar size, shape and construction as those further north with doors in the south wall. As many of the south-door churches are clay-bonded, it is also possible that similarly sized churches with west doors and clay-bonding are also part of this group: Ardwall Isle in Galloway, Eileach an Naoimh in the Garvellochs and Ballahimmin on Man. Given that there are so few exceptions to the western entranceway in Ireland, (even if one includes lime-mortared structures with and without antae), it is at least possible that those churches with south doors are in fact part of the same general group as similarly-sized churches with western doorways.

The result of examining the over-all distribution of specific church types suggests that, although there is a certain amount of local variation in the construction of churches, overall regional trends can be discerned. In the Scottish Isles, there is a

tradition of drystone churches with rounded external corners and a western doorway. In addition there is a group of larger churches, often clay-bonded and squared externally with doors in the south or north walls. In Ireland, there is little evidence as yet for the first group but given the small amount of field work published, they may increase with further study. The second group appears to exist throughout the country but with western doorways. Both traditions are found on Man, where the smaller churches are similar to those in Scotland but the larger churches share with Ireland the tradition of the western door.

DATING OF DRYSTONE CHURCHES IN THE IRISH SEA AREA

Finally one comes to the dating of these drystone structures. It is unlikely that all the drystone churches belong to a single period. In my opinion, the high incidence of drystone churches on the remote islands off the west coast of Ireland and Scotland says more about the relative poverty of the region and the long survival of drystone building techniques there, than about the relative age of the building. As has been indicated, clay-bonding as a building technique has been used in these areas until relatively recent times. A similar conservative attitude may lie behind the greater incidence of western doorways in Ireland where little or no trace of churches with lateral entranceways was detected.

As a broad relative dating, however, it does appear that churches with rounded external corners and western doorways as a group, are probably earlier than the larger churches with squared external corners and varying door position. This dating is based on the high

incidence of clay-bonding in the latter group, the higher proportion
of churches with doors in the side-walls and on the few aumbries
which exist; both aumbries and a varying door position are to be
found in lime-mortared buildings and in particular in those with
chancels. This relative dating of the two groups is corroborated by
the excavation of Ardnadam in Mid-Argyll. There, a small chapel
site with a western entrance was extended to insert a southern door
at a later stage (Rennie 1984, 32).

The archaeological dating for keeill sites, as mentioned
previously, is limited. Bruce mentions that many of the sites
incorporate 'forgotten' tenth-century grave slabs in their walls.
Unfortunately he does not mention which sites are involved (Bruce
and Kermode 1968 VI, 71). At Keeill Vael, Michael, the material
remains did not allow precise dating but 'pre-Scandinavian
cross-slabs' were incorporated into the walls in the last phase of
keeill construction (Morris 1983b, 121). At Ballavarkish, a close
parallel for the Islay Group B churches, a fragment of a Viking
period cross-slab was found inside the keeill prior to excavation
(Kermode and Bruce 1968 III, 9).

Other excavated sites include Ardwall Isle, Church Island, Derry
North and Derry South. At Ardwall Isle, the church was dated to the
eighth and ninth centuries by its internal dimensions and by the
small finds on the floor of the Phase III chapel. These include a
small iron pin, a bronze angle-strip and a blue glass bead. None of
these is closely datable within a broad early mediaeval context
(Thomas 1967, 173). At Church Island the stone oratory was dated to
the mid eighth century by comparison with Gallarus although Harbison

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later suggested that the full-length figure in high relief on one of the church finials (found beyond the oratory walls) should be dated to the late eleventh or twelfth century (O'Kelly 1958, 128; Harbison 1970, 57). Such a suggestion accords well with the settlement evidence from Beginish which is linked to Church Island by a sand-bar. Excavation by O'Kelly in 1954 showed that his House 1 there incorporated a Runic stone into the lintel of the door. This stone was dated on linguistic grounds to the beginning of the twelfth century (O'Kelly 1956, 188).

In Down, Waterman's excavations at Derry showed that both churches overlay earlier features (Waterman 1967, 54-6). The building under the South church could not be dated although Hamlin suggested that the evidence for timber-bonding in the standing ruins of Derry South itself might, on parallels with England, suggest a late eleventh-century date (Hamlin 1976, 134). The North church overlay an occupation layer dated to the eighth century or later by sherds of souterrain pottery and a millefiori and enamel buckle.

With regard to Islay it appears that Group A churches at any rate, were built at a period when connections between Islay and Man were very close and that Group C churches were built when the link was not such a direct one but extended throughout the southern Hebrides. Group B churches should probably be dated to the same period as the Group A churches but without further field-work on Man, this is impossible to verify.

There are also a number of earlier Viking burials on Islay, approximately half of which, together with a hoard of ninth-century

Saxon coinage, were found in the region around Loch Indaal. They are thought to be ninth and tenth century in date and show strong parallels with pagan Viking burials found on Man (RCHAMS Argyll V, 260-270; Bersu and Wilson 1966). These provide an approximate (and it is nothing more than that) terminus post-quem for the beginnings of Viking age church architecture in the Hebrides.

In the historical record, the closest connections between Man and Islay are recorded during the lifetime of Godred Crovan, king of Man from AD 1079 to 1095. He may have been born on Islay; he is certainly recorded as having been buried there (see Chronicle of Man and the Isles ed. Broderick 1979, f.33v). There is a very strong local tradition that his grave is at Kintra beneath a stone monolith, on the opposite side of Loch Indaal from the Group A churches.

This date range, being based on limited historical records, is probably too specific. Viking activity in the Hebrides is recorded from the beginning of the ninth century (see above, 28-30) and contacts between Man and Islay may have been frequent from that date. As there are no parallels for the Islay churches in Kintyre or south Argyll, it appears that these churches must have preceeded the establishment of the Somerled dynasty in the mid twelfth century.

The role of drystone churches has not been studied in detail in
Ireland where studies on church organisation have been heavily
biased towards monasticism. Evidence for other types of church is
limited. In the eighth-century law-texts, a division is made
between cill-churches which are attached to land belonging to a
tribe and the 'church of the tribe of the patron saint'. In an
undated gloss to this extract, further distinctions are made between
cill-churches, dalta churches, annoit churches and compairche
churches. In each case however, these appear to be monastic
establishments:

> 'The patron saint the land, mild monk, The annoit church,
> the dalta church of fine vigour, The compairche church and
> the pilgrim, By them is the abbacy assumed (in their
> relative order)' (Ancient Laws III, 75).

It is of course possible that some drystone churches were monastic
in inspiration, some monastic centres were reputed to have been
extremely small with only thirteen members (see The wish of Manchin
of Liath ed. Jackson 1951, 308) and hermitages with a single monk
are also documented (The Hermit ibid., 309-10). The site at Church
Island has been interpreted as such a site (O'Kelly 1958, 115). It
is difficult to prove archaeologically but it might be suggested
that the absence of large enclosures and domestic structures around
many of the sites discussed above, makes a monastic interpretation
rather unlikely.

The drystone churches on Man have been linked to a very specific
type of church organisation by Marstrander who argued that each site

is associated with a land division known as the treen (Marstrander 1937). According to Marstrander, the church sites would have been under the control of the local land-owner and would have provided rudimentary obedience to local monasteries such as Maughold. The poorer members of the community would have been buried in the 'treen-chapel' but the nobility would have been laid to rest under sumptuously carved stones in the larger keeills or later parish centres (Marstrander 1937, 423).

Marstrander recognised that there were a number of typological divisions which could be made in relation to the keeills. He divided all Manx keeills into three separate groups: those whose width was two-thirds of their length, those whose width was half of their length and those whose width was a third of their length. From the association of 'pre-Norse' slabs with the first group he argued that the first group predated the Norse arrival on the island. The third group were much later in date, being the early parish churches.

As Lowe has pointed out, there are a number of difficulties with Marstrander's thesis (Lowe 1981). In the first place, his figures for the number of keeill sites are questionable, being based on all sites listed by Kermode despite the fact that not all the sites had been excavated (see above, xviii-xix). The association between keeills and treens is not particularly good: 83 or approximately half the treens have no keeill while 124 keeills are divided up between the other 96 treens (Marstrander 1937, 419). Most importantly perhaps, Marstrander was forced to abandon his three constructional phases and ascribe all keeills to a single system of

church organisation in order to make the link with the _treens_.

The difficulties in associating _keeills_ with _treens_ does not, however, invalidate the proposal of estate churches as a possible model for some of the drystone church sites of Man. Such a model has the merit of being documented in the later Viking sources such as the _Landnamabok_ (ed. Palsson and Edwards 1972). Although the _Landnamabok_ is a late thirteenth-century source written in Iceland, it appears to be based on strong oral traditions and it stresses the role of the Hebridean colonists in bringing Christianity to the country (_Landnamabok_ 339 ed. Palsson and Edwards, 147). In the absence of any Hebridean or Irish material on church organisation in the late Viking period, its evidence is worthy of note.

Two systems of church organisation are describe in the Icelandic material. The first is a system of private estate churches built on individual estates to serve a single family. Orlyg the Old, for example, is said to have erected such a church at Esjuberg:

> 'Hrapp, Bjorn Buna's son had a son called Orlyg whom he gave
> in fosterage to Bishop Patrick of the Hebrides. He had a
> great desire to go to Iceland and asked the Bishop for
> guidance. The bishop provided him with church timber, an
> iron bell, a _plenarium_ and consecrated earth which Orlyg was
> to place beneath the corner posts of his church...He was to
> make his home below the southern mountain where he was to
> build a house and a church dedicated to Saint Columba'
> (_Landnamabok_ 15 ed. Palsson and Edwards 1972, 23).

Such estate churches do not appear to have been used for burial. When Aud the Deep-Minded, another Icelandic colonist from the

Hebrides, lay dying, she specifically requested to be buried at the high water mark rather than in her settlement at Kross Hills. 'Having been baptised, she didn't wish to lie in unconsecrated earth' (Landnamabok 110 ed. Palsson and Edwards 1972, 55).

The second model of church organisation which can be identified in the Norse saga material is a type of proto-parochial organisation which appears to have grown up at a later stage in the development of the colonies. In Egil's saga, such a site is described in the context of Egil's burial:

> 'Grim of Mosfell was baptized when Christianity became the law in Iceland. He had a church built there, and men maintain that Thordis had Egil moved to this church, and there is this by way of proof, that when a church was built at Mosfell later, and the church dismantled at Hrisbu which Grim had built, the churchyard there was dug up. Under the altar site were found human bones which were bigger by far than other men's bones...' (Egil's Saga 86 ed. Jones 1960, 239).

It may have been in a similar type of church that Earl Erlend of Orkney was buried, although it must be noted that this reference, refers to events as late as 1154 (Orkneyinga Saga XCIV ed. Taylor 1938, 321).

These two models can be used to provide a possible explanation for the drystone churches of Islay. Private estate churches, serving small communities and without burial rights may be used to interprete the Group A/B churches with their tight regional distribution around the shores of Loch Indaal. The rather larger

centres serving more than one family and with burial rights appears to accord rather better with the Group C churches. It has already been noted that the Group C churches are more widely dispersed across the island than the A/B churches. The distribution of the Group C churches within the Hebrides also suggests that they were centres for a parochial or proto-parochial organisation. Parish structures began to be established on a systematic basis by the twelfth century in the west of Scotland (Cowan 1961). It may be that some parish centres were initially based on the Group C churches and their prototypes within the group of larger, drystone churches with lateral entranceways and squared external corners in the north-west.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has attempted to place the drystone churches on Islay into the general context of drystone churches along the north Atlantic seaboard. Having examined the churches both regionally and in terms of their characteristic features, the deduction was made that these monuments were very prone to regional variation both within a given locality and throughout the Irish sea area in general. It would seem, therefore, that despite their uniform tendencies to plain rectangular shapes with western doorways, east-west orientation and little surviving internal furniture, they are unlikely to be all of one period; it is also improbable that they were ever built according to centralised specifications of what a church should look like. What uniformity there was appears to become less as the churches grew larger. Both door position and building techniques vary more in the larger churches.

It has been suggested that, because of these many variations, the categories suggested for the Islay churches are probably too rigid and too localised to be meaningful in a discussion of trends in drystone churches throughout the Irish Sea area. However a number of parallels for the Islay buildings have been noted, particularly on the Isle of Man. From historical information, a tentative date for the Group A churches on Islay of betwen the ninth and twelfth century is put forward and the model of private estate churches is proposed to explain their distribution. Group C churches are believed to date from some period in the first half of the twelfth century and possibly to an early form of parish organisation in the diocese of the Isles. This dating agrees with the limited archaeological evidence for keeill sites on Man and drystone churches elsewhere.

This chapter deals with the enclosed areas around the mediaeval church sites on Islay. It is primarily intended as a survey of the physical evidence available with a view to establishing whether the function of such enclosed areas can be determined without excavation.

The boundary walls around the mortared mediaeval churches of Islay are all post-mediaeval in date and some have only been enclosed in very recent years. (The mediaeval church at Nereabolls, for example, was only enclosed within the last five years with a wooden and wire field-fence.) Despite this, it seems likely that the churches had some sort of enclosed land around them originally and that the function of this land was primarily for burial. The evidence for this comes mainly from carved graveslabs ascribed by Steer and Bannerman to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (1977 passim).

Each site has at least one example of such a graveslab and the majority have over five. (The exceptions are Nave Island and Orsay, both of whose graveyards were cleared in the nineteenth century.) In many cases, as at Kilnaughton, Nereabolls and Kilchiaran, these slabs are clearly in secondary positions but the sheer number of these monuments, coupled to their late date, makes it likely that they were moved in the course of on-site landscaping rather then transported from somewhere else.

The documentary sources do, however, record the movement of slabs on the offshore islands. Grave slabs from Texa were moved to Kildalton house during the nineteenth century and the standing cross of Richard of the Isles, also from Texa is reported to have decorated a garden in Ardimersay for some years (I.A.S.G. 1960 Area 7(56)). The graveyard on Nave Island was probably cleared when the chapel was reused for kelp manufacture as the New Statistical Account of 1845 remarks that many stones 'beautifully cut' could still be seen there but these had disappeared by Graham's day (Graham 1895, 49).

This was also the fate of the Orsay slabs, which vanished when the graveyard was levelled in order to accommodate the lighthouse. Local tradition has it that the tombstones were disposed of in the crannies of the near by rocks (ibid., 79). Since these three sites are all on offshore islands which appear to have been uninhabited when these clearances took place, it may be that their fate is not relevant to events on Islay itself. (The sites were also cleared for secondary usage; something which did not happen to the sites on the mainland.) Nevertheless, it must be taken into consideration when assessing the possible movements of slabs.

Although many of the mediaeval churches are only ruined shells today, some of the graveyards have continued in use. During the summer of 1986, a burial took place at Kilnave while an additional post and wire enclosure has been added to the church at Kilnaughton which serves the present population of Port Ellen. One middle-aged lady informed me that her parents had been buried in the site at Keills while another referred to the mediaeval site at Kilmeny

(which has been extended subsequent to the building of a cement capped enclosure wall) as 'the cemetery'. At Kilnaughton and Kilchiaran, post-mediaeval grave enclosures had been added to the mediaeval fabric of the church. Tombstones, ranging in date from the late seventeenth century till the twentieth were noted at Kilnave, Kildalton, Kilarrow, Kilchiaran and Kilnaughton. These were the sites noted in the O.S. Name Books as being in contemporary use in the nineteenth century (see above, table 4).

EVIDENCE FOR BURIAL AROUND DRYSTONE CHURCHES ON ISLAY

The evidence for burial around the drystone sites is a good deal slimmer. The only sculpted grave-slab is found at Gleann na Gaoith and is dated by Lamont to the mid tenth century (Lamont 1972, 21). Today, it is in a secondary position, lying against the wall of the drystone chapel. Although found beneath the turf of the site, the finder, Mrs Freda Ramsay, did not believe that this was its original position. She described the turf as 'just rolling back' and states that no evidence for burial was found when the stone was lifted. She suggested that it may originally have come from the enclosure at Orsay (I.A.S.G. Area 2 and pers. comm. 1986). In contrast, Lamont suggests that before the slab was moved, it covered 'what Mr Bruce, an authority on Manx antiquities suggested might be a lintel grave' (op.cit., 21).

An unmarked boulder was noted by the Royal Commisssion at Bruichladdich in 1975 and it was suggested that this might be a possible grave marker (RCAHMS Argyll V, 158-9). They did not give

its position and I saw no trace of it.

There is some evidence, though fragmentary, that these enclosures were used for burial in the post-mediaeval period. In the Statistical Account, the Reverend John McLeish of Kilchoman commented that:

> 'no regular register of burials has been kept on account of the great number of burial places in the parish' (Old Statistical Account ed. Sinclair 1794 XI, 280).

He also referred to the remaining traces of six chapels in the parish; this probably refers to the mediaeval sites of Kilchiaran, Kilchoman, Orsay, Nereabolls, Kilnave and Nave Island. The other ministers did not refer to burial grounds but neither kept a register of burials in the same period.

At three sites, post-mediaeval townships occur in close proximity to the drystone churches. It is possible that the inhabitants of the deserted village on the lower slopes of Cnoc a'Chuirn, above the ecclesiastical site of Carn, would have been willing to walk the mile and a half into Port Charlotte for a funeral. The enclosure at Carn is very small and the road to Port Charlotte runs directly below the settlement. It is almost inconceivable that the inhabitents of Tockmal would have wished to walk the ten miles across rough bog to Kilnaughton when the drystone church site of Tockmal lay only two hundred yards down the valley (RCAHMS Argyll V, 315-8). The same is true of Stremnishmore at the tip of the Oa, by Cill Chomhan, although a cliff-path running from the chapel to Kilnaughton was used by shepherds until relatively recently. Both

Plate IV: Enclosures
Carn (top) Kilslevan (middle) Gleann na Gaoith (bottom)

Blaeu's map of 1672 and MacDougall's map of 1751 show a pattern of dispersed and coastal settlement on the island in the post-mediaeval period and it would seem likely that other settlements also found themselves far from the official burial grounds. It may be that many of the drystone sites fulfilled such a function even if the churches themselves were disused.

An alternative place in which to be buried were the calluraghs or burial grounds situated away from ecclesiastical sites. The word calluragh is not used on Islay and I found no-one who could definitely identify these sites as cemeteries. In two cases, even the local land-owner did not know of their existence and at another (Cladh Haco) local knowledge was derived from the nineteenth-century O.S. map rather than from local tradition. (All the known calluragh sites on Islay are listed in the Name Books)

Eight such burial places of unknown date have been included in the Royal Commission's inventory of the island. These are Cladh Dhubhain, Cladh Haco, Cill Rònain, Gartacharra, Gruinart, Loch Finlaggan and Brahunisary. The Loch Finlaggan site has been destroyed by forestry in the last three years. It was probably attached to the chapel on the island which was the seat of the Lords of the Isles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It may be that this was the burial ground which is traditionally thought to be the burial ground of the wives and children of the MacDonald chieftains (Pennant 1790, 260). On the other hand, the Royal Commission suggested that an open space on Eilean Mor itself was the site. When visited by the Royal Commission surveyors in 1974 the (shore) site consisted of an irregular enclosure, some 11m x 6m and

surrounded by an earthen and stone bank (RCHAMS Argyll V, 224).

Cladh Dhubhain, Brahunisary, Cladh Haco and Gruinart are all affected by the local topography. The first three are upland sites marked by rock outcrops linked by dry-stone walling or turf banks. Loch Gruinart was bordered by a stream and a stone-revetted turf incline. In all four cases they occurred in close proximity to agricultural land and traces of rig and furrow could be seen just beneath Cladh Dhubhain. They formed a close parallel to Cuppage's description of the Kerry calluraghs:

> 'Those sites which are not associated with an older monument
> are usually marked now by little more than an area of
> uncultivated stony ground often raised above the general
> surroundings' (Cuppage 1986, 347).

The evidence from Cill Rònain is rather different. On this site there was a raised circular mound some 19m in diameter. The turf cover at the north-east had slipped to show a build-up of small stones forming a revetment which sloped inwards from the base of the mound at an angle of 45 degrees (see Plate V). The top of the mound was of irregular height and two boulders which may have have been grave markers could be seen towards the centre. The site stood by the side of the road in good agricultural land. Locally, Cill Rònain is regarded as a chapel site and the field in which it lies is known as the Church field. (This area of the Rhinns is still relatively Gaelicized and even English-speaking new-comers are accustomed to translating cill as 'old church'.) The description of the site as a chapel may therefore be the result of local inference for the site is marked on the O.S. map as 'Cill Rònain'.
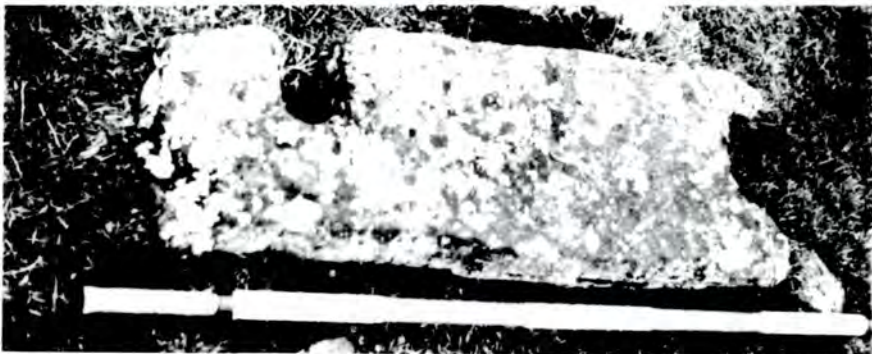
Plate V: Platforms and Entranceways
Mulreesh 'platform' S.bank (top left) Cill Rònain (top right)
Cill Tobar Lasrach (middle)   Ibid, third entrance stone (bottom)

Other non-ecclesiastical burial grounds on Islay are Ballinaby where a number of drowned seamen were buried in 1815 and Kilchoman war-graves cemetery, just outside the churchyard. The former has no formal boundary, the latter is surrounded by a post and wire fence.

It is interesting that nearly all of these sites, with the exception of Loch Finlaggan and Brahunisary, are to be found in the north Rhinns which is in the most Gaelicized area of the island. The number of mortared churches in the same area is on a par with the rest of the island but there are no drystone church sites. It may be, therefore, that these _calluragh_ burial grounds filled the same function as the drystone churches elsewhere. On the other hand, these sites are now recognised through documentary sources and folk-lore rather than through archaeological criteria and it may be that the greater stability in this area, which has contributed to the survival of Gaelic, has biased the surviving sample.

ECCLESIASTICAL ENCLOSURES AROUND DRYSTONE CHURCHES

Even if we accept that burial occurred in the enclosures around the drystone church sites in the post-mediaeval period, can their function prior to this be assessed through field-evidence alone? Strictly speaking, it cannot, for we have no evidence that the enclosure boundaries as they exist today are not post-mediaeval in form. Nevertheless, the examination of the field evidence is important. It can tell us whether the enclosing pattern around the drystone church sites is uniform; what elements are unique and which common and so forth. In this way we can better judge the role of

the sites in a changing pattern of settlement and it may even prove possible to put forward suggestions about their original use.

The Islay sites vary in both size and shape as Fig.11 shows. The smallest sites were Loch Finlaggan at 66 square metres and Carn with 72.37 sq.m. The largest enclosure surrounding an drystone site is Trudernish with 1440 sq.m. but this is broadly similar to the enclosure around the mortared church on Nave Island with 1564 sq.m. Because the latter was oval in shape, on an offshore island, and a piece of eighth-century sculpture was found there, the Royal Commission postulated that this may have been an early monastic site (RCAHMS Argyll V, 225,383). The largest enclosure on Islay, and one which has traces of a precursor beneath the nineteenth-century wall, is that surrounding the mortared church of Orsay with 5280 sq.m. of enclosed space.

Fig.11 also shows a variation in shape from the almost perfectly circular shape of Cill Eathain and Cill a'Bhuilg through the irregular sites such as Ardilistry and Nereabolls II to the almost rectangular sites of Gleann na Gaoith and Tockmal. As indicated by the letter T beneath certain sites, the planning of the enclosure has been affected in some way by the local topography on 7 of the 17 sites depicted (see Fig.11).

From the diagram the quasi-circular sites of Cill a'Bhuilg, Claggan, Cill Eathain, Lagavulin, Duisker II and Kilslevan seem to be broadly similar in shape and style, with Carn and Cill Tobar Lasrach possibly being degenerate members of the same group. In the formation of the boundary wall, however, they vary substantially.

Carn   Claggan   Cill Tobar   Kilslevan   Duisker II
                      Lasrach

Cill Eathain   Gartmain   Nereabolls II   Cill Chomhan

Craigens   Mulreesh   Bruichladdich   Kilbride

Tockmal   Duisker I   Gleann na Gaoith

Trudernish
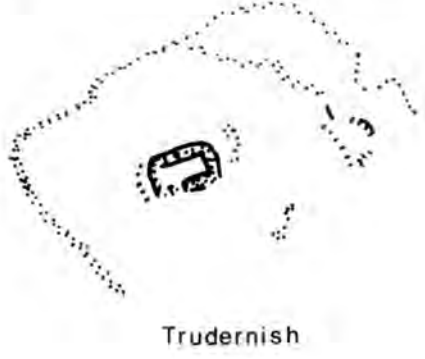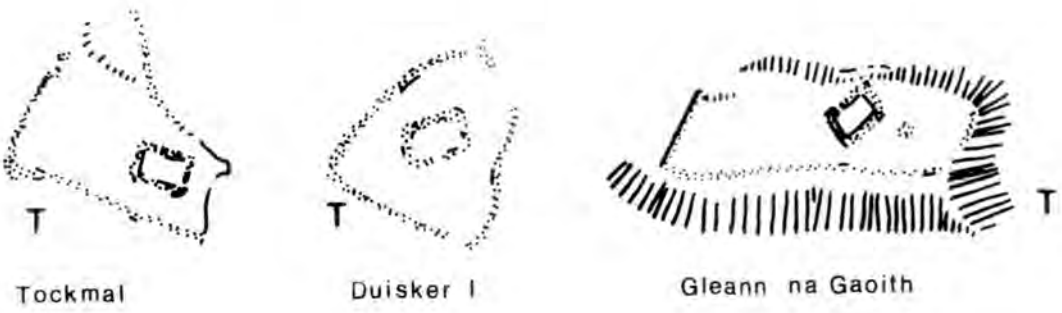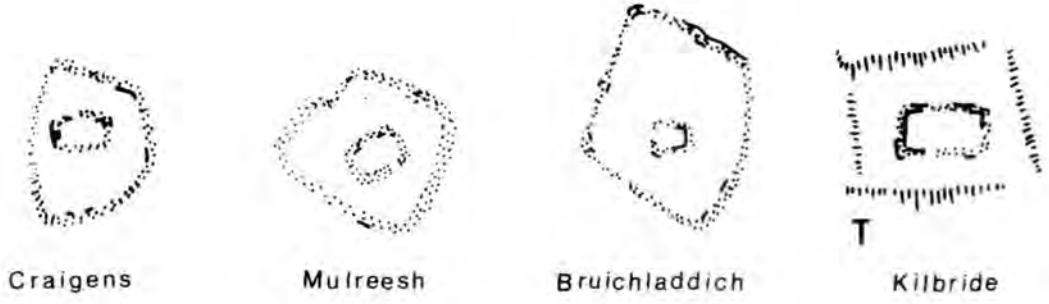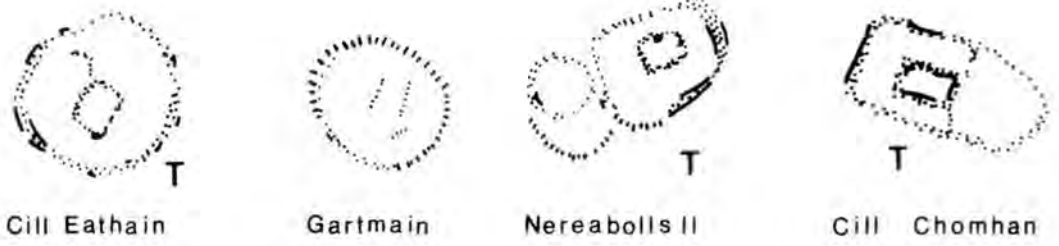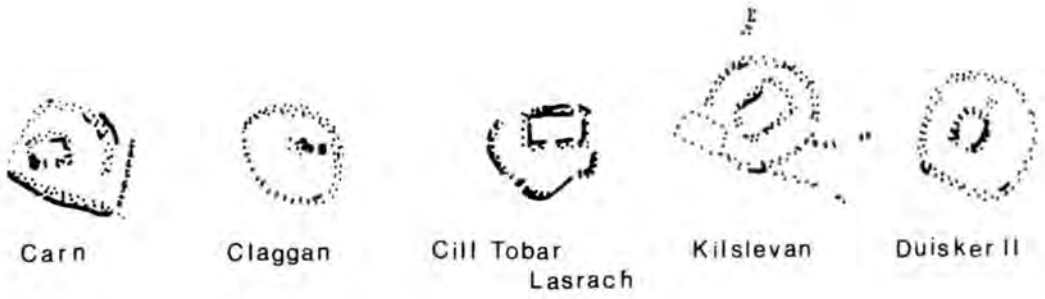
Fig. 11 : Enclosure morphology
on Islay (from RCAHMS Argyll V,
see below Appendix D)
(T = affected by topography)

Cill Eathain and Cill a'Bhuilg are both raised sites, the one on a natural knoll, the other rising from an almost flat ground surface as a circular platform of some kind. On neither can any trace of an interior enclosure wall be seen. At Carn and Claggan, the principal enclosing element is a low wide bank of small stones and rubble some 2 metres wide and approximately 30 cm high. At Lagavulin (which may be a lowlying dun site despite its dedication to Mary), Duisker II, Kilslevan and Cill Tobar Lasrach, the wall is composed of boulders with a certain amount of shaped stone incorporated into it.

Not only does the construction of the boundary vary from site to site; it also, and to a quite remarkable degree, varies from section to section of the same site. On 15 of the 24 sites examined, the boundary wall changed its character at some point along its perimeter. On a site such as Tockmal for example, the north and east enclosure walls were formed from the natural rise in the ground which was revetted with boulders. To the west a substantial drystone wall was erected while at least half of the south wall was built solely of turf with an outer wall or cladding of boulders. Not all sites are quite so varied. At Carn for example, the low rubble wall extended around the site for most of the boundary perimeter but suddenly rose to a metre high, incorporating large boulders and a rubble core in the north-east corner.

Due to bad weather conditions in May, a number of these sites were examined in early July and were heavily overgrown, making changes in construction techniques correspondingly difficult to identify. The figures given above should, therefore, be regarded as minimal ones. The reasons for such differences probably owe rather

more to the later agricultural activity taking place around the sites than to early mediaeval construction techniques. On four sites (Cill Chomhan, Lagavulin, Carn and Nereabolls II) telephone poles have been incorporated into the boundary wall. In each case, the boundary has been widened in order to accommodate the pole and extra boulders added to give it greater support.

Given these facts, the only useful information which can be gained from the boundary walls is a knowledge of the different techniques used to enclose the sites. As change due to telephone poles is the only change that can be even roughly dated, any attempt to match techniques used to the age of monument is doomed to failure. (Private telephones were introduced to the island at the end of the nineteenth century (Storrie 1982, 219).)

Among the techniques used are false platforms, as at Cill Rònain, Cill a'Bhuilg, Mulreesh and Nereabolls II. On the two latter sites, the material was scarped out of the surrounding hillside to give a lower boundary wall of some two metres height and one metre's thickness and an upper boundary wall of c. 30 cm height and thickness. At Cill Rònain and Cill a'Bhuilg, the platform rose from flat ground to c.0.8m height and was revetted by boulders (Cill a'Bhuilg) or rubble, (Cill Rònain). Stone revetments of natural mounds also occurred, as at Tockmal, Cill Eathain, Gleann na Gaoith, Kilbride and Kilchiaran. Alternatively, stone walls could be built on top of natural mounds as at Cill Chomhan, Duisker I or the north wall at Gleann na Gaoith (see Plates IV,V).

Where the enclosure is lowlying instead of raised, a common technique is the use of wide low rubble and stone banks as at Carn, Claggan, Bruichladdich and Kilbride. The first three sites are built close to the seashore and incorporate local beach stones in their construction. They average 0.3 to 0.5m in height and are 1.5 to 2m in width. Taller and narrower boulder-built walls with faint traces of a rubble core appear at Cill Eileagain, Carn and Duisker II while stones which have been roughly shaped form the boundary walls at Kilslevan and Duisker I. Walls built in this last technique are still used by the local farmers for small stretches of walling; one was being built at Finlaggan during my visit to the area.

In chapter 6 it was argued that those churches which were built on artificial platforms were linked typologically. If this held true for other enclosure types it might be possible to determine whether the enclosure form should be linked to the original history of the site or to its later development. As shown above, the variations in constructional technique make such an approach impossible unless we limit the study to similarity of shape and size and assume that these are original.

Of the small rounded enclosures, depicted in Fig.11, Group A churches were found on two or possibly three sites while Group C churches existed on two. The Group C church at Cill Tobar Lasrach however clearly overrides the original boundary wall on its north-eastern sector which is presumably earlier then the church at that point (see Appendix D). A large deposit of stone and rubble from the disturbed boundary lies just south of the south-east corner

of the church. The remaining wall is composed of boulders and rubble filling on the south wall and an earthen bank trodden by cattle and incorporating rabbit holes, on the west. On the other hand, the enclosure wall at Kilslevan, the second of the two Group C churches, is of the same fabric as the church and may be contemporary. Two Group B churches were also found on these small circular enclosures.

Of the seven churches of Groups C and C1 construction, five were found in large, irregular enclosures. It would appear, therefore, that a generalised distinction can be made between small rounded enclosures surrounding churches whose doors face west and larger, more irregularly shaped enclosures where the doors of the enclosed churches face north or south. This distinction is only a broad one and it takes no account of the different techniques used to construct the enclosure wall.

Traces of internal walls can be seen at Trudernish and Cill Chomhan, both irregularly shaped enclosures built on high ground and surrounding Group C churches. These internal walls are of the same shaped drystone stonework as the enclosure boundary but are slightly narrower, closer to the church walls in width (c.0.9m as opposed to 1.2m). In two cases, there is evidence for internal structures: at Kilslevan where a single line of stonework cut the boundary wall in the shape of an intrusive building and Trudernish where an irregular mound of unknown function was situated to the south-east. (This may be another form of the ceallúnach burials noted below.)

The entrance position of ecclesiastical enclosures around drystone church sites varies although the majority face roughly west rather than east. Of the total of 7 sites where evidence for the entrance survives, three face south-west (Bruichladdich, Cill Tobar Lasrach and Nereabolls II), two face to the north-west (Cill Chomhan and Tockmal) and Trudernish faces to the south-east. In all cases, except Bruichladdich, a rise in ground as one approaches the entrance is a notable feature.

The only site where gate jambs may still exist is Cill Tobar Lasrach where there are two holed pillar stones flanking the present enclosure entrance. The stone on the right as you approach has a rectangular hole 10 by 8 cm in diameter while that on the left is circular. A third stone with the remains of a rectangular cavity lies just inside the entrance (see Plate V). Although their function is not known, a number of similarly holed stones are known from ecclesiastical sites in Ireland. In local folklore they are used as charms for lovers and would-be mothers to clasp hands through (Weir 1982, 95). A similar tradition for the Islay stones is recorded by Graham who also records moving the stones at least once in order to take photographs (Graham 1895, 75-6). This fact, added to the presence of a third stone of similar appearance, on the ground beside the entrance, makes it unlikely that the original purpose of these stones was to act as gateposts.

On 7 sites there are the remains of small mounds which were originally thought to be the Islay equivalent of the 'founders tombs' of the west of Ireland. They are generally (5 out of 7 cases) to be found to the east of the site though their position in

relation to the oratory is variable. At Trudernish, Gleann na Gaoith and Cill Eathain, they lie directly east of the Church; at Claggan and Duisker II they lie to the north-east while two other very similar features lie south-west of the Church at Gleann na Gaoith. They are small mounds, oval or sub-rectangular in shape, averaging 2.3m in length and 2m in width (see Plate VI). In three cases the axis was north/south. Three were found on small circular sites and four were found in larger, irregularly shaped enclosures. As with many of the equivalent sites in Ireland, their description matches that of Fanning for the late _ceallúnach_ burials at Reask (Fanning 1981b, 154). A similar function is the most likely explanation for the Islay monuments for, as we have seen, the balance of probabilities favours post-mediaeval burial on many of the drystone church sites of Islay (see above, 258-60).

Immediately to the west of the drystone church at Cill Tobar Lasrach and on the edge of the higher ground overlooking the site, a small triangular shaped feature was noted (see Plate VI). In appearance it is similar to the slab-shrines found in Kerry and identified by Thomas (1971a, 141-4). It is, however, extremely small, less than fifty centimetres in width and the two sides of the object appear to be formed of a single stone. It is set at right angles into the surrounding turf and the interior drops away to an irregularly shaped crevice filled with loose stone. On careful examination, it was decided that it was most likely to be a natural feature.

The most interesting of the associated monuments found in or by enclosures is undoubtedly the line of nine circular structures found

Plate VI: Burials
Kilbride (top) Cill Tobar Lasrach (middle)
Gleann na Gaoith (west of chapel) (bottom)

on the hillcrest some 40m above Kilbride. These averaged 2.5m in diameter and were formed of a revetment of stones embedded into the turf with a rubble core. They are found in two lines, that nearest the church having six of these structures while the one just below the crest had only three. The local landowner had no knowledge of them and the Royal Commission did not mention them. It is just possible that these are similar to the rather larger circular structure known as Eithne's tomb on Eileach an Naoimh (RCHAMS Argyll V, 176). In trying to interpret these puzzling features it must be noted that in the same field, a Bronze Age standing stone stood some 60m away.

The position of the church within the enclosure is also subject to variation. Of the 17 drystone churches which have enclosures around them, 8 are roughly (but only roughly) central. These are Bruichladdich, Cill Chomhan, Cill Eathain, Claggan, Duisker I, Duisker II, Cill Eilegain and Kilslevan. (Centrality is defined simply by drawing lines of maximum width and length and observing the relationship of the church to the mid-point.) Only three of the eight are small circular sites and it would therefore appear that the churches' central position was pre-meditated. The church at Carn is in the south-west quadrant, Cill Tobar Lasrach and Nereabolls II in the north-east, Mulreesh in the south-east and Tockmal abutting the east wall.

By, or just outside the enclosure wall on five sites, stand small upright boulders some 80 cm by 50 cm. on average. These occur at Carn, Cill Eathain, Cill Tobar Lasrach, Duisker II and Mulreesh. (Four are these are small circular enclosures). They are found to

the south of the enclosure; three to the south-west and two to the south-east.

CONCLUSIONS

What, therefore, can we conclude from this survey of the field evidence? The key word, in any discussion, is variation. These enclosures vary in size, in shape, in internal features both inside and outside the enclosure, in entrance and church position. There is no uniform pattern to be seen. Nevertheless, at the most generalised level possible, a broad division can be made between small rounded circular enclosures which most frequently surround Group A and B churches and larger, more irregular enclosures which surround Group C churches. Internal walls are a feature of the latter group while upright boulders, possibly marking entrance-ways are more common on the former. Details of the entrance do not generally survive. On a number of sites, irregularly shaped mounds were identified close to the church and these were identified as late, probably post-mediaeval burials, similar to the ceallunach burials identified by Fanning.

The question posed at the beginning of the survey was: can the function of these enclosures be determined by field survey alone? At the beginning this was recognised as unlikely because we cannot be sure that enclosure shape today is similar to what it may have been originally or even that the churches were originally planned to have enclosures around them. The evidence of field survey confirms this view. The enclosure boundaries can be shown to be multi-period

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and the overall morphology of each site is clearly, as at Deerness (Morris 1977, 68), a 'palimpsest of previous settlement'.

If we assume, that the division between irregular and circular enclosures today approximates to some original mediaeval requirement (and the evidence from Cill Tobar Lasrach gives us some slight justification for such an assumption), it is possible to put forward an educated guess for some sites. The small circular enclosures, judging purely on their size, are likely to be 'chapel' or small 'cemetery' enclosures. In contrast, the very large enclosure at Trudernish with its internal subdivision makes it difficult to envisage any other explanation except that of a 'settlement' enclosure on the model of the Kerry sites. For the other sites one cannot even make educated guesses. Some have the room to enclose habitation areas; others, like Tockmal or Cill Chomhan, are very likely to have been transformed through later burial. It was important for the builders of sites such as Mulreesh or Nereabolls II that these sites should be carefully raised while at Cill Eilegain, it was sufficient to throw down a haphazard line of boulders. Such variation suggests that enclosure on Islay, as in the Irish Sea region in general, was determined by a number of different factors and had a number of different functions.

Although the corpus of stones from Islay is a small one, it is quite varied. Apart from the remains of three free-standing crosses there are twelve cross slabs, a cruciform stone, a portable stone, a bullaun and the remains of at least one cist-type cross base. These form a unified group which probably represents a native school of sculpture in the late eighth and ninth-centuries. Their distribution over a wide number of sites suggests that many of the ecclesiastical sites of Islay were in use at that period.

FORM OF SCULPTURED STONES

In chapter four the order of likelihood for erect and recumbent slabs was outlined (see above, 88-92). Examining the Islay stones in a similar manner we find that six stones almost definitely stood erect: the three free-standing crosses, the cruciform shaped stones from Kilchoman (no 1 in the RCHAMS catalogue) and Gleann na Gaoith and the second stone from Kilchoman with a disc shaped head and ornament on its two major faces (see Plate VII and Fig.12). Trudernish also probably stood erect, for its pointed base seems designed for insertion into the ground. Gleann na Gaoith No 1, Kilbride and Kildalton No 2 all belong to the pillar category; it is more likely that they stood upright rather than being horizontal monuments but it is not possible to be certain.

Recumbent slabs are less common on Islay. The only complete example is the undressed stone from Gleann na Gaoith (RCHAMS No 2).

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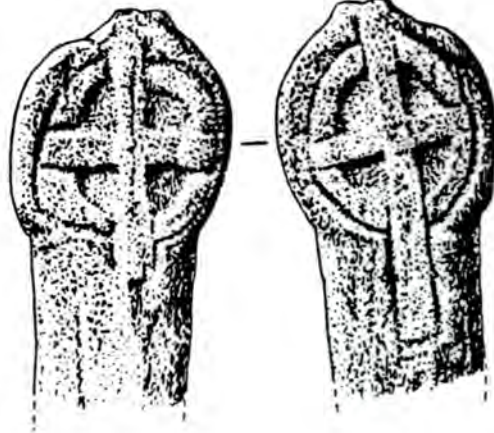
Kilchoman 1

Kilchoman 2

Trudernish

Gleann na
Gaoith 1

Kildalton 2

Kilbride

Gleann na Gaoith 3

Fig.12 : Sculptured stone from Islay I
(from RCAHMS Argyll V, 183,193,198,212,262)

Plate VII: Erect Sculptured Slabs

Gleann na Gaoith pillar (top right)   Kilchoman No.2 (top right)

Gleann na Gaoith cruciform stone (bottom left)

Kilbride (bottom right)

The Laggan and Orsay slabs are both very fragmented but appear to be much broader and longer than their width; the Laggan slab, for example is 1.06m x 0.35m x 0.04m in its present fragmented state. The position of Kildalton No 4 can not be inferred from its shape but its ornament links it with the three recumbent slabs (see Plate VIII and Fig.13).

Two stones from the corpus cannot be identified as either erect or recumbent. Kildalton No 3 is an unshaped boulder. The base is slightly narrower than the upper half of the stone and this, allied to the open-ended cross incised upon one face, suggests it may have stood upright. On Dòid Mhàiri, the ornament is also open-ended and the stone tapers slightly at the base, showing parallels with the cross slabs from the Isle of Man which are believed to have stood upright (Kermode 1907, 14; Wilson 1974, 30).

For a number of these slabs, the form is sufficiently distinct that parallels can be sought for it elsewhere without taking the ornament into account. The cruciform stone at Gleann na Gaoith (RCAHMS Argyll V, 184), for example, can be compared to five stones on Iona (RCAHMS Argyll IV, Nos.6:72-6) and with stones at Binnion and Templemoyle in Co. Donegal (Lacy 1983, fig.128), North Rona in the northern Hebrides (Nisbet and Gailey 1960, fig.4) and even as far away as Lunda-wick in the Shetlands (RCAHMS Orkney and Shetland III fig 665). (In relation to these cruciform stones, Nisbet and Gailey made the valuable observation that there was nothing to prove that they were earlier than the sixteenth or seventeenth century, although thought by many scholars to be of early date (see RCAHMS Argyll IV, 17; Nisbet and Gailey op.cit.,109).)

Gleann na Gaoith 1

Laggan
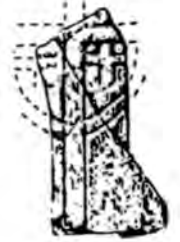
Orsay

Kildalton 3

Kildalton 4

Mulreesh

Fig.13 : Sculptured stone from Islay II
(from RCAHMS Argyll V, 166,183,212,224,256)

Plate VIII: Recumbent Slabs
Laggan and Kildalton No.2 (top left) Gleann na Gaoith recumbent
slab (top right) Kildalton No.4 (bottom left)
Orsay (bottom right)

The kite-shaped stone at Trudernish is paralleled by two stones from Iona (RCAHMS Argyll IV, Nos.6:5,9), at Blairston Mains, Ayrshire (Gordon Childe and Graham 1943, 49) at Mochrum, Wigtownshire (Anderson 1927, 115), at Caher Island Co. Mayo (Henry 1947, 28) and as a border on a Kirkmadrine slab in Galloway (Anderson 1937, 388).

The disc-headed stone at Kilchoman (RCAHMS Argyll V, 198) with a projection at the top is best paralleled by Braddan No 36 (Kermode 1907, 116) on the Isle of Man and Balinakill, Kintyre (RCAHMS Argyll I, fig.116), and possibly Cooly, Co. Donegal although only a fragment of this last still survives (Lacy 1983, fig.128a).

Simply in terms of size, the Gleann na Gaoith slab (1.44m x 0.63m) could be compared with Iona No 6:46 (1.38m x 0.64m) or Iona No.6:39 (1.7m x 0.74m) while the Kilbride pillar (0.73m x 0.24m) has comparable dimensions with Iona No 6:19 (0.77m x 0.29m). These forms, however, are so simple that comparisons on the shape alone are injudicious.

More definite is the identification of similarities in the forms of the free-standing crosses at Kilnave and Kildalton. (All that survives of the Nave Island cross is a small portion of the arm.) There are two distinct trends in the Iona school of cross-carving. One is towards a ringless cross with the crossing high on the shaft and the span of the arms being approximately a third of the total height. This form can be seen at its most extreme at Clonca, Co. Donegal and Keills, Knapdale. In its proportions this cross-type is closest to Northumbrian crosses such as St Andrew Auckland (Cramp

1984, 37-40) although it is in the crosses of the second group of Iona sculpture that the Northumbrian feature of the double-curved arm appears.

The two crosses which characterise this second trend are St John's, Iona and Kildalton, Islay. They are ringed with a tapering shaft and a cross head which is lower in terms of total height and of a much wider span. As can be seen in table 29, below, these two trends are not absolute; St Martin's cross being ringed but having dimensions similar to the ringless crosses while Kilnave, though ringless, is closest to Kildalton in proportions (see Fig.14).

The similar proportions of Kildalton and Kilnave are not visible on the RCAHMS illustrations because the Kildalton cross is shown in terms of visible height while the Kilnave cross is shown complete (see Fig.14). Here a height of 2.63m (which was the visible height of the cross prior to excavation in 1981) is used for Kilnave and a number of parallels between the two crosses can be seen. This measurement allows for approximately 10 cm of undecorated stone below the lowest line of ornament.

Kilnave is a ringless monolith, with arms which cross at a height of 1.2m from the base of the ornament and which have a span of 1.04m and a width of 0.37m. The shaft covers 46% of the total height, the cross head 34% and the upper arm 20%. Kildalton is also a monolith but it is ringed with a visible height of 2.65m and an arm span of 1.32m. The arm width is 0.37m. The shaft is 50% of the entire height, the cross head 34% and the top arm 16%.

(east
face)

(west
face)

Kildalton 1

Dòid Mhàiri

Kilnave

Nave Island

Fig.14 : Sculptured stone from
Islay III from RCAHMS Argyll V,
208,221,228 and Stevenson 1959,
pl.xi)

TABLE 29 : PROPORTIONS OF FREE-STANDING CROSSES
OF THE IONA SCHOOL

NAME	SHAFT	CROSS HEAD	TOP-ARM	SPAN
Kildalton	50%	34%	16%	50%
St John's	66%	28%	16%	50%
Keills	66%	23%	17%	24%
Clonca	73%	10%	17% ?*	23%
St Martin's	64%	23%	13%	28%
Kilnave	46%	34%	20%	39%

* Only one arm still survives on the Clonca cross.

The base of Kilnave was excavated by John Barber in 1981 and found to be of cist-type construction. The basal slab was found with the stump of the cross remaining in the socket and 'cemented' into place by compacted sand and rubble. This slab had an irregular groove cut into the upper face; in width it varied from 2.5cm to 10 cm and in depth from 1.5cm to 3.5cm. The central socket measured 0.42m x 0.1m. It overlay a group of large stones which revealed, when removed, a further group of stones lying against the side of a pit cut into sterile sand. This latter was interpreted by Barber as the remnant of a pit to hold an upright in place (1981a, 98). The remains of another slab, corresponding to the basal slab and with a similar groove was found in the graveyard.

The basal and loose slabs were believed to form the top and bottom of a cist-type arrangement held apart by side-slabs which would have fitted into the groove. No trace of these side-slabs were found and there was nothing to correspond to the corner-posts found on a similar base at St John's, Iona. Mr. Ian Fisher has informed me that the shallow and irregular nature of the grooves on

the Kilnave slabs calls the stability of such a structure into question; in their reconstruction, the Central Excavation Unit were forced to use iron clamps to keep the cist together. The excavation provided evidence for at least three different modes of erecting the cross and it is possible that the socketed slabs could be used in conjunction with at least two of them.

The Kildalton base was excavated in 1882 and appears to have been of similar construction. The upper stone was described as ' a roughly dressed stone which had no sufficient foundation' and was later incorporated into a double-stepped plinth where it can still be seen today (Donations to the National Museum 1882/3, 279). Immediately below the socket stone was the Kildalton No 2 slab found face-downwards under the south-west corner. A number of pebbles 'such as are found on the coast' were found at this level and beneath these the remains of two human bodies. From the insufficient foundations and the occurrence of pebbles and a slab immediately below the socket-stone it seems clear that this was a slab of similar type to Kilnave rather than the more common pyramid shaped monolith. In both instances, stone packing appears to have been an essential element but in external appearance, the Kildalton slab (presently in position at the base of the cross) is much thicker than the uppermost Kilnave slab. No basal slab was found in situ at Kildalton but an ungrooved socketed slab was found loose in the churchyard with a socket of the same width as the Kildalton shaft. In both cases, it appears that the bases were not particularly stable.

Only one definite example of a _bullaun_ stone was found (see Plate IX). This was on a path leading from Kintra farmhouse to Loch Indaal, a minimum of one hour's walk from Tockmal, the nearest surviving ecclesiastical site and twenty minutes from the now destroyed site of 'a Chapel' at Glenegedale (O.S. Name Book 40, 154). The stone is roughly triangular in shape and heavily lichened, measuring 0.5m x 0.4m in maximum width and height. The hole is centrally placed on the upper face. The diameter is 0.25m and the depth between 0.1m and 0.15m. The sides were relatively smooth and no evidence of pocking was found. The top edge was not worn and the appearance of the stone spoke of one initial construction period with little heavy wear occurring subsequently.

On the socket stone of the late mediaeval cross at Kilchoman four hollows of very different appearance were found. They vary in depth from very shallow indentations to one that pierces the stone and the marks of grinding and wear are clearly visible. A pear-shaped stone, traditionally used to produce these hollows can be seen lying beside them on the cross base; in Graham's day it was kept at the Manse (Graham 1895, 55) although he mentions that it was lost and re-found on a number of occasions. The local tradition is that they were made by expectant mothers hoping for sons. Similar holes can be seen in the socket stone of the cross base at Cooly Co. Donegal (Lacy 1983, 261) and it appears that these '_bullauns_' owe their origin to recent folk belief rather than to mediaeval usage.

The only other ornamented stone work which may belong to this period is the portable stone at Mulreesh. Incomplete, it still measures 0.41m x 0.34m x 0.1m (approximately) which makes it larger

Plate IX: Position of Crosses
Kilchiaran cross? (top)   Kilchoman No.2 (middle)

Kintra bullaun (bottom)

than the Eochid stone but a good parallel for the Clocha Breaca (see above, 92). Although it appears roughly rectangular in shape, its thickness distinguishes it from the recumbent slabs.

Other carved stones include querns found at Kilbride and Callumkill and a pear-shaped pounding stone at Kildalton and documented by the Islay Archaeological Group (I.A.S.G. Area 7 (33),(36)). These were found on the surface of the respective sites and are of unknown date. They were stored in Kildalton House but following the sale of the house in 1921 were subsequently lost.

In the nature of things it is probable that much of the early stone work on the island has been lost but unfortunately there is no way in which this loss can be quantified. Of the surviving stones, almost two-thirds stood erect while the other stones included recumbent slabs, a bullaun and a portable stone. This distribution suggests that the sculptors were working for patrons who wished to make an impact on the community; most of the sculptured stone was meant to be visible at a distance and it therefore probably had a public rather than a private function. Where form is sufficiently distinctive that parallels can be identified, these parallels are with Iona, Argyll and Donegal rather than with the Isle of Man. The exception is Dòid Mhàiri which closely parallels the shape of the Manx cross slabs.

GEOLOGY

The raw material for the monuments was obtained locally. This is
not surprising in the simpler cross slabs such as Kildalton Nos. 2-4
but it is more remarkable in the larger, more ornate stones. The
grey-green epidiorite of the Kildalton Cross outcrops near Port na
Cille less then a kilometre and a half away to the E.S.E. (RCHAMS
Argyll V, 203). The Kilnave cross is carved from a Torridonian
flagstone which is found just east of the site along the shore
(ibid., 220). The recumbent slab at Gleann na Gaoith is produced
from a coarse epidiorite found some 200m S.E. of the chapel while
the epidiorite of the Dòid Mhàiri slab runs from the coast, through
the Port Ellen distillery (c. 200m from where the stone was found)
and into the hills at Torradal (O.S. Geological Survey of Scotland
Sheets 19,20,27).

The furthest distance between stone and site is visible in the
two erect stones at Gleann na Gaoith and in the Nave Island
fragment. The Gleann na Gaoith stones were of Torridonian flagstone
and the nearest outcrop is an hour's walk away at Port Charlotte and
further north in the Rhinns. It is also found directly across Loch
Indaal from Gleann na Gaoith at Laggan Point from whence it could
easily be brought across by boat. The Nave Island fragment is of a
green schist which is most commonly found in a band running from
Torrisdale to Dún Bhar-a-chlaom behind Kilchiaran Bay and further
south in the Rhinns: a minimum distance of 20 km from the find site.

The geology of the stones is therefore extremely local, often
within two kilometres of the site where they are found. This

suggests that although Islay sculptors had a relatively detailed knowledge of the forms used in other areas of the Western Isles the stones were sculptured on the island itself. What movement was necessary to transmit ideas and styles appears to have been a movement of craftsmen rather than of materials.

POSITION

The Islay corpus is unusual in that the find circumstances of almost every stone is known and that almost all can be related to early ecclesiastical sites. This is due to the long interest in antiquarianism on the island and in particular to the interest of the Ramsay family who controlled much of the island in the nineteenth century. Paradoxically, this interest has meant that information on the original position of the stones on site has been minimised, owing to a desire to protect the sculpture.

This attitude is summed up in the Reverend MacTavish's account of the finding of the Kilbride stone some fifty years after he had moved it to the manse:

> 'I think it was lying on the ground in a small neglected and often disused graveyard: at all events I thought it a pity, plain as it was, that it should lie there uncared for so I shouldered it and conveyed it, I cannot say with or without any assistance to the old manse' (Donations to the National Museum 1883, 229).

This account, though vague, suggests that the information given by the then tenant of Kilbride farm referred to a secondary

deposition of the slab; he stated that the cross lay 11 feet east of the ruined church.

The finding of the Dòid Mhàiri slab, although recorded within a year of its discovery, is equally disappointing:

> 'Donald McNabe describes Dòid Mhàiri (previous to the date of finding the slab) as an uncultivated spot in the field about the size of a small potato plot or garden, on which a considerable quantity of stone lay and there was some appearance of an enclosure or building having existed. The other parts of the field had been cultivated but 'Dòid Mhàiri' had not, owing to a belief, as Donald McNab stated, that it might once have been a place of burial from its resemblance to other places of burial in the district. It was however resolved to clear the spot and while Donald McNab was removing the stones he found amongst them the slab now under notice' (Donations to the National Museum 1883, 279-82).

Kildalton No 2 was found during the excavation of the Kildalton cross base; the description is ambiguous but it appears to have been used as a supporting stone for the socketed slab rather than being associated with the burial below (Donations to the Museum 1882, 279-82; RCHAMS Argyll V, 212). The fact that the stone was trimmed before being placed beneath the slab reinforces this suggestion. Kildalton No 4 was recorded by Graham as being under the west wall of the church (1897, 91-2); reference to his plan shows that he meant just outside the west wall rather than physically underneath it (ibid., 82).

In the present century, the Laggan stone was found in 1966 in an eroded river bank, approximately a metre below the level in which a late mediaeval cross shaft was found two years previously. The incised boulder at Cill Eileagain, Mulreesh was found 'at or near the ancient chapel' in 1961 (Lamont 1972, 21). The only slab where accounts of the discovery conflict was the Gleann na Gaoith slab (see above, 258). No account of the discovery of the cruciform stone on the same site survives although Dr. Lamont implies that it was found at the same period as the recumbent slab (Lamont op.cit., 21).

The Orsay slab was found by Mrs Ramsay, leading a party of Guides to the island in 1951. It was noticed that one of the stones lying on? beside? Hugh MacKay's mortuary house was ornamented and a search ensued for others. From the description it is unclear whether they actually formed part of the grave but even if they did, it was clearly a secondary deposition (Mrs Ramsay pers. comm.; I.A.S.G. 1960 Additions and Corretions; Area 7). The Trudernish stone was found just below the level of the turf in 1975 some 55m north-west of Trudernish farmhouse. Kildalton No 3 was probably noted for the first time by the Royal Commission surveyors: no prior information on its existence is recorded (RCAHMS Argyll V, 212).

Some of the stones were still found erect and may therefore be in their original positions (see Plate IX). The most promising of these is Kilchoman No 2 which stands 2m from the west end of a line of large boulders, 8m long, with the stones being embedded into the soil. There is a slight rise in ground level to the south of the cross which is probably natural and the rig cultivation strips have

a different alignment on either side of the boulders. It is this position which has led a number of recent observers to postulate that this is a _termon_ cross (Lamont 1972, 13; Mr E. Talbot pers.comm.). Unfortunately, the association with the boulders is not substantiated by the nineteenth-century traditions. The O.S. Name Book records that the stone 'is standing 1/4 of a mile west of Kilchoman House in an arable field.' This description is followed by Graham, while both Graham and Romilly Allen further point out that 'there is neither history nor tradition regarding it' (Graham 1895, 59; ECMS III, 405).

The stone is generally compared with the cruciform stone Kilchoman No 1 which was also found at some distance from the church site. Prior to 1888 it was standing, for the Name Book describes it as a 'Standing Stone Sculpture' and in ECMS Allen describes it as an 'Erect Stone Cross'. The six inch map of 1888 shows it just south of a pathway leading to the church and approximately half way up the northward facing slope of a ridge. If both stones were in their original positions when the map was compiled, an imaginary line between them would run along the base of the high ground to the south of the church but on a slightly different alignment. This line would not accord with the line of walling in which Kilchoman No 2 is presently found. If they mark a _termon_ boundary, it was either one of irregular shape or else it accorded only approximately with the topography of the landscape.

As a comparison, it is useful to note that the Trudernish stone may also have been a boundary marker for it was discovered at some distance from any known ecclesiastical site. It was found on a

ridge overlooking a low-lying and boggy valley on the far-side of which, on high ground, was the drystone church of Trudernish. In this case, the stone was on a natural boundary in the local topography.

Another stone (of unknown date and period) may be in its original position; it is found at Kilchiaran and was described by Graham as:
'the unornamented shaft of a cross...on a piece of rising ground east of the site' (Graham 1895, 61).

The Royal Commission did not include it in their inventory although it is recorded in the record cards where they suggest that the mound in which it stands is of recent date. The mound terminates a raised bank leading from the eastern-most point of the site back along the edge of the northern escarpment. The slab stands some 0.4m high x 0.2m and is rounded on top (see Plate IX). The average diameter of the mound in which it stands is 1.2m with a height of approximately 0.6m.

The Gleann na Gaoith pillar stone is almost certainly not in its original position although apparently photographed in its present state by Lamont in 1968. The pillar stands in a built-up pile of loose rubble although it has now slanted towards the south. The incised face of the stone is towards the west where it faces directly into the prevailing wind. If this is its original position, it is astonishing that the stone shows no sign of weathering, particularly since the Torridonian flagstone of which it is made is a soft and malleable stone. When one notes that this stone was not recorded by Graham, it appears that the cross has been

re-erected prior to the 1960s.

Although we cannot be certain of the original position of these monuments, we are on firmer ground in relation to the free-standing crosses. At Kilnave, Barber found evidence that the cross had been erected three times within an area 3m E/W x 2m N/S (Barber 1981a, 89; see above, 103, 277-8). There was nothing to date the different relative phases but if Barber is correct in suggesting a twelfth-century date for phase II it is possible that this position is indeed the original one. At Kildalton, the find of human bones in a disarticulated condition beneath the cross base also suggests that this may be the original position, paralleling the Northumbrian custom of placing free-standing crosses above important graves (Cramp 1984, 5).

The local topography supports the suggestion that these two crosses stand in their original position. Kilnave is found to the west of the church in front of the west doorway; Kildalton is to the north-east of the church. In both cases this is the area of the site which is first seen as you approach. Kilnave is bordered by the very shallow waters of Loch Gruinart which may have been even more shallow in the Middle Ages. (Pennant reports a battle which took place here in 1542 and Munro mentions that dogs were used to hunt seals in his day (Pennant 1790 I, 225-6; Munro 1961, 56). The main road runs north/south under a ridge of high land to the west of the site; to get to the church itself you have to turn to the east. At Kildalton the site is hidden to the south by a rocky outcrop while to the north the ground falls away down a steep slope to a boggy valley beneath. Access is best achieved either from the east

or west and the present entrance to the site is in the east almost directly in front of the cross.

A position close by the entrance-way is relatively common for free-standing crosses: it is found at Durrow (Mr Ó Flóinn pers. comm) Armagh (Dr. Hamlin pers. comm.) and possibly at Kells (Roe 1981a, 26). A cross base was found at the entrance of Reilig Oran on Iona (RCAHMS Argyll IV, 39) and another in front of the Norman priory at Lindisfarne (Cramp 1984, 201-2). In this instance it is interesting to note that the possible cross base noted by Graham at the drystone church of Trudernish is also in front of the chapel as one approaches the site from the east (Graham 1895, 94). (Access from the north, south and west of the chapel is cut off by cliff faces and scree.)

In relation to their position vis-a-vis the site, therefore, it is probable that free-standing crosses on Islay stood at the entrance-way to the sites. The erect slab at Kilchoman may stand on a boundary, although it's position would appear to be of recent date. Both the Trudernish stone and the Kilchiaran cross shaft, whatever its date, may also stand on earlier boundaries. Of the position of the others no data survives but the geological evidence supports the idea that their original sites were on or close to their find sites. The question then remains: what was the distribution of the sculpture in relation to the island as a whole?

The present distribution of the stones is unlikely to reflect a mediaeval reality for we do not know how many of the stones have survived. The majority of the sites have only one early sculptured

stone: Orsay, Laggan, Kilnave, Nave Island, Mulreesh, Doid Mhairi, Kilbride and Trudernish. At Laggan and Orsay, this stone is of the recumbent slab group, a group which is generally found in large numbers on important ecclesiastical sites (Lionard 1961, 144-56). The inscribed portable stone at Mulreesh has parallels on the large sites of Iona and Inishmurray (RCAHMS Argyll IV, No 6:98; Wakeman 1893, 62) while the rather smaller sites of Ballacurry, Jurby, Isle of Man and at Logie Coldstone have large numbers of single stone monuments (Kermode 1912, 55-6; ECMS III, 196).

At Kilchoman there are the two boundary stones discussed above, at Gleann na Gaoith there are three and the largest cluster occurs at Kildalton which has four stones. A concentration around the two later parish centres of Kilchoman and Kildalton may reflect earlier patterns but it is surprising to find such a large number of stones at the relatively isolated site at Gleann na Gaoith. It may be that the extreme topographical boundaries to this site have meant its survival as an early place of worship in the locality and this in turn has meant that a greater proportion of the sculpture has survived.

Without trying to identify the most important areas of stoneworking however, a number of interesting points emerge from the overall distribution of the stones (see Fig.15). There are no stones in the rich Sorn valley area, none around Kilarrow, the third early parish centre and none in the Oa. There is a heavy concentration in the south-east with 7 stones (including the 4 at Kildalton) and another 8 in the Rhinns and offshore islands. The Mulreesh stone is an isolated phenomenon as is the Laggan stone
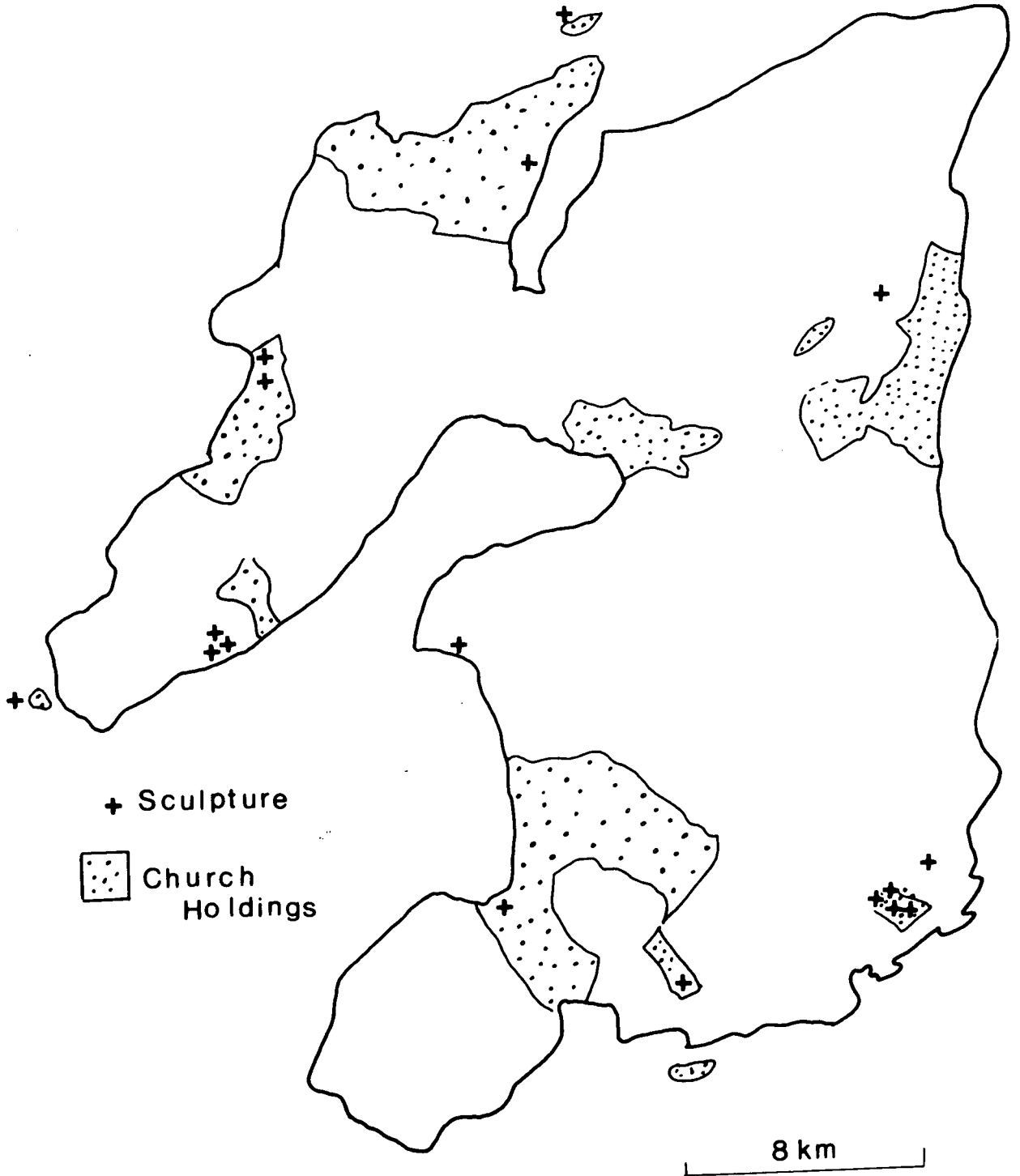
Fig.15 : Sculptured stones from Islay in relation to
church holdings (The land-units are based on fig.34
in Storrie 1981, 70)

although Laggan is easily reached from the Rhinns by sea.

What is the significance of these gaps in the distribution? The
Oa is relatively isolated today and it may be that there are stones
in existence which have yet to be found but this is hardly true for
the Sorn valley which still remains one of the most heavily occupied
areas on the island. Does it indicate schools of stoneworking on
the island? Through an analysis of the form of the Islay stones, it
can be shown that at least one school was influential on the island
and that was the Iona workshop (see above, 276-78). Since it is
known that Iona held lands on Islay in the later mediaeval period,
if not before (see above, 141, 158), it may be possible to link the
the stones to the possessions of the Columbans on Islay.

Unfortunately, the distribution of known Iona estates does not
correspond particularly well with the Islay stones (see Fig.15).
The lands along the east coast have only one piece of sculptured
stone, at Mulreesh, while the large and important estate at the head
of Loch Indaal apparently has no sculpture at all. The two island
estates of Ylen Ardnaw (Nave Island) and Orsay, have a free-standing
cross and a recumbent slab respectively, despite the late clearances
of the islands (see above, 256-7).

Most surprising, given the many links in form and ornament
between Kildalton and Iona, there are only the small glebe lands
around Kildalton in the south-east of the island. The information
which we have is late, however, and relates to the Benedictine abbey
rather than to the Columban establishment. It may be that despite
Pope Innocent's letter (see above, 141), there was no real

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continuity between the two. On the other hand, the estates correspond with the distribution of the sculpture from Kilbride, Kilchoman, Orsay, Nave Island, Kilnave, Kildalton and possibly Kintra and these sites account for eleven of the seventeen stones or 64.7%. The estates in the Sorn valley may be the results of later donations to Iona by the mediaeval Lords of the Isles (see above, 37,141) and this might explain the lack of early mediaeval stonework.

To conclude, we have little direct evidence for the position of sculptured stone on site although topographical evidence can be cited suggesting that the Kilchoman and Trudernish stones were probable boundary markers and the free-standing crosses of Kilnave and Kildalton probably stood close to the entrance. Geological evidence shows that even where the on-site positon is not known, the probability is that the stones were found on their original sites. This means that the distribution of the stonework across the island can be plotted although, as we have shown, this does not reflect a mediaeval reality in terms of the importance or otherwise of the site. Certain key areas do not appear to have stonework; on the available evidence this may reflect the pattern of ownership of the Iona estates in the early mediaeval period.

ORNAMENT

Ornament on the Islay monuments can be used to define the internal homogeneity of the group, to identify the external influences and to indicate a possible dating range. As with the general survey of Irish stones, the ornament can be shown to differ according to the form of the stone, although with regard to the slabs this division is less absolute. Only two of the Islay stones are not ornamented, the cruciform stone from Gleann na Gaoith and the bullaun from Kintra.

All the Islay slabs, both erect and recumbent, are decorated with outline crosses. The only exception to this is the Mulreesh stone which has an interlaced cross-form. The Kilbride cross, outline in form, belongs to the group of 'sunken crosses' identified by the Royal Commission on Iona and Tiree (RCAHMS Argyll IV, 17).

The Trudernish stone has a pocked outline approximately 15mm wide. The others are incised (Mulreesh,Gleann na Gaoith no.1, Kildalton Nos.2.3, and Laggan) or in low relief (Doid Mhairi, Gleann na Gaoith No 2) or in a combination of the two (Kilchoman Nos 1,2, Kildalton No 4 and Orsay). The difference in techniques does not correspond to a difference in the ornament or to a difference in the form of the stone.

8 of the 15 ornamented stones (53.3%) are ornamented with circles. 4 of these belong to the category described by Lionard as ringed crosses: Gleann na Gaoith No 2, Doid Mhairi, Kildalton No 4 and Laggan while a fifth, at Orsay, probably does but not enough

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survives to make identification certain. At Dòid Mhàiri and Laggan
there are double circles linking the four arms: in the others only
one is found. Gleann na Gaoith No 1 has a circle around the
crossing point running in front of the top arm but behind the other
three. The Royal Commission argued that although this might
represent a wreath being hung over the top arm as Lamont suggested,
it was more likely to be a carver's error (Lamont 1972, 13; RCAHMS
Argyll V, 183). Unlike the ring on the other Islay slabs, the
circle emphasises the crossing point alone and is dwarfed by the
long shaft and upper arm.

On both faces of Kilchoman No 2, the shaft and upper arm extend
beyond the circle , overruning the incised outlines and in the case
of the upper arm, into a slight projection on the top. The circle
runs behind the side arms which terminate at the outer ring. At
Kilbride, the open-ended terminals of the cross are enclosed by the
inner ring of the circle. This is the only example, therefore, of a
cross within a circular boundary on Islay.

Three of the stones have crosslets in minor positions on the
slab. At Mulreesh, this is an incised Latin cross in the upper
left-hand quadrant: at Gleann na Gaoith, there are two in low relief
hanging above the cross-arm in the upper quadrants and at Orsay,
remains of two incised examples survive immediately beneath the arms
in the lower quadrants.

The Dòid Mhàiri slab has two objects hanging above the
cross-arms, in a similar position to Gleann na Gaoith No 2 but the
former are rounded and were identified by Graham as representing the

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sun and moon (Graham 1895, 107). The ringed cross is an irregular free-flowing curve, unlike the geometric regularity of the other monuments and it is surrounded by waving fronds with knob-ended terminals. The design is unparalleled on Islay and together with its form, marks this monument out as being of a different tradition from the other cross slabs, although sharing with them the basic idea of the ringed cross.

The three free-standing crosses of Islay differ in the details of their ornament but there are similarities in the broad outlines. All three crosses are bordered by a margin; at Kilnave and Nave Island this is flat, measuring 50mm and 70mm respectively while Kildalton is ornamented with a 40mm half-roll (RCAHMS Argyll V, 209). At both Kilnave and Kildalton, the centre of the cross head is occupied by a roundel which extends to the edge of the margins. In each case, the ornament is symmetrically organised around this roundel while on the west face of Kildalton and the arms of Kilnave, the flanking ornament is also based on a circular form.

The knitted interlace, forming the background of the Nave Island fragment is matched by similar interlace on the south arm of Kilnave and on the north and upper arms of Kildalton. The rectangular panel of spirals on the shaft of the latter forms a parallel to the panel on the east face of the Kildalton shaft. They differ, however, in the central motif of these panels: at Kilnave this is formed of interlocking peltas while at Kildalton, a central large roundel links the four voluted trumpet spirals (RCAHMS Argyll V, 222). The interlocking pelta design on the top shaft of Kilnave shows a similar layout of low bosses and symetrically aligned peltas as the

designs carved on the vertical arms of the west face of Kildalton,
if one makes allowances for the differences necessitated by the
large central bosses on the latter.

In other respects, the ornament of the two crosses differs quite
dramatically. Kildalton is ornamented on both faces and the
ornament is raised to a greater degree from its background. This is
particularly obvious in the figure sculpture for which there is no
parallel on Kilnave but the heavily moulded bosses which extend
approximately 95mm in projection reinforces this. Apart from the
panels mentioned above, the abstract art on each of the three
crosses is also unique.

The most important difference is in the complexity of the
monument. The techniques used by the Kildalton sculptor could have
been used to produce the Kilnave cross. In contrast, there is
nothing in the repertoire of Kilnave to suggest that its sculptor
could have carved the Kildalton cross. What this means in terms of
relative chronology is not clear. It could mean that Kilnave (and
probably the Nave Island fragment which seems to have used similar
techniques) was earlier than Kildalton or that it was made at the
same time but in a simpler style. Alternatively, Kilnave could
simply be a degenerate form of the latter. The parallels in
ornament and form noted above would indicate that some contact
between the two is likely but at the same time, the precise
character of the spiral ornament and the pelta designs on Kilnave
does not suggest a degenerate school of carving. Despite the very
different impact made by the two crosses, the most probable
explanation is that they are of roughly the same period

chronologically but that, for some reason, Kilnave was executed in a simpler style. It may be that the audience for whom the cross was designed, differed at the two different sites.

EXTERNAL INFLUENCE

The more ornate the stone, the more easily the external influence can be identified. On Islay, the most ornate stone is the Kildalton cross and it has been compared on numerous occasions with the crosses of Iona; in form and technique with St John's but in the style of its figural ornament with St Martin's (Graham 1895, 84-8; Henry 1964b; Calvert 1978; RCAHMS Argyll V, 209). It is unnecessary to reiterate their observations in detail but such characteristics as the double curved arms (found only on St John's and Kildalton in the Scottish series) or the rectangular panel of snake and boss ornament (found as exact replicas on the west face of Kildalton and on St Martin's) is sufficiently precise to make this contact an obvious and extremely probable one.

Parallels for Kilnave have not been studied in the same detail but they are also to be found among the crosses of the Iona school. The panels of voluted trumpet spirals on the Kilnave shaft are exactly paralleled by Keills in Knapdale (ECMS III, fig.408; RCAHMS Argyll V, 346) and are comparable with the panel on the top arm of St Oran's where the corner spirals face inward rather than outward (RCAHMS Argyll IV, fig. A, 196). Peltas filling a roundel are a feature of this design and occur on St John's top arm also but the Iona crosses have peltas facing into the centre. A more exact parallel for the Kilnave roundel is the design on the raised boss at

Nigg in Ross (ECMS III, fig.75).

The third ornate slab on Islay is Dòid Mhàiri but external parallels for it are difficult to find. In 1959, R.B.K.Stevenson identified the circular headed fronds and the interlaced bands on either side of the shaft as being a provincial echo of the Ringerike style. The best parallel in Scottish sculpture in his view was the Maes Howe dragon stone or the Brechin hogback, although the gilt strap-end from Jarlshof was closer in design to the Islay monument (1959, 53-4). Wilson, pointing out the rarity of Ringerike in north Britain, linked the slab with Otley (Yorkshire) and Kirk Michael (sic) on the Isle of Man (Wilson 1978, 143). Fuglesang, without specifying exact parallels, also pointed out the strong insular influences on the slab (Fuglesang 1980, 64).

None of these stones show close parallels with Dòid Mhàiri although all are ornamented in Ringerike style are or its insular derivitives. In her study of the Irish Urnes style, Farnes noted that Ringerike in Ireland was found in association with objects of Irish form and ornament (Farnes 1975, 46-65) and this remark is relevant to a discussion of Dòid Mhàiri where the ringed form of the cross is a common feature of recumbent slab ornament. The unusual narrowing of the arms at the crossing is paralleled at Iona (RCAHMS Argyll IV, Nos.6:55,63) while the pattern of the foliage resembles the bearded curls from a frieze on the Round Tower of Devenish (Henry 1964a, pl.IV). It seems therefore, that despite the Scandinavian origins of the Dòid Mhàiri fronds, the slab belongs within an Irish/west Scottish tradition of sculpture.

All the other ringed crosses on Islay can be paralleled in the recumbent slab series where the cross is generally geometric in shape. The side arms of Laggan terminate at the outer ring and this feature, allied to the double ring, is found in a squatter form at Iona (RCAHMS Argyll IV, No 6:53a) and without a shaft at St Patrick's, Dublin (Lionard 1961, fig.17:3). The Orsay slab (which shares with Laggan the extreme narrowness of its shaft) is unusual in that it encloses minor features within the ring. This is also found at Dunleer Co. Louth (Lionard 1961, fig.16:6).

Crosslets in the lower quadrants directly under the arms are found on one of the Glencolumbcille slabs in Co. Donegal (Lacy 1983, fig.156b) and at Killean, Kintyre, which latter stone also has the raised pellets of the Orsay slab (RCAHMS Argyll V, 265). Crosslets which are rather further from the arms are found at Cloonlaur Co. Mayo, Inishmurray Co. Sligo and Clonmacnois (Lionard 1961, fig 4:1, pl.XXVIII) and at Kirkmadrine in Galloway (ECMS III, fig.545,546). A single crosslet is found at Ballaugh on the Isle of Man beneath the right arm of the slab (Kermode 1907, No 106).

Gleann na Gaoith No 2 is distinguished by a transom or double arm running across the base of the slab. Such a transom is found in association with a ringed cross at Kilkerran, Kintyre (RCAHMS Argyll I, 125) and possibly on Maughold No 72B, Isle of Man. The double-crossed shaft on Tory Island is similar in proportions although without the double ring (Lacy 1983, fig.163a). Two examples are known from Glencolumbcille and one, already cited above, has not only a double cross but two crosslets in the lower quadrants as well (ibid., figs. 156a, b). Triple-armed crosses from

Kilmaha (Lorn) and Iona share Gleann na Gaoith's feature of an open-ended arm running the width of the slab at the base (RCAHMS Argyll II, 150; IV, No 6:18a).

The simple ringed cross at Kildalton No 3 has no other distinguishing features and there are, therefore, many possible external parallels. Examples are Iona Nos. 6:49-52,40,44,54 or Maughanaul and Drumnasillagh Co. Donegal but these are but few amongst many (RCAHMS Argyll IV; Lacy 1983, figs 153,150). The probable recumbent slab, Kildalton No 4, which is not ringed but has hollowed armpits, is paralleled almost exactly by one at Nendrum (Down 1966, pl.77d) and less precisely by others at Nendrum and Saul (ibid., fig.188, pl.77b). It too is a simple form with many parallels; others being Iona No 6:53b and No 6:30 (with a raised cable), Inishcealtra Co. Clare and Clonmacnois (Lionard 1961 figs 11,17).

Of the erect slabs, the most easily paralleled is Kilbride which is ornamented with a Greek outline cross within a circular border. An almost exact replica is found on Iona (RCAHMS No 6:24) where the slab is also of similar proportions to Kilbride. On Iona, however, the cross is incised rather than hollowed out. Other members of the group include Crois Bheinn, Mull (RCAHMS Argyll III, 137) while two examples with sunken centres are known from Gallen, Co. Offaly (Lionard 1961,fig 12:2) and St Berrihert's Kyle (Ó hEailidhe 1967, fig 2B), the latter paralleling Crois Bheinn in the cruciform shape of the stone. Nearer to Islay, the five plain crosses of the Kilnasaggart stone are a variation of the same design although having linear instead of outline crosses (Macalister 1949, pl.

XLVI). Linear crosses with circular borders are also found at
Conwal, Co. Donegal (Lacy 1983, fig.135b) and Iona (RCAHMS Argyll
IV, No 6:60).

Kilchoman No 2 is best paralleled at Banchory, Ternan (Ritchie
1915, 46) although the latter is now badly damaged and incorporated
into the church wall. A number of Manx crosses have side arms which
terminate at the outer perimeter of the circle and with vertical
arms extending beyond it; examples are Maughold No 96 and Gaut's
Cross, Michael No 101 (Kermode 1907) although neither of these are
on disc-headed slabs and their armpits are rounded rather than
square as on Kilchoman. Cooly, Co. Donegal is disc-headed but the
cross is not bordered while Balinakill, Kintyre has horizontal arms
which extend beyond the circular border but share with Kilchoman the
projection above the cross head as does Saul in Co.Down (RCAHMS
Argyll I, fig 116; Down 1966, pl. 75a).

The third erect slab with a ring is the Gleann na Gaoith pillar
stone where, unlike the other erect slabs, the ring is confined to
the junction of the arms. Parallels for such a design incorporating
outline crosses are unknown but at Aighan Co. Donegal an incised
linear cross with a central circle is known. On this slab however,
the cross shaft is rather shorter and the span of the horizontal
arms greater than on the Gleann na Gaoith pillar (Lacy 1983, pl.22).
An even smaller example is known from Kilcashel, also in Co.
Donegal (Lionard 1961, fig 3).

Kilchoman No 1 is not ringed being a plain outline cross in
relief with an incised cross with wedge-shaped terminals incised

upon it. Although Lamont describes this as a 'two or three-in-one technique' favoured by the Irish, the only parallel found was on Inishmurray (Lamont 1972, 13; Lionard 1961, fig 6:8). An outline cross in relief is known from Killiechangie in Perthshire (Reid 1912, 392) and from St John's, Tory Island (Lacy 1983, fig. 163b). Incised crosses with wedge shaped terminals are known from Iona (RCAHMS Argyll IV, Nos.6:10,12-14), Donegal and Man.

The other two outline crosses on Islay, Trudernish and Kildalton No 2 are very simple in form and can be paralleled throughout the region. Examples are Cara (off Kintyre) (Argyll I, fig 120), Lag ny Keeilley, Isle of Man (Kermode 1912, 63), Balliroulin, Dumbartonshire (Lacaille 1924, 30), Cross A, Mochrum, Wigtownshire (Anderson 1927, 115), Ardwall Isle (Thomas 1967, no.12) and Cloghan, Kilrean and Carrowhugh in Co. Donegal (Lacy 1983, figs 131c,150a,128e). The type is extremely common at St Berrihert's Kyle, Co. Tipperary (Ó hÉailidhe 1967, figs 2-7) but surprisingly rare on Iona, occurring in only three instances (RCAHMS Argyll IV, No 6:23,27,28).

Finally, the portable stone from Mulreesh has been compared to Iona Nos 67-69 and to Glendalough (RCAHMS Argyll V, 166). These differ from Mulreesh in that the terminals of the interlace form a semi-circle similar to examples from Clonmacnois (Lionard 1961, fig 24:6) while another three-pointed terminal from Glendalough is inverted, retaining a semi-circular border (Glendalough National Monuments Guide fig.18). This semi-circular design is also found at Kilaned Co. Donegal (Lacy 1983, 147d) but the treatment of the centre on the latter forms a closer parallel to Mulreesh. A slab

from Ardtole Co.Down also has a terminal similar to Mulreesh but the Ardtole knot splits the two bars which make up the arm whereas Mulreesh unifies them (Down 1966, pl.75c).

What do these external parallels tell us of the influences acting on the Islay sculptors? The most important influence can be shown to be Iona where parallels for the design and layout of the Islay stones can be seen. Connections with the north Irish Sea basin in general are also strong. The emphasis on Donegal at the expense of Northern Ireland itself, is probably due to the lack of published information on sculpture from Antrim and Tyrone. Unlike the churches, links with the Isle of Man are few and limited to similarities in cross-shape. Even Dòid Mhàiri, belonging to a Ringerike tradition rare in the north of Britain, incorporates a degenerate form of the Irish ringed cross. In the majority of cases, however, the slabs do not have identical replicas; on the contrary, it is a question of comparing similar features in disparate designs. This fact, combined with the internal homogeneity of the group, strongly suggests that the sculpture originated within an Islay school.

DATING

External links are the only means available at present for dating the Islay sculpture and it is fortunate that so many of the Islay designs are found in conjunction with other patterns. An outline cross is inscribed on the two sides of the Killean slab in Kintyre which is also ornamented with the pelleted crosslets of Orsay (RCAHMS Argyll 1, 136). The combination of these designs on one

slab links the Islay slabs of Orsay, Trudernish and Kildalton No 2 where elements from Killean occur separately. This means that these three slabs may be contemporary. This is corroborated by the group of sculpture from Iona where outline and ringed crosses occur simultaneously (RCAHMS Argyll IV, 16; Nos 6:26,53,61). In particular these slabs would link Kildalton No 4 and Kilchoman No 2 as being possibly contemporary.

In terms of absolute chronology, the ringed crosses of Gleann na Gaoith No 2, Kildalton No 3, Laggan and possibly Orsay have been dated by Lionard to the end of the eighth century and typically to the ninth. Epigraphic evidence on certain ringed and ringless crosses on Iona (one of which has an incised cross with wedge-shaped terminals similar to Kilchoman No 1) was used by the Royal Commission to date these stones to the eighth century (RCAHMS Argyll IV, 16). Kildalton and Kilnave can both be dated to the same period as the other crosses of the Iona school, which present authorities believe to have flourished at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries (Stevenson 1959, 54-5; Calvert 1978, RCAHMS Argyll IV, 17-19; Maclean 1986). The interlaced cross at Mulreesh was dated by Lamont to between the ninth and eleventh centuries (Lamont 1972, 21) and more narrowly by the Royal Commission to the tenth-century or earlier (RCAHMS Argyll V, 66,344). Doid Mhairi was closely dated to the mid eleventh century by Stevenson (1959, 53), and this dating remains valid despite later studies of the Ringerike in Britain (Wilson and Klindt-Jensen 1966, 143-146).

In other words, there appears to have been a very important school of sculpture on Islay at some period in the late eighth century or early ninth. Stones which belong to this group are found at Kildalton, Kilnave, Nave Island, Gleann na Gaoith, Orsay, Laggan, Trudernish, and Kilchoman. Together with the geological evidence which shows that the stones are unlikely to have moved, this indicates that these sites were probably occupied in the eighth century even though no surface evidence of such an occupation survives. The strong influence from Iona makes it likely that these sites had some relationship with the Columban abbey there although this is undocumented in the historical record.

Whatever the reason, stoneworking on Islay does not flourish after this period of activity, with the exception of Dòid Mhàiri and possibly Mulreesh. The latter, though unusual, can be paralleled in the Irish Sea region: the former is unique. It is almost certainly a piece carved by a native Ileach sculptor working within a Hiberno/Norse tradition and possibly for a Hiberno/Norse patron.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the concept of 'Celtic monasticism' in relation to the ecclesiastical settlements of Islay and to establish the existence and degree of Irish influence on the island and by extension, in the area of Scottish Dalriada and in Scotland as a whole. This cannot be done successfully through survey alone for survey can only identify a 'palimpsest' of previous activities on a site (see Morris 1977, 68). This appears to be particularly true of ecclesiastical sites where activity frequently continues over long periods and where later customs of worship can blur the early mediaeval evidence. Excavations, combined with absolute dating techniques dependent on distinct categories of excavated material such as waterlogged or carbonised wood or certain types of pottery, are necessary to confirm the conclusions arrived at through field-survey.

Some stratigraphical evidence is indeed available on certain drystone sites on Islay but it is limited both in its occurrence and its scope. At Kilslevan, a building cuts the enclosure wall, indicating that the enclosure is earlier (see below, Appendix D). At Cill Tobar Lasrach, the line of the platform has been disturbed by the erection of the present chapel and at Carn, Nerabolls II and Cill Chomhan, the later erection of an electricity pole has had its effect on the standing remains (see above, 265).

Until excavation takes place, however, the only technique open to archaeologists is that of typology. Typological examination does

have the advantage that it can be used to identify wider patterns in space. The _foci_ of the distribution can be identified and, in the case of an island such as Islay, external contacts can be established. Typology can also be used to link excavated sites with non-excavated ones, a process which helps the field-worker to postulate what may lie beneath the remnants of settlement visible on the surface. This is important in helping to define the original layout and status of a site (see above, 271).

Typology is, however, a fragile tool when used to identify patterns through time or patterns of church organisation. It has to be assumed, for example, that similarities in form are the result of an identical influence and that constructional forms change at regular intervals. When discussing such simple structures as enclosure boundaries or drystone church sites, such an assumption may be ill-founded. Parallels in the ornament of sculptured stones are rather more specific, but the chronological framework which they provide, based as it is on art-historical analysis rather than excavated material, is often tenuous in the extreme.

Richard Bailey has pointed out that the only piece of Viking age sculpture in Britain dated by its context in an excavation is a single slab from Coppergate found in 1977 (Bailey 1980, 50). In Ireland, excavated sculpture from datable contexts is equally limited. The Reask pillar stone can be dated approximately to the period AD 500-700 (see above, 102-3) and there is a wooden boss found in the pre-Norman levels in Dublin which appears to have come from a free-standing cross made of wood (Dr Patrick Wallace, pers.comm.).

Both these stones are the result of recent excavations. In the
past, Irish archaeologists have been able to supplement their
art-historical data with studies of the inscriptions which occur on
a number of the stones. These have been tied to historical figures
recorded in the annals, a process which can provide an approximate
date for the production of certain styles of sculpture. The
technique relies on the assumption that the inscriptions do record
such historical personnages and this can be open to question. Only
a few of the known inscriptions are specific enough and sufficiently
well recorded for attributions to be made with some certainty (see
for example Henry 1980). Analysis of the inscriptions found on
recumbent slabs suggest that the stones honour a relatively wide
sector of society, not all of whom are likely to be recorded in the
annals (see above, 121-4). In consequence typological analysis,
whether of buildings or of iconography, remains of only limited use
in the examination of chronological change.

Even when supplemented by excavation, typological evidence in
itself can tell us little about the society which created it. A
discussion of the patterns of church organisation is dependent on
the conclusions made about patterns of space and time, allied to the
documentary sources of the period. This stretching of the material
beyond its immediate capacity is an important element in any
interpretive effort but it must be borne in mind that it is a degree
more synthetic than a discussion of typological parallels.

Ecclesiastical sites in Scotland and Ireland are markedly different in appearance. It has not proved possible to identify a 'Celtic' type of ecclesiastical site common to both countries although the three elements: church, enclosure and sculpture are typical of the majority of identified sites (see above, 43-53). In Scotland at least three distinct types of ecclesiastical settlement can be identified. The peninsular sites with a number of subsidiary buildings around the chapel appear to be a feature of the north and west of the country. In the south and south-west there are oval-circular enclosures and in the Hebrides, very large enclosures with separate enclosed _foci_ as at Iona, Lismore and Eileach an Naoimh (see above, 46-53).

Far more information is available for the Irish sites which makes them correspondingly more difficult to categorise but a broad regional distinction can be made between the predominantly drystone sites of the western half of the country and the large sites of the midlands and the east coast which appear to have been largely built of earth and wood (see above, 43-46). Raised parish churchyards appear to be a feature of the east (see above, 69-70). The iconography of sculpted stone is similarly affected by regional trends: the Drumhallagh slabs are concentrated in north Donegal and eastern Scotland, the 'Bishops' crosses in Cos. Clare and Galway and the _caryatid_ figures in Fermanagh (see above, 112, 114).

Islay is an area where a number of different spatial affinities can be identified. The early mediaeval material can be divided into

two separate categories: the drystone church sites with their associated enclosures and the sculptured stones. Each shows different patterns of distribution, origin and production.

The drystone churches of Islay have been divided into four major groups. Groups A and B are very similar in size and construction but the Group B churches are distinguished by a very specific length (4.85-5.00m) and width (3.3m) and are built on low platforms, often man-made (see above, 201-202).

In distribution these two groups appear to be based on the shores of Loch Indaal; only three of the eight churches being found inland. Of the other five, four are associated with almost flat land and alluvial soils at the head of the loch. The exception is Cill Eathain which is situated at the landward end of a very narrow valley leading down to the sea, in the far less hospitable terrain of the Oa (see above Fig.2 and Fig.4).

Group C churches are larger than either A or B churches with lateral entrance-ways and stones which have been roughly shaped before being used in the walls. There is a possibility that the walls have in fact been clay-bonded but the sites are too overgrown to determine this by field survey alone. Group C1 churches are closer to Group B in size, with rounded corners and doors which are consistently in the north wall. In distribution, C and C1 churches are based in the eastern half of the island with only the C1 church at Gleann na Gaoith being found in the Rhinns. The land with which they are associated is in general rather poorer than that of the A/B churches but like the latter, the C churches tend to be situated on

the outskirts of the best land in their vicinity (see Fig.4, Fig.10 and above, 200-203).

The closest parallels for the drystone church sites are found on Man where all four types of churches occur but the relative proportions are rather different from those on Islay. There are seven A/B churches and only one definite C church on Man as opposed to eight A/B churches on Islay and six C churches. In Argyll, in contrast, there is only one possible A/B church but four definite C churches with another three possible examples (see above, 211-12). The Manx sites form only a third of the total number of drystone churches on the island whereas the Argyll examples include 38.4%-69% and the Islay churches include 75% of known remains (see above, 213). (The other 25% on Islay are the Group D sites which for various reasons have been eliminated from the corpus.)

Both A/B and C/C1 churches on Islay are associated with surrounding enclosures. Two distinct types can be identified: small circular enclosures and large irregular ones. Between these two extremes are a large amorphous group of medium-sized enclosures with a tendency towards a rectilinear shape and frequently affected by topography. The largest enclosures are associated with mortared churches on the outlying islands of Orsay and Nave Island but the enclosure surrounding the Group C church at Trudernish is almost as large with 1440 sq.m. (see above, 263).

The smaller circular enclosures are widely distributed, occurring in every district on the island but only in association with the drystone churches. With the exception of Cill Tobar Lasrach where

the chapel post-dated the enclosure, such churches are of the A/B type and there is no association with sculpture apart from the inscribed boulder at Mulreesh. The smallest enclosures appear to belong to the 'chapel' enclosures identified through excavation in the Irish Sea region while the largest are probably 'settlement' enclosures (see above, 69-72,272). The intermediate examples may belong to the cemetery enclosure class but only two such sites showed traces of possible _ceallúnach_ burial out of a total of seven sites where some evidence for possible burial was noted (see above, 269).

The postulated association between small enclosures and A/B churches as opposed to larger enclosures and C churches appears to hold true on Man as well. The enclosure around the Group A sites of Ballahimmin and Cabbal Druiaght vary between 15m and 25m in diameter while that at Ballakilley, the only Group C church on Man, appears to have been in the region of 72m. (It must be said, however, that the last figure is based on a recollection some thirty years old when it was noted in 1860: the site is now ploughed out (see Kermode and Bruce 1968 VI, 9).

The close similarity in form and size suggests that there were strong regional ties between Islay and Man which are reflected in the distribution of the A/B churches. There was also a link between Argyll and Islay as indicated by the C/C1 churches but although some contact between Argyll and Man is seen in the single C church at Ballakilley it does not appear to have been an important one. This does not necessarily mean an actual colonisation of Islay from Man or of Argyll from Islay but simply a period of strong Manx influence

in the Hebrides possibly transmitted through the island of Islay.
The establishment of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles in the late
eleventh century with its associated bishopric created c. AD 1134
provides a suitable spatial framework in which to consider such
influence. Although there is little information for the churches in
the northern half of the diocese, the distribution of churches in
the region of present-day Argyll does appear to be limited to the
area of the diocese (see above 36,37, 255 and Fig.16).

The second strand of evidence for early mediaeval settlement on
Islay is the sculpture. It is centred on Kildalton which has four
pieces and is possibly to be associated with a fifth, at Trudernish
farmhouse. At Gleann na Gaoith there are three pieces and at
Kilchoman, two. It has been suggested that the Gleann na Gaoith
nucleus may be a false one, deriving from the late
nineteenth-century clearances of the near by site at Orsay (see
above, 291). In general however, geological analysis suggests that
the sculpture is found close to its original area and that the
present distribution is roughly accurate (see above, 281-82)

There is a close association between the sculpture and mortared
church sites of the late mediaeval period on Islay: a minimum of
nine out of a total of seventeen early pieces from the island. If
we include Laggan and Kilbride, neither of which is mortared but
both of which were used in the later mediaeval period, this figure
rises to eleven. Kilchoman and Kildalton are two of the three
mediaeval parish churches on Islay while Orsay, Kilnave and Nave
Island were all subsidiary chapel sites in the high mediaeval period
(see above, 180). There is no obvious reason why Mulreesh (and Doid

Mhàiri?) should be the only drystone churches on the island to have associated sculpture; they do not appear to have been distinguishable by size or technical skill from the other drystone sites. (The status of Dòid Mhàiri as a drystone site is uncertain for the site was destroyed before being examined (see above, 283).) It may be that sculptured stone was associated with many such churches but has yet to be discovered.

The fact that two of the three late mediaeval parish churches have two of the three concentrations of early mediaeval sculpture is worthy of note. It may merely mean that the sculpture was moved to the site at some unspecified date when the parish church had become a central focus for the community (see above, 99-102). On the other hand, the geological analysis makes it more likely that the concentrations reflect a continuity in the status of church settlements on the island. Moreover, both Kildalton and Kilchoman are also associated with a large number of high status early mediaeval settlement sites or duns (see above, Fig.7). It may be, therefore, that the choice of these sites as parish churches can be directly linked to their earlier importance.

The Islay sculpture is within a north Irish Sea tradition with similar designs being found in Donegal, Kintyre, Mull and most importantly on Iona which seems to have had the strongest and most direct influence on Islay (see above, 296-302 and Fig.17). Despite its proximity and the strength of its stoneworking traditions, there is very little influence from Man. What parallels there are between the ornament of the two islands is limited to minor features such as the existence of a crosslet on a stone from Ballaugh (Kermode 1907,

CHURCHES

▲ Group A
△ Group B
◆ Group C
◇ Group C1

MULL
IONA
ISLAY
DONEGAL
GALLOWAY
DOWN
ISLE OF MAN
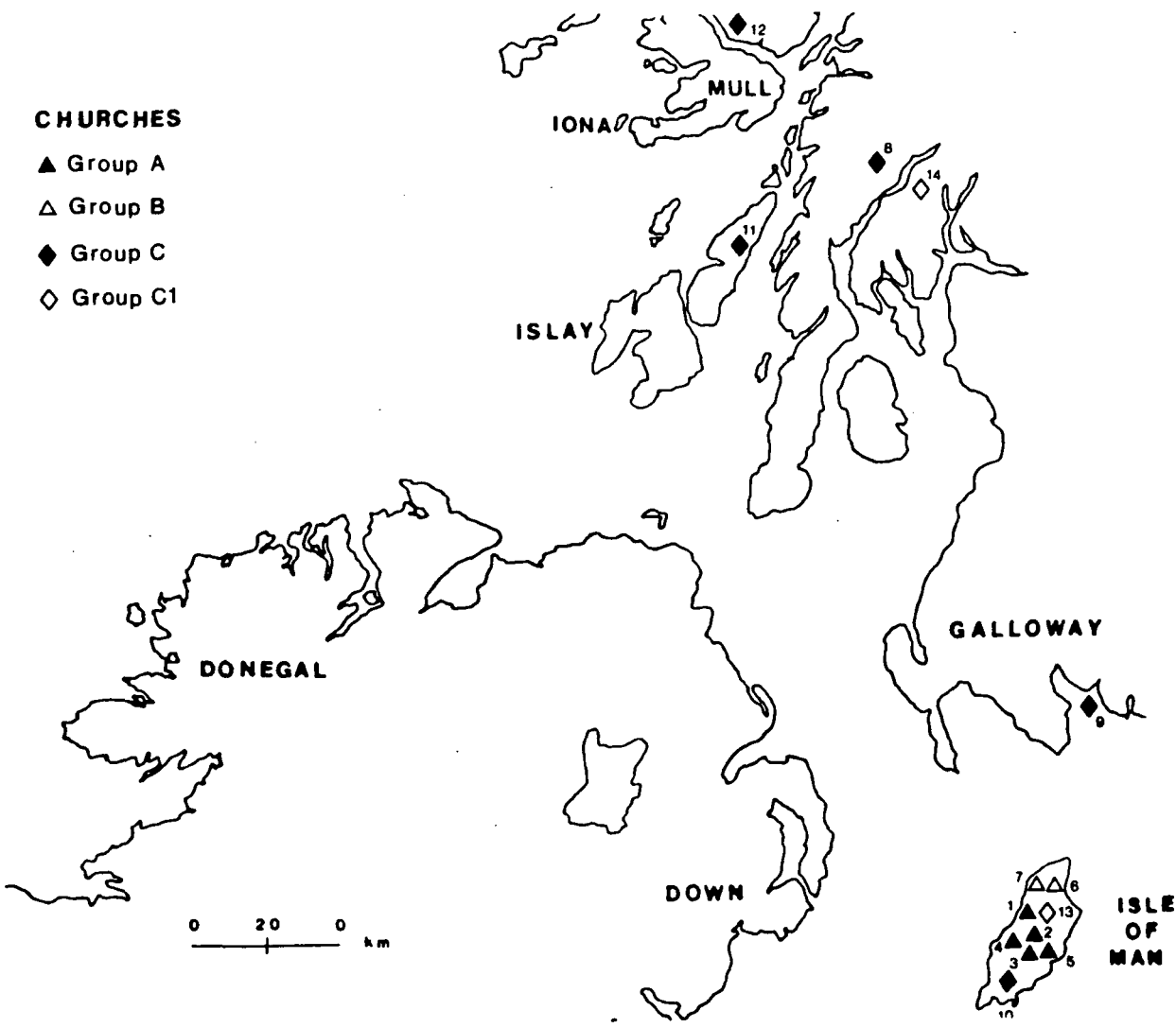
Fig. 16 : External parallels for the drystone churches of Islay

No 106) or a projection at the top of a slab as at Braddan (ibid.,
No 36). Even the Dòid Mhàiri slab, one of the few examples of
Ringerike stonework in north Britain, is clearly within the Irish
tradition. It incorporates a ringed cross of well-known Irish type
and one of the parallels for its bulb-headed foliage is to be found
on the round tower at Devenish.

The sculptural links between Islay and Iona appear to reflect an
hierarchical relationship between the two islands. The total number
of stones on Islay is sixteen and the highest concentration at any
one site is four while on Iona, the total number is 108 and they are
almost all to be found within the present abbey grounds (RCAHMS
Argyll IV, 180-219). Such a large concentration of stones is not
found elsewhere in the Hebrides and links Iona with the largest
stoneworking schools of Ireland such as Clonmacnois. It leads one
to infer that Iona was probably the centre of the stoneworking for
the Inner Hebrides in the early mediaeval period. This is supported
by the fact that the monastery is the only known Hebridean site to
have inscribed stones which implies that there was a higher level of
literacy amongst its population.

A hierarchical distribution of sculpture between subordinate
areas with few stones and larger centres with many examples of
varying type can be identified elsewhere. In mainland Scotland, for
example, Keills provides a good parallel for Kildalton with its
single free-standing cross of Iona type. Freestanding crosses occur
in clusters around the larger Irish centres such as Clonmacnois or
Kells but also appear as isolated examples at the Columban church at
Moone (Henry 1965, pl 70; Anderson I, 36) or at Clonca in Co.Donegal

SCULPTURE
rallels in Form
rallels in Ornament

MULL

IONA
12

(28) (12)

8

16

ISLAY

13

2

5   15

14

24

7

6

DONEGAL

GALLOWAY

21

10

17

1

9

22

DOWN
23

11

3

19

20

ISLE
OF
MAN

18   4

0   20   0
km
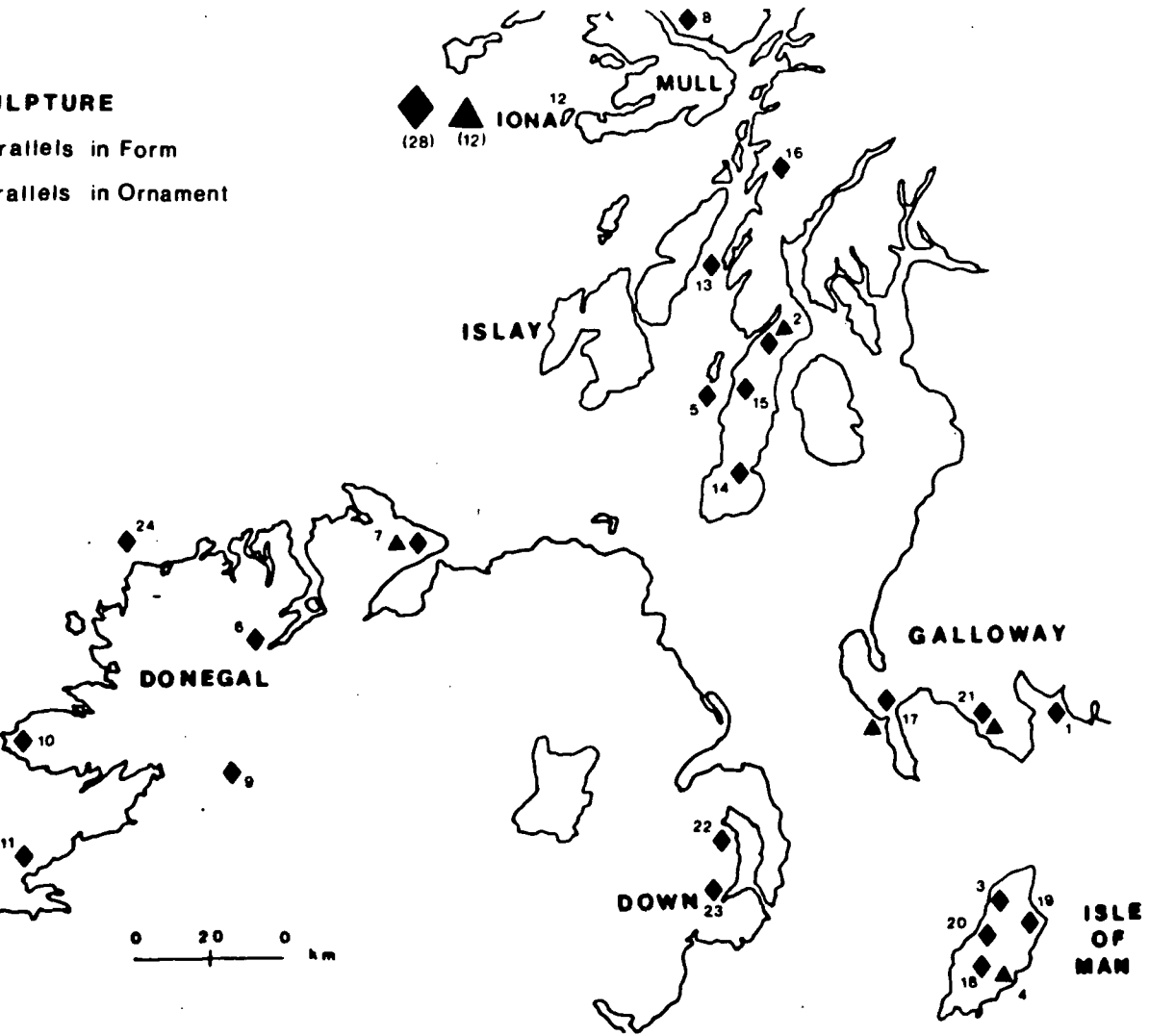
Fig.17 : External parallels for the sculpture of Islay

(Lacy 1983, 254-6). A recent study of recumbent slabs in the midlands shows a three-tier distribution pattern: the single slabs found at Hare Island or Portlick, the cluster of five/six found in Athlone and the large school of Clonmacnois where over four hundred slabs were found (Fanning 1980, Lionard 1961, 144). Drawing on such parallels it can be postulated that the _foci_ of sculpted stone on Islay, the sites at Kilchoman and Kildalton, are of higher status than the other sites on the island with sculpted stones of the early mediaeval period.

There are thus two different spatial relationships to be observed on Islay. The parallels for the sculpted stones on the island are based on the Columban monastery at Iona and to a lesser extent on sites in the north of Ireland and in Argyll. Such a distribution agrees with the traditional model of 'Celtic monasticism' in being both Irish orientated and centred on a major monastic site. The parallels for the drystone churches, in contrast, are centred on Man and Argyll and parallels in Ireland are relatively few although lack of field-work in much of Ireland makes it difficult to be certain of this (see above, xviii-xxi).

On the other hand, the grouping together of a small rectangular church, a small enclosure and no apparent sculpture does appear to exist in Ireland. A regional group with such an assemblage are the clay-bonded church sites of the north of Ireland, centred in Co.Down. Other examples may be the small lime-mortared churches discussed by Harbison (see above, 45) such as Inchclearaun in County Longford (Leask 1955, 50-51). As on Islay, the size and complexity of such churches appears to vary within each group but in the

absence of new field-work it is impossible to say whether such variations are due to different chronological periods or simply to differences in the wealth and status of the community who created them (see below, Appendix C for a discussion of the variations in boat-shaped oratories).

A study of enclosures also shows a number of relatively small sites in Ireland, corresponding in size to the Hebridean examples. At the lower end of the scale, as identfied by Hurley and Swan, are enclosures averaging 30-40m in diameter (see above, 64-5). The raised parish churchyards of Cumbria which may be dated to the early mediaeval period are also of a similar size. Unfortunately lack of field-work makes it difficult to identify the types of assemblage found within such enclosures; the only available information is for Cumbria where less than thirty percent had associated sculptural remains. In Donegal, Louth and Monaghan many of the later mediaeval lime-mortared churches with no apparent sculpture appear to have been surrounded by enclosures but there is little information on their size (see above, table 3).

It would appear, therefore, that although the closest parallels for Islay are to be found in Man, small churches associated with enclosures and without much evidence for sculpture are also to be found in Ireland and north Britain. Such monuments appear to be too diverse in style to reflect direct contact but they may be the result of similar trends in church architecture and settlement in the two regions. Without further field-work in both Ireland and Scotland, however, it is impossible to say more.

Little emphasis is placed on chronological change in the first
section of the thesis. This is partly because of the relative lack
of excavated material: as stated above, survey evidence without
excavation is not readily datable. Even the sculptured stones, more
closely datable than either drystone churches or enclosures, can
tell us little about previous settlement patterns because they are
so often affected by later activities on a site (see above, 99-102).
In addition, many of the excavations which have already taken place
have not yielded large numbers of datable artefacts. The
ecclesiastical complex at Reask, for example, despite being
excavated in its entirety, produced only a single sherd of Bii ware
from the associated slab-shrine and a small blue glass bead from one
of the graves (Fanning 1981b, 152).

What does emerge from the excavated evidence is that many
ecclesiastical settlements are multi-phase sites. Even a simple
construction such as Keeill Vael, Druidale had two phases of church
construction in addition to a pre-keeill structure (Morris 1983b).
Earlier buildings were discovered beneath the churches at Derry,
Deerness, Ardnadam and Ardwall Isle and many of the Manx keeills cut
earlier graves (see above, 248-9).

The excavated evidence can also be used to show that although the
three standard elements of church, enclosure and sculpture
frequently appear in conjunction they may be of widely varying
dates. At Armagh, for example, the enclosure was dated through C14
dates to c.130-600 AD (2 stv). At Church Island it post-dated the

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church while at Reask it was among the first structures to be built (see above, 70). The conjunction of the three elements on the surface of sites, although important in the recognition of a church site (see above, 43-53), tells us less than might have been expected about the layout of the site at any one period.

On Islay the sculpture provides the earliest evidence for ecclesiastical settlement (see Fig.18). From the similarities between the various stones it was argued that they belonged to a single school of stone-carving. This was dated by its parallels with the Iona material to between the late eighth and ninth centuries (see above, 302-304). The Dòid Mhàiri slab has been dated to the mid eleventh century but the parallels in its cross-form with the other Islay material suggests that the school or workshop was still in vogue at that date. This would give a chronological span of some two to three centuries for the establishment of the Iona land-holdings which the sculpture is thought to represent.

The evidence for the dating of drystone churches is slight. On excavated parallels, they are likely to be post eighth/ninth century in date and possibly as late as the twelfth century. The excavated evidence is however widely dispersed and the connections with the Islay sites often remote. Because of the parallels between the Islay churches and those on Man, it has been argued that they date to a period of Manx activity on the island possibly in the context of the Kingdom of the Isles. Strong political connections between the two islands are not documented until the late eleventh century but the similarities in pagan burials of the ninth and early

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ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENTS OF ISLAY IN THE
LATE EIGHTH AND NINTH-CENTURIES : KEY

1. Gleann na Gaoith
2. Kilbride
3. Kilchoman
4. Kildalton
5. Kilnave
6. Kintra
7. Laggan
8. Mulreesh
9. Nave Island
10. Orsay
11. Trudernish

9

5

122

Loch
Gorm

8

3

River Sorn

122

122

7 River Laggan

1

122

10

11

4

6

122

2

5   0   5
                    km
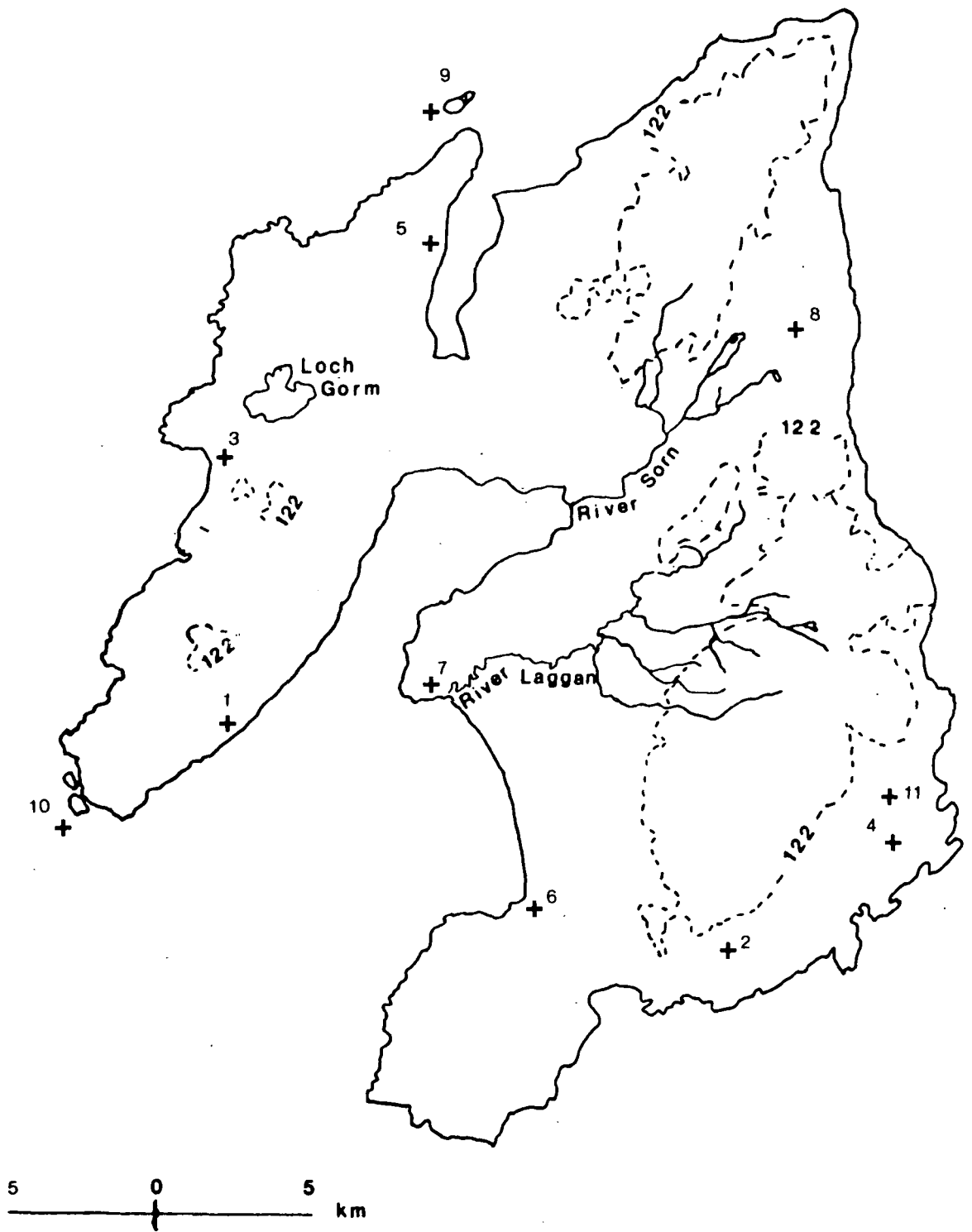
Fig.18 : Ecclesiastical settlements of Islay in
the late eighth and ninth-centuries

tenth century on both islands would indicate that links had been made at a much earlier date (see above, 249).

It has been argued that Group A/B churches are earlier in date than Group C churches and that this conclusion is supported by the evidence from Ardnadam (see above, 247). Group C churches, by virtue of their widespread dispersion and their closer parallels with the mortared churches, are believed to be early twelfth century in date. This would mean that Group A/B churches were built after the tenth-century pagan burials but before the early twelfth century (see above, 248-9).

In contrast to the sculpture or even to the drystone churches, the evidence for dating enclosures on Islay is almost non-existent. As outlined above, there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the present appearance of drystone enclosures owes much to the later use of the sites (see above, 264-5). The evidence from Cill Tobar Lasrach and, to a certain extent, from Cill Rònain, does indicate that some of the smaller circular enclosures may reflect an early mediaeval reality. Similarly, it is hard to imagine that the very large enclosure at Trudernish is to be related to post-mediaeval use and it may be that it should be linked to settlement enclosures of the type identified elsewhere through excavation (see above). Beyond this, however, it is impossible to give dating ranges, given the large amount of late activity on the various sites.

The strong association between the early sculpture and the late mortared church sites suggests that the drystone churches were not the only churches in operation in the later Viking era (see Fig.19).

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ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENTS OF ISLAY IN THE
TENTH, ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH-CENTURIES : KEY

1. Ardilistry
2. Bruichladdich
3. Carn
4. Cill Choman
5. Cill Eathain
6. Cill Tobar Lasrach
7. Duisker I
8. Duisker II
9. Gartmain
10. Gleann na Gaoith
11. Kilbride
12. Kilchoman

13. Kildalton
14. Kilnave
15. Kilslevan
16. Kintra
17. Laggan
18. Mulreesh
19. Nave Island
20. Nereabolls II
21. Orsay
22. Tockmal
23. Trudernish (cross)
24. Trudernish (church)

+ Sculpture
◆ A/B Churches
◇ C/C1 Churches

Fig.19 : Ecclesiastical settlements of Islay
in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth-centuries

It is unlikely that the memory of a site's ninth-century importance would influence the founders of parish churches in the twelfth if the sites did not continue to function as ecclesiastical centres in the intervening period. It would therefore follow that the sculpture sites retained their prestige throughout the early mediaeval period as the ecclesiastical sites with the highest status on Islay. Otherwise one would expect the parish centres to be associated with the drystone churches. Such a conclusion leads one to suggest that the sculptured stones are the only remaining traces of complex and important settlements which have since been destroyed by later activity on the sites.

It is therefore the material which accords most closely with the traditonal model of 'Celtic monasticism' in the Hebrides, the sculptured stones, which represents the earliest material known on Islay. The suggested dates for their production, however, post-date the historical sources on which the model depends by approximately two centuries although falling within a period in which relatively strong Irish connections with the Hebrides are documented (see above, 25-35). The drystone churches, on the other hand, represent a period which is badly documented in the historical sources for the area. Although the formation of the diocese of Man and the Isles forms a suitable historical context for such sites, the poor evidence for their dating means that the association is a fragile one and further excavation both on Man and Islay is urgently required. In the interim, it would appear that neither the distribution nor the chronological period of these sites accords with the model of 'Celtic monasticism'.

Since archaeology in itself can tell us little about patterns of church organisation, the study of such patterns has been heavily influenced by the historical sources. In Ireland, these, in turn, are biased towards monastiscism, a view fostered by the large number of hagiographical works dealing with such institutions (see above, xxiii, 75).

The division of enclosures into functional types such as cemetery enclosures or chapel enclosures has suggested that at least some of the ecclesiastical sites were not monastic in inspiration. A monastic organisation implies that the monks lived in close association with their church and one would therefore expect to find habitation sites in close conjunction with the church. In the excavations around cemetery and chapel enclosures no evidence for such buildings has, as yet, been identified although a detailed survey of the surrounding area was made on one site at Keeill Vael (Morris 1983). Lack of field-work makes it impossible to identify the function of such sites, whether they acted as private estate churches or proto-parochical centres, but their identification as a separate monument type allows us to extend and develop our ideas about the early ecclesiastical settlements of Ireland and Scotland.

Sculptured stones appear to have been used for a variety of purposes in early mediaeval Ireland. It has been suggested that amongst other functions, they may have been used as grave markers, boundary markers, dedication stones, containers for holy water, reliquaries, aids in preaching and to protect the dead from wild

animals (see above, 88-97).

Analysis of their ornament suggests, however, that many, if not the majority, of such stones are derived from monastic institutions. Specifically Christian emblems such as the cross are characteristic and most of the figural sculpture reflects either ecclesiastics or scenes from Christian literature (see above, 108-25). Large groups of such stones tend to be found on known early monastic centres such as Clonmacnois or Iona (see above, 289). Priests are only rarely depicted and bishops appear to occur only on the late 'Bishop's Crosses' from Clare and Galway (see above, 114). The Class II slabs of Scotland have not yet been examined for their possible context but it is interesting that Bailey believes that sculpture in northern England is also a monastic phenomenon (Bailey 1980, 82).

At the same time, many of the stones would seem to be designed with non-clerical spectators in mind. The clearest examples are the free-standing crosses, some of which appear to be reminders or teaching aids for people who already had a rudimentary knowledge of the Bible as well as monuments used by the monks in their daily lives (see above, 116-121). Recumbent slabs are inscribed with inscriptions written in the vernacular while the few with specific attributions suggest that they could be used to honour individuals from both secular and ecclesiastical communities. It has been suggested that the non-ecclesiastical patrons may have been the manaig or church tenantry who lived in the vicinity of the monastery (see above, 122-23).

It has already been noted that the two categories of early mediaeval material on Islay appear to be the result of two separate areas of influence and two rather different chronological periods. The question must, therefore, be asked whether these differences reflect two separate types of church organisation or whether they are merely the result of diversification over space and time.

The nature of the sculptured stones found on Islay can be used to infer a certain amount about the organisation of the church which created them. It was argued (see above, 111-2) that recumbent stones were generally mass-produced items and that the similarity in the ornament of the Islay slabs makes it likely that they were produced in a similar way for a similar market. It can, therefore, be postulated that certain settlements on Islay, Laggan, Orsay, Gleann na Gaoith and Kildalton, had enough wealth to honour individuals. Kildalton had two recumbent slabs which may indicate that it was wealthier than the others, that as a settlement it had a longer life-span than the others or that it had a larger population.

The nature of the Kildalton population is suggested by the ornament of its free-standing cross on which figural sculpture, abstract decoration and iconic panels are all visible (see above, 294-6). It has been argued that such ornament is most likely to have been designed for a group of both lay and ecclesiastical spectators and that such a group may have been found on a monastic settlement with manaig tenantry (see above, 116-25). Interestingly, although the Kilnave cross is thought to date to the same period as Kildalton (see above, 292-4), its ornament is entirely abstract, suggesting that the lay element was less strong or that there was

less emphasis on the role of the cross as a public monument.

Kildalton is the most complex of all the Islay stones. It is decorated in highly modelled relief ornament, of the type which requires skilled stonecarvers to produce (see above, 295-6). Other Islay stones are decorated in a mixture of incised and pocked techniques (see above, 292), both of which could have been undertaken by less qualified workers. Given the strong parallels with the sculpture on Iona, it could be postulated that the Kildalton sculptor was trained at the larger centre or that the stone may have been carved by an Iona sculptor visiting the island. The other Islay stones may have been carved by local men, influenced by trends set by the Iona workshop or by apprentice sculptors from the other island.

The iconographical links between the two islands can be supplemented by the documentary sources. Contact between Islay and Iona is documented from the seventh century (see above, 150, 165) and direct control over the churches of Islay is mentioned in the charter for the Benedictine monastery on Iona in 1203 (see above, 141). Church estates on the island are not, however, identified in the sources until the early sixteenth century when the holdings of the Abbot of Iona and the Bishop of the Isles had been amalgamated (see above, 157-8). If such estates are mapped in conjunction with the sculpture it can be seen that the links between the two are relatively good in the area of Kildalton and the Rhinns but break down in the Sorn valley. This may be because the Sorn valley estates were given at a later stage by the high mediaeval Lords of the Isles whose centre was at Finlaggan (see above, 158, 260). In

those areas where the estates and the sculpture coincide, however, one may be seeing a pattern of earlier land-holdings.

What role would such estates fulfill in relation to Iona? Were they economic units providing goods for the mother-house or were they simply the result of political links between the two areas? Did they all fulfill the same function?

The excavations at Iona produced large amounts of agricultural produce including cattle, horse, sheep, pig and deer bones (Barber 1981b, 315) and woods from a variety of trees such as ash, pine, beech, oak, alder and yew (ibid., 338). Given the size of the island, it seems unlikely that this was all produced on Iona itself. Agricultural renders from its estates would seem a plausible explanation for such material particularly since there is documentary evidence for such estates from the seventh century. In Adamnan's Life of Columba, for example, he speaks of a robber invading the monastery's seal farms on the nearby island of Coll (Adamnan I 41). By the late eighth century, the _equonimus_ of the monastery who looked after the estates was important enought to have his obit listed in the annals (see above, 27). In the same period clerical dynasties based on Iona were in control of daughter houses such as Rechru (see above, 27). It would appear likely, therefore, that the links between the monastery and its estates were economic ones with the daughter houses owing renders and with Iona being in direct control.

This conclusion is supported by the topographical location of the sculptured stone sites. Kildalton, Nave Island, Laggan and Orsay

are all situated on good agricultural land in close proximity to the sea (see above, 144-7). They are also, with the exception of Kilnave, situated in the immediate vicinity of the north/south sea-route between Ireland and Iona (see above, 151-3).

Although the evidence is limited and depends largely on inference, it would seem that distinctions can be made between the various Islay houses. Even without excavation, the number of stones from Kildalton and their varied type, (a free-standing cross, two recumbent slabs, a possible grave marker and a postulated termon stone), distinguishes the site from those where only one early mediaeval stone has been identified. Kildalton is also the only site where the nature of the surviving stonework implies the existence of an important manaig population. Sites with a single piece of sculpture, on the other hand, may reflect the lowest strata of ecclesiastical settlement although it must be noted that an unknown quantity of stone has disappeared (see above, 288) and the surviving pattern may not reflect earlier variations in wealth or productivity.

The possible role of drystone churches was discussed in some detail in chapter 7 (see above, 250-54). Although there is little evidence for such structures or the system of organisation which gave rise to them in the Irish sources, it has been argued that later Icelandic sources such as the Landnamabok may be relevant (see above, 252-54). Two types of ecclesiastical settlement were noted: private estate churches and proto-parochial foundations. Private estate churches, serving small communities and without burial rights can be used to interprete the Group A/B churches of Islay. The

rather larger centres serving more than one family and with burial
rights appears to accord rather better with the Group C churches
(see above, 254) which have a higher proportion of altars and where
the surrounding enclosures are larger (see above, 191,267). From
their distribution, it has been argued that Group C churches appear
to be reflect an attempt to systematically serve large areas of land
and that they appear to correspond in date to the establishment of
the Bishopric of the Isles (see above, 254).

It is of course possible that the drystone churches of Islay were
monastic in inspiration; some monastic churches are reputed to have
been extremely small with only thirteen members and hermitages with
a single monk are also documented (see above, 250). However, unlike
the sites represented by sculptured stones, the drystone churches do
not appear to have any parallels with known monastic sites.
Instead, the drystone churches are best paralleled in Man and are
thought to date to the period of the Bishopric of the Isles, a
period when Iona was in eclipse (see above, 35-37).

In conclusion, the evidence from Islay would indicate that the
concept of 'Celtic monasticism' is of only limited assistance in
identifying and classifying the links between Ireland and Scotland.
The chronological framework which it provides appears to be too
heavily dependent on the relatively plentiful historical sources for
the seventh century (see above, 1) while such a date does not appear
to accord with the archaeological material in so far as it is
datable. Secondly the model takes no account of regional or
functional variation in the material from the two countries although
all the sites so far identified appear to have been modified by such

influences. Thirdly, the model appears to place too much emphasis on monasticism and fails to explore other possible systems of church organisation which may have given rise to the surviving material culture.

On the other hand, the model would seem to be a valid reflection of those settlements in the Hebrides and the adjoining mainland which are represented by early mediaeval sculpted stones. Their distribution accords with the presumed area of Scottish Dalriada as we know it (see Bannerman 1974, 116) and the most important source of influence would appear to be the Irish monastery of Iona. However such influence remained concentrated in the area of the southern Hebrides and does not appear to have extended far inland.

The evidence from Islay suggests, therefore, that the model of 'Celtic monasticism' should be modified in a number of important respects. In the first place, the material remains of settlements presently visible do not appear to represent 'Celtic monasticism' as has previously been postulated (see above, xiii-xv) but a palimpsest of later evidence. On the contrary 'Celtic monasticism' is best represented by a particular style of sculpture which appears to date to a period around the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth century. This sculpture would appear to be linked with settlements which later went on to become important churches in the later mediaeval period. Therefore, although we do not as yet have information on the lay-out of 'Celtic monastic' settlements, the lay-out of such settlements should be retrievable through excavation on a sculptured stone site.

Finally, although 'Celtic monastic' sites appear to have retained their high status throughout the early mediaeval period, it appears likely that other types of church settlement were built in the southern Hebrides during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. This period coincided with a decrease in Iona's effective power (see above, 32-9) and a growth in lay patronage of the church. The drystone churches of the Hebrides, in short, appear to be part of the trend towards proprietary churches and proto-parochial centres visible in other parts of Britain and Europe at the same period.

In contrast to Scotland in general, Islay has owed much to Gaelic culture and tradition throughout its history. Its position only twenty-six miles from Portrush, on the important mediaeval sea-route from Ireland to Iona has meant that Irish influence remained strong on the island throughout the early mediaeval period. From the beginning of recorded missionary activity in the area, Islay has been effected by this accident of geography.

Its earliest strata of archaeological evidence reflect such Irish influences. The late eighth or ninth-century settlements which are indicated by the distribution of sculptured slabs on the island, show close contacts with the Irish monastery on Iona. These settlements appear to have been daughter houses of the Columban monastery, controlling a body of **manaig** tenantry who were educated in the Irish Christian tradition with the help of such tools as preaching crosses. The **manaig** owed food renders to the Islay churches; the Islay churches in turn appear to have owed food renders and political loyalty to the monastery at Iona. The pattern is one which is easily paralleled in both the archaeological and

historical sources in Ireland.

On the other hand, the geological forces which made Islay a large and fertile island on an important sea-route, made it inevitable that the island would continue to be prized by the Norse. It seems likely that many of the drystone churches of the island were built during their supremacy. Some of these were private estate churches for local families, others appear to have been larger centres serving a wider community. Ecclesiastical sculpture continued to be produced and at least one slab appears to have been made for an Hiberno-Norse patron. Although the Vikings on the island did not leave such dramatic testimonies to their presence as they did on Man in the same period, it appears clear that they were an important force for the development of the church on Islay.

Unlike Man however, the Gaelic element appears to have remained in over-all control of the ecclesiastical settlements of the island. The earlier estates became the later parish centres and the drystone churches were dedicated almost exclusively to Irish saints (see below, Appendix B). Over the course of time the nature of the church structure changed in accordance with the changing needs of the island and its inhabitants. Gradually, the influences from Ireland, whose monks had introduced Christianity to the Hebrides, were reduced and the island developed its own regional patterns of settlement and organisation. In the end, despite all external influences, it was Islay's own topography, geology and settlement which shaped the Church on Islay and left behind the artefactual evidence which has formed the basis of this study.

Appendix A

ADAMNAN'S REFERENCES TO COLUMBAN SITES IN SCOTLAND

'Alio in tempore sanctus ad Hinbinam insulam pervenit; eademque die ut etiam penitentibus aliqua praecipit cibi consulatio indulgeretur.' (Book I ch.21)

'...ad Baitheneum tunc temporis in campo Lunge praepossitum commorantem post aliquot est emisus dies in pace commigrans..'(Book I ch.30)

'Alio in tempore binos mittens monacos ad suum alium monacum nomine Cailtanum, qui eodem tempore praepositus erat in cella quae hodieque ejus fratris Diuni vocabulo vocitatur, stagno adherens Abae fluminis...'(Book I ch.31)

'Beati profetatio viri de Findchano prespitero illius monasterii fundatore quod scotice Artchain nuncupatur in Ethica terra.'(I 36)

'Alio itidem in tempore vir venerandus Eranum prespiterum senem suum aunculum ad praepossituram illius monasterii transmisit quod in Hinba insula ante plures fundaverat annos.'(I 45)

'Quadam die quidam bonae indolis juvenis Lugneus nomine qui postea senex in monasterio Elenae insulae praepossitus erat...'(II 18)

'...sanctus cum trans Britannicum iter ageret dorsum, quidam juvenis unius comitum subita molestatus egrimonia ad extrema usque perductus est, nomine Fintenus...Nam idem juvenis, illius postea monasterii fundator quod dicitur Kailli au inde, in bona senectute praesentem terminavit vitam.'(II 31)

'... hoc est Pictorum plebe et Scotorum Britanniae inter quos utrosque dorsi montes brittannici disterminant... (sanctus Columba) cujus monasteria intra utorumque populorum terminos fundata ab utrisque usque ad praesens tempus valde sunt honorificata?'(II 46)

'Illi exitiabiles emuli, qui hac die de hujus terrulae deo propitio regione angelis nobis subvenientibus ad Ethicam effugati sunt terram, ibidem saevi invasores fratrum monasteria invadent et pestilentes inferent morbos;... Quod ita juxta vaticinium ejus expletum est. Nam cum multi in ceteris ejusdem insulae monasteriis eodem morbo moririentur, nemo nisi unus de quo sanctus dixit apud Baitheneum in sua est mortuus congregatione.'(III 8)

'Qui videlicet Virgnous, post multos in subjectione inter
fratres inreprehensibiliter expletos annos, alios xii in
loco anchoritarum in Muirbolc-mar vitam ducens anchoriticam
Christi victor miles explevit.'(III 23)

CHURCH DEDICATIONS ON ISLAY

The dedications of Islay churches are almost invariably prefaced by the generic cill and the churches are for the most part dedicated to Gaelic saints prior to the ninth century. None have the Norse toponym kirk and there is no example of the inversion of Gaelic names under Norse influence, as found in Galloway and elsewhere (MacQueen 1956;Fellows-Jensen n.d.).

Cill is the most common ecclesiastical settlement term in the Gaelic speaking church and as such, discussion as to its dating and exact significance has been extensive. It derives from the Latin cella meaning a room within a building (Flanagan 1979, 4) and Thomas has suggested that it was imported into the British Isles as a term for the focal grave in a church or cemetery (Thomas 1971a, 87-9). Whichever meaning it originally had, when it appears in the mediaeval documentation of Ireland or Scotland, it is in reference to a settlement unit, either as a monastic settlement or a church.

Its dating as a productive place-name has been said to differ in Ireland and Scotland. In Scotland, Nicolaisen has written that the absence of cill in the north-east of the country means that it had ceased to be a creative element by the mid ninth century. As it is linked with dedications to saints of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, the majority of Scottish cill place-names can probably be dated to between the seventh and ninth centuries. This

TABLE 30 : CHURCH DEDICATIONS ON ISLAY

KNOWN DEDICATIONS	DUBIOUS DEDICATIONS
Cill a'Bhuilg (Gartmain)	St Michael (Carn)
Cill a'Chubein (Trudernish)	Iolarain/Hilary
Cill an Ailein (Loch Gruineart)	(Bruichladdich)
Cill an Ailein (Claggan)	Cille mo Cheallaig
Cill Chaluim Cille (Kiells)	Cill Cainnech
Cill Calluim Cille (Kildalton)	(MacKenzie Island)
Cill Chaluim Cille (Laggan)	Cill Chatain (Oa)
Cill Chaluim Cille (Nereabolls)	Cill Thomhain (Oa)
Cill Chaluim Cille (Orsay)	Cill Cavan (Kelsay)

Cill Chomhan (Stremnishmore)	NO DEDICATIONS
Cill Eathain (Oa)	Ardilistry
Cill Eileagain (Mulreesh)	Ballitarson
Cill Eileagain (Craigens)	Doid Mhairi
Cill Luchaig (Laphroaig)	Duisker I
Cill Mhoire (Lagavulin)	Duisker II
Cill Rònain (Sanaigmore)	Gleann na Gaoith
Cill Tobar Lasrach (Port Ellen)	Glenegedale
Kilarrow - Maol Rubha	Nereabolls II
Kilbraenan - Brendan	Tockmal
Kilbride - Bridget	
Kilchiaran - Ciaran	
Kilchoman - Coman?Comhgan?	
Kildalton - Daltan?	
Kilmeny - Eithne? Maine?	
Kilellan - Faolan	
Kilennan - Fionan	
Kilnaughton - Nechtain	
Kilnave - Nem?	
Kilslevan -Sleibene	
Finlaggan (Kilmeny)	
Nave Island - Nem?	
Orsay - Oran?	
Texa - St Mary the Virgin	

proposed lifetime of a mere two hundred years explains its instability with the word _kirk_ in the south-west (Nicolaisen 1976, 143-4).

Nicolaisen's model is based on the assumption that Gaelic was an important language in the north-east prior to the arrival of the Norse and had become the language in common use at grass-roots level. Without further work on the place-names of the region, this is impossible to verify. The model also assumes that dedications to early saints are contemporary with their lifetimes. This is unlikely, for it was common to make dedications to one's local or clan saint at a much later date (Mackinlay 1914, 121-33; Ó Riáin 1983, 25-6).

In Ireland, the study of ecclesiastical place-names has been dominated by analysis of their frequency in the early documentation, rather than through studying their distribution in the landscape (see Flanagan 1979,1983,1984). Although there are two examples of _cill_ in purported fifth-century documents, the word is more commonly linked to the monastic church of the sixth and seventh centuries. In the _Vita Columbae_, Adamnan uses the word in two separate instances while the three seventh-century praise poems to Columba not only use his sobriquet 'Columcille' but also use the word _cill_ within the poems (Stokes 1899; Kelly 1973, 1975).

These instances provide a _terminus ante quem_ for _cill_ in the seventh-century. In the annals, _cill_ makes its appearance in the sixth century but allowance must be made for the non-contemporary nature of most sixth-century annals (Smyth 1972). From the

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eighth-century on, _cill_ becomes more common, being the ecclesiastical equivalent of the secular settlement term _dun_. In this period it refers to the monastic unit as a whole (Flanagan 1979, 5).

With the extensive reorgainsation of the Irish church in the twelfth century, _cill_ was replaced by terms such as _mainistir_ for monastic foundations and _eaglais_ or _teampul_ for church buildings. It continued to be used as a general term for the Church or in stock phrases such as _itir chill agus tuath_. It had almost died out of use by the end of the thirteenth century though sporadically used until the fifteenth. It still survives in oral Gaelic today as an old word for graveyard and in a number of proverbs and folk-sayings (Flanagan 1979, 6-8). On Islay it is still known locally as the word for an old church.

There is some evidence that _cill_ continued to be used in the high mediaeval period in the southern Hebrides. The site of Cill Caitriona, in Colonsay in its present form probably refers to St Catherine of Alexandria whose cult was introduced to the West in the eleventh century (Mackinlay 1914, 411; MacDonald 1979, 9).

On Islay, nine drystone churches have no dedications or have lost them, with a possible tenth at Bruichladdich. Two local sources give the dedication of the Bruichladdich chapel as Iolarain or Hilary, a dedication which is unparalleled on the island (MacEacharna 1976, 56; Mrs P. Eager pers.comm.). If the dedication is correct, it may be a topographical reference to the position of the church. Another chapel in Argyll, also known as Cill Iolarain,

is translated as the 'lower church', an explanation which seems far more likely (Gillies 1906, 73).

At least three other churches are similarly dedicated with topographical or secular names. The two examples of Cill an Ailein have been translated, either as a dedication to an unknown St Allen, or as 'churches on the green' (MacEacharna 1976, 52). In neither case is such a description apt. At Claggan, the site lies at the foot of a hill, immediately beside the spectacular beach of Claggan Bay while at Loch Gruinart, the site of the now destroyed church lies at the head of a steep and boggy valley. Cill a'Bhuilg in Gartmain, has been translated as 'Church of the Bellies' (Grey n.d., 35; ;MacEacharna 1976, 52).

A feature of the Islay churches is the duplication of dedications. Apart from the two examples of Cill an Ailein, there are two churches named after an unknown saint Eileagain at Mulreesh and Craigens. Kilchoman and Cill Chomhan are probably also dedicated to the same saint although MacEacharna translates the later as Comhgan, a Céli Dé of the eighth century (MacEacharna 1976, 52). There are also four dedications to Columba, at Kiells, Laggan, Orsay and Nereabolls. All four are late mediaeval churches and it is possible that these are later rededications to the local patron saint, of the sort mentioned above. In the case of Orsay, the name of the island has been interpreted as a Norse form of St Oran's Isle, St Oran being the saint credited in mediaeval literature as the man who inaugurated the cemetery on Iona (Reeves 1874, 288; Anderson 1922 I, 45).

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St Oran is but one of the more obscure Columban saints who have churches named after them on Islay. Kilslevan is the only known dedication to the abbot Sléibéne who ruled Iona from 752 to 767 A.U. while Watson and MacEacharna both mention an otherwise unknown dedication to Cille mo Cheallaig or Cellach. Two abbots of Iona are documented under this name, the earlier from 801 to 815 A.U., the latter from 854 to 865 A.U. Finlaggan was another saint who was thought to be a contemporary of St Columba in the high mediaeval period while Coman has been identified as Coman of Tyrconnell, mentioned in Cummene Fota's letter to Segene, abbot of Iona from 623 to 652 A.U. (Mackinlay 1914, 86-9). Eilean Mhic Coinneach, the site described by Muir, probably refers to the MacKenzie clan but one authority has identified the place-name as a reference to St Cainnech of Aghaboe, a contemporary of Columba (Gillies 1906, 157). MacEacharna mentions an Iona place-name which incorporates the name of Nechtain (as in Kilnaughton, on Islay) but it is not listed in Skene's list of ecclesiastical place-names on the island (MacEacharna 1976, 54; Reeves 1874, 229-333).

Other saints may also be local but given the large number of saints with the same Christian names, they are impossible to identify. Kilbraenan, for example, in the centre of Islay, is probably a reference to the same St Brendan whose dedication is prominent around Eileach an Naoimh (see Watson 1926, 274). Kilmeny, in the Sorn valley, may be a dedication to Eithne, mother of Columba, as Watson suggested but the suggestion of Bonner, that it is a dedication to the Inishowen saint, Maine, is equally probable (Bonner 1974, 73).

Identification of the more obscure saints is usually through the early martyrologies. There are four major martyrologies from early mediaeval Ireland: the Martyrology of Tallaght (written c.800 AD) and the Félire Óengus, incorporating much of the Tallaght material but of roughly the same period. The two other martyrologies are later in date; the Martyrology of Gorman has been dated to c. AD 1165 and the Martyrology of Donegal which was written in the sixteenth century but incorporates much early material (Hennig 1970 passim).

Although based on Continental martyrologies and especially on the Martyrologie Hieronymianum, the Irish texts make no attempt to include much narrative or chronological material. In fact, the total quantity of such material shows a marked decrease from the Martyrology of Tallaght through to the Martyrology of Gorman. This is in marked contrast to the trends on the Continent in the same period.

The only detailed information which the Irish martyrologies offer, therefore, is a terminus ante quem based on their date of compilation. Matters are not helped by the large number of saints with the same personal name. Nevertheless, the list of saints in table 31 shows a clear bias towards the period prior to the ninth century although individual names such as Lassar or Bridget remain common in the later period.

This is only a very crude method of identifying saints but it does show that the majority of Islay dedications are to saints who probably lived prior to the ninth century. The obscurity of many of

the dedications suggests that many are of early date. The exception
to this are the late mediaeval dedications to St Columba, which may
have arisen from the links between the mediaeval Lords of the Isles
and Iona (see above, 37,159). The early nature of the dedications
suggests in turn that the cill names on Islay predate or are
contemporary with the Viking arrival. Therefore, although cill as a
place-name element remains productive through to the
thirteenth century, the evidence of the dedications suggest that, on
Islay, they were coined under native influence in the seventh,
eighth and ninth centuries.

TABLE 31 : ISLAY SAINTS IN THE MARTYROLOGIES

MAEL-RUBHA	BRENDAN	BRIG/BRIDET	COLUMBA

of Applecross*
Mael-Rubha*
	of Clonfert*
	of Birr*
	Brenaind*
	of Tobar
	of Glas da
	    Colptha
	of Druim Liac
	of Tech Baith
	of Etar Cluain
		d. of Dimma*
		of Kildare*
		of Cairbre*
		of Cluain
		    Dianlan*
		of Moin Milain*
		of Cell Muaine
		d. of Dommna
		of Cluain Ai
			of Iona*

* = pre 800 AD

CATTAN	KEVIN	CEALLACH	CAINNECH
of Bute*	s. of Coemlug* of Glendaloch* abbatis* Kevin*	s. of Dunchad* of Glendaloch* abbot of Iona	of Achadboe* of Airecul* Maccu Dalon* of Imchad* of Bochrae* presbiteri* of Achad Raithin*

CIARAIN	COMMAN	COMGAN

abb. of Raith
    Maige*
of Tech Lua
  Gortig*
of Belach Duin*
s. of Colgu*
abb. of
  Clonmacnois*
of Cluain Sasta*
of Cell Mor
    Dithrus*
of Foigde*
of Saigir*
of Ard Fota*
of Ross Cumalea*
s. of Aed*
of Tamhacht Gliad
bish. of Tiprait
  mac nEnna
bish. son of Ciar
	of Ros Cummain*
	of Familia Mundu*
	s. of Findbarr*
	s. of Dimma of
	  Airecul*
	of Tech mic
	    Findchan*
	of Maccu Temni*
	'Lobur' son of
	    Laigne*
	abb. of Lismore
	s. of Domungen
	bishop
		of Glen Uissen*
		Céli Dé*
		of Cluain
		    Clonnaid

TABLE 31 (contd) : ISLAY SAINTS IN THE MARTYROLOGIES

DALTA(N)	FINAN	FAOLAN
Dallan mac Forgail*	of Familia Mundu*	Martyr of
Dallan of Aelmag*	of Eigg*	Fursu*
	s. of Pipan*	of Raith Aidme*
	Caue*	of Familia
	'Camm' of Cenn	Mundu*
	Etig*	of Cluain
	'Lobur' of Sords*	Moescna*
	of Druim Neoid*	of Cell Colmai*
	s. of Erenan*	s. of Aed*
	Saxon*	'the Dumb' of
	s. of Fergna*	Srath Eret in
	s. of Rimid*	Alba*
		Faolan*
		Faolan*
		Faolan*
		Faolan*
		Faolan*
		Faolan*
		Faolan*

LASSAIR	LUCHAIG	NEM	NEACHTAIN
of Maigen*	of Cill	Moccu Birn*	Moccu
d. of Fintan*	Delgraigi*	of Druim	Baird*
d. of Lochan*		Bertach*	of Cell
of Achad Fota*		of Cell Bia	Uinche*
of Cell		of Dairinis	of Dun
Archalgach*		f. of Caissin	Geimin*
of Glenn Medoin*		of Druim	
'Algasach'		Lethan	
d. of Brianin*		of Druim	
of Tipru Roiss		Dallan	
Rian			
of Cluain Mor			
of Achad Beithe			
d. of Lochan			

RONAIN	TOMMAN
of Lismore*	of Mungairit*
s. of Fergus*	bishop*
of Liathros*	Tomman*
s. of Mage*	
s. of Berach*	
of Achad Farcha*	
Ronain*	
Ronain*	
Ronain*	
Ronain	

THE ROLE OF BOAT-SHAPED ORATORIES IN THE NORTH-WEST

Boat-shaped oratories are the only type of drystone churches in Britain or Ireland to be studied in detail (see Leask 1955; Harbison 1970). Their small size and drystone construction suggested to early scholars that they were the earliest church buildings to survive. In 1970, however, Harbison pointed out that boat-shaped oratories were a very tight regional group. Of the nineteen definite sites now known, 16 are in Co. Kerry and the offshore islands. There is one site in Co. Clare, another on the north Mayo coast and a small group of three churches in the Outer Hebrides. When considering the role of boat-shaped oratories in church architecture, it is important to remember both this tightness of distribution and the small numbers of churches involved.

In internal length, 10 of the sites lie between 3.3m and 4m within a total range of 2.4m to 6.9m. Six sites are 3.6m long. In width, 14 are between 2.1 and 3.4m in a range of 1.9m to 5.7m. In internal area, 14 are between 4 sq.m. and 14 sq.m. These figures show how unique Gallarus is in its sheer size (39.37 sq.m): the second largest oratory is Killobarnum, also in Kerry, covering 28.08 sq.m. in internal area (Cuppage 1986; Henry 1957, 125).

If we take the figures for the Dingle peninsula where there are five sites, two sites are under 10.5 sq.m., one is 12.47 sq.m., one 14.75 sq.m. and finally Gallarus, the largest of all boat-shaped

oratories. This pattern is similar to that of the control group on Islay which was composed of the mortared churches. The differences in size were interpreted, on Islay, as a functional one: the largest was the mediaeval parish church, the slightly smaller examples at Kilchiaran and Kilchoman were important subsidary churches serving outlying areas and so forth. It is possible that there is a similar explanation for the distribution of size in the Dingle area. On Islay, this very systematic organisation of church size was probably due to the centralised authority of the Lords of the Isles who were prominent in patronising the ecclesiastical architecture on the island (Lamont 1966, 19-40). Again, the parallel would suggest a centralized authority in Dingle, establishing churches in a hierarchical order of importance throughout the region.

In orientation, 3 of the Dingle sites are orientated at 292 degrees (22 degrees north of true west) but for boat-shaped oratories in general, the most one can say is that of the 12 cases where the orientation is known, 10 lie between 257 and 293 degrees. The distribution is not Gaussian but the reasons for the variance are not known.

There is evidence for construction techniques used for six oratories. Of these, four: Templemanaghan, Ballywiheen, St Brendan's oratory at Kilmalkedar and North Rona are built of rubble. More specifically, Templemanaghan is built of split stones and boulders; Kilmalkedar is built of sandstone rubble with a core of chippings and small stones and North Rona is built of local boulders carefully packed with small spalls and horizontal pinnings (Cuppage 1986, 268,323; Nisbet and Gailey 1960, 105). Gallarus on the other

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hand, is built of sandstone with carefully bevelled facing stones and neatly angled quoins (Cuppage 1986, 286). In short, although the idea of the boat-shaped oratory was clearly disseminated to the builders of all 19 sites, the methods used to produce the buildings were subject to local variation.

Another feature which appears to be characteristic of a boat-shaped oratory is described by Henry as a 'step' (Henry 1957, 123). This occurs at Templemanaghan, Illauntannig A, Gallarus, Church Island, Skellig Michael and possibly at Ballywiheen. Henry points out that this feature takes 'a variety of aspects' from the enlarged foundations of the long sides at Gallarus to the very substantial thickening of the walls at Church Island. An offset at the level of the lintel also occurs at Kilmalkedar.

There is little evidence in the published sources about the nature of the corbelling for the roof. Henry certainly implies that the corbelling begins at the base of the building (Henry 1957, passim) and this is corroborated by the photographs of Gallarus and Kilmalkedar. At Skellig Michael, on the other hand, the walls do not begin to incline inward until they reach $\underline{c}$ 2.5m in height. It is this ambiguity about the corbelling methods used which make sites such as Inishtooskert and Lateevemore possible members of the boat-shaped oratory class. (In both sites the walls stand to c. 1m in height but there is no evidence for a corbelled roof.)

The only site where there is much discussion of mortaring techniques is that of Gallarus. There, the mortar occurs on the inside wall facing. "As the fabric of the wall is nowhere exposed

in its entirety, it is not clear whether the lime mortar visible in the interior was used merely as an 'internal pointing' to the structure (see Leask 1955, 23) or was more extensively utilized as a 'structural medium' (Harbison 1970, 43) for the interior of the wall" (Cuppage 1986, 286).

If it is internal pointing, it would be impossible to date at what period in the life of the structure this was applied. Evidence from North Rona and early drystone sites in general (particularly in Ireland) is that these early churches continued to hold an important place in the folk-life of the district. In North Rona, plastering occured at regular intervals until relatively recently (Nisbet and Gailey 1960, 105). At St Brendan's oratory on Kilmalkedar, however, mortar is visible in a defaced section of the east gable, with probable secondary mortar on the interior (Cuppage 1986, 323). The shaped ingoings at Templemanaghan were described by the same author as having been reset in mortar (ibid., 268). All other oratories, including the other two Hebridean sites of Teampull Sula Sgeir and Teampall Beanachadh, are described without further detail as drystone structures (MacGibbon and Ross 1896, 75-78).

The position of the door does not play an important role in distinguishing differences in boat-shaped oratories. There are 15 oratories with doors in the centre of the west wall and one each with a door in the north, south, and east walls respectively. This would indicate that Harbison's argument about the relative date of the Bishop's Island site with its door on the south wall is perhaps over-stated (Harbison 1970, 51). In Inishvickillane where the door faces east, this is in direct response to the local typography and

it is possible that Bishop's Island is similarly affected. The

doors are in general lintelled and incline inwards. Where

illustrations exist (as for Gallarus, Kilmalkedar, Templemanagha

and Bishop's Island) there is no specific shaping of the door ja

and with the exception of Gallarus, it is impossible to distingu

the door stones from the surrounding stonework.

No boat-shaped oratory has a second door and only Templemanag

has an aumbry, described as an 'L - shaped recess' in the north

wall. There are three altars amongst the sites: in the small

oratory on Skellig Michael, at Kilmalkedar and at Illauntannig.

Kilmalkedar it is a dry-stone structure butted against the east

gable wall and 1.27m. in length (i.e. 45 % of the wall space).

Illauntannig, Harbison noted the diagonal tooling which he

interpreted as evidence for a twelfth-century date; the Dingle

surveyors report his suggestion without corroborating the existe

of the tooling (Cuppage 1986, 290).

In conclusion, what information do we posess about boat-shape

oratories? The most important point is that they are a very sma

group, both in actual numbers and in the tightness of their

distribution. The sole uniform characteristic is the presence o

corbelled roof. Analysis of their area shows that although the

majority of sites are of a similar size, there is no modal ratio

length to breadth. Where they are most frequent (i.e. in the Di

peninsula) they show a systematic growth in size which may be du

a centralized system of church building. In construction techni

they vary from locality to locality, as they do in many of their

lesser features also. No firm evidence for dating was found

although it is probable that Kilmakedar, if not Gallarus, was lime-mortared when built.

It is unlikely that these churches are connected in any way with the Islay buildings. There is no evidence for corbelled roofs on Islay which are the diagnostic feature of this group although there is a correlation between size and rounded corners as on Islay. The tripartite division in terms of area and the large number of Islay churches which have lateral entry have no parallel in Kerry and the single aumbry at Templemanaghan is of a type and in a position unknown on Islay. Most importantly the extreme tightness of the group regionally and the small number of buildings involved make it unlikely that they were ever widespread outside Munster, either in Ireland or in the southern Hebrides. The outlying group in the northern Hebrides confirms the view that corbelled roofs were simply a technical method of roofing buildings where little suitable vegetation was available. There is no reason whatsoever to suggest that boat-shaped oratories were ever more than an interesting regional type or that the presence of a corbelled roof is an indicator of date.

ROYAL COMMISSION PLANS OF DRYSTONE SITES ON ISLAY

The kind permission of the Royal Commission authorities to reproduce the following plans is here gratefully acknowledged.
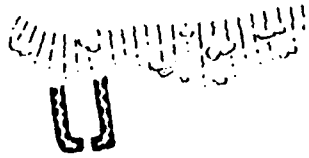
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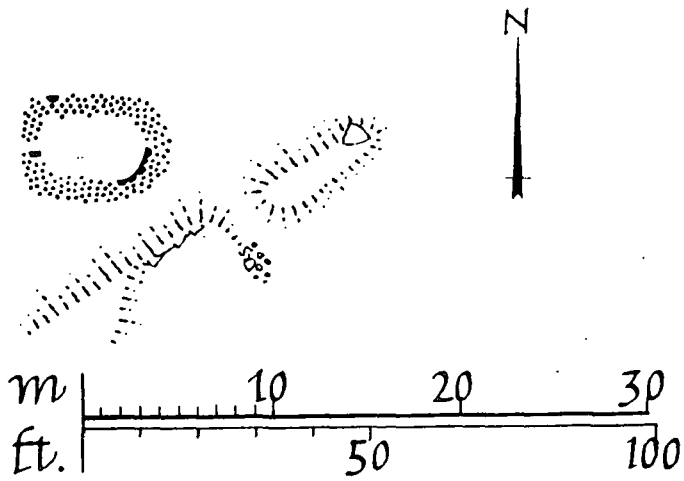
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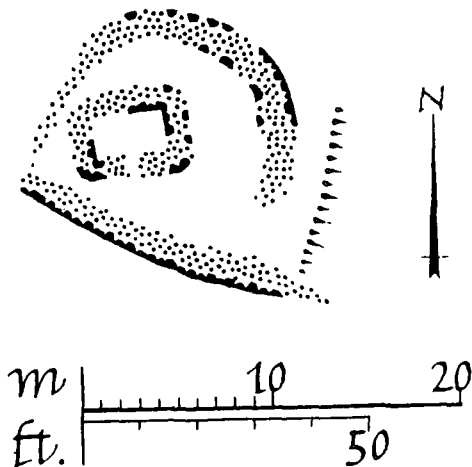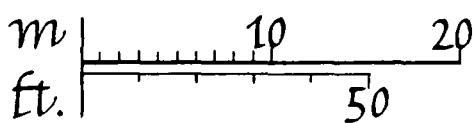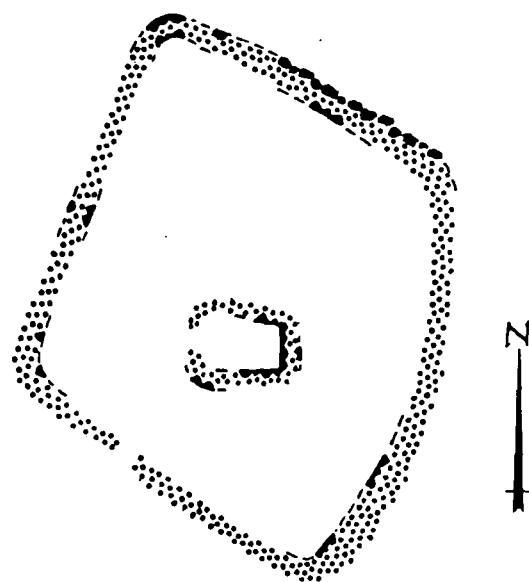
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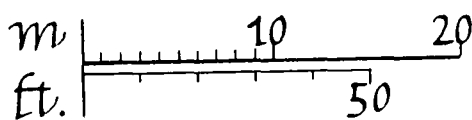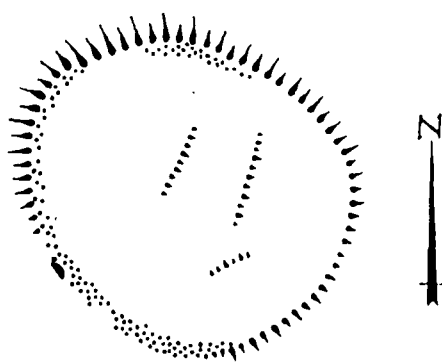
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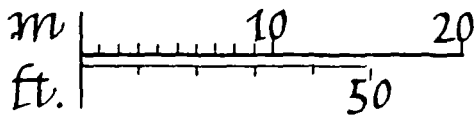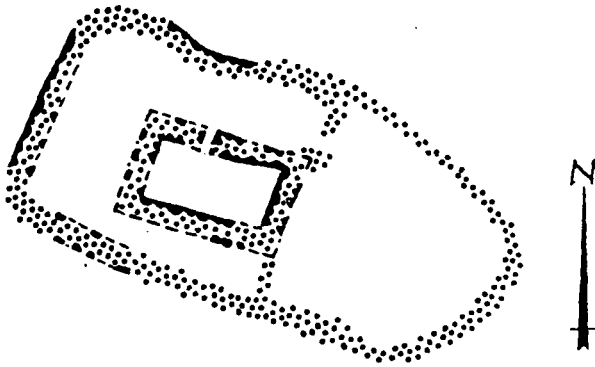
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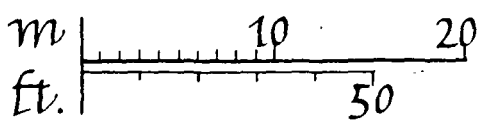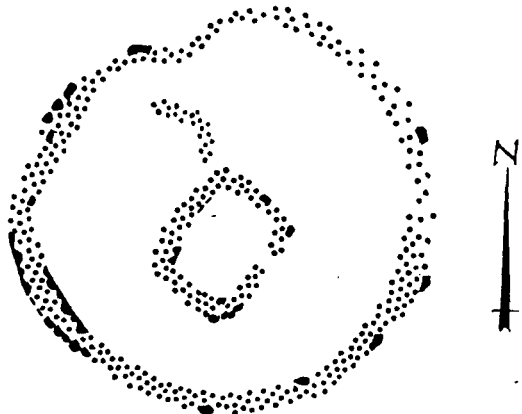
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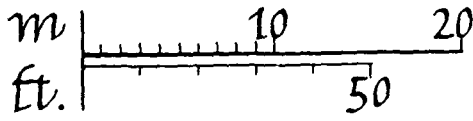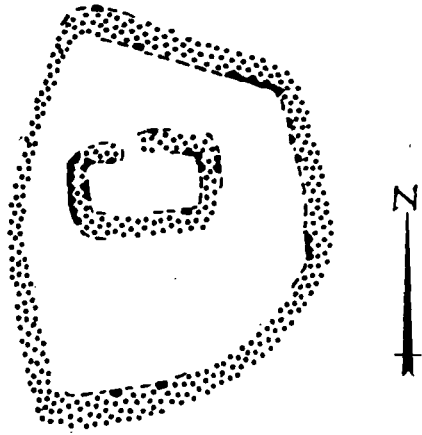
352

Craigens

m | 10 20
ft. | 50

Mulreesh

m | 10 20
ft. | 50

m | 10 20
ft. | 50

Cill Tobar Lasrach

m | 10 20
ft. | 50

Dui sker I

354

Duisker II

m | 10 | 20
ft. | 50

Gleann na Gaoith

m | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40
ft. | 50 | 100 | 150
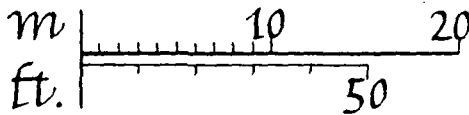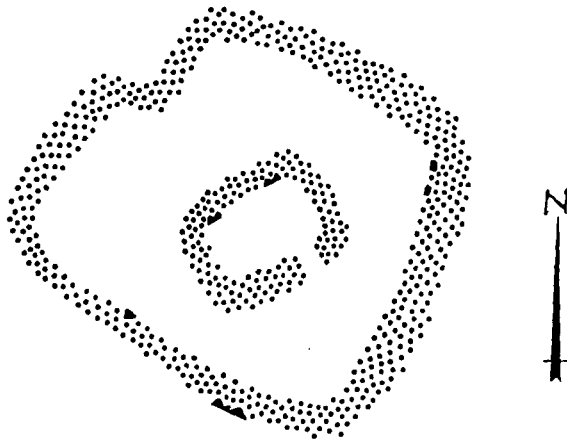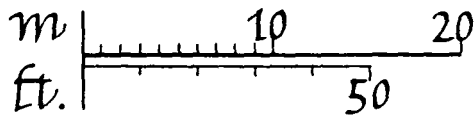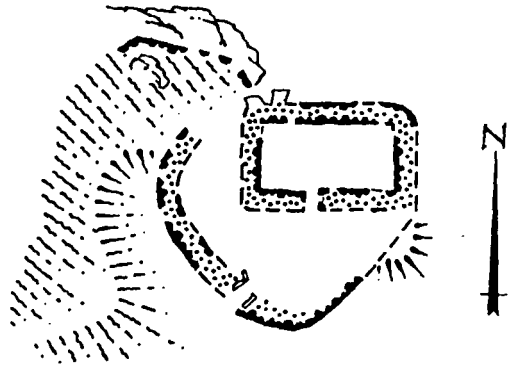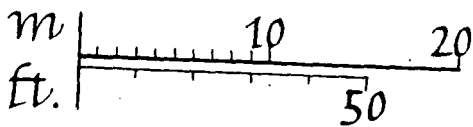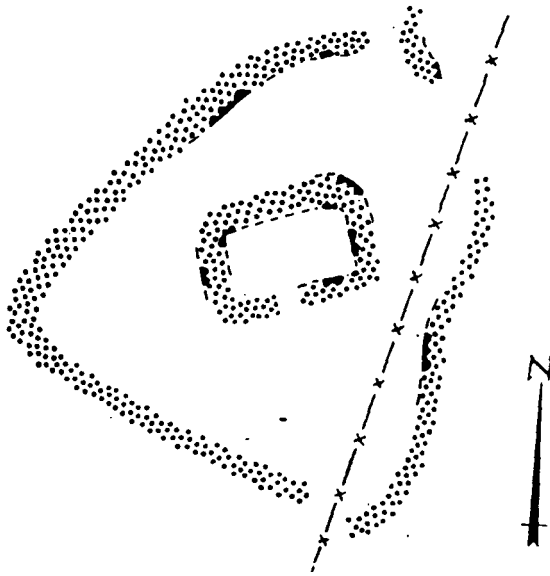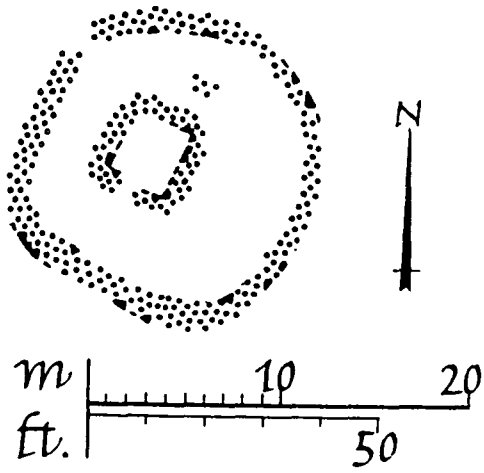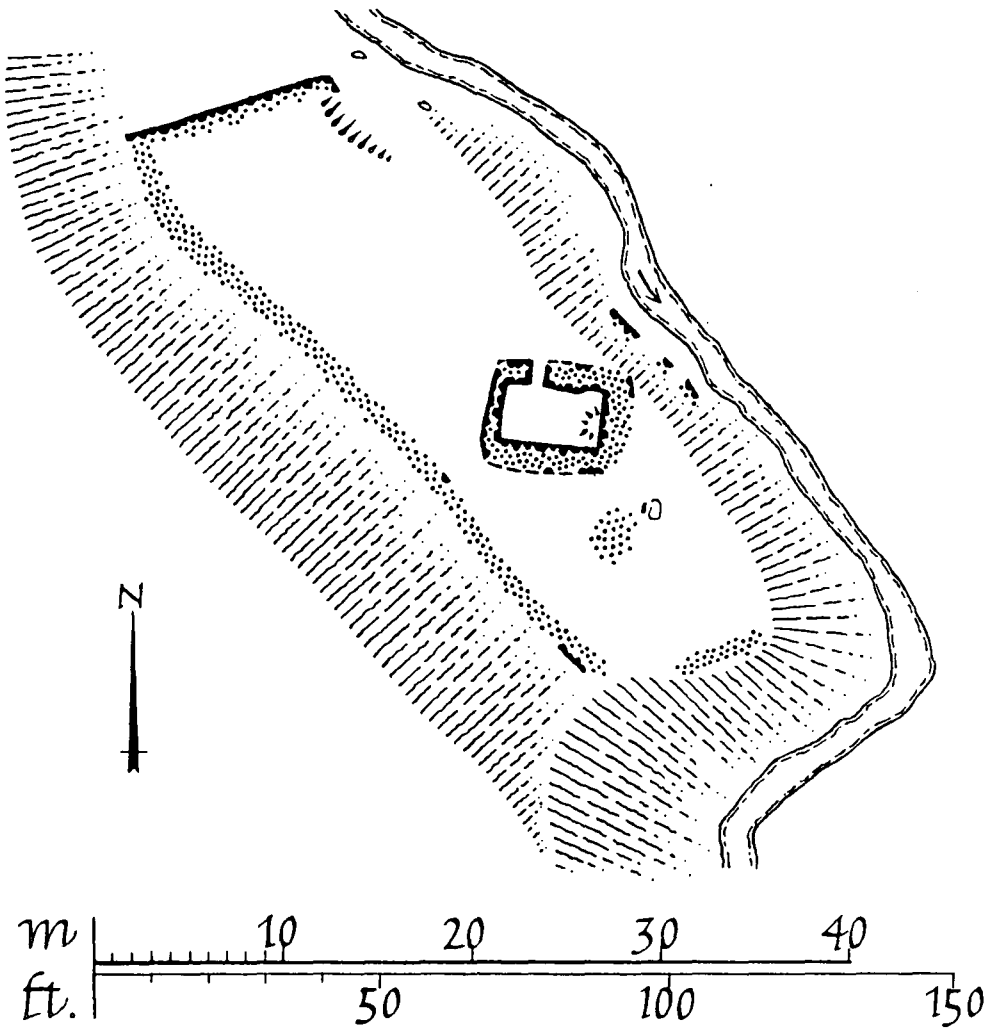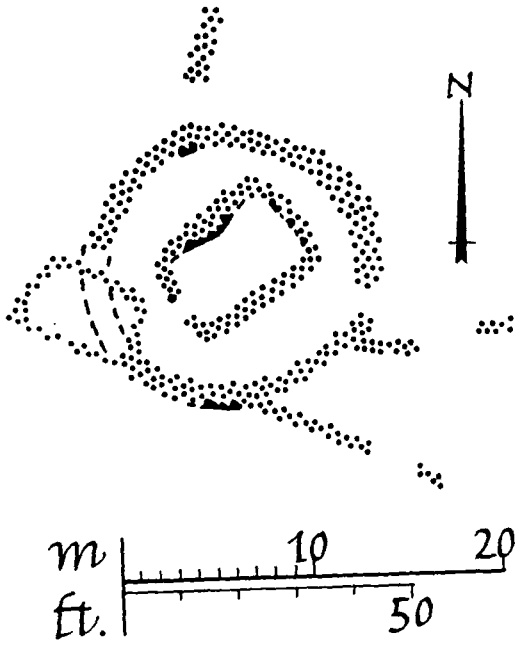
Kilslevan

Nereabolls II

m | 10 | 20 | 30
ft. | 50 | 100

Tockmal

m | | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50
ft. | | 50 | 100 | 150
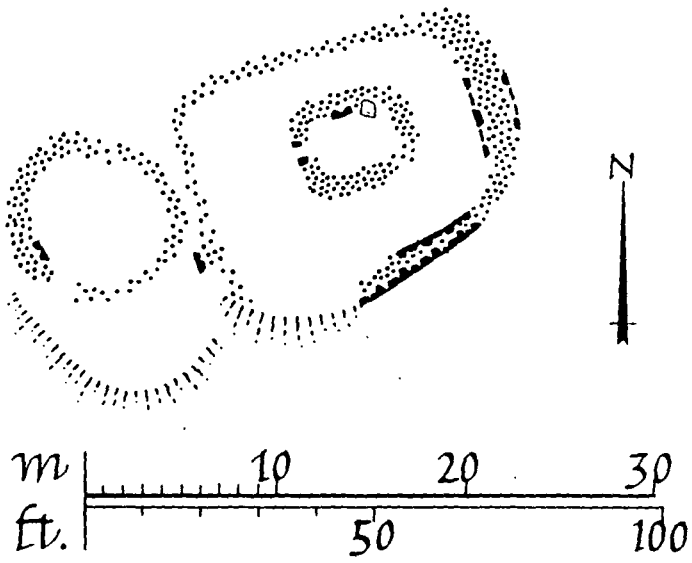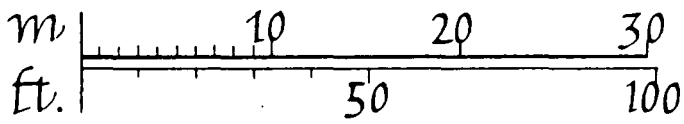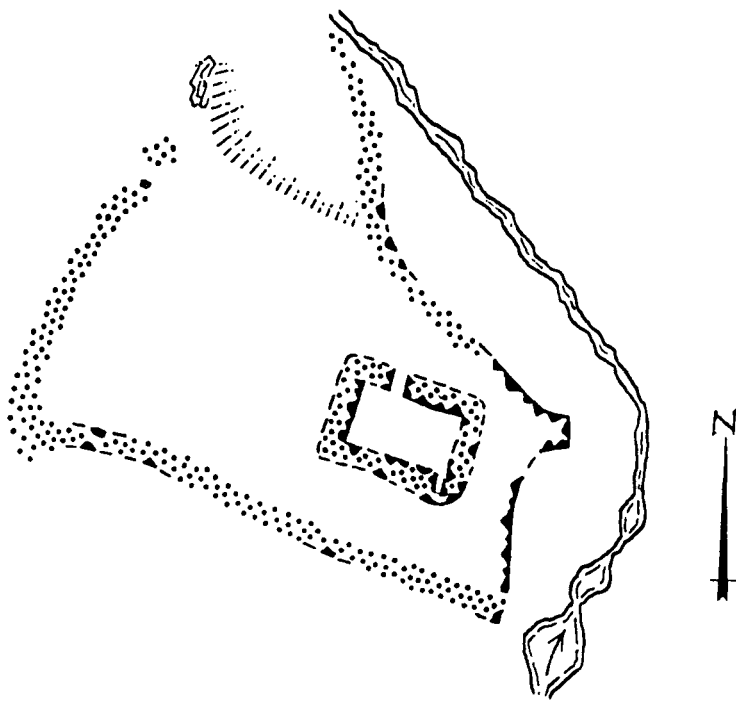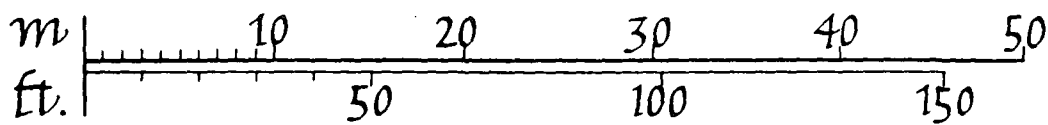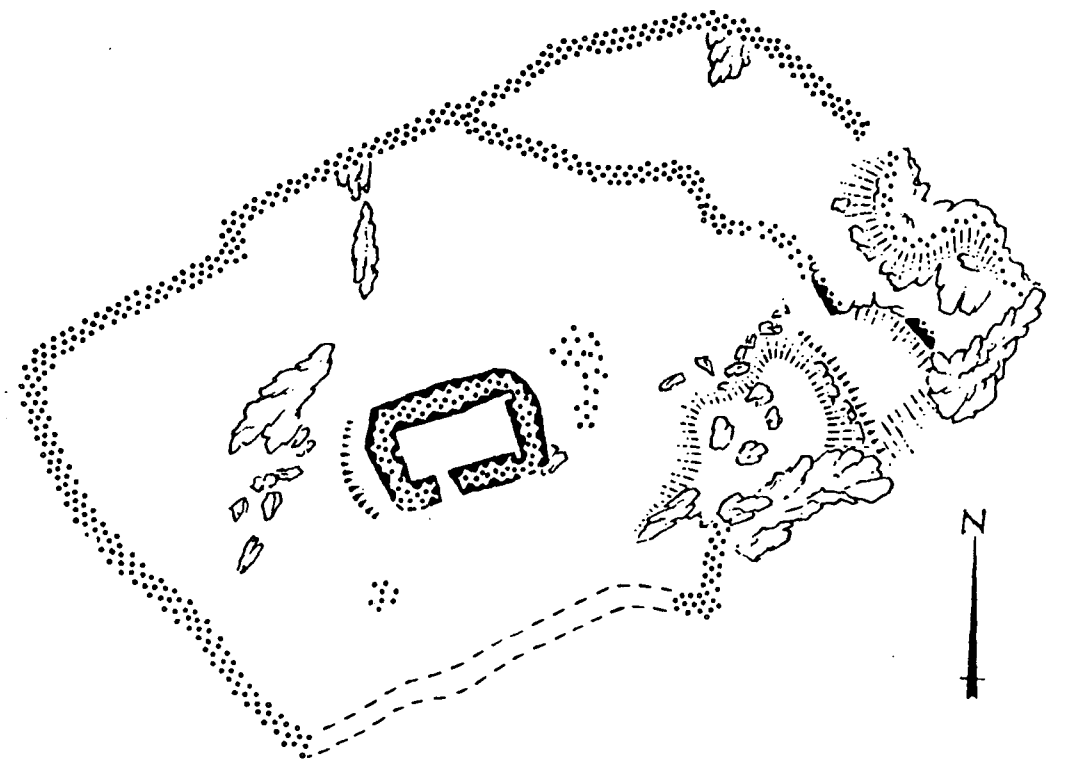
Trudernish

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